New Perspectives on Imagology
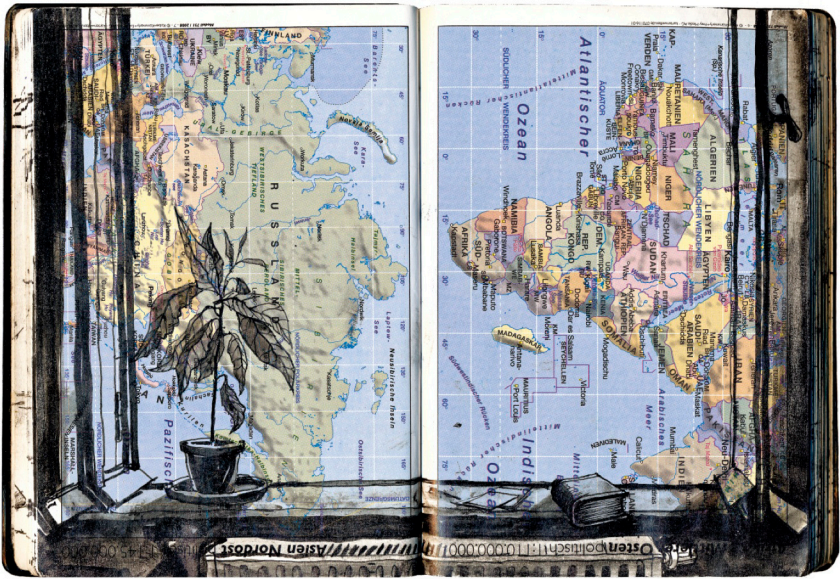
Edited by
Katharina Edtstadler, Sandra Folie
and Gianna Zocco

BRILL

New Perspectives on Imagology

Studia Imagologica

New Perspectives
on Imagology

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Cover illustration: Artwork by Olaf Osten, "Commuting 247 / Vienna, New World". Felt tip pen on pocket calendar, 2020.

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

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As long as 'humanity' remains a phantom, an un-intelligible entity, mentally and pragmatically unassimilable [...], the search for identity—that is, the tackling of internal and external pressures to trace and fix one's own positioning in the world populated by others, as well as the necessity to subject one's choice to the recognition and approval of others—will continue to demand a reference point; 'like' vs 'unlike', 'belonging' vs 'alienness', etc.—in short, *us* vs *them*—are (and threaten to remain for a long time to come) indispensable tools in the job of self-identification: for 'us' to exist, 'they', the 'not-us', must exist or be conjured up, or in the last resort fantasized (and they are indeed present, invented, appointed or imagined, in each and every variety, or stage, of its performance).

ZYGMUNT BAUMAN, Retrotopia (2017, 82–83)

• • •

The single story creates stereotypes and the problem with stereotypes is not that they are untrue, but that they are incomplete. They make one story become the only story.

CHIMAMANDA NGOZI ADICHIE, "The Danger of a Single Story" (2009, 13:00–13:18)

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Acknowledgements

Our extended intellectual journey into the field of comparative imagology, which started on a hot summer afternoon in Vienna in 2017, would not have been possible without the support, inspiration, and advice of fellow travellers, travel guides, travelling acquaintances, and funding agencies. We are grateful to the many colleagues and friends who shared their perspectives on imagology with us, fuelled our intellectual adventure with their critical questions, and brightened our spirits through their cheerful and pleasant company. We also wish to express our thanks to our families, who have had more conversations about imagology than they might have wished, who have supported and believed in our project, despite the inconveniences of an overworked partner and the additional household or childcare duties it caused for them at times.

We are grateful to Andrea Kreuter and Sophie Mayr, who co-organized the conference on New Perspectives on Imagology (April 3–5, 2018) with us, and who have a great share in making our journey such a joyous and amicable, often funny collaborative endeavour since the start. Unfortunately, they had to leave our editing team due to other professional obligations. Although Andrea could not edit this book with us, we would like to thank her for her input in the initial conception of the volume and for her collaboration on an early version of our introduction. Sophie left us right after the conference, yet her ideas about intermedial approaches to imagology have inspired part 5 (Imagology Intermedial: Beyond the Literary Text) of this volume, for which we would like to thank her.

We would also like to express our thanks to the Vienna Doctoral Academy: Theory and Methodology in the Humanities; the Faculty of Philological and Cultural Studies at the University of Vienna; the City Administration of Vienna, Municipal Department 7 – Culture; and The Austrian Students' Union (ÖH) for funding the conference preceding this volume. Furthermore, we are grateful to our cooperation partners, The Austrian Museum of Folk Life and Folk Art (Volkskundemuseum)—for providing us with their premises and expertise—as well as to the Arbeitskreis Kulturanalyse (AKA), Leschanz – Wiener Schokolade König, and PANNOBILE. In addition, Gianna would like to thank the European Union for funding her research through the Marie-Skłodowska-Curie-Actions programme.[1]

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and *History as a Foreign Country: Historical Imagery in South-Eastern Europe* (Bouvier 2015), as well as the editor-in-chief of the Journal *Umjetnost riječi / The Art of Words.*

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studied musicology, philosophy, and medieval German studies in Erlangen and Vienna (MA 2007) after completing a music teaching degree. She then received a three-year scholarship at the University of Freiburg i. Br. and taught there as a lecturer. From 2011–2015 she worked as assistant professor at the Department of Musicology, University of Vienna. In 2013 she completed her doctorate with a thesis on Heinrich Glarean's *Dodekachordon* (published 2017). From 2015 to 2018 she occupied a Hertha Firnberg position at this department. Since August 2018 she has held the Elise Richter position at the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna (MDW). Her research interests include music and music culture in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and opera culture in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

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and the South Slavic region as an exotic, backward European 'periphery', and subsequently, how such foreign images are negotiated in these 'peripheries' themselves. Another current project, in which imagology is applied to political discourse, is a book on nativism in the Netherlands and the West (with Prof. Dr. J. W. Duyvendak). As a researcher and lecturer of applied sociology at Hogeschool Inholland, Kešić works on the theoretical, educational, and professional dimensions of 'social reflexivity'. His primary topics of interest are nationalism, nativism, and imagology, particularly in the Balkans, Spain, and the Netherlands.

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     Gianna Zocco
is a Marie-Skłodowska-Curie fellow at the Leibniz-Zentrum für Literatur- und Kulturforschung Berlin, where she is working on a monograph on images of Germany in African American literature. Previously, she was assistant professor at the Department of Comparative Literature in Vienna, and Max Kade fellow at Columbia University in New York. Her PhD thesis, which was funded by a fellowship from the Austrian Academy of Sciences, focuses on windows in literature, and was published in 2014 (*Das Motiv des Fensters als Öffnung ins Innere in Erzähltexten seit 1945*). Her research interests include African American and Black Atlantic literature, African European studies, comparative imagology, literature and transnational memory, and the concept of cultural appropriation. Her publications in international journals and edited volumes focus on topics such as intertextuality in Darryl Pinckney's *Black Deutschland*, windows and stairs in Nella Larsen's *Passing*, the W.E.B. Du Bois memorial at the Humboldt-University of Berlin; the friendship between James Baldwin and Fritz Raddatz, and the reception of African American literature in the German-speaking countries.

New Perspectives on Imagology

Katharina Edtstadler, Sandra Folie and Gianna Zocco

> But it is precisely in the politics and epistemology of partial per-
> spectives that the possibility of sustained, rational, objective inquiry
> rests.
>
> <small>DONNA HARAWAY</small>, "Situated Knowledges" (1988, 584)

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1 Partial and Admittedly Subjective, Not Complete and Purportedly Objective: What We Mean by New Perspectives

"Literary Knowledge within the Medical Humanities." "Labels of Contempo-
rary World Women's Literature." "Germany and German History in African
American Literature." "The Regional Crime Novel." "Photographs and Their
Narrative Modes in the Biographies of Women Writers." The research projects
that we—the three editors, Katharina Edtstadler, Sandra Folie, and Gianna
Zocco, as well as our colleagues Andrea Kreuter and Sophie Mayr—were work-
ing on back in the summer of 2017 hardly qualify as imagological in the tra-
ditional sense of this "undeniably Western European" (Flynn, Leerssen, and
Doorslaer 2015, 2) specialism in comparative literature, which typically studies
questions such as the representation of the German nation in French litera-
ture. Given this original difference of perspectives and interests it was quite
surprising that our discussion about common research fields and possibilities
of collaboration—a discussion we had on the rooftop terrace of our univer-
sity building on a hot afternoon that summer—brought us to imagology. Ini-
tially, it was Gianna who mentioned that she sometimes wondered if she was
actually practicing some form of "undeclared imagology" as she had hitherto
preferred to posit her study of the literary images of Germany and German
history in African American literature in topical theoretical contexts such as
Black diaspora studies, postcolonial studies, and a "multidirectional memory"
framework. Was she perhaps missing some important connections or fruit-
ful perspectives if she chose to completely ignore this seemingly outdated

specialism in comparative literature? After all, imagological classics such as Jean-Marie Carré's *Les écrivains français et le mirage allemand* (1947) and Peter Edgerly Firchow's *The Death of the German Cousin* (1986), as well as famous predecessors such as Madame de Staël's *De l'Allemagne* (1813) or even Tacitus's *Germania* (98 CE), revealed often ambivalent and extremely vacillating hetero-images of Germany, which might reverberate in the depictions of Germany she studied in African American literature. This consideration provided the impetus for the rest of us to start thinking about imagology from our own research perspectives, namely, from our theoretical interests in the medical humanities, intersectionality, genre theory, and intermediality.

Based on her experiences as a tutor of an interdisciplinary course at the Medical University of Vienna, Katharina was already convinced that literary theory could be applied to other disciplines—and vice versa (e.g. stereotyping in relation to mental processes which occur outside of conscious awareness, or the concept of otherness as opposed to social identification). Sandra pointed out that intersectional theory—the critical analysis of overlapping or intersecting social identities and related systems of oppression, domination, or discrimination (e.g. gender, sex, race, ethnicity, class, nationality, age, religion, etc.)—had a lot in common with the critical analysis of cultural stereotypes. She therefore regarded it as very likely that the two fields could mutually benefit from each other. In her research on regional crime novels, Andrea analyses how this particular genre negotiates questions of identity. The insight that identity construction in regional crime novels is largely based on auto- and hetero-images led to the more general question of genre-affinities beyond imagology's traditional engagement with genres such as travel literature. Theoretical approaches that bring together imagology and genre theory were also of great interest to Sophie, who analyses the narrative modes of photographs in the biographies of women writers, and, accordingly, added an intermedial dimension to our discussion.

When we—much later than anticipated, the sun had already set—left the rooftop terrace to go home, we had not only found out that we all shared an interest in what Joep Leerssen proposed as a contemporary and wide definition of imagology: "the critical analysis of cultural stereotypes" and thus the study of "intercultural relations in terms of mutual perceptions, images and self-images" (2018a). We were also amazed that what we had initially considered a weak spot for any common research projects—the very difference of our backgrounds within comparative literature—had proved surprisingly fruitful and provoked a number of wide-ranging questions. How do other disciplines such as the cognitive sciences, philosophy, or media studies define imagological key terms (e.g. image, stereotype)—and what insights can be gained for literary studies from paying closer attention to these possibly differing and conflicting

definitions of only seemingly identical terms? How does the concept of the nation—and, therefore, the notion of national identity—relate to other spatial categories such as the region, the city, or the continent? What is the role of images and stereotypes referring to the "character" of a national or ethnic group in recent examples of *world literature*—broadly defined as "literary works that circulate beyond their culture of origin" (Damrosch 2003, 4)—and especially in those cases of *new world literature* characterized by "multilingualism on the expression plane on the one hand and phenomena of globalization and regionalism on the content plane on the other" (Sturm-Trigonakis 2013, 13)? Should traditional imagology with its exclusive focus on the analysis of "ethnotypes"—Leerssen's more inclusive term for "representations of national character" (2016, 16)—take intersectionality into consideration, given that, as Neumann (cf. 2009, 36) puts it, the monolithic concept of a single nation and a single shared national identity hides the plurality of coexisting and sometimes rivalling group identities? And is the "image" in imagology something which can be found exclusively in literary texts?

2   Renewed, Not New: From Imagology's Archaeology to Its Present Resurgence

Inspired by these intriguing questions we agreed to use the remaining months of the summer to delve deeper into imagology, this supposedly "cornerstone of comparative literature" (Leerssen 2016, 16) that "may seem to be outdated and critiqued as being bound to the outmoded national essentialist paradigm which it set out to analyse" (ibid., 29). That the critical reflection of collective auto- and hetero-images is a matter of actual topicality is demonstrated by the central role it occupies (in the manner of undeclared imagology) in the defence against "retrotopias," as the late Zygmunt Bauman has called the current "global epidemic of nostalgia" (2017, 4). Bauman's observations about the growing and alarming tendency of replacing the task of building a better future by "visions located in the lost/stolen/abandoned but undead past" (ibid., 5) address how these visions are often connected to national and nationalist revivals, as the images of "the good old days" typically picture a period of time when the European Union, "globalization," or another supranational agent did not yet impinge on national sovereignty. In the spirit of Bauman's endeavour of understanding the present by looking at its ("real" and "imagined") relations to the past, it seemed important to us not to fall into the trap of presentism, mistaking "the emergence of the new for the obsolescence of everything else," and isolating "the contemporary avant-garde in art and cultural theory from its own historical antecedents and rootedness" (Leerssen 2016, 29).

Consequently, we chose to embark on an—admittedly nonexhaustive—journey to the "archaeology," "pre-history," and "history" of imagology (Leerssen 2007, 17).[1] This journey led us from "the cultural criticism of early-modern Europe" (ibid.) to the emergence of the national philologies in the early nineteenth century, when the academic study of literature along national lines was closely linked to political demands for national unity, and when comparisons between both different literatures and different nations as represented in literature were thought to contribute to the field of *Völkerpsychologie*. We proceeded with imagology's more recent past, the proto-imagological *Stoffgeschichte* (cf. ibid., 20), and "[t]he actual emergence of imagology as a critical study of national characterization" (ibid., 21) in the years following the Second World War. The field's academic institutionalization occurred in 1950s France, when Marius-François Guyard presented his program of a supranational imagology, which was inspired by his teacher Jean-Marie Carré (cf. 1947), as "un point de vue nouveau" (Guyard 1951, 110) for comparative literature. His approach was well received by large parts of the European academic community, especially so by German scholars who "had gone through the very abyss of ethnically prejudiced pseudo-scholarship" and, thus, "felt the urgent need to address the twin problem of racist thought and of their country's tarnished reputation" (Leerssen 2007, 22). Admittedly, this plausible attraction of imagology in a more and more transnationally oriented Western Europe did not so much appeal to US-American colleagues, with leading literary scholar René Wellek (cf. 1953, 5) dismissing imagology as both a step back into positivistic *Stoffgeschichte*, and a form of sociology and national psychology. He famously claimed that "it may be all very well to hear what conceptions Frenchmen have about Germany or about England—but is such a study still literary scholarship?" (Wellek 2009, 164).

However, the alleged division in the field of comparative literature "between 'intrinsic' textual analysis and 'extrinsic' contextualization" (Leerssen 2016, 23)

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1   For a historical overview of the development of imagology, which goes beyond the stages only roughly sketched here, see Leerssen's article "Imagology: History and Method" (in Beller and Leerssen 2007). Readers of German can find a comprehensive and critical overview of imagology, which focuses on its "claim, method, fallacies" and is particularly informed by both the French and the German scholarly contexts, in Ruth Florack's monograph on the role of national stereotypes in literature (cf. 2007, 7–32). In most recent introductions to the discipline of comparative literature, the field of imagology and its history is not covered in much detail. Two exceptions are Angelika Corbineau-Hoffmann's subchapter on "Das Eigene und das Fremde: Komparatistische Imagologie" in *Einführung in die Komparatistik* (cf. 2013, 187–202) and Bernard Franco's *La littérature comparée—Histoire, domaine, méthodes*, which dedicates a whole chapter to "Les études d'images" (cf. 2016, 179–190).

did not prevent either Hugo Dyserinck (cf. [1966, 1982] 2015) with his Aachen program nor Daniel-Henri Pageaux (cf. 1981, 1983, 1988, 1989) at the Nouvelle Sorbonne from further developing the critical study of national images and stereotypes in literary texts. Dyserinck regarded the investigation of literary images of "the other country" as a necessary contribution to the ongoing "de-ideologization of the methods of literary studies" ([1966] 2015, 57).[2] In his view, the study of collective auto- and hetero-images should occupy a central role in such an endeavour first because of "their presence in certain literary works," second because of "the role they play in the dissemination of translations or original works outside their respective national literary origins," and third, because of "their predominantly disturbing presence in literary studies and criticism itself" (ibid.).[3] While the first reason does not necessarily imply a transnational perspective, the second, regarding the international circulation of literature, is decidedly comparative. The last reason, which has received little attention in comparative imagology so far, points in the direction of a meta-imagology that would ask its practitioners to self-critically question their own perspectives and methods of knowledge, and to look out for any unreflected (re)productions of stereotypical images.

Pageaux's more structuralist works on comparative imagology have also contributed significantly to the field's theorization and systematization. While he urged scholars of comparative literature to pay close attention to the particular and complex nature of literary works, he considered it equally important to understand the specific image within an individual text (*l'image*) as part of a larger complex of collective imaginations, which he called "the imaginary" (*l'imaginaire*): "The imaginary that we investigate is the theatre, the place where, in a pictorial way [...], with the help of images, performances, those manifestations (literature, among others), in which a society sees itself, defines itself, dreams itself, are expressed" (Pageaux 1989, 135–136).[4] According

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2   Our translation. Original and complete quote (German): "Die Untersuchung des literarischen 'Bildes vom andern Land' (sowohl durch Konfrontation mit der Wirklichkeit als durch Aufspüren der geistesgeschichtlichen Prozesse, in denen das betreffende Bild wurzelt, usw.) könnte überhaupt in hohem Maße zur weiteren Entideologisierung der Methoden der Literaturwissenschaft beitragen."

3   Our translation. Original and complete quote (German): "Für die weitere Beschäftigung mit den 'images' und 'mirages' spricht jedenfalls dreierlei: ihr Vorhandensein in gewissen literarischen Werken; die Rolle, die sie bei der Verbreitung von Übersetzungen oder auch Originalwerken außerhalb deren jeweiligen nationalliterarischen Entstehungsbereichs spielen; ihre vorwiegend störende Anwesenheit in der Literaturwissenschaft und -kritik selbst."

4   Our translation. Original and complete quote (French): "L'imaginaire que nous étudions est le théâtre, le lieu où s'expriment, de manière imagée (assumons le jeu de mots), c'est-à-dire à

to Pageaux, a linguistic repertoire of images ("un dictionnaire en images," ibid., 144), which constitutes "the imaginary" in a text (its "scénario," ibid., 150), is neither true nor false, since the images represent abstract, mediated concepts rather than "real" objects.

Efforts such as Dyserinck's and Pageaux's, but also those of scholars working in the national philologies such as the Austrian Anglicist Franz Karl Stanzel (cf. 1974), introduced a clearly anti-essentialist approach to imagology, which has since become central to the field's self-definition. It is such an understanding that is the basis of the renewed interest in and relevance of imagology, which—in the face of (re)emerging nationalism, populism, and xenophobia—has attracted numerous scholars in recent years. Manfred Beller's and Joep Leerssen's critical survey on *Imagology* (2007a), edited volumes such as *Imagology Today* (Dukić 2012a), the Balkan/Southeastern European oriented encounter of imagology and history (Blažević, Brković, and Dukić 2014), the interconnection of translation studies and imagology (Doorslaer, Flynn, and Leerssen 2015), the imagological survey of children's literature from the Enlightenment to the present day (O'Sullivan and Immel 2017), the ambitious two-volume *Encyclopedia of Romantic Nationalism in Europe* (Leerssen 2018b), and, most recently, the East-Baltic intervention *Imagology Profiles* (Laurušaitė 2018a), among numerous monographs, most notably those in Brill's Studia Imagologica series and in Frank & Timme's Studien zur komparatistischen Imagologie series, and a large number of regularly published articles all account for imagology's renewed popularity in European or Western academia.[5]

3   Ambivalent, Not Agreed Upon: Imagology's Actuality and Controversiality

While twenty-first-century imagology has developed into a fairly visible scholarly field, a certain "ambivalence of imagology" (Ruthner 2012, 137) can be observed in many academic contributions: Ruth Florack, for example, argues

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l'aide d'images, de représentations, les façons (la littérature, entre autres) dont une société se voit, se définit, se rêve."

5   A well-known and current example may demonstrate that this is also relevant to comparative literature practiced in non-Western countries. Recently, Chinese comparative literature scholar Shunqing Cao has linked the first plane of comparison of his "variation theory"— "cross-national variation" (Cao and Han 2017, 3–4)—to imagological concepts, from which he proceeds to further, more specific (i.e. interlingual), but also larger (i.e. intercultural, cross-civilizational) levels of East-West comparisons or, in his terminology, variations. See also Cao (2013).

that imagological interpretations still run the risk of conceiving a writer as the privileged voice of a collective and of viewing nations as "Kollektivindividuen" (2007, 18). Davor Dukić criticizes not only the persistent and rather narrow focus on fiction within imagology (cf. 2012b, 14), but also its "ahistorical tendencies" (2012c, 121)—a point of criticism taken up by Zrinka Blažević, who points to imagology's "obstinate adherence to the tacit universalizing of Eurocentric orientation, and an uncritical metatheoretical promotion of the 'supranational standpoint'" (2014, 356). Claudia Perner—who considers imagology's relation to its "natural sister discipline" (2013, 30) postcolonial studies—sceptically concludes "that most basic assumptions of imagology require a fundamental 'makeover' before they can sensibly be employed" (ibid.).

These were the most serious points of criticism we encountered when we—returning from our journey to the history and traditional methodology of imagology as well as from various actual journeys we had undertaken in the course of the summer—met again in a rather rainy week in September. This time, however, we were no longer sitting on the rooftop terrace of our university building. Instead we found ourselves in the less spectacular, windowless meeting room of our department, where we were exchanging printed excerpts of research papers, marking paragraphs arguing for the need to reconceptualize imagology as well as others addressing the inevitable deficits of the field, and—as our meeting proceeded—critically consulting our calendars. What had begun toward the end of the previous semester as a loose working group of colleagues with an overlapping research interest in cultural stereotyping now became increasingly concrete: we were planning to organize an event on the current and future challenges of imagology. An international conference where long-established and prospective imagologists, traditional and unorthodox practitioners, advocates and critics alike would be able to exchange their views and share the individual perspectives that motivated their interests in imagology presented itself as an appropriate framework to deal with a field that is as actual as it is controversial.

As we discovered in our first attempts to put our thoughts into writing, in the case of imagology the controversies already begin with the naming. Not only has the reputation of imagology as an outdated, Eurocentric, and theoretically defective field led to a flourishing number of "undeclared" imagological studies, with many scholars preferring to associate their works with related areas such as postcolonialism, diaspora studies, intersectionality, migration studies, mobility studies, and so forth. But also, while working on our call for papers, we came across the ambivalent use of imagology's nomenclature regarding both the field's self-designation as imagology and its key concepts. Although we decided to stay with imagology—the term used in most descriptions of the

research field in introductory volumes to the discipline of comparative literature, and according to Leerssen, "an appellation which is less than perfect but by now too ingrained to tamper with" (2016, 14)[6]—it has to be acknowledged that there are at least two rivalling terms in circulation: image studies and intercultural hermeneutics (in German sometimes referred to as *Fremdhermeneutik*, cf. Schmeling 1999 and 2000, 189, 198; Agossavi 2003). As Flynn, Leerssen, and Doorslaer stress, speakers of English may experience the English variant of *Imagologie*, which is still predominantly used in German, French, and Dutch publications, as "unidiomatic" (2015, 2) and, therefore, prefer image studies. This term, however, partially overlaps "with research in visual image studies" (ibid.). The other frequently used designation—intercultural hermeneutics— is generally met with some scepticism on the part of comparative literature scholars. There are two main reasons for this: The first is the preference of intercultural hermeneutics within the field of intercultural German studies, dating back to a dispute between (intercultural) German studies (cf. Wierlacher 1985) and (imagological) comparative literature (cf. Konstantinović 1992; Dyserinck [1992] 2015). The second reason why intercultural hermeneutics is no longer a popular term within comparative literature appears to be its further and partially unclear extension toward a "theory and practice of interpretation between cultures" (Xie 2014, 3; cf. Münnix 2017).

Although by using the term imagology we deliberately want to avoid a conceptual confusion with both visual image studies and the more general study of intercultural interpretation, our decision is admittedly also predefined by the institutional affiliation we shared for many years: the discipline of comparative literature as practiced at the University of Vienna. We find it important to be transparent about the fact that imagology itself, however postnational its claim and practice, is not completely independent of its national and institutional anchorings. More generally speaking, what we introduce here as "new perspectives" has not developed from a scholarly position equivalent to that of the omniscient narrator in a novel but is much connected to the subjective interests and social and institutional backgrounds of ourselves as white, female, aspiring scholars, who—though originally from rural Upper Austria,

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6   This statement echoes a footnote by Hugo Dyserinck (cf. [1982] 2015, 134), in which he, despite finding the term imagology, due to its half-Latin, half-Greek etymology, not exactly pleasant, already recommended its use to designate the specialism within comparative literature dedicated to the study of literary images of the other country. According to Dyserinck, in German literary scholarship the term imagology—originally borrowed from French ethnopsychology—was first used under the Aachen program in this sense.

a village in Vorarlberg close to the Swiss border, and a provincial part of western Germany (with family backgrounds in Sicily)—spent most of their adult lives in urban centres of the German-speaking countries of Europe. We thus also respond to Donna Haraway's demand for "situated knowledges" in contrast to "the ideological doctrines of disembodied scientific objectivity" (1988, 576), and to Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's insistence that Western scholars mark "their positionality as investigating subjects" ([1988] 1993, 92).[7]

Although the rivalling terms used to designate imagological research and their different institutional anchorings were the first case where we came across the field's ambivalent nomenclature, it was not the only one. This is because imagology's key terms and concepts are not exclusively used in comparative literature and its closest neighbouring fields but, more generally, share the fate of "travelling concepts" in the sense of Mieke Bal ([2002] 2012). This means that scholars from disciplines as different as literary/cultural studies, psychology, (intercultural) philosophy, communication studies, and cognitive sciences sometimes use them "as if their meanings were as clear-cut and common as those of any word in any given language" (ibid., 25), although "their meaning, reach, and operational value differ" (ibid., 24) according to the disciplinary background of a particular scholar and the cultural genre of the object studied. While the multiple meanings ascribed to terms such as "stereotype," "image," or "cliché" tend to complicate interdisciplinary exchange, a growing imagological interest in the integration of knowledge from other disciplines, for example regarding the underlying cognitive processes of social thinking and categorization, can be observed. As Leerssen puts it: "The cognitive-psychological model of 'frames' and 'triggers' has deepened our understanding of ethnotyping, and of stereotyping in general" (2016, 24).

In the attempt to encourage a direct interdisciplinary dialogue between scholars of "traditional imagology" and those of related fields, we originally planned to dedicate one (of four) conference sections to this topic and, accordingly, conceptualized a section called "Rethinking Images: Imagology and Cognitive Sciences." The particular aim was to explore the cultural dynamics connected to imagological key terms and, thus, to reflect on the terminology

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7   A more recent intervention that addresses the topic of positionality in academia in a convincing and illuminating way is a volume on diversity in the humanities in Germany. In their introduction, the editors Mahmoud Arghavan, Nicole Hirschfelder, and Katharina Motyl pose the rhetorical question: "But is it not more ethical [...] to explicitly reflect one's own positionality and to make one's political commitments (and potential blindspots) transparent [...] rather than to pretend one does not have any?" (2019, 16).

from various disciplinary angles. Beller and Leerssen have this "transnationally comparative and cross-disciplinary aim in mind" (2007b, xv) when they refer to numerous other disciplines like anthropology, cartography, and social psychology in their critical survey. Blažević, who proposes a "wider definition of image" (2014, 361), argues along similar lines to Birgit Neumann, who notes that there is astonishingly little reflection on imagology's key notion "image" (2009, 39). Compared to the other three conference sections—"Intersectional Approaches to Imagology: The Multiple Entanglements of Ethnotypes," "Imagology in a Transnational, Post-Colonial, Globalized World," and "Stereotypes, Nation Building, Landscape Depiction: How Different Genres Interact with Imagology"—there were considerably fewer submissions.[8] After some consideration, we changed the title of the section to "Rethinking Imagological Key Terms" in the hope of stimulating critical reflection about imagology's theoretical foundations from the perspectives of different imagologists.

Although imagology is firmly established within the discipline of comparative literature, its main topics point to complex questions about how we make sense of the world—a theme that concerns various disciplines with different emphases. There is a growing awareness that interdisciplinary collaborations could bring new momentum to such classical research questions in the future. Engaging in a dialogue with scholars from other disciplines, however, is just another case in which the need for "situated knowledges" and critical self-reflection is paramount. Wouldn't it be great if imagologists, with their expertise in auto- and hetero-images in literature, could be among the pioneers of such a self-critical engagement, which—after all—was already called for when Dyserinck observed a "predominantly disturbing presence [of images] in literary studies and criticism itself" ([1966] 2015, 57)?[9]

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8   Although we could not realize the section as originally conceptualized, the topic was present throughout the conference and was again addressed during the final roundtable discussion. Davor Dukić, one of the participants, argued for a more thorough examination of imagology's terminology. He further elaborates on this issue in his contribution "Axiological Foundations of Imagology" (part 1, chapter 2) to this volume. Another contribution that thematizes concepts frequently used in imagological research is Martina Thiele's "Categories, Stereotypes, Images, and Intersectionality" (part 4, chapter 13), in which she analyses the relationship between categorization and stereotyping from an intercultural communication perspective taking into account social cognitive processes.

9   Our translation. Original quote (German): "ihre [der Bilder] vorwiegend störende Anwesenheit in der Literaturwissenschaft und -kritik selbst."

4   Repressed, Not Gone: Imagology's Relevance in Light of the New Upsurge of Nationalism

Considering that many countries currently face a wake of ethnopopulist thinking, in which images and stereotypes are used to discredit and dehumanize people on account of their supposedly inherent otherness, critical self-reflection is imperative—especially for a field that studies verbally, and increasingly (also) visually, constructed images. "The revival of national attitudes," as Joep Leerssen convincingly argues, "is not so much a re-appearance of something that had disappeared, as rather a new upsurge" (2007, 25) or—in psychoanalytical jargon—the return of the repressed. Accordingly, in times when European politicians refer to refugees from outside Europe in conjunction with "waves" or a "crisis" on a daily basis, whereas the more uncomfortable analysis of the complex causes of this crisis—among them the former colonial conditions as well as today's neocolonial and neoliberal practices—fades into the background, it does not come as a surprise that "imagology is quickly regaining the urgency it had in the post-1945 years" (Leerssen 2016, 14).

That the "new political virulence" (ibid., 29) of ethnic stereotyping was something we could not only read about in recent academic publications, but also observe in our daily lives, became apparent well in advance. Already in 2016, in the wake of the so-called "refugee crisis," the former Austrian minister of the interior Johanna Mikl-Leitner claimed that Europe has to become "a fortress"[10] (ORF 2016)—a demand that Austria's right-wing government (2017–2019) was making great efforts to implement, for example by running its EU presidency in 2018 with the primary objective to stop "illegal" migration under the motto "a Europe that protects"[11] (BMI 2018). It is also noteworthy that Austria's former chancellor, Sebastian Kurz, of the conservative People's Party (ÖVP), presented the program of his second government—no longer in coalition with the right-wing extremist Freedom Party (FPÖ), but with the left-wing eco-party Die Grünen (The Greens)—under the slogan "It is possible to

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10   In his book LTI (= *Lingua Tertii Imperii*) on the language of National Socialism, Victor Klemperer demonstrates that the metaphor of the "Fortress Europe" (Festung Europa ([1947] [12]1993, 173)) was already central in the Third Reich: "[…] the 'blockade-proof', the 'self-sufficient Europe' became a buzzword; the 'venerable continent' that, as it was said, was betrayed by England, surrounded by the Americans and Russians, and destined for enslavement and de-spiritualization" (ibid.; our translation). Original and complete quote (German): "[…] und nun wurde das 'blockadefeste', das 'autarke Europa' zum Schlagwort, der, wie man sagte, von England verratene, von den Amerikanern und Russen umlauerte, zur Versklavung und Entgeistigung bestimmte 'ehrwürdige Kontinent'."

11   Our translation. Original quote (German): "Ein Europa[,] das schützt."

protect the borders and the climate"[12] (in Deniz 2020), thus implicitly equating refugees and natural disasters as two analogue dangers from outside.[13]

The former Italian minister of the interior Matteo Salvini's motto "Prima gli italiani" (Italians First, 2018) and prime minister of Hungary Viktor Orbán's public remark that "we do not want our own colour, traditions and national culture to be mixed with those of others" (2018), moreover, show the increasing appeal of "the fortress" as a national auto-image. With Jair Bolsonaro, who referred to the Black descendants of rebel African enslaved people (*quilombolas*) as loafers, not "even good for procreation anymore" (2017),[14] becoming president of Brazil, and Donald Trump, then president of the United States of America, asking "Why are we having all these people from shithole countries come here?" (Dawsey 2018), it seems legitimate to speak of an increasing social

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12   Our translation. Original quote (German): "Es ist möglich Grenzen und das Klima zu schützen."

13   The COVID-19 pandemic that we have all been struggling with since the beginning of 2020 is another factor that adds to the new urgency of imagology. On the one hand, the different ways in which nations and their governments have reacted to the crisis may alter or confirm existing national auto- and hetero-images. (For an example, see John Kampfner's bestselling book *Why the Germans Do It Better: Notes from a Grown Up Country* (2020), which starts with comparing German and British ways of dealing with the first wave of the pandemic.) On the other hand, the experience of the pandemic affects our ways of thinking about some of the theoretical assumptions of imagology. It complicates our perceptions of borders and the protection they provide from supposedly threatening "others." Whereas the permeability of national (in some cases also regional or urban) borders has been reduced in order to curb the spread of this novel virus, the risk of getting infected does not primarily emanate from national or ethnic "others" (though Donald Trump persistently spoke of the "China virus") but seems to be particularly high at family gatherings and private parties typically celebrated by members of the same "in-group." Measures to protect oneself and others have led to new forms of separation between "the self" and "the other" (through face masks, social distancing, etc.). Although the virus does not—in theory—care about social, economic, or ethnic differences between people, the actual risks of getting infected and receiving late or insufficient treatment are distributed unequally, as are the risks of having to suffer from the economic or social consequences of national lockdowns and similar measures. At this stage in the preparation of this volume, it is not possible to add a detailed outlook on potential new perspectives regarding imagological questions. However, we want to highlight that the social impacts of this current global crisis may alter, reinforce, and question some perceptions about nationality, solidarity, and collective belonging, and will therefore most certainly bring new momentum to imagological research.—the editors, October 2020.

14   Our translation. Original and complete quote (Brazilian Portuguese): "Eu fui num quilombo. O afrodescendente mais leve lá pesava sete arrobas. Não fazem nada. Eu acho que nem para procriador ele serve mais."

acceptability of unveiled xenophobia in democratic societies on both sides of the Atlantic.

Since one of the most effective tools for fomenting this hatred are romanticized images of the past or "retrotopias" (Bauman 2017)—cf. Trump's battle cry "Make America great again!"—it is important to keep in mind that stereotypes "can be comforting as well as denigrating," and that going beyond set images—for example, by taking responsibility for the less heroic, infamous, or wrongful moments of one's nation's past—"can be painful" (Christian [1975] 1985, 28). To repeatedly take on this pain and the strenuous self-reflections and discussions that go along with it—which is an (at least seemingly) endless task, much like Sisyphus's—is, however, unavoidable in order to prevent the proliferation of a single and one-sided story which always creates stereotypes. And "the problem with stereotypes," as Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie wisely states, "is not that they are untrue, but that they are incomplete. They make one story become the only story" (2009, 13:00–13:18 min).

We felt further confirmed about the urgent need of an informed imagological discussion when Joep Leerssen, whose call for a number of "recent and emerging perspectives" (2016, 21) in imagology provided a major inspiration for our engagement with the field, accepted our invitation to be the keynote speaker at such an event. We were thrilled to learn that he planned to supplement our conference program—at that point primarily dedicated to imagology in relation to terminological matters, intersectional approaches, transnational literary phenomena, and generic issues—by focusing on imagology's relevance and applicability to the study of the political history of nationalism.[15]

With a keynote speaker, numerous promising submissions from all over the world, and an outline of our conference concept at hand, we still faced two major challenges. How could we make sure that our conference would not be restricted to the ivory tower of academia but integrate a broader public in a discussion about ethnopopulism, migration, and xenophobia? And in terms of venue, where could we most effectively bring together people with various—academic as well as not primarily academic—backgrounds to engage in such a dialogue?

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15   For a short excerpt of the keynote speech "Nationalism and National-Self-Images: Character into Ideology into Doxa," in which Leerssen reflected on the overlap between imagology and nationalism studies, see the conference podcast by Julia Grillmayr (cf. 2018, 11:35–13:35 min). In his contribution to this volume "Enmity, Identity, Discourse: Imagology and the State" (part 1, chapter 1), Leerssen deals with a related area and shows how imagological analysis can be fruitfully applied to political discourse.

5   The Conference: New Perspectives on Imagology Put into Practice

Directly after spring break, the conference we were busy organizing for almost a year, took place from 3 to 5 April 2018.[16] In addition to twenty-five papers, arranged in four thematic sections with a total of ten panels, the keynote speech by Joep Leerssen, and the final roundtable discussion, we also held a poster session. With this more dialogic format we aimed to offer a low-threshold access to an academic conference—a chance that was particularly, though not exclusively, taken by undergraduates. As an additional attempt to include a broader public, we organized a reading. For this, we are very grateful to our colleague Sophie Mayr, who drew our attention to the rather simple fact that talking about imagology usually begins with reading literature. Reading is not necessarily a purely academic or solitary occupation but, on the contrary, one that may bring together various people.

Thanks to Sophie's commitment we persuaded the Israeli-Austrian writer Doron Rabinovici to read from *Die Außerirdischen* (2017, The Extraterrestrials). The as yet untranslated novel discusses the imagological question of self and other referring not to the relation between different nations but between humans and aliens. It depicts the blurring of boundaries such as good and evil, familiar and unfamiliar, against the backdrop of a supposedly extraterrestrial invasion of Earth, which—according to the media (in the novel)—promises to bring peace and economic success in exchange for "voluntary" human sacrifices. The "games," whose losers are sacrificed for the benefit of the many, seem like a neoliberal, twenty-first-century take on Shirley Jackson's *The Lottery* (1948). Sol, the main character, and one of the few remaining critics of this unusual agreement, asks: "What […] if we are not the victims? […] What if we are the Nazis?" His counterpart replies: "Yes. Possible. But maybe we are in fact the extraterrestrials?" (Rabinovici 2017, 140).[17] In the end, it comes down to the same thing. Nobody can be sure that the aliens ever existed and it does not even seem to matter because humanity itself proves intimidatingly capable of being "alien" and "that alone can be scary enough" (ibid., 255).[18]

Like the conference itself the public reading took place at the Austrian Museum of Folk Life and Folk Art or, in German, Volkskundemuseum (VKM).

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16   You can find the call for papers and posters as well as the conference program at https://imagology2018.univie.ac.at. You can either read about or listen to the three-day conference in the conference report (cf. Seidler 2019) or in the podcast (cf. Grillmayr 2018).

17   Our translation. Original quote (German): "Was, wenn wir die Nazis sind?" […] "Ja. Möglich. Aber vielleicht sind wir in Wirklichkeit die Außerirdischen."

18   Our translation. Original quote (German): "Und das allein kann unheimlich genug sein."

Although an ethnographic museum might not seem to be the most appropriate choice for a conference venue, in our case, it actually was for a number of reasons. First, one of the so-called *Völkertafeln*, an oil painting dating back to the first half of the eighteenth century, is on display on the museum's premises. This table, depicting European peoples and certain ethnic stereotypes attributed to them, has already inspired prolific imagological studies in Austria (cf. Stanzel ²1998, 1999), and is today considered an early example of "the systematics of early-modern ethnography and anthropology" (Leerssen 2007, 18). To hold the conference at the local folk museum enabled us to once again thematize this inestimable source of inspiration and, at the same time, promote an exchange between comparative literature and a public cultural institution that, as Leerssen recently stressed, might be particularly productive when it comes to tracing "the operative influence of memory-scapes and historical self-images as projected through other than literary fields, e.g. in museums, commemorations, monuments etc." (2016, 23). In this sense, we asked ourselves: Where, if not in a folk museum, is the German *Heimat*, a concept that evokes a strong feeling of belonging to one's homeland, being negotiated? While we were looking for an appropriate venue for our conference, the interplay of ethnology, museums, and politics in the production of *Heimat* had been at the centre of the exhibition *Heimat:Machen* (*Making:Heimat*, October 18, 2017– March 11, 2018), in which the museum critically explored its own history as an interpreter of cultural, ethnic, and/or national auto-images. The VKM's critical and self-reflexive negotiation with *Heimat*—for many people a positively connoted concept but highly susceptible to ethnographic as well as political instrumentalization—confirmed us in our decision to hold the conference there. However, it was not our intention to just rent the venue but rather to include the people working there in our program, and thereby learn more about their perspectives.[19]

Herbert Justnik, the head of the museum's photo collection and its academic spokesperson, was willing to participate in the final roundtable discussion,[20] in which he provided insights into the role of photographs as political tools in the

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[19]   We were very happy when the museum's director Matthias Beitl agreed to give a brief opening speech, in which he addressed the eventful history of the house. Built in the early eighteenth century for the imperial vice-chancellor Friedrich Karl Graf Schönborn, it was sold to the city of Vienna in 1862 and served, among other things, as a theatre, an inn, a beer hall, a secondary school, a coffin joinery, a barrel binder workshop, a court, a municipal street cleaning facility, and a university building, until it was finally left to the Association for Folklore in 1917. Only three years later the museum opened its doors.

[20]   You can listen to excerpts from the roundtable discussion in the conference podcast (cf. Grillmayr 2018, from min. 39:30).

Habsburg monarchy. Along with him, Davor Dukić, Federico Italiano, Laura Laurušaitė, and Waldemar Zacharasiewicz—aspiring and long-established, declared and undeclared imagologists from Croatia, Italy, Lithuania, and Austria side by side—were part of this final discussion that concluded our conference. Following Justnik's description of the practical challenges that he and his colleagues encounter when dealing with exhibition material related to questions of national images, Laura Laurušaitė gave insights into her ongoing projects—starting with the fact that she initially came across imagology through her research on postcolonialism. Prior to her participation in the "New Perspectives on Imagology" conference Laurušaitė herself had organized a conference highly relevant to the field in 2015, held under the title "Imagology Profiles: The Dynamics of National Imagery in Literature" and the basis of an edited volume (see Laurušaitė 2018a). One of the main concerns of the book is to identify the hitherto neglected Baltic literature as a rich source for imagological research. Beyond that, however, the contributions also seek to break out of traditional oppositional pairs (East vs. West, auto- vs. hetero-image, factual reality vs. fictional text, collective vs. individual images), and encourage cooperation across disciplines, covering insights from historians, sociologists, political scientists, and anthropologists. These theoretical and disciplinary expansions of traditional imagology intersect with some of the new perspectives addressed in this volume.

After all participants of the roundtable had summarized their relationship to imagology, the panel returned to the most challenging questions of two and a half days of stimulating exchange, leading up to a negotiation of the present state of the field. Waldemar Zacharasiewicz started by reflecting on the crucial moment when certain stereotypes or generalizations about a nation change dramatically. To illustrate what Joep Leerssen calls a "tipping point process"—"when a long-standing ethnotype suddenly gives way to (or is overlaid by) its opposing counterpart" (2016, 18)—Zacharasiewicz used the hetero-image of "the Germans" which changed from a nation of poets and thinkers in the early nineteenth century to the counterimage of the military Prussian state. Picking up on this point, the participants discussed the latency of printed texts, which are not only imagology's primary objects of investigation but also preserve national stereotypes over long periods of time.

A perspective that does not so much focus on the preservation of collective images of self and other through different points of history but rather looks at their ways of traveling to and being transformed in different geographical spaces was brought in by Federico Italiano. Italiano, who does not explicitly use imagology as a theoretical framework in his current research project, is interested in the question of how literary texts—via translation

processes—partake in the formation of a geographical imagination. How do texts translate maps and vice versa? How do maps incorporate, recontextual-ize, and transform the literary imagination? Whereas anthropomorphic maps like Sebastian Münster's *Europa regina* (1570)—a maplike depiction of the European continent as a queen—would present a self-evident link between cartographic investigation and imagology, Italiano is more concerned with the relation between translation theory and cartographic imagination. One of the examples he gave was the Star Wars galaxy, in which human biotopes translate into worlds (e.g. core worlds, colonies, or peripheries) and planets (e.g. desert planets or metropolitan planets). Traditional imagology does not get one very far in such a case, because there is no distinct reference to a nation or an ethnic group. It is rather the "galactic" translation process—how sociological con-cepts like, for example, centre and periphery translate into a science fiction galaxy—that has to be understood to make sense of the cartographic imagina-tion behind such worlds.[21]

Consequently, Davor Dukić proposed to define the image as a cluster of attributes linked to a cultural rather than a national space—be it fictional or real (he further elaborates on this in his contribution to this volume: part 1, chapter 2). Drawing on this issue, questions about the relation between ima-gology as an academic field dedicated to the study of images as discursive and thus unfalsifiable objects, and the role of imagology in the "real world" were raised among the discussants—correspondingly, many contributions in this publication reflect on this complex and timely aspect.

6   The Publication: New Perspectives on Imagology Put between Book Covers

In order to preserve and at the same time further develop some of the new perspectives on imagology discussed during this intense three-day event, the idea to draft a conference volume quickly took shape. We originally invited all speakers to publish with us. The resonance was great, yet we decided to contact a few scholars who did not participate in the conference but whose research in imagology or neighbouring fields we considered relevant to our

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21   The formation of a geographical imagination that Federico Italiano mentioned in the discussion is also an important component in the third—"geo-imagological" (Laurušaitė 2018b, 3)—section of the edited volume *Imagology Profiles* and in Daniel Brandlechner's contribution "#JeSuisAmatrice: Identity Through a Landscape of Wounds; Toward a Geo-imagology" to this volume (part 5, chapter 18).

project. Subsequently, a long process of gathering, revising, and discussing the submitted proposals began. Unfortunately, some of our potential contributors and, in Andrea Kreuter and Sophie Mayr, also two dear colleagues from our organizing committee could not join us on this lengthy and sometimes rather rocky path. However, in Karin Andersson, Johanna Chovanec, Martina Thiele, and Sandra Vlasta we were also able to gain some new authors who contributed even more new perspectives to our volume.

Many of the new perspectives gathered here come from white, female researchers who live and work in Austria and Germany (and have a background in comparative literature or neighbouring fields). However, several contributors are connected to countries further east (Slovakia, Croatia, Bosnia, Turkey, and China), north (Sweden), south (Italy and Spain), and west (Belgium, the Netherlands, France, Great Britain, and the US); and to disciplines such as media studies, musicology, gender studies, and so forth—resulting in the numerous intra-, inter-, and transcultural comparisons and interdisciplinary approaches gathered in the five sections of this volume. Although based on the conference and many of the papers presented there, the volume does not duplicate the conference program in its organizational and thematic structure. While some conference panels like the one on intersectional approaches to imagology (part 4) could be easily converted into book chapters, others required more reorganization. Our aim was to let the material speak for itself, namely, to extrapolate from the content of the papers to the new perspectives that structure this volume and not the other way around. Thus, a completely new section on intermedial imagology (part 5) that focuses on visual narratives and music took shape.

Furthermore, it was important to us to avoid any form of misguided presentism, which our title "New Perspectives on Imagology" could possibly evoke, and to take the recent call for historicity seriously. In order to better understand the representational patterns of recent nationalist upsurges, it seems inevitable to time and again return to "the political/ideological starting point" of imagology: "the negative fascination with (the) nation(al/ism), which depreciated the concept of the verisimilitude of the image" (Dukić 2012c, 121). Although this volume's aim is to offer new perspectives on imagology, we take into account "that the synchronous instantaneous view offered by globalization can obscure sets of diachronous developments occurring over various lengths of time that coincide with it" (Flynn, Leerssen, and Doorslaer 2015, 6). In this sense, new perspectives on imagology do not necessarily or exclusively mean the introduction and imagological analysis of new and possibly fashionable topics or materials—though this is undoubtedly a fruitful and enriching approach realized by some of our contributions (e.g. those considering

"factual" political or musical historical documents, films, a Chinese travelogue about "the West," or a caricature and its circulation via a hashtag). At the same time, the originality of other contributions is constituted by their ability to illuminate already well-researched texts and topics with new disciplinary, theoretical, and/or methodological perspectives (e.g. Ulrike Kristina Köhler's call for a production-oriented imagology, Sandra Vlasta's enrichment of imagology with insights from multilingualism, intertextuality, and travel writing studies, or Maria Weilandt's intersectional readings of Honoré de Balzac and Henry James).

For our readers to make the most of the insights into historically diachronous developments as well as of the transnational, methodological, interdisciplinary, or intermedial new perspectives offered by this volume, it seems worthy to note that the connections between the articles are not limited to the five sections described below, which—though they certainly relate to the major new perspectives represented here—are only one way the twenty-one articles could have been grouped. While we hope that the index at the end of this volume facilitates and encourages the identification of such cross-connections, we wish to name a few significant ones at this point. Different forms of travelogues are studied in the articles by Köhler (part 1), Vlasta (part 1), Zhu (part 3), and Wagner (part 3); the imagological analysis of nonfictional genres is of relevance to Leerssen (part 1), Dukić (part 1), Horz (part 5), and Krahn (part 5); various types of visual representations from an eighteenth-century copper engraving to a caricature from 2016 are analysed by Dukić (part 1), Zhu (part 3), Hermann (part 5), Krahn (part 5), and Brandlechner (part 5); transnationality and transnational comparison is not restricted to articles in part 2 but feature in the contributions by Vlasta (part 1), Andersson (part 4), Drmić (part 4), and Krahn (part 5); an analysis of non-European, external perspectives on Europe or individual European countries can be found in the contributions by Zocco (part 2), Chovanec (part 3), Casalin (part 3), Zhu (part 3), and Drmić (part 4). Finally, the fact that the intersection of national images and stereotypes with other social categories—the main focus of part 4—is also addressed by Vlasta, Kállay, and Wagner, and touched upon by effectively all other articles, proves once again Leerssen's observation that "ethnotypes never function by themselves; they always work in conjunction with other frames, especially gender, age and class" (2016, 26).

This definitely incomplete list of possible cross-connections hopefully illustrates our attempt to strike a balance between old and new, global and local, inter- or even transdisciplinary and decidedly comparatist approaches. What follows is a description of the five sections that structure this volume

and that each identify a new perspective on imagology, which—so we hope—
might also prove fruitful for further research beyond this book.

6.1   *Part 1—Reconsidering the European Conception of Imagology and Its Peripheries: Methods, Genres, Theoretical Frames*

"In the haste to be abreast of current developments, we may ignore on-going
historical processes of image construction, negotiation and transfer if we were
to adopt the tandem wholesale and abandon the nation (state) as a signifi-
cant entity or factor in our inquiries" (Flynn, Leerssen, and Doorslaer 2015, 6).
What the editors of *Interconnecting Translation Studies and Imagology* say in
their introductory chapter about the study of the nation-state, is—in a more
general sense—also valid for the role that we see the traditional conception of
imagology taking in the context of our search for *new perspectives* to the field.
Despite "the attraction of the newer and more flexible ways of framing offered
by globalization" (ibid.), our volume starts with contributions that shed new
light on imagology's "oldest" topic and its best-established theoretical frames:
the European nation-state as represented in European literature. Since its con-
solidation by scholars such as Jean-Marie Carré and Marius-François Guyard in
the years after World War II, imagology has often been considered a European
field of research, primarily practiced by European scholars who—aiming to
bridge the destructive inner-European divisions and prejudices in the sense
of "Völkerverständigung" (Dyserinck [1966] 2015, 46)—focused on the literary
depictions of European nations and peoples in fictional writing of European
descent.

    An important step in the development of imagology as a—in contrast to
the national philologies—decidedly Europe-oriented field of study was Hugo
Dyserinck's Aachen program,[22] established in 1967 and also called "Europa-
forschung" by its founder. Dyserinck not only advocated the so-called *esprit
européen*, which is already present in Germaine de Staël's *De l'Allemagne* (1813),
as a leading concept for comparative research striving to overcome national
boundaries, but he also shaped imagology's methodology through the inclusion
of concepts such as the radical relativity of images and the opposition between
auto-image and hetero-image, as well as the overall aim of connecting intrinsic
textual and extrinsic contextual analysis. While—according to Dyserinck's dis-
ciple Leerssen—it is due to the "theoretical coherence" of Dyserinck's concept

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22   The history of the Aachen program is documented in Horst Schmidt's book *Das "Aachener
        Programm" der Komparatistik* (2018). The approaches formulated in the program have
        been further developed within European studies as practiced at the University of
        Amsterdam (Leerssen 2007, 25).

that the Aachen program remains "robust and workable, even a half-century after its formulation" (2016, 16), his definition of imagology as "Europaforschung" together with his idealistic belief that imagological research may eventually "lead to results from which all humankind may benefit" (Dyserinck [1992] 2015, 186)[23] has been harshly criticized. Despite Dyserinck's explicit remark that he does not wish his approach to be understood as Eurocentric (cf. ibid.), Perner formulates exactly this kind of critique: "Imagology is still far from having transcended its Eurocentric orientation and somehow proceeds on the assumption that a scholarly approach concentrating on Europe can still bring forth results that 'ultimately are valuable for humanity as a whole'" (2013, 32).

Although we find it paramount to be cautious whenever it comes to drawing any "worldwide" or universally valid conclusions based on exclusively Europe-centred research, we feel that there is much to gain for our project on *new perspectives on imagology* if we—aware of the geographical, historical, and disciplinary anchorings of this field of research—remain open to the fact that fruitful new perspectives can also be found in the near vicinity of the traditional conceptualization of imagology; meaning that peripheric, bordering, or previously not visible aspects close to the field's best-established objects, methods, and theoretical frames may deserve particular attention. While European peripheries in the geographical sense of the term are of major interest to several contributions placed throughout this volume (consider Josip Kešić's and Ivana Drmić's imagological perspectives on the South Slavic region, Kristína Kállay's on Slovakia, and Johanna Chovanec's on Turkey), the articles in this section relate to the notion of the periphery in a more theoretical or methodological sense. They are dedicated to both reconsidering and updating the European conception of imagology as most famously represented by the Aachen program, and hence—to phrase it as ambitiously as possible—might be said to provide a twenty-first-century conception of imagology that seeks to incorporate into this particular branch of comparative literature some of the major shifts that the discipline of comparative literature has recently faced as a whole; among them the growing interdisciplinarity, the study of genres beyond the three classic forms, the metatheoretical orientation, and the new interest in literary multilingualism. In this sense, the four articles collected in this

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23   Our translation. Original and complete quote (German): "So dürfen wir diesen *esprit européen* gleichzeitig als eine—im wesentlichen—Überwindung des nationalen Denkens (in allen seinen Dimensionen und Konsequenzen) verstehen; was zugleich auch bedeutet, daß wir zwar—mit Nachdruck—unsere Arbeit an innereuropäisch internationalen Erscheinungen und Problemen als eine auf Europa ausgerichtete Forschung betrachten, von der wir denken, daß ihre Ergebnisse letztlich für die ganze Menschheit von Nutzen sein können."

first section either question previously unquestioned theoretical assumptions belonging to the traditional basis of imagology or exhibit new ways of including genres and methods that did not qualify for imagological study as long as it remained limited to the analysis of "national" topoi or motifs in mostly canonical, fictional texts.

Although he already argued elsewhere that "narratives, both fictional and nonfictional, are a privileged discursive genre for the imagologist, since narrative is very fundamentally concerned with motivation (describing acts and behaviour as motivated by character)" (2016, 18), Joep Leerssen's article enters imagologically uncharted territory in that he exhibits an imagological analysis of political discourse, more concretely the discourse of international antagonistic and national self-positioning in European government circles in the decades around 1900. Arguing that historians often paid only passing attention to the intertextual aspects and the rhetorical or narrative techniques of such discourse due to a reductionist view of these texts as mere sources for uncovering "the facts behind the rhetoric" (see Leerssen in this volume, p. 55), he locates rich source material for imagology in diplomatic reports, national propaganda, and other "peripheric" genres of literary analysis.[24] He concludes that an adequate understanding of such sources requires techniques and knowledge from history and imagology alike, profiting from both the historian's insights into the political function and the imagologist's sensibility to the textual, intertextual, and contextual workings of such material.

Whereas Leerssen thus widens imagology's scope and sources while remaining faithful to a definition of imagology as "Europaforschung," Davor Dukić focuses his attention on one of the key notions of imagology, the term of the "image," which—as already criticized by Neumann and Blažević (see introduction, p. 10)—lacks a clear and consistent definition within the field. Dukić pushes this point even further as he—referring to axiology, the philosophical theory of value—invites us to reflect on how images, or—in his terms—representations of geocultural spaces, are by nature value-charged through the attributes ascribed to them, and how this is also true for imagology itself with its understanding of national images as essentially negative phenomena. For the exemplification of this point, which approaches the challenging terrain of "meta-imagology" (cf. our comments concerning

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24   An intriguing parallel reading to Leerssen's contribution in this volume is offered by
       Gitana Vanagaitė (2018) in her article about another genre of this kind, namely the cor-
       respondence between the representatives of the Holy See at the Apostolic Nunciature in
       Lithuania and the Vatican (1922–1939).

Dyserinck on p. 5), Dukić chooses two different imagological sources, one traditional and one unusual, as brief case studies. He combines an analysis of the depiction of European peoples in the *Leopold-Stich*—an eighteenth-century copper engraving similar to the *Völkertafel* (see p. 15)—with an investigation of how the same peoples or nations are described in the survey articles of Beller's and Leerssen's imagology handbook (2007a).

Unusual as well as traditional genres of imagological study—in her case connected through both their historic belonging to the period of English Romanticism and their thematic relation to the topic of Englishness—are also the focus of Ulrike Kristina Köhler's contribution, which investigates the political essay, the travelogue, the Gothic novel, and the ballad. Arguing that traditional conceptions of imagology are often limited to the analysis of explicit representations of nations and national characters, which leads them to neglect that generic elements without a national connotation can also contribute to generating a national image, Köhler outlines a production-oriented imagology that provides some of the missing theoretical framework and equips the imagological toolkit with concepts and terminology from cultural memory studies, reception theory, narratology, rhetoric, and text linguistics.

Whereas Köhler's article considers the travelogue as one of four genres in which a genre-specific image of Englishness is studied, Sandra Vlasta takes a fresh look at this "favourite genre" of imagology that further enriches imagology's toolkit with theoretical insights brought in from multilingualism, intertextuality, and the field of travel writing studies. Focusing on Charles Dickens and Karl Philipp Moritz as two examples of European travel writing, she pays particular attention to the processes of collective and individual identity formation, and—like Köhler—finds it paramount to link the analysis of such matters to the study of the "grammar" (Leerssen 2000, 271) or structural features of their articulation. Analysing how Dickens uses multilingualism and Moritz intertextuality for the negotiation of identity of self and other, Vlasta's contribution thus sheds new light on a genre whose extreme popularity in Europe of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was linked to both the formation of a social middle class and the formation of European national states and identities.

6.2   *Part 2—Imagology beyond and across the European Nation-State: Trans-/Postnational, Migratory, and Marginalized Perspectives*

While the articles in part 1 all pay tribute to imagology's traditional linkage to the European nation-state and nationalism at different points of history—be it the representation of European peoples in an oil painting preceding the

consolidation of most European nation-states, nineteenth-century European travel writing, or political discourse from the nationalistically incited decades before World War I—the articles in part 2 take into account that, as Leerssen recently stressed, "the nation-state is no longer the self-evident category it used to be" (2016, 28). This is not only due to the fact "that states and 'nation' or ethnicity almost never map congruently onto each other" (ibid.), but it is also connected to developments as different as transnational and transcontinental migration, globalization, and the formation of the European Union including the citizens' right of free movement and residence within the member states. For all these reasons, auto- and hetero-images of national character—so far the central object of imagology—can no longer be said to be the exclusive or even primary factor when it comes to a person defining their identity on grounds of ethnic or geographic (not) belonging. Rather, they are only one (though, as phenomena such as the 2016 outcome of the "Brexit" referendum and Boris Johnson's overwhelming majority in the 2019 elections show, for many people still a major one) factor of "territorial" belonging that cannot be viewed in isolation from other factors such as local, urban, regional, ethnic/"racial," cultural, linguistic, or "continental"[25] belonging.

Moreover, contemporary factors such as an enormous rise in global mobility, new possibilities of telecommunication, and what Leerssen describes as "the tribalization of society, both in terms of lifestyle groups and in terms of the multiculturalization of immigration societies" (2016, 28) have led to many people perceiving their countries of residence and/or origin as less important to their sense of cultural belonging. Although it can of course be argued that the category of the nation always required people to invent "an imagined political community" (Anderson [1983] 2016, 6)[26] based on some form of communion between oneself and one's mostly unknown fellow members, the heterogeneity

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25   For a (re)conceptualization of imagology as "Europaforschung" in the context of a world order that has become increasingly "multipolar," we think that the notion of a European identity as well as the study of the internal and external perceptions of Europe in a world that has seen attempts of "Provincializing Europe" (Chakrabarty 2000) deserves particular attention. Such research has been recently promoted by the newly founded "European Cultures in a Multipolar World" research centre based at the University of Konstanz. For further information, see https://www.litwiss.uni-konstanz.de/kulturen-europas/ [January 15, 2020].

26   Anderson explains his definition of the nation as an imagined community as follows: "It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the mind of each lives the image of their communion" ([1983] 2016, 6). Imagologists repeatedly refer to this concept, e.g. Franz K. Stanzel in *Europäer* (cf. ²1998, 9–12), Manfred Beller in *Eingebildete Nationalcharaktere* (cf. 2006, 46), or Kata Gyuris in her talk on "Imagined Communities and

of today's multiethnic, culturally diverse societies complicates this process. In particular, experiencing a sense of national belonging has become problematic for the growing group of people that perceive their identities as "hybrid," as split between different nationalities and ethnicities, and as characterized by frequent, voluntary and/or involuntary border crossings, which—as Aamir Mufti warns us in his acclaimed *Forget English!*—should not be interpreted as an expression of a now "borderless world" (2016, 7). They can rather be seen as a feature of a neoliberal reorganization of social space, in which every point "has become, for those who are visibly construed as aliens, a potential site of a border experience, while the ability to cross international borders continues to be distributed unequally among populations defined by class, race, ethnicity, religion, gender, or nationality and usually a shifting combination of these factors" (ibid., 7–8).

In the humanities, the literature of or about such "unhomely" lives of "extraterritorial and cross-cultural initiations" (Bhabha 1994, 9) currently receives much attention. Bhabha's suggestion that "transnational histories of migrants, the colonized, or political refugees—these border and frontier conditions—may be the terrains of world literature" (ibid., 12) is only one relatively early example of a new interest in *world literature* that—as Elke Sturm-Trigonakis puts it in *Comparative Cultural Studies and the New Weltliteratur*[27]—intends to study postethnic, transnational literary writing produced "under conditions of globalization" (2013, 11). Undoubtedly, such transnational literature, which frequently uses forms of "global comparison" (Walkowitz 2009, 536) or "multidirectional memory" (Rothberg 2009) as formal or thematic devices, is of major interest to the field of imagology. In this sense, Zrinka Blažević claims that—given the "integration of globalization processes into localized systems" (2014, 356)—"it is more than obvious that imagology is nowadays faced with the,

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National Stereotypes in Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's *Americanah*" at our conference (cf. the conference podcast: Grillmayr 2018, 24:10–25:50 min).

27   *Comparative Cultural Studies and the New Weltliteratur* is the revised and translated version of the German *Global playing in der Literatur. Ein Versuch über die neue Weltliteratur* (2007). In this acclaimed book, Elke Sturm-Trigonakis proposes to study "transnational literature" as a form of "New Weltliteratur." With this concept, she seeks to avoid the marginalization inherent in terms such as "minority literature," "(im)migration literature," or "commonwealth literature," which continue to refer to the category of the nation as standard and, therefore, are not able to fully address the complexity of such texts. As Sturm-Trigonakis puts it in the introduction to the English version: "The inter- and multicultural and multilingual complexity of such texts is not taken into account, because they are measured against a monocultural and monolingual system. Such literary texts are differentiated, specified, and divided, and what is missing is the comparative synthesis on both the levels of the text and the metalevel" (2013, 10).

literally, global challenge" (ibid.). Slobodan Vladušić proposes that imagology should turn its attention to the global city, which transcends national state borders and—although often the capital of a nation—"ceases to be a synecdoche of the nation or a state and turns into a stitch in the net of the transnational urban system" (2012, 177). Similarly, Leerssen describes the multiethnicity of modern cities as presenting "especially intriguing research questions and topics" (2016, 28), and additionally points to the "postnational" character in the current discourse of xenophobia, which not only links foreignness to nonethnic categories such as religion, but also tends to depict foreigners as "no longer specifically characterized by country or origin, but as a mobile, non-territorial 'swarm'" (ibid.).

Inspired by Vladušić's and Leerssen's claim for an "urban imagology" (Vladušić 2012, 176) interested in the transnational, multiethnic character of the global metropolis, Gianna Zocco takes a literary look at Berlin at the time of German reunification. While the fall of the Berlin Wall and its literary representations have often been characterized as a (white) German affair connected to questions of German identity, Zocco analyses the literary depiction of this historic event in two novels written from a non-German and/or migratory perspective. She studies the Turkish-German writer Yadé Kara's *Selam Berlin* (2003) and the African American Paul Beatty's *Slumberland* (2008), two works which—despite their different contexts—share an interest in comparing Berlin's division into East and West with their protagonists' respective experiences as a Turkish-German struggling with his hybrid identity and an African American living behind the "colour line."

Questions of hybrid identity in the context of literature produced by authors with migratory, bi-/transnational backgrounds—Turkish-German, Syrian-German, Franco-Moroccan, Italian-Algerian, Italian-Somali, and German-Japanese—are also considered in Manfred Beller's contribution, which investigates the role of nationalist discourse in so-called "migration literature." Analysing literary images and metaphors shared by his literary examples from the late twentieth and the early twenty-first centuries, Beller finds nationalist arguments and keywords such as "nation" or "people" occupying a relatively marginal role, whereas images and metaphors of the migrant's everyday life largely prevail. Referring to theoretical insights from Edward Said, Homi Bhabha, and Salman Rushdie, Beller concludes by distinguishing two perspectives central to most of the literary texts: that of an "in-between" and that of a "Third Space."

Whereas Zocco's and Beller's contributions consider the perspectives of writers (and their literary protagonists) marginalized due to their not-(exclusively)-European, migratory, and/or racial/ethnic backgrounds, Josip Kešić takes us to two cases of intra-European marginalization and othering.

Following up on Leerssen's claim that Europe-oriented "imagology is now especially promising in the North, the South-East and the South-West" and that "one of the great challenges would be to bring these areas into mutual contact" (2016, 27), he analyses the cases of Spain and the South Slavic region, which have both been perceived as parts of a culturally backward European "periphery" by Western Europeans. Using paradigmatic examples linked to Prosper Mérimée—known as not only the author of the novella *Carmen*, model of George Bizet's famous opera, but also of an earlier book about the South Slavic region—Kešić takes into account both hetero-images from the Western European centre and meta-images from the peripheries, and concludes by asserting the pronounced *transnationality* of national characterizations.

6.3 Part 3—Of Orient/Occident and Other Geopolitical Dichotomies: Imagology and Its Systems of Cultural Mappings

What Kešić in the concluding article of the previous section describes as the "periphery problem" (p. 163 in this volume), namely the structural similarities in the Western European depiction of Europe's southwestern (e.g. Spain) and southeastern (e.g. the South Slavic region) peripheries,[28] is a transnational dynamics that can be found both within Europe (or even within a single nation; think of Italy's division between *Italia settentrionale* and *Italia meridionale*, the German West/East dichotomy, or Austria's "Kanton übrig"[29] Vorarlberg), as well as in transcontinental or global contexts. While the study of inner-European dichotomies has been the core subject of post-World War II imagology, postcolonial studies as initiated and developed by Frantz Fanon, Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak, Homi Bhabha, Chandra Talpade Mohanty, and—more recently—Aamir Mufti has increased our attention to the global "system of cultural mapping" (Mufti 2016, 20) called Orientalism and its invention of the "Orient" as "one of the deepest and most recurring images of the Other" (Said [1978] 2003, 1).

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28 For an imagological analysis of Europe's northwestern (e.g. Scotland) and northeastern (e.g. Lithuania) parts that resonates with the "periphery problem," see Okulicz-Kozaryn (2018).

29 The term "Kanton übrig" implies that Vorarlberg, the westernmost province of Austria, is the "leftover" or "unwanted" canton of Switzerland. In 1919 an absolute majority of the inhabitants (> 80 percent) of Vorarlberg voted in a referendum to join Switzerland (see Abplanalp 2019). Although this separation was never implemented, to this day there is not only a geographical (the mountain "Arlberg") and linguistic border (the Alemannic as opposed to the Bavarian language area) between the far west and the rest of Austria, but also a cultural one.

With the added significance and institutionalization of postcolonial studies in the Western and Central European "home countries" of imagology, it has become relatively common for imagologists to note the methodological and thematic similarity between the two fields. In this sense, Dukić characterizes imagology as "this dominantly European and less assertive sister of postcolonial studies" (2012b, 15), while Beller describes "the exotistic, colonial, and—by inversion of perspective—postcolonial literature" as "imagology's expanded fields of work" (2013, 98).[30] Although the expressions of interest in an "epistemological coupling of imagology with Postcolonial Studies" (Blažević 2014, 355) are various, the actual efforts of combining the two fields have been relatively rare: While Jean-Marc Moura is perhaps the earliest case of an imagologist with profound interest in "the economically-grounded and controversial concept of the 'third world'" (Kapor 2011, 404),[31] Beller and Leerssen's imagology survey (2007a) attempts to stimulate further research in this direction by including entries on (post)colonial terms such as "exoticism," "Orientalism," and "primitivism." Published several years after Beller and Leerssen's survey, the volumes *Imagologie heute* (Dukić 2012a) and *History as a Foreign Country* (Blažević, Brković, and Dukić 2015) contain various articles pursuing such a linkage, among them those by Clemens Ruthner and Wolfgang Müller-Funk, who are both interested in enriching the theoretical conception of the imagological key term of the stereotype.

While Müller-Funk proposes to conceive stereotypes informed by theoretical insights from cultural studies, thereby understanding them "as symbolic structures, as Freudian slips between unconsciousness and intention" (2012, 163),[32] Ruthner redefines stereotypes in a way consistent with Said's conception of the *repressive* and Bhabha's notion of the *subversive* power of this concept (2012, 153). More recently, Ruthner (2014, 2018) continued his efforts to link imagology and postcolonial studies by using postcolonial concepts such

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30   Our translation. Original quote (German): "Die exotistische, die koloniale und, mit Umkehrung der Perspektive, die postkoloniale Literatur bilden die erweiterten Arbeitsgebiete der Imagologie."

31   Already in 1992, Moura published his book *L'Image du tiers-monde dans le roman français contemporain* (1992), followed by (among others) *La Littérature des lointains* (1998) and *Littératures francophones et théorie postcoloniale* (1999).

32   Our translation. Original and complete quote (German): "Bhabha und Ruthner folgend, möchte ich vorschlagen, Stereotype nicht so sehr als Fehlbeschreibungen des Fremden oder auch als Selbstbeschreibungen zu begreifen, sondern sie vielmehr als symbolische Formatierungen, als Fehlleistungen im Zwischenbereich von Unbewusstheit und Intention zu verstehen, die, verdeckt und oft auch nicht bewusst, das jeweilige *Verhältnis* zu einer anderen fremden Kultur beschreiben."

as *othering* and *writing back* for the examination of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the last "quasi-colonial" expansion of the officially not colonially engaged Habsburg monarchy in the southeastern direction. He proposes to view this European periphery as Habsburg's "substitute for that shortcoming or belatedness in the international race of European colonialism"[33] (Ruthner 2018, 18), and undertakes an analysis of how such "colonial fantasies" are articulated in literary texts and other sources of Habsburgian culture.

Informed by methodological insights from both imagology and postcolonial theory, the articles in this section share an interest in how the opposition of Self and Other produces an "imaginative geography of the 'our land-barbarian land' variety" (Said [1978] 2003, 54) that—in different times and contexts—tends to be articulated by geopolitical dichotomies as different as West/East, North/South, centre/periphery, empire/colony, or even human/nonhuman.[34] They look at national/ethnic/territorial auto- and hetero-images as literary devices related to different systems of (post)colonial power, as well as to complex processes of identity formation and othering. Consistent with Said's endeavour to expand his argument in *Orientalism*, which was limited to the Middle East, "to describe a more general pattern of relationships between the modern metropolitan West and its overseas territories" (1993, xi) in *Culture and Imperialism*, they analyse Western writing on further continents and nations "as part of the general European effort to rule distant lands and peoples" (ibid.); investigate the systems of cultural mapping in literary texts of non-European origin; and—similar to Ruthner's interest in Habsburg's "dark continent"—share a particular sensibility to what Kristína Kállay calls the "gray area" (p. 243 in this volume) of colonial relationships, namely those complex constellations of Western European power and influence in countries as different as China or

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33 Our translation. Original and complete quote (German): "Aber ist nicht seine letzte territoriale Erweiterung nach Südosten hin (Bosnien-Herzegowina 1878/1908) nicht auch als Ersatzhandlung für jenes Zukurz- bzw. Zuspätkommen im internationalen Wettlauf des europäischen Kolonialismus zu verstehen […]?"

34 This last dichotomy, although relegated to the background in this volume, was a prominent theme at the "New Perspectives on Imagology" conference. The tension between human/nonhuman was not only addressed in the literary reading by Doron Rabinovici (*Die Außerirdischen*, 2017) but also in the last two lectures by Christine Ivanovic and Aleksandr Sautkin/Elena Philippova. While Ivanovic, in her talk on "The Image of the Animal in Beast Fables," showed how imagological approaches can contribute to an analysis of the distinction between human and nonhuman animals, Sautkin and Philippova discussed the "superhuman" development of the characters in late Soviet science fiction. For further information see the abstracts of the speakers on the conference website: https://web.archive.org/web/20201017094151/https://imagology2018.univie.ac.at/abstracts/ [October 17, 2020].

Slovakia, whose status needs to be understood beyond the dichotomy of either colony or colonizer.

Part 3 starts with Johanna Chovanec's article on Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, a Turkish writer who uses images of the European Other in his search for a Turkish identity. What makes this writer and his novel *Huzur* (1948; trans. *A Mind at Peace*, 2007) particularly interesting is Tanpınar's way of challenging the rhetoric of early Turkish nationalism by proposing a synthesis that links his Turkish present both with the melancholically evoked Ottoman past and with European cultures.

From these often contradicting conceptions of Self and Other at the traditional East-West crossroads Federica Casalin takes us to the Far East with an article that uses archival material to investigate how interlingual and intralingual transfers contributed to changing China's conviction of being "Everything under Heaven" in the course of the nineteenth century. Whereas China traditionally considered the outside world as populated by "barbarians," the civilized/barbarian dichotomy was gradually replaced by that of self/foreigners. A crucial role in China's awareness of a new globality has to be ascribed to the *World Geography* (1844) published by the Protestant missionary Karl F.A. Gützlaff, through which ethnotypes about European peoples were transmitted to China, where they were perceived, altered, or perpetuated.

While Casalin's article covers sources up until 1849, Zhu Wenjun takes a look at the premodern Cantonese painter Li Danlin, who—after traveling around the world in the years around 1900—composed two volumes of *The Travel Journal and Pictures*, a travelogue that sheds further light on the system of cultural mapping from a Sinocentric perspective. Referring to theories by Daniel-Henri Pageaux and Jean-Marc Moura, Zhu understands Li's depiction of exoticism and alterity as following the tradition entailed from the ancient Chinese painting book *The Classic of Mountains and Seas*. Noting a dual way of relating to cultural otherness—the detailed and stereotyped description of people in undeveloped areas contrasts with the brief and fallacious depiction of the Western world—she reads Li's travelogue as a nostalgic example of the Sinocentric pattern of stereotyping that needs to be viewed in the context of a semicolonized China.

That cultural otherness as a form of difference within our species is sometimes articulated by way of *animalizing* other humans (Borkfelt 2011, 138) is an insight of relevance to the subsequent article by Kristína Kállay. She invites us to take a look at Jozef Cíger-Hronský's classic *Smelý Zajko v Afrike* (1931, The Brave Rabbit in Africa), a colonial-themed classic of Slovak children's literature. Although Slovakia has never been part of a colonial enterprise, the

book's depiction of a married couple of anthropomorphous rabbits and their (colonial-style) journey to Africa shows particularities of colonial discourses located outside the Saidian West–East paradigm, and can thus be interpreted as a means of imagining Slovak national identity as belonging to the modern, "civilized" world.

The final article of this section by Walter Wagner takes us from the Africa journeys of two Slovakian rabbits to the journeys of a French and an Austrian writer to Egypt and thus also back to a geographic space located within the more traditional Orient/Occident dichotomy of European literature. In his comparison of Gustave Flaubert's *Voyage en Égypte* and Ingeborg Bachmann's *Das Buch Franza*, Wagner shows that the same area, Egypt, is utilized in different ways. Whereas Flaubert resorts to stereotypical representations of the colonial Orient to posit white superiority, Bachmann—writing in the age of postcolonialism—inverts the traditional Orient/Occident dichotomy. According to Wagner, however, the insistence of her characters on white and male inferiority causes just another stereotypization of race and gender.

6.4   Part 4—Intersectional Approaches to Imagology: The Multiple Entanglements of Ethnotypes

The Frenchman Gustave Flaubert's unreflected position of "white superiority" in his sexist as well as racist narrative of Egypt (cf. Wagner in this volume) is rooted in the consolidation of nation-states in nineteenth-century Europe. This process necessitated a common national identity, embodied by the ideal citizen who was perceived as "a white heterosexual man, symbolized by such figures as the soldier, the worker, the independent public figure (politician or writer)" (Verstraete 2007, 330). However, the *Völkertafel* illustrates that "white superiority," although more purposefully instrumentalized by nationalists, was by no means their invention. Depicting ten elegantly dressed white men as representatives of their European peoples, it can be regarded as an early prenational example for the perception of ethnic identity as gendered, racialized, and classed.

These identity markers are sometimes referred to as the trinity of intersectionality, a concept deeply rooted in Black feminism that helps to understand and to analyse overlapping or intersecting social identities and related systems of oppression, domination, or discrimination like gender, race, and class, but also ethnicity, sex, age, religion, and so forth (cf. Hill Collins and Bilge 2016, 2). Although the term intersectionality was coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989, its origins can be traced back to African American activists like Sojourner Truth or Anna Julia Cooper who had pointed out long before that women of colour

in the US were "confronted by both a woman question and a race problem" (Cooper [1892] 1988, 134; see also Truth [1851] 1997). As these pioneers can be described as intersectional feminists *avant la lettre*, Black feminist critics and their analyses of stereotypes and images of both women of colour (cf. Christian [1975] 1985; Carby [1987] 1990, esp. chap. 2) and the category of "whiteness" in literature (cf. hooks 1992; Morrison 1992) may be considered forerunners of an, albeit undeclared, intersectional imagology.

More recently, however, imagologists have also referred directly to intersectional theory.[35] After Franz K. Stanzel (cf. ²1998, 99–103) had already supplemented his imagological essay on Europeans with a brief but noteworthy digression on the national character of women, Manfred Beller and Joep Leerssen (2007a) included categories such as gender and race in their critical survey on imagology. In her entry on gender, Ginette Verstraete claims that "[s]tudying national images from the perspective of gender, while regarding gender also in relation to colour, religion, sexual orientation and so on, enables us to complicate stereotypes and see alliances where many prefer to see simplistic oppositions" (2007, 331). In a similar way, although preferring to speak of interdisciplinary research on stereotypes rather than of imagology, Perner argues that "[l]iterary research can only profit from tearing down artificial divides and considering national and cultural stereotypes side-by-side with stereotypes of class, gender, and age" (2013, 41). Accordingly, it was only consequent for Leerssen to explicitly designate these "new, 'intersectional' notions of identity formation" (2016, 13) as a major future challenge for imagology a few years later. Similarly, Blažević advocates examining images as "manifestations of Otherness alongside social, cultural, religious, confessional, civilizational, generational, and gender lines" (2018, 31).

It is surprising that despite these repeated efforts to encourage an intersectional approach to imagology, only few scholars[36] have implemented frames

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35   This increased interest in intersectional theory also applies to other areas of literary studies, such as narratology (cf. Bach 2014; Klein and Schnicke 2014) or world literary studies (cf. Folie 2019).

36   While researching possible overlaps between imagology and intersectional theory, we came across the following notable case studies: Ruth Florack's "'Weiber sind wie Franzosen geborene Weltleute.' Zur Verschränkung von Geschlechter-Klischees und nationalen Wahrnehmungsmustern" (2000, "Women like Frenchmen are Born Sophisticates": On the Linkage Between Gender Clichés and National Patterns of Perception), Gudrun Loster-Schneider's "'Die Ordnung der Dinge ist inzwischen durch keine übergeschäftige Hand gestört worden.' Zur Interaktion von National- und Geschlechterstereotypen in Theodor Fontanes *Kriegsgefangen*" (2000, "Meanwhile the Order of Things Has Not Been Disturbed by an Overly Busy Hand": On the Interaction of National and Gender Stereotypes in Theodor Fontane's *Experiences as a Prisoner of War*), and Claudia Seeling's *Zur*

other than nation, culture, and/or ethnicity so far. However, the fact that the connection between national and gender stereotypes constitutes a separate section in *Imagology Profiles* (Laurušaitė 2018a), one of the most recent and comprehensive edited volumes in the field, can be regarded as a further indication of an *intersectional turn* in imagology. Both contributors to that section titled "Gender Identity as an Imagological Resource" share the view that gender images are discursively produced just like national characters, and that notions of how women and men should be are deeply rooted in the (sub) consciousness of a nation. While in her close reading of Nick Hornby's novel *About a Boy* (1998) Margarita Malykhina analyses socially and culturally constructed images of masculinity in analogy to national images, Natalia Isaieva's article on *The Feathered Serpent* (1998) by Xu Xiaobin addresses the connection and intersection of nationality and femininity in contemporary Chinese literature by women. Whereas these articles, and an intersectionally motivated imagology in general, mostly focus on the mutual influence of national and gender discourses, there are also some seminal contributions that expand the connection between imagology and intersectionality either by more inclusive approaches that go beyond the nation-gender duality (cf. Hogen 2008; Smith and Nalbone 2017) or by theoretical examinations of the links between categories, stereotypes, images, and intersectionality (cf. Thiele 2017).

Part 4 starts with this theoretical strand of intersectional imagology, namely with Martina Thiele who explores the relationship between elementary social cognitive processes such as categorization and stereotyping. She shows that the existing variety of categories and stereotypes can be better understood by studying their multifarious interlinkages. These insights from an intercultural communication perspective prove highly relevant to imagology because images in the imagological sense of the word, as Verstraete (2007), Perner (2013), Leerssen (2016), and Blažević (2018) argued, are usually composed of one or more stereotypes intersecting with each other.

Maria Weilandt considers nationality, the most traditional analytical category of imagology, itself as an interdependent construct that is always already

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Interdependenz von Gender- und Nationaldiskurs bei Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach (2008, On the Interdependence of Gender and National Discourse in the Works of Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach). Furthermore, in 2013, two book-length imagological studies with an intersectional orientation were published. Helena Miguélez-Carballeira examines in *Galicia, a Sentimental Nation* how national discourses in Galicia have been affected by questions of gender and sexual orientation, whereas Stefanie Bock presents *Grundzüge einer gender-orientierten Imagologie* (Outlines of a Gender-Oriented Imagology) by an exemplary analysis of German stereotypes in selected works of Anglophone women writers between 1890 and 1918.

composed by notions of gender, sexuality, class, religion, age, ability, and other identity-forming categories. She demonstrates her theoretical proposition by analysing Honoré de Balzac's *Illusions perdues* (1843) and Henry James's *The American* (1877), in which the stereotype of the *Parisienne* is formed on the basis of a specific French nationality that is essentially white, heterosexual, abled, young or middle-aged, and cis female.

In her comparison of a classic English *bildungsroman* and an US-American plantation novel, Karin Andersson expands the hitherto European frame of intersectional imagology. She claims that the "mad woman in the attic" trope, which most prominently features in Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (1847), is—almost in the style of a *traveling image*—adapted by the proslavery writer Caroline Lee Hentz. In her novel *The Planter's Northern Bride* (1854) the Italian character Claudia bears similarities with Brontë's Caribbean "mad woman" Bertha as well as with a Jezebel, both female stereotypes at the intersection of gender, sexuality, and ethnicity/race.

Ivana Drmić's contribution is also concerned with a transatlantic comparison, namely between two rather different films—one a Bosnian, the other a Hollywood production—which both deal with acts of sexual violence in the Bosnian War (1992–1995). By comparing Jasmila Žbanić's *Grbavica* (2006) with Angelina Jolie's *In the Land of Blood and Honey* (2011), Drmić shows that both directors, albeit with the best of—feminist—intentions, fell into the trap of stereotyping and victimizing Bosnian women and, moreover, Bosnia and "the Balkans."

6.5   *Part 5—Imagology Intermedial: Beyond the Literary Text*

As Drmić's contribution in the preceding section shows, literary texts—imagology's primary source of investigation—are not the only medium where imagotypical representations can be found. Narrative forms, "both fictional and nonfictional, are a privileged discursive genre for the imagologist" (Leerssen 2016, 18), and are "nowadays […] no longer exclusively located in genres like the novel, but also in film, TV serials, graphic novels and other such media" (ibid., 23). Nevertheless, those "extraliterary" genres "in spite of the *cultural turn*, have been considerably less in the focus of attention" (Dukić 2012b, 14). Going "beyond the literary text" can thus lead to a richer understanding of national images thereby mirroring the aspiration "to carefully consider the material, semiotic, and corporeal aspects of cultural imagery generated through various media of the contemporary information society" (Blažević 2014, 361). Birgit Neumann explains that genre- and media-specific processes allow for a distinctive and effective production of auto- and hetero-images (cf. 2009, 11). Comparing national images/stereotypes across the borders of genre

is based on the assumption that they are shaped and reshaped in different areas of art.

The first medium represented in this section are comics as a form of visual narratives[37] which are "closely related to cinema, a parallel and equally old (or young) medium" (Hölter 2007, 306). Comics are composed of picture and text, which makes them a valuable source of visual representations of ethnotypes. As Achim Hölter notes, "their visual technique is often one of simplification, so that ethnic attributes […] are predominantly exposed by the means of drawing and colour" (2007, 307). Whereas literature "produces" certain images in the reader's imagination, the immediacy of visual narratives can be classified as a unique feature of comics and an ideal basis for imagological research.

The second medium this section focuses on is music, which has already been recognized as important "for the expression and dissemination of nationalist ideals" (Leerssen 2014, 606). The illuminating and diverse exchange between literature and music is traditionally analysed with regard to their intermedial adaptation, intertextual references, and historical impact. Johann Gottfried Herder with his *Volkslieder* (1778/1779) is known as one of the earliest anthologists of folk songs—although his definition of *Volkslied* is not congruent with its contemporary notion. Another example dates back to the early nineteenth century when Clemens Brentano and Ludwig Achim von Arnim presented a seminal collection of German folk songs titled *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (1805–1808) that Leerssen describes as "foundational text for the Heidelberg Romantic school" (2018b). Both anthologies can be seen as revealing sources of traditional and patriotic images transmitted by music—especially from an intermedial imagological point of view. Leerssen, who has already done a significant amount of research on the intersection between musical romanticism and romantic nationalism (Leerssen 2014, 2018b), emphasizes the imagological relevance of music—a fact which needs to be seen in contrast to "music stereotypically enjoy[ing] the proverbial status of being the most abstract, least significance-anchored form of art" (2014, 606).

Taking this into consideration, this fifth section pursues two forms of intermedial imagology which have turned out as media-specific: imagological representations as fundamental and—in a literal sense—visible parts of visual

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37   The edited volumes *Imagology Today* (Dukić 2012) and *History as a Foreign Country* (Blažević, Brković, and Dukić 2014) already include imagological case studies which are dedicated to the research of visual materials (painting, photography, and/or film). Furthermore, the *Encyclopedia of Romantic Nationalism* (Leerssen 2018b) takes various media like music, visual arts, or monuments into account.

narratives[38] on the one hand, and as equally essential but less obvious components of music on the other. For the purposes of this volume, such a limitation to two forms of intermedial imagology seemed most feasible. Nevertheless, we find Neumann's request for an overall "intermedial restructuring of imagology" (2009, 12) quite comprehensive, and think that imagology could further profit from its conjunction with other media than those analysed here.[39] While the implementation of such an idea needs to remain a future endeavour, this section assembles five individual contributions that offer intermedial imagological approaches to concrete examples of national images and stereotypes.

This last section starts with Christine Hermann's article which is based on the observation that Flemish comics have largely been ignored as subjects of detailed studies regarding the stereotypes they convey (in contrast to e.g. Franco-Belgian comics). Her contribution focuses on three albums of the Flemish comic series *Suske en Wiske*, whose heroes travel to a fictitious Eastern Bloc country, Japan, and China. She examines how both the auto- and hetero-images are presented—visually, textually, and as significant part of the plot—which leads to an important insight: in the early album (1945) ethnotypes are perpetuated, whereas in the later ones (1984, 2008) they are rather undermined. As a whole this opening article of part 5 demonstrates how the reproduction of stereotypes and clichés can change over time—and even within a single comic series.

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38   Analysing premodern Cantonese painter Li Danlin's travelogue *The Travel Journal and Pictures*, Zhu Wenjun's article in this volume (part 3, chapter 10) also deals with intermedial aspects of imagological research. Next to her analysis of the literary text, Zhu closely investigates the clichés and stereotypes that are depicted in the accompanying drawings and maps. She ultimately links the explicitly Chinese form of line drawing and landscape painting, which show no traces of Western influence, to the Sinocentric content of Li's travelogue.

39   One particularly promising—and to our knowledge not yet imagologically researched—medium is video games. They (re)produce "social, political and cultural meanings" (Ensslin 2012, 35) and "still frequently resort to simplistic, ideologized and stereotypical portrayals of characters as well as virtual environments" (Trattner 2016, 24). Accordingly, they are "far from neutral" (Everett 2005, 323) with regard to culture, ethnicity, gender, race, or religious beliefs. In Blizzard's real-time strategy game *Starcraft*, to name just one very obvious example, the player can pick one of three "races": Terrans (human-like), Protoss (alien-like), or Zergs (insect-like), who, though none of them is better or easier to learn than the other, have inherently different characters. Since this volume does not cover video games, we want to at least refer to two recent and very inspiring studies that also cover imagological topics: While Kathrin Trattner in "Religion, Games, and Otherings: An Intersectional Approach" (2016) analyses representations of Islam and the Middle East in contemporary military shoot-'em-ups, Martin Roth in *Thought-Provoking Play: Political Philosophies in Science Fictional Videogame Spaces from Japan* (2018) touches upon the implicit and explicit nationalism in Japanese video games.

The title of Daniel Brandlechner's article contains the hashtag #JeSuisAmatrice,[40] which refers to an earthquake in central Italy (Amatrice) in 2016 and to a controversial caricature published in the French satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo* titled "Lasagnes," which depicts two wounded Italians standing alongside a pile of rubble and corpses. By analysing the caricature's text, intertext, and context while drawing on imagology and geopoetics, Brandlechner shows how earthquakes are linked to Italian cultural stereotypes and national identity. Although Italy experiences the highest number of earthquakes in Europe, the cultural or national identity of "the Italians" has never been defined by its "landscape of wounds" (Iovino 2016). Given the fact that the dispute following the publication of the caricature took place primarily via various social media channels, this second article confirms the major role of the internet when it comes to current imagological questions.

Moving on from visual narratives to music, Renée Vulto considers songs as effective instruments to strengthen the formation of collective identities. Her article focuses on eighteenth-century Dutch songwriters who in their striving for national unity were willing to emphasize nationalist ideas through their art. Political songs from that period employ several tropes, and the music often reinforces nationalistic images through musical imagery and intertextual references. Taking into account cognitive theories and making use of their specific vocabulary to describe the effects of singing, Vulto expands the imagological approach to musical imagery and shows how the imagined identities voiced in the songs become embodied in this performative act.

Following this interdisciplinary approach, Andrea Horz focuses on operatic debates in Germany during the 1770s and, more specifically, on one of the key figures in these debates, the composer Christoph Willibald Gluck, who aimed to reform French and Italian opera. Notions of nationality were not only a controversial issue but present at all levels of this multimedia genre: music and text as well as composers and actors. Based on the observation that aesthetic discussions were generally linked to the concept of nationality—in this case particularly national taste in music—Horz investigates various connections between nation and music while highlighting the specific functions of national categories within the German operatic discourse at the end of the eighteenth century.

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40   The hashtag already refers to a medium that might be of increasing interest to imagologists: the microblogging platform Twitter. Snefjella, Schmidtke, and Kuperman (2008), for example, analysed forty million tweets in order to prove that the linguistic behaviour of Canadians and Americans mirrors national character stereotypes. More recently, there has been a growing scholarly debate about Twitter as a medium and so-called "Twitterature" as a genre of special interest to literary scholars. See, for example, Groß and Hamel (2020); Kreuzmair and Pflock (2020); Schulze (2020).

An anecdote of musical history that occurred only a few decades later is examined by Carolin Krahn who concludes the last section of this volume with her analysis of the fragment "Aus dem Leben eines Tonkünstlers" by Johann Friedrich Rochlitz. Analysing this document, which belongs to the most popular sources of German music historiography around 1800, Krahn observes "blurring stereotypes" at the crossroads of German and Italian musical identities, and shows how the idea of "Italian music" serves as a projection screen for stereotypical tropes. Offering a transnational perspective on the reception of this author, she provides important insights into the processes leading to the establishment and reinforcement of images of national character—in this case through their fictional depiction in music. Concurrently, her contribution responds to Leerssen's plea for the study of characters as triggers of nationally informed doxa and demonstrates how imagology and music history can mutually benefit from each other.

We hope that it has become clear how the twenty-one articles collected in this volume relate to some of the blind spots, promising connections, uncharted territories, and—to once again be deliberately blunt about it—*our* initially subjective but collaboratively widened perspectives outlined in the earlier and more general parts of this introduction. Obviously, none of what is said here—neither in the introduction nor in the following contributions—is final. Imagology, in both its theoretical conceptualization and practical implementation, is in need of, and at the same time shows high potential for, further change, adaptation, reconceptualization, and application. If this introduction—and this volume as a whole—has been able to identify and commence some of the most promising routes of a possibly "global," interdisciplinary, intersectional, and intermedial future imagology, and if some of our readers will feel inspired to follow these traces or identify new ones, the aims we initially had on that summer afternoon on the rooftop terrace in Vienna would not just be fulfilled but definitely surpassed.

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PART 1

Reconsidering the European Conception of Imagology and Its Peripheries: Methods, Genres, Theoretical Frames

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Enmity, Identity, Discourse: Imagology and the State

Joep Leerssen

Abstract

Imagological analysis can be fruitfully applied to political discourse, most importantly the discourse of international antagonism and national self-positioning used in government decision-making circles. Historians studying that discourse have tended to see its rhetoric of national characterization merely as a distracting accompaniment to actual, factually driven policies and developments. This, it is argued here, questionably presupposes that those policies were never driven by anything but cerebral reasons of state (such as these are seen by latter-day historians); it makes us unduly heedless of an important historical corpus throwing light on the force of emotive and national prejudice in policymaking.

Keywords

1 The Discourse of Enmity

The decades around 1900 saw one of the most momentous turnarounds in European international relations: Britain moved from a close, albeit nonformalized sympathetic relationship with Germany toward an *entente cordiale* with France. In 1815 at Waterloo, Wellington and Blücher had faced a French imperial enemy together. In 1914 at Ypres, Haig and D'Urbal faced a German imperial enemy together.

Such realignments are not performed swiftly or fluidly, but only under the massive force of tectonic power shifts and accompanied by the loud groans of a public opinion that reverses its long-accustomed sympathies and antipathies. The transmutation of Germany and England in each other's eyes from

family to foe remains a problem area of abiding interest, even decades after Paul Kennedy's 1980 benchmark *The Anglo-German Antagonism, 1860–1914* (witness the more recent study by Richard Scully, *British Images of Germany* (2012)).

Diplomatic historians and historians of international relations continue to work in that field and produce a steady flow of publications on the run-up to 1914; this is partly due to the lasting bewilderment of how Europe, after decades of peace, could so suddenly and recklessly throw itself (or else "sleepwalk") into a world war. Fresh research is also periodically occasioned by commemorations, such as the centenary events in 2014, or the continuing aftershocks of Fritz Fischer's *Griff nach der Weltmacht: Die Kriegszielpolitik des kaiserlichen Deutschland 1914/18* of 1961, which itself had its anniversary noted in 2011.

Fischer's book came as a massive challenge to the German post-1945 historiographical consensus that Germany had entered the war largely on a defensive agenda, aiding its ally Austria and trying to prevent a stifling encirclement by the Triple Entente. Fischer argued instead that expansionist imperialism had been formative in German political thinking for decades prior to 1914 and that it was no less formative in Germany's preconceived war aims. Having risen to the status of a major European power through the Bismarck-plotted wars of 1864–1871, Germany now wanted to take its place as a world power by crushing its Continental rivals and forcing Britain to accede to its colonial ambitions. German historians who were reluctant to adopt Fischer's unflattering account argued that such triumphalist, annexationist-hegemonic war aims as were bruited about were specious: only formulated *ad hoc* in the heady days when victory seemed assured, by the more volatile segments of Germany's government and public opinion, and thus unrepresentative of actual state policy.

The historiographical debate is thus dominated by the relentless vexed question as to the true nature of the German war aims, *wie sie eigentlich gewesen.* That question is probably unanswerable, since these war aims shifted with the rising and falling fortunes of the war itself, were subject to mixed feelings and semiconscious ulterior motives, and were contested by differing elements within Germany's army command, government, and public opinion; with at the apex of all this the notoriously vacillating and hysterically self-contradictory personality of the kaiser himself.

More problematically, though perhaps unavoidably, the debate around the German war aims perpetuates a very similar debate within the archival record and the primary documentation—and what is worse, historians rarely seem to acknowledge the extent to which their research questions recycle the propaganda debates of 1914–1915.

In the intense propaganda and crisscrossing accusations that accompanied the armed hostilities,[1] the German war aims were already one of the central bones of contention. The invasion of neutral Belgian territory in a pre-emptive strike at France was indignantly pointed out by Britain, France, and Belgium itself as a sign of Germany's aggressive perfidy; Germany's self-justification was that once the Sarajevo assassination had triggered the Austrian-Russian war, Germany had been reluctantly driven to this pre-emptive strike, a regrettable war-strategic necessity, by the hostile moves of its enemies.

German historians had, until Fischer's intervention, evinced little appetite to hold that self-justification up to critical scrutiny. But Germany's enemies had tried to punch holes in it from the beginning. Fischer's book was, in fact, foreshadowed by a documentation exercise compiled by none other than Emile Durkheim, together with his fellow-*normalien* Ernest Denis, entitled *Qui a voulu la guerre?*, published in 1915, which minutely traced diplomatic traffic in the weeks leading up to the ultimatums of 1914. The conclusion was that the war had been deliberately and aggressively provoked and engineered by Austria and, above all, Germany.

For a piece of war propaganda, that conclusion is unsurprising. What is more surprising is that the painstaking diplomatic documentation exercise by Durkheim and Denis remained so completely overlooked by historians (including the Germans) that the Fischer thesis seemed to appear out of thin air in 1961. Similarly overlooked was Durkheim's tract *L'Allemagne au-dessus de tout*, which as early as 1915 drew attention to the pre-1914 current of triumphalist unilateralism and social Darwinist nationalism in Wilhelminian Germany.[2]

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1   For a source collection, see http://show.ernie.uva.nl/greatwar. Throughout this article material from the *Encyclopedia of Romantic Nationalism in Europe* (2018a), in its online version at ernie.uva.nl, will be made use of and referred to by way of URLs.

2   Although that tract (with its title sarcastically quoting Hoffmann von Fallersleben's *Lied der Deutschen*) can by no means be considered sound impartial scholarship, it exposes, and validly so, a number of pre-1914 German sources which aggressively advocate *Weltpolitik* ambitions and annexationism. Durkheim incisively analyses these as to their unilateralism, their social Darwinism (as we would call it nowadays), and their insistence that the sole arbiter as to the means by which Germany may pursue its national interests, including its rise to the status of a major world power, is Germany itself. Durkheim conveniently looks away from the fact that these were not purely "German" character flaws and that examples of such a mentality might be found much closer to home; but he does provide, beyond his propagandistic denunciation of a *mentalité allemande*, a very early analysis of the discourse of self-serving unilateralism as such, be it in Wilhelminian Germany, George W. Bush's USA, Netanyahu's Israel, or Erdoğan's Turkey. Durkheim's critique ties in with his general identification of *anomie* as a problem of modernity: the tendency to act solely on the basis of one's own will to self-realization, and not on the basis of any externally imposed moral or legal order. On Durkheim and *anomie*, see LaCapra (1972).

Tracts like General Friedrich von Bernhardi's *Deutschland und der nächste Krieg* (1912, six editions by 1913), though pointed out as incriminating evidence by French propagandists like Durkheim, and subsequently ignored by historians dismissive of war propaganda, would come back like acid reflux to haunt the Fischer Controversy after 1961.

Similarly, the Fischer thesis revolves around questions already raised in what for international historians is one of the key documents in the rise of British-German antagonism: the memorandum written in 1907 by Eyre Crowe (1928), a Whitehall official for Lord Grey. Crowe painstakingly outlines the shifting power balance in recent decades, noting a steady encroachment of German foreign policy on British forbearance in international affairs: he identifies a pattern of expansionist colonial claims being staked by German diplomats in the mode of grievances troubling the country's friendship with Britain, and only allowing these grievances to be assuaged once they have been met by British concessions. Crowe goes as far as to liken this to the returning demands of a blackmailer, and warns against something that in later decades would come to be termed "appeasement." A long-term continuity is outlined, from Friedrich II and Bismarck engineering Prussia's rise to the rank of European power to Wilhelminian Germany now trying to engineer a rise to colonial world power. There is a crux in reconciling the former phase as being a rational, deliberate process and the latter as driven by the notorious irrational volatility of Wilhelm II, but Crowe's conclusion is stark: the competitive and hectoring ("minatory") attitude that is shaping up now (in 1907) must either be stopped in its tracks by a firm British rebuff or will else lead, sooner or later, to war.

This was formulated seven years before 1914 by a diplomat who would later continue in a senior capacity in Whitehall (cf. Dunn 2013) and whose thinking would in 1940 inform Vansittart's denunciations of Hitler Germany as a logical continuation of Wilhelminian chauvinism (cf. Vansittart 1941). Crowe's document foreshadows the Fischer thesis very closely, and as a result, its reliability and representativity (and that of Crowe himself) have been debated by historians as a proxy for impugning or endorsing the Fischer thesis itself. Wolfgang J. Mommsen (1973), for example, pointing out the divisions within Germany's government and society, traces the different historical schools interpreting Germany's pre-1914 foreign policy very much along the lines of opposition that would have been at work among German foreign policymakers and commentators at the time, each trend generating its own historical exegetes as it were. He demurs from Fischer's *Griff nach der Weltmacht* thesis by stating that it foregrounds what was in fact only one among many attitudes and ignores the "forces of moderation" (Mommsen 1973, 14)—against which it may be pointed out that it was not the "forces of moderation" that carried the

day in August 1914. One of the best recent historians of the diplomatic run-up to 1914, Andreas Rose ([2011] 2017), scrutinizes Crowe's personality and hints that his German family links and character diminished his credit as a figure of influence at Whitehall: rather than a dispassionate observer of what really went on in Germany at the centres of governmental decision-making, people like him took superficial opinions at face value; the memorandum itself was prone to stereotyping and smacked of anti-German propaganda.[3]

Upon reading Crowe's document I found it much less pig-headed and stereotypical than Rose made it out to be—given the sort of material that was circulating at that period.[4] Was there perhaps a tendency at work to hold "suspect" source material up to a purportedly higher truth?—that higher truth being: government policy *wie sie eigentlich gewesen*, away from the sound and fury of vulgar jingoism or impressionable sideliners, accessible only to the inner circle of government decision-makers and cool-headed historians with access to their archives. Historians, with their professional ethos of cool-headedness, appear sometimes to be almost congenitally predisposed to discountenance as ephemeral and superficial those opinions, even on the part of scholars and diplomats as authoritative as Durkheim or Crowe, in which traces of political emotion may be said to vitiate the reliability of sober calculation.

That impression on my part was reinforced when Christopher Clarke, in his foreword to the English translated edition of Rose's book, second-guesses the past in characteristic fashion by observing that "The German war-scares that periodically crackled across the British press had less to do with objective dangers than with inter-service rivalries and the battle for resources between the Army and the Navy" (Clarke 2017, xiv). We salute Clarke's superior understanding, which chimes with some observations in Kennedy's chapter on "The

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3   Rose argues that British foreign policy was more concerned with Russia than with German *Weltpolitik*, and that public apprehensions of German belligerence were largely phobic in nature.

4   Crowe's ethnocentrism comes through at every turn, especially in describing the actions of foreign powers as the wayward undertakings of countries-as-such and those of British as the solid policy implementations by government officials; but there are only a few national ethnotypes at work, the most salient of these being directed against the French: "He [Théophile Delcassé, French foreign minister 1898–1905] had not counted on the capabilities for taking alarm and for working itself into a panic which reside in the nervous breast of an unprepared French public, nor on the want of loyalty characteristic of French statesmen in their attitude to each other" (Crowe 1928). In all other parts, Crowe reflects on the policies of the German Empire as a state, explaining these wholly as political strategies without any national-psychological explanations. That he discerns a long-term expansionist policy of establishing Prussia/Germany among the Great Powers may be commonplace, but it does not in itself, at least not in 1907, amount to a "stereotype."

Impulse and Orchestration of Patriotism" (1980, chap. 19); but it is odd, then, that Prime Minister Asquith, who presumably had access to the relevant information, bought into the invasion scaremongering of William Le Queux (more on him below). That earns Asquith the sarcasm of Rose, who feels that the opprobrium of the prime minister's gullibility is exacerbated by the fact that Le Queux was such a very inferior writer (Rose [2011] 2017, 55). Such literary value judgements do not, however, settle the matter. Granted that Le Queux was a hack and his adepts were hysterics, what gave their phobia such emotional traction with the highest government minister of the realm, and what does this tell us about the mobilizing force of jingoistic moral panics? There is much more to the jingoistic storm of 1907–1911 as surveyed by Kennedy than what Clarke culls from it—indeed Rose, to do him justice, provides an excellent chapter on Le Queux's influence (ibid., 51–58). Phobias, poor writing, poor taste, and poor judgement, while they may misapprehend the actual nature of developments, do not nullify the actions which they motivate; any pogrom victim, and a good few war casualties, can testify to that. It may be the historian's task to strive for a proper understanding of things, *rerum cognoscere causas*; but historians should curb their high-handedness when facing those moments when things were driven by an improper understanding of things, *rerum fallere naturam*. The operative agency of foolishness and misapprehensions should, on the contrary, be very carefully studied, for it is from the errors of the past more than from the hindsight of historians that we can learn.

The political mobilization and impact of national phobias, often by means of journalism or fictional literature, stereotypes, violent opinions, and prejudices, brings us to the core business of imagology.[5] Indeed, the rise of Anglo-German antagonism has led to at least one imagological classic, Peter E. Firchow's *The Death of the German Cousin* (1986).[6] Mommsen's anti-Fischer comment in this respect was quite suggestive, that he "draws the conclusions rather from what people said than from what they actually did" (Mommsen 1973, 14). It struck me that in quite a few cases, "what people said" was in fact exactly what they

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5   An extensive introduction to the theory and methods of imagology is unnecessary in this book. I refer to my articles "The Rhetoric of National Character" (2000), and "Imagology: On Invoking Ethnicity to Make Sense of the World" (2016). Various technical concepts (ethnotypes, auto-/hetero-images, centre/periphery dynamics) as well as the stereotypical character profiles of certain nationalities discussed here (German, English, Irish) are explained more fully on the website imagologica.eu and in the handbook *Imagology* (Beller and Leerssen 2007).

6   See also Scully (2012). The German side of that process is traced partly in Jeismann (1992). In addition, there is Bischoff's (2018) thoroughly documented and very insightful study on the representation of Belgium in German wartime publications.

actually did: declaring war, justifying their aims, making statements in parliament, raising moral panics in the press, war propaganda. Mommsen is critical of Fischer taking "the aggressive nationalist outbursts of the politicians [...] as the whole of the story" (ibid.); but the opposite mistake into which one may easily overbalance is to downplay them as mere inconsequential verbiage, obscuring or hiding the truth of the matter rather than giving us a clue toward it.

As an imagologist, I feel that the tendency among historians to reduce history to the facts behind the rhetoric may paint us into a corner in our attempt to understand what went on at the time.[7] The rhetoric formed part and parcel of the facts, and the German war aims, such as they were conceived to be, were subject to a war of interpretation, impugning and vindicating them, and triggering semiorchestrated, semispontaneous phobia-crazes in a tight interplay between scholars, literati, military public figures, politicians, and diplomats or government officials. This interplay, which after August 1914 would lead to intense war propaganda campaigns in all belligerent countries, was well under way well before 1914, a shaping influence on events rather than a mere reflection of them.

This is what makes Crowe's memorandum such a tell-tale indicator. Nor did Durkheim's 1915 tracts come out of nowhere, and they were by no means his freshly conceived spontaneous reaction to the events of August 1914. August 1914 was universally seen in France as a rerun of 1870, and the French anti-German discourse that swung into action was a direct continuation of the recriminations and contentions that had taken place in the 1870s and 1880s, pitting against each other Treitschke, Mommsen, and David Friedrich Strauss (on the German side) and Numa Fustel de Coulanges and Ernest Renan on the French side. Indeed, Fustel de Coulanges, who had been driven from his professorial chair at the University of Strasbourg when that city had been

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7 Take Mommsen's assertion that "[Fischer's] premise [...] that an aggressive nationalism lay at the bottom of all that happened, induces him to describe the actions of other powers as mere reactions prompted by German diplomacy itself. Yet neither French nationalism nor the growing militarist tendencies in Russia can be properly explained in such a way" (Mommsen 1973, 15). All that is quite, quite true: all of Europe was in the same chauvinistic boat by 1914, as Mommsen rightly observes, and Germany was certainly not the sole Godzilla in a continent of tender-hearted pacifists. But the two questions are begged, (1) whether the things that Mommsen calls French nationalism and Russian militarism were not, by his own line of reasoning, a merely superficial impression created by the occasional inconsequential outbursts of French and Russian politicians, as unimportant there as Mommsen claims they were in Germany, and masking the "forces of moderation" in those countries? Or (2) why France and Russia, and the German-born, German-married Eyre Crowe, should even have been bothered by mere verbal outbursts?

annexed by Germany in 1871, had conducted his antiannexationist critiques from his new chair at the Parisian Ecole normale supérieure, where, among his pupils were, precisely, Emile Durkheim and Ernest Denis, as well as Camille Jullian—anti-German propagandists of the 1914 generation, who later helped prepare Clémenceau's claims to the reannexation of Alsace-Lorraine in 1918–1919 (cf. Leerssen 2018c).

Eyre Crowe, to return to him, worked in tandem with the popular author William Le Queux (1864–1927), who had been efficiently stoking public fears of a German invasion by a genre of potboilers imagining a German attack on English shores. The genre of "invasion novels" or "future war novels" had emerged in English literature immediately after the German victory over France in 1871: in that year, George Tomkyns Chesney published *The Battle of Dorking*, evoking a German landing in England. Notable examples of the genre were Erskine Childers's *The Riddle of the Sands* (1903), Saki's *When William Came: A Study of London under the Hohenzollerns* (1913), and John Buchan's *The Thirty-Nine Steps* (1915). Le Queux's *The Great War in England in 1897* (1894) had still imagined the invaders to be the accustomed enemies: France and Russia. But a decade later, in Le Queux's *The Invasion of 1910* (1906), the invading enemy had, as per the conventions of the genre,[8] become Germany. That book came out in a great media blitz, serialized in the *Daily Mail* with newspaper vendors dressed up as Prussian soldiers displaying maps of their armies' progress. The book edition sold a million copies.

That was one year before Crowe's memorandum; and the intricacy of the links between media, fiction, and diplomacy is indicated by the fact that Le Queux's book was a fictionalized platform for the war alarmism of Field Marshal Roberts, former commander in chief, whose anti-German speeches of the period appeared in 1907 as *A Nation in Arms* (cf. James 1954, 424; Sladen 1938). Indeed, the novels created a veritable invasion scare in England, similar to the Napoleonic one of 1803 and indeed similar to the one notoriously triggered by Orson Welles's radio play *The War of the Worlds*. Matters were stoked up further by the sequel *Spies of the Kaiser: Plotting the Downfall of England* (1909). The resulting moral panic caused members of the public to write to Le Queux about suspected sightings; these communications were placed at the disposal of the nascent bureau of military intelligence. Indeed, one historian suggests that Le Queux himself believed the veracity of the alarmist tales he put before the public (cf. Andrew 1981). War propaganda preceded the outbreak of hostilities by a good few years: historical memories of 1870 (in France) and imaginative fiction (in England) prepared the nation for the trenches.

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8   Cf. Rose (2017, 51–58), and more generally Clarke (²1992) and Melby (2019).

Truth, fiction, misapprehensions, prejudices, projections, verbal outbursts, propaganda: all these are part of the historical record, and we need to study all that as such, and for what it is. One way of doing so is through an imagological analysis, combining the documentary record of literary, political, and military history, and situating the operative clichés of national character in an analytical triangle of textual rhetoric, historical context and cultural intertext.

2   Discourse of Identity

Few readers will disagree when I assert that the period 1880–1920 saw a steep rise, not only in the political role of public opinion, but also in the reliance, by state officials and statesmen, on stereotypes of national character. The First World War, which immediately saw writers and intellectuals enlisted in what became the first major propaganda war, boosted that dual process. As a result, we see in the twentieth century how people in senior government positions often vent a belief in the nation's essential character or identity as a guiding principle, something almost metaphysical, considered to be above mere party politics, uncontroversial, and reliable principles for statesmen to base their exertions and political vision on. No better source to study the deep ideology of the nation.

Statesmen are generally reluctant to come over as starry-eyed visionaries, and so the moments when they give vent to these affects are comparatively rare, and tend to be spotted in isolation—like De Gaulle's *Certaine idée de la France*,[9] or the atavistic Germanophobia of Margaret Thatcher's policy meeting at Chequers (cf. Ash 2001, 50–52; Moyle 1994, 107–109), or John Major's (1993) epiphany that:

> Fifty years from now Britain will still be the country of long shadows on county grounds, warm beer, invincible green suburbs, dog lovers and pools fillers and—as George Orwell said—"old maids bicycling to Holy Communion through the morning mist" and if we get our way—Shakespeare still read even in school.[10]

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9   The hallowed phrase comes from the opening words of De Gaulle's autobiography, laying down his lifelong vision (strongly influenced by Jules Michelet) of what France is as a nation and how it should stand amid other nations.

10   Major's reference to Orwell ("The Lion and the Unicorn," a piece of 1941 wartime propaganda classically formulating a twentieth-century English auto-image) is a telling instance of the back-and-forth interplay of literature and political rhetoric.

I would suggest that such statements are deeply meaningful for a politically applied imagology, and that they should be studied, not in anecdotal isolation as incidental, uncharacteristically spontaneous overflows of powerful feeling, but as instances of a specific type of discourse. Like war propaganda and the discourse of enmity, these statesmanlike pronouncements and the discourse of identity provide a rich field for imagological analysis.

In what follows I will present two statements, by a British and an Irish states-man, in which they testify to what their country means to them. The first of these comes from Stanley Baldwin (1867–1947), who was the British prime min-ister in 1923–1924, 1924–1929, and 1935–1937. In May 1924 he delivered a speech to the Royal Society of St. George, an English patriotic society "promoting and celebrating the English way of life," as its website has it. Founded in 1874 and well connected to the country's elite (it has been incorporated by royal char-ter and since its early days has enjoyed the official patronage of the reigning monarch), it is decidedly English (rather than British) in its outlook, sporting the English flag of St. George rather than the British Union Jack, and celebrat-ing the name day of that saint, who is patron of England as St. Andrew is of Scotland, St. David of Wales, and St. Patrick of Ireland. Its definition of England, going by the website, and by its publicity material, is deeply traditionalist in that mode which has been studied as a cultural trope under the rubric of "English-ness" (cf. Spiering 1992; Middleton and Giles 1995; Easthope 1998). "Englishness" evokes a rustic landscape marked by a harmonious socioeconomic symbiosis between nobility and agricultural labour, traditional pastimes like cricket and foxhunting, villages and market towns with convivial inns and public houses and medieval cathedrals where intricate patterns of bell ringing are performed, and, at Christmastime, door-to-door carolling. As imagologists know, this idyllic image was formulated especially in the post-1830 decades of "one-nation Tory-ism" and found expression in the novels of Anthony Trollope and Thomas Hardy in his slightly lighter moods (*Under the Greenwood Tree*, *Far from the Madding Crowd*). Englishness is also nostalgically evoked in BBC costume dramas such as *Lark Rise to Candleford* (2008–2011) and *Downton Abbey* (2010–2015), a televi-sion series which almost literally stages Major's above-quoted vision.

At the same time the Society of St. George revolves around patriotism of a less sentimental nature, marking for its fixed social days military commemora-tions such as "Cenotaph Wreath Laying in Whitehall on the Saturday closest to St. George's Day, followed by laying a wreath at the tomb of the Unknown Warrior at Westminster Abbey; Battle of Waterloo luncheon or dinner in June; Battle of Britain luncheon in September; Trafalgar Day dinner in October."[11]

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11   For further information see The Royal Society of St George's website: https://rssg.org.uk/ [July 26, 2021].

It was before this society that Stanley Baldwin gave a dinner speech on May 6, 1924, which became famous under the title "What England means to me." The text is widely available,[12] and follows the obvious tropes of the "Englishness" register: opposing it to "the Latin races," refusing "to ape any foreign country, quietly dauntless," "with the result that in times of emergency the nervous system stands when the nervous system of other peoples breaks" (Baldwin 1924), et cetera.[13] These sentiments are offered jocularly and ironically, in a humorous and slightly self-deprecating bonhomie also implicitly presented as typically English, and are intended to raise an appreciative chuckle in the after-dinner setting. The speech then goes on to something more heartfelt and emotional: a praise of the English countryside experienced and recalled through physical senses like sound and sight. This Englishness is primal, sensory, visceral, and rooted in the recall of childhood; a shared intimacy:

> The sounds of England, the tinkle of hammer on anvil in the country smithy, the corncrake on a dewy morning, the sound of the scythe against the whetstone, and the sight of a plough team coming over the brow of a hill [...]. The wild anemones in the woods of April, the last load at night of hay being drawn down a lane as the twilight comes on, when you can scarcely distinguish the figures on the horses as they take it home to the farm, and above all, most subtle, most penetrating and most moving, the smell of wood smoke coming in an autumn evening, or the smell of the scutch fires: that wood smoke that our ancestors, tens of thousands of years ago, must have caught on the air [...]. These things strike down into the very depths of our nature, and touch chords that go back to the beginning of time and the human race [...]. These are things that make England.
>
>   IBID.

"The love of these things," Baldwin goes on to say, "is innate and inherent in our people" (ibid.). Baldwin may well have evoked personal memories (he hailed from the idyllically situated town of Bedley), and the majority of the well-heeled members present at the dinner may also have had a country background; but the recognizability of these images derives most of all from their status as iconic cultural tropes, evoked in novels and in poetry, from Browning's "Home Thoughts, from Abroad" to A.E. Housman's *A Shropshire Lad*, in the mellow musical harmonies of Vaughan Williams and "I Vow to

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12   See, for example: https://ernie.uva.nl/viewer.p/21/54/object/351-225677 [October 26, 2021].
13   For the English ethnotype outlined here, cf. Spiering (2007).

Thee, my Country," and in scholarly work on the English village community, thriving at the time because the communities themselves were considered to be in danger of disappearance (cf. Williams 1973).[14] Baldwin's England as evoked here is wholly agricultural and pretechnological, with no artificial lighting or engines—something of the past, certainly in 1924, and indeed evoked as a dim memory from early childhood. It is, in other words, an exercise in cultural nostalgia, indebted to Kipling's *Puck of Pook's Hill*, and akin to what J.R.R. Tolkien was doing around the same time when he conceived a bucolic Shire threatened by the dark satanic technology of Mordor. And in the mind of many of that generation (Tolkien, Robert Graves, Ford Madox Ford, the Georgian poets), the idyll of rustic England had been the cherished, idealized focus of the anguished homesickness that they had experienced in the trenches of the Western Front. The intertext is Victorian, the context postwar, the textual rhetoric combines sentimental rusticism with national patriotism and a conservative agenda. The English self-image opposes traits like tradition, ancestral continuity, class harmony, and closeness to nature to an implied hetero-image of non-English modernity, in a binary opposition which may be listed in tabular form (Table 1.1).[15]

TABLE 1.1   Non-English Other versus English Self

Non-English Other	English Self
bad example to follow	good to hold on to
lively imagination	stolidity
lack of staying power	staying power
(fractured)	continuity
(class strife)	class harmony
(metropolis)	countryside/empire
(mechanical)	organic, crafts

I now turn to a speech made by the Irish taoiseach (prime minister) Éamon De Valera (1882–1975) on March 17, 1943. The date was doubly meaningful: March, 17, St. Patrick's Day, celebrating Ireland's patron saint, was in that year

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14   The ethnographical glorification of English country life had started in the 1880s with the folklore studies of Cecil Sharp and Sabine Baring-Gould; cf. Roper (2018) and Leerssen (2018b).

15   The traits in parentheses are not explicitly flagged in the text but implied as a *repoussoir*.

also the fiftieth anniversary of the Gaelic League. That organization had been founded around the same time as the Society of St. George, but in a firmly anti-English mode: its rallying call had been a lecture by its founding president, Douglas Hyde, "On the Necessity of De-Anglicising Ireland" (1892).[16] In the following decades, the Gaelic League had gained enormous popularity for a program of Gaelic-Irish cultural-nationalistic revivalism (language, music, dance), and had also radicalized into political separatism, if necessary by armed force. This culminated in an armed uprising and the declaration of independence of an aspirational "Irish Republic" in 1916. One of the commanding combatants was Éamon De Valera; the only one of the insurrection's leadership, in fact, to escape (owing to a part-American citizenship) the wholesale executions with which the insurrection was put down. In the following years De Valera remained a hard-line secessionist, refusing the compromise which in 1921 saw Ireland, partitioned and shorn of six Protestant-dominated Ulster counties, given dominion status within the empire. Eventually he rose to power in what first was the Irish Free State, transformed by him into a decidedly anti-British Irish Republic, whose constitution he devised in 1937. De Valera dominated that Republic for most of the century, either as prime minister (1932–1948, 1951–1954, 1957–1959) or as president (1959–1973).

This stalwart nationalist spoke on the Irish radio to celebrate the jubilee of the Gaelic League, reflecting on its history, its achievements, and its role as a champion of Ireland's native culture. The address, "On Language and the Irish Nation" (1943), spelled out what De Valera saw as the essential role of culture in ensuring the country's national identity and claim to sovereignty.[17] Coming six years after the new Republic's constitution and in the middle of a world war in which Ireland, at odds with Britain over the Ulster question, stayed neutral, it is a veritable manifesto of De Valera's ground plan for his country and is worth quoting at length:

> The ideal Ireland that we would have, the Ireland that we dreamed of, would be the home of a people who valued material wealth only as a basis for right living, of a people who, satisfied with frugal comfort, devoted their leisure to the things of the spirit—a land whose countryside would

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16   The text is online at https://ernie.uva.nl/viewer.p/21/54/object/351-187704 [October 26, 2021]. On the role of the Gaelic League in the decades around the Irish insurrection against British rule, including the role of Eamon De Valera, see my "Cúchulain in the General Post Office: Gaelic Revival, Irish Rising" (2016).

17   The text is online at https://ernie.uva.nl/viewer.p/21/54/object/351-227030 [October 26, 2021].

be bright with cosy homesteads, whose fields and villages would be joyous with the sounds of industry, with the romping of sturdy children, the contest of athletic youths and the laughter of happy maidens, whose firesides would be forums for the wisdom of serene old age. The home, in short, of a people living the life that God desires that men should live. With the tidings that make such an Ireland possible, St. Patrick came to our ancestors fifteen hundred years ago promising happiness here no less than happiness hereafter. It was the pursuit of such an Ireland [...] that made successive generations of patriotic men give their lives to win religious and political liberty; and that will urge men in our own and future generations to die, if need be, so that these liberties may be preserved. [...] the founders of the Gaelic League similarly inspired and moved the people of their day. So, later, did the leaders of the Irish Volunteers [the 1916 insurrectionists]. We of this time, if we have the will and active enthusiasm, have the opportunity to inspire and move our generation in like manner. We can do so by keeping this thought of a noble future for our country constantly before our eyes, ever seeking in action to bring that future into being, and ever remembering that it is for our nation as a whole [i.e. including the Ulster counties of Northern Ireland] that that future must be sought.

The speech has gone down in folk memory; in the public mind it is now known, somewhat derisively and slightly incorrectly as to the wording, as the "comely maidens" speech. That misnomer is part and parcel of the speech's complex afterlife, which echoes through the second half of the twentieth century as a barometer of Irish cultural change. It invokes and denounces a formula evoking the twee, nostalgic image of a fondly imagined traditional Irish countryside, with "comely maidens dancing at the crossroads"—crossroads being a traditional open-air venue for communal dancing, or represented as such by sentimental Victorians. To project De Valera's speech into that tradition is a derisive rejection of its traditionalism and rusticism; that rejection developed after his death in 1973 among the country's baby boomers, in a long-delayed but then accelerated process of intergenerational change (cf. Waters [1991] 2011, 2009). In 1996 the phrase was reclaimed ironically as a chant evoking the revelling of sports fans celebrating their team's victory.

No less interesting than the speech's afterlife is its intertextual root system. De Valera's career is a textbook example of Miroslav Hroch's "phase model" of national movements, where "phase A" is an initial activity of cultural consciousness-raising (as in the original agenda of the Gaelic League) followed by a "phase B" of social demands based on a sense of cultural separateness and a "phase C" of mass activism asserting the right to national sovereignty (cf. Hroch 1968). De Valera, like all 1916 leaders, had gone through that progression, from

cultural enthusiast to armed forces separatist. His continuing commitment to reviving Ireland's Gaelic culture shows that "phase A" does not cease once subsequent phases of social/political intensification swing into action. And it means that the cultural auto-image that De Valera acquired from the cultural revivalists of the late nineteenth century stayed with him as a political program during his career as a politician and statesman.

That self-image was indeed of sentimental Victorian vintage, as his later critics pointed out. Gaelic Ireland was seen as a haven of unspoiled, healthy traditionalism in a world corrupted by the decadent forces of British/European modernity; as such, it complemented a European auto-image of the *fin de siècle* that saw Europe as caught up in a process of degeneration; that self-image, embraced by the fey and morbid poetics of Symbolism was summarized in Max Nordau's book *Entartung* of 1892. Hyde's project of "De-Anglicising" Ireland was a cultural regeneration agenda, cleansing the country of the degenerative forces of British vintage and allowing its unspoiled native freshness to reassert itself.

In 1902 an anonymous Gaelic revivalist described a pilgrimage into the western periphery of Galway; in a typically telescoping narrative, the waymarks are listed successively westward as the author describes how modernity and the English language decrease along the way, until s/he is in an ideally primitive world, free from any trace of English alienation. It is reminiscent of ancient Gaelic legends and sagas (Queen Maeve); here the cultural memory of ancient Gaelic literature (Ossianic tales) and Gaelic balladry (Raftery, Wallace) is maintained by noble savage rustics described with an equal measure of appreciative primitivism and almost colonial condescension. Their lack of modern comforts is praised as if it were an accomplishment, accompanied as it is by a strong physique and a native command of the Gaelic language:

> No greater treat can be in store for the Gaedhilgeoir [Irish language speaker/activist] than to travel from Galway west through Bearna, Spiddal, and Cashla to Connemara, to hear the Gaelic growing in volume and richness as he proceeds, till at last the English language is as unknown as it was in the days of Maev [...] it would be difficult to find a finer race of Irish-speaking men and women than these peasants of Iar-Connaught [the western part of the western province of Connacht] [...]. We have seen old men with fine characteristic features who could recite Ossianic tales and the poems of Raftery and Wallace by the hour, full at the same time, of ready wit and good, practical sense, living amid those stony wastes and confronting their daily difficulties with firm and determined eyes, and treading the ground that bore them with the self-confidence born of successful struggle. [...] Brown-faced, weather-beaten women who would carry a hundred-weight of oats home on their shoulders, and

give you a kindly smile in passing. Young women of queenly build and
fine oval features, the most beautiful, they say, in Ireland, and indeed in
the wide world. Young men and boys with laughing eyes, full of youthful
vigour and enterprise [...]. Families of 12 or 15, all with beautiful teeth and
exuberant health, joined in the closest bonds of affection—such is this
Western Race, with its Gaelic speech and its boundless possibilities.

<div style="text-align: right">ANONYMOUS 1902, 129–130</div>

The strong activation of a centre/periphery polarity correlates with a chrono-
topical distribution of modernity (in the centre) and pastness (in the periphery).
The commonplace nature of the imagery will be obvious to anyone familiar
with Irish and Irish-related writing of the period, in a tradition from Dion
Boucicault to John Synge and from Charles Kickham to Canon Sheehan; the
piece follows the pattern established by the folkloristic literati of the Irish Liter-
ary Revival: Yeats, Lady Gregory, and indeed Hyde himself, a notable folklorist
and collector of oral poetry (cf. Leerssen 1996). In turn, this *fin de siècle* text
gives a strong intertextual sounding board to the imagery that De Valera was
still activating and evoking in his 1943 speech, a half-century later, through the
novel medium of a radio broadcast. De Valera's mid-twentieth-century Ireland
is still predicated on a rejection of international modernity and a glorification
of native tradition. One point of difference is that the social Darwinist glorifica-
tion of energetic, unspoiled primitivism of 1902 is now, in 1943, transmuted into
the timelier economic value of frugality: a newly independent state with few
natural resources and a narrow economic basis should exercise thrift, in line
with De Valera's policies and the wartime circumstances.

Schematically, the opposition between this Irish auto-image and its implied
Other would look as presented in Table 1.2.

TABLE 1.2   Non-Irish Other versus Irish Self

Non-Irish Other	Irish Self
alienating oppressor	heroic resister
tyranny	spirituality
materialism	frugality
(decadence)	health
(alienating)	authenticity
(empire)	countryside
(forces of history)	force of tradition

The similarities and differences with Baldwin's English binaries are imme-
diately noticeable. They invite us to undertake a sustained comparison, which
would, however, exceed the scope of the present article. Although Ireland
and England at this time were strongly antagonistic, the two self-images work
along remarkably similar structural lines.

3   Imagology and the State

The cases outlined here have not been explored in depth; they are offered
merely as "proofs of concept." The reader will realize that the political dis-
course on state-defined enmity or identity can be fruitfully studied from an
imagological perspective—which means, not only as to its underlying govern-
mental policymaking analysed in terms of strategic power options, but also as
to its intrinsic rhetorical structures (text) and thematic filiations (intertext).
An imagological analysis works in the procedural triangle of "context, inter-
text, text," where *context* is the historical moment at which the discourse is
produced and/or operative, *intertext* the extent to which the discourse relies
on a reservoir of commonplaces and conventional tropes regarding national
characters, and *text* the way in which the discourse uses rhetorical or narra-
tive techniques to present its image of the nation's character convincingly and
powerfully.

Political historians of international affairs share with imagology an atten-
tion to context. For historians the context is the primary concern: understand-
ing the historical moment is what they study texts like these for. The emphasis
is different for imagologists, for whom the context is a dimension in which to
situate the text or discourse, helping us to make better sense of it. But despite
these different emphases, the concerns broadly overlap.

Historians will also, like imagologists, address intertextual matters, such as
literary fashions and conventions operative at the time (witness Rose's chapter
on the invasion novel genre); but here the concern is more of an ancillary nature:
forays into intertextual study are incidental and used as illustrative digressions
rather than as a central concern. For imagology, conversely, the intertextual
study (establishing the ethnotype's typology and its self-repeating or changing
character over time) is definitely a core concern. And the text-intrinsic analysis
is almost exclusively of interest to literary rather than political historians.

Imagology can be very fruitfully applied to the discourse of international
relations. Such discourse is open to the triangulation of textual, intertextual,
and contextual angles of analysis. For imagologists, this widening of the cor-
pus to genres "dont l'intérêt dépasse la seule littérature" (Guyard as quoted

in Dyserinck 2015, 44) can only be a refreshing impulse. For historians, the entanglement of historical decision-making with the dynamics of cultural production and representation may also present a valuable broadening of the analytical perspective. For both jointly, such an interdisciplinary initiative may break through the tunnel vision that each may have on their relevant source material, in the primary documentation as well as in the secondary-critical literature. The fact that the imagery of international relations has been studied so very piecemeal in different disciplines by scholars unaware of each other's insights is in itself a limitation that needs to be broken through. There is rich source material to be explored—the propagandistic use of travel accounts, the reliance of state bodies on ethnographical reports as to nations' characters, the use of ethnotypes in diplomatic reports, the use of ethnotypically charged fiction in national propaganda, from invasion novels and *Mrs Miniver* to *Rambo* and *Downton Abbey*—and it deserves to be explored on a thorough, well-established methodological basis, both as to its political function and as to its textual/intertextual/contextual workings.

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Axiological Foundations of Imagology

Davor Dukić

Abstract

Images, the main object of imagological analysis, are by nature value-charged. Despite this fact, previous research has neglected the axiological foundations of imagology. This article discusses in brief some fundamental axiological questions of imagological investigations. The here analysed corpus includes an eighteenth-century visual-textual source (the so-called *Leopold-Stich*), and a famous imagological handbook (*Imagology*, by Beller and Leerssen). The analysis starts with the problem of value connotations of the signifier of geocultural spaces and continues with a cluster of questions concerning the nature of value of imagotypical representations. The final part examines two relevant imagological phenomena—diachronic changes in evaluation of certain geocultural spaces and a somewhat opposite phenomenon of evaluative apriorism.

Keywords

geocultural space – axiology – imagotypical representation – evaluative apriorism – value ambivalence

1 Introductory Remarks: Why Value?

For the purpose of this discussion, it is worthwhile to start with a more general definition of *image*, which is a core concept of imagology. Hence, *image* is a representation of a certain geocultural space (hereinafter GCS) consisting of its name and distinctive attributes. An image does not contain all attributes of the concerned GCS in the observed text or textual corpus; rather, it contains only typical characteristics, which make it different from other GCS s and construct its identity. The existence of images is not objective nor can it be reconstructed through some prescribed mode of analysis: it is subjective, recognizable

through previous knowledge. In other words, image is not anchored in the text but in the minds of the sender and the recipient.[1]

The above proposed definition needs to be fine-tuned with an additional condition, essential for our discussion. Namely, distinctive attributes, or some of them, have to be charged with a value. The evaluative dimension of representations of GCSs (images) seems to be self-evident: a value-neutral representation will probably not be recognized as an image. Even common, decontextualized metonymic signs—such as clogs for Holland, Emmental cheese for Switzerland, or pizza for Italy—generally connote value, which, in respect of the mentioned examples, lies somewhere in the sphere of congeniality. In brief, the imagological subject matter is inevitably value-charged. Its carriers of values are particular GCSs, that is, some of their aspects, and its value potential is realized by representative attributes ascribed to them. The value-charged representativeness of GCSs is sometimes termed *imagotypicality*, which, on the one hand, enables an even more concise definition of image as "an imagotypical (re)presentation of a certain GCS," and, on the other, provides a distinction between historically rooted *imagotypes* and uncritically accepted and widespread *stereotypes* (Fischer 1979, 34, 36–42; Syndram 1991, 186).

But, at the same time, imagology as a branch of literary scholarship is basically not value-neutral. Its mission could be defined as a critical analysis of national representations/stereotypes. In other words, image is understood as an essentially negative phenomenon, a typical product of *national thought*—the main ideological target of imagology—which is suspected of understanding and classifying the world according to the criterion of national differences. A traditional imagological analysis starts from the assumption or comes to the conclusion that every imagotypical representation of some GCS is a discursive construct with a very limited cognitive value, that *image* and *national stereotype* are almost synonyms. As a critical deconstruction of European nationalisms, imagology is a concretization of political criticism, such as, for example, feminism, postcolonial studies, or new historicism.[2] In political criticism the foundations of one's own values are generally not questioned—only the values of the (constructed) opponent have to be deconstructed.

The negative connotation of *image* in imagology is therefore a consequence of the negative evaluation of modern European nationalisms in that branch of

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1 An image is comparable but not identical with the Leibnizian *complete individual concept* (CIC), defined as a set of all attributes that are attributed to an individual entity (cf. Mates 1968, 509–510; Look 2013). In that sense, an image is a subset of CIC.

2 For more on political criticism, cf. Pavel (1993, 124–126).

literary criticism. Apart from the "political condemnation" of image—in the sense of the inclination of imagotypical discourse toward political incorrectness or even toward hate speech—there is also a "cognitive" or "scientific disqualification" of image (arguably the other side of the coin). Namely, because of its restrictive nature—that is, its focusing on the essential attributes of some GCS—image as a mode of representation is at the same time exposed to subjective manipulation as well as to criticism for its historical/geographical inaccuracy. The latter does not concern the notion of image in (traditional) imagology because it deals only with (fictional) representations of (historical/ geographical) reality and not with (nontextual) reality itself. Moreover, the modern European imagologists, both the Aachen and the French schools, refuse to include the concept of verisimilitude in their research agenda, which would require comparing literary and scientific representations of the same GCS in the same historical period. It is admittedly legitimate to restrict imagological investigations to fictional representations of GCSs, but it does not guarantee cognitive persuasiveness of the results of the performed analysis. As Wellek rightly argued, psychological or sociological research of hetero-stereotypes often provides more convincing insights (1953, 3–4). But, after all, the same imagological research methodology could be applied to nonfictional representations as well, for example to historiographic or geographic sources.[3] Such an expansion of the research area beyond the boundaries of "literariness," which was unacceptable to Wellek, seems in our time to be justified for two reasons: (1) the thematic/semantic level of some literary genres, and sometimes even their formal procedures, rely on nonfictional discourse, for example in the genre of historical fiction; (2) if imagologists want to preserve a critical or even socially engaged function of their discipline, they must take into account the recipient's point of view and that usually implies relativizing the boundaries between fictional and nonfictional texts, such as, for example, in the potentially inspirational critical discourse analysis applied by Ruth Wodak. To sum up, the negative relation of imagology to its object of study can be explained as a consequence of the declared political mission of the discipline and of the undeclared neopositivistic desire for the objective (re)presentation of reality.

In previous imagological investigations the axiological aspect—that is, the examination of the phenomenon and the causes of positive or negative value of some images—has largely been neglected. The reason may be found in the above shortly discussed value of the discipline and of its object of study.

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3 Such sources are considered by several articles in this volume. While Joep Leerssen (part 1, chapter 1) considers historiographic material, Daniel Brandlechner (part 5, chapter 18) investigates geographic sources.

One can assume two other explanations: (1) the alleged cognitive triviality or an easy interpretability of the value of a particular image is not worth studying in detailed manner; and (2) the presumption that the valuation of a particular GCS is rooted in ideology. Although in some cases these two explanations can satisfy the requirements of research, I tend to reject them for methodological reasons. First, the value of a particular image is not always easily explicable, especially not in the two phenomena discussed at the end of this article: the diachronic value changes of imagotypical representations of the same GCS, and evaluative apriorism. And second, it is also advisable for a researcher to assume the possibility of a pre-ideological valuation of a particular GCS, in order to avoid aprioristic explanations in cases of value ambivalences and value contradictions.

This article discusses in brief some fundamental axiological questions of imagological research. For the purpose of this discussion, the notion of axiology has been restricted to the basic dichotomy of positive and negative (e)valuation and not to specific contents of cultural values. The here analysed corpus includes an eighteenth-century visual-textual source (the so-called *Leopold-Stich*), and a famous imagological handbook (Beller and Leerssen 2007). The analysis starts with the problem of value connotations of the signifier of GCSs and continues with a cluster of questions concerning the nature of value of imagotypical representations. The final part examines two relevant imagological phenomena—diachronic changes in evaluation of certain GCSs and the in some ways opposite phenomenon of evaluative apriorism.

2   Toward an Axiological Analysis of *Image*

2.1   *The Value Connotations of the GCSs Signifiers*

Decontextualized names of GCSs like "Vietnam," "China," "North Korea," and "Iran" are basically value-neutral. But the official names of the same states—the "Socialist Republic of Vietnam," "People's Republic of China," "Democratic People's Republic of Korea," and "Islamic Republic of Iran"—contain some value connotations due to the semantic potential of the first constituents in the complex names that can be interpreted as *ideologemes.* They constitute distinctive parts of self-designation with unambiguous positive connotations in the original/primary context—from the point of view of their creators. In a secondary context, such as the Eurocentric one, the same attributes will probably be interpreted as negative, whereas formally similar names such as the "Federal Republic of Germany" or "Swiss Confederation" will be considered as neutral in spite of the awareness of historically confirmed and imaginable

contexts in which the attributes "Republic" and "Confederation" would not function exclusively as neutral classification terms. In any case, the official names of countries can, at best, figure as the most concise signifier of a specific auto-image/identity. The value potential of metaphorical periphrases in some nicknames of countries, which are widely acknowledged irrespective of figurative language—such as "The Land of the Rising Sun," "Perfidious Albion," "Mother Russia," "The Holy Land," and similar—is certainly significantly higher. And in line with the anthropocentricity of the imagotypical discourse, it is possible to expect an even bigger value potential in the set of ethnonyms, especially in pejorative names for other peoples or ethnic groups (the so-called ethnic slurs), for example "Piefke" for a German in Austria or "Chefur" (*čefur*) for the Serbs and Bosnians in Slovenia. The existence of extremely negatively connoted designations of GCSS and other peoples seems to be normal in periods of crisis and conflict, for example in war propaganda, and in everyday communication of the lower cultural strata. But even simple, common names can bear a strong evaluative potential in specific historical contexts. An example from South Slavic cultures can be used to illustrate this point. In his literary oeuvre Ivo Andrić used the ethnonym "Turks" for Bosnian Muslims, which was in accordance with the traditional, negatively connoted usage by Christians in the Balkans.[4] In the edition of his collected works from the 1960s the author justified his incorrect designation in a note at the beginning of the glossary of rare words: "The terms *Turks* and *Turkish* are also often used in narration to denote Bosnian Muslims, of course not in a racial or ethnic sense, but as a misnomer, which, however, was habitual for a long time."[5]

One can conclude that the act of naming of GCSS can already be an act of attributing, that is, that the mere names of some GCSS can contain value attributes. The value potential of the names of GCSS should not be overestimated, but—still—an imagologist has to take it into consideration.

2.2 *The Value Nature of Imagotypical Representations*

The names of GCSS—official and historical names of states and countries, official and local names of provinces, and all other similar designations of territorial entities—with the exception of purely fictional ones, such as Faulkner's Yoknapatawpha County or Márquez's Macondo—belong to the real/actual world. Their attributes, that is, their identities, are created through

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4 The cultural antonym, the pejorative Muslim name for Balkan Christians, is *kaurin*, "giaour."

5 "Naziv *Turci* i *turski* upotrebljeni su često u toku pričanja i za bosanski muslimanski svet, naravno ne u rasnom i etničkom smislu nego kao pogrešni ali od davnina uobičajeni nazivi" (Andrić 1963, 375, translation mine).

the process of conceptualization, mainly within different discursive practices. From the axiological point of view the key classification criterion is a distinction between factual (mere descriptive) and value attributes. Indeed, many attributes can gain a positive or negative value in a certain context, but for the sake of this discussion, those that possess intrinsic value potential are of primary interest.

A further question in the axiological approach to imagotypical representations of GCSs concerns the possibility of a systematic classification of their value attributes. In an attempt to give an affirmative answer, one can distinguish three objects of evaluation: (a) natural environment, (b) people, and (c) culture. A wild, uninhabited, and unexploited natural environment can be defined geographically, but by definition it is not a cultural space. Nevertheless, even unhumanised nature is not resistant to cultural semantization/evaluation, for example for tourism purposes. Moreover, the theory of climate, an important aspect in the early history of imagotypical thought, rests on the assumption that natural environment influences people's character (thus connecting the first two abovementioned objects of evaluation). According to the nature of this classification, the category of people, as mere psychophysical entities, refers exclusively to physical appearance and mentality, which evokes "racial" rather than "national thought." The nonbiological aspect of human life—material and nonmaterial products of human activity—is covered by the broader category of culture, which allows further subdivisions, as well as synchronic and diachronic approaches. This broader category of culture includes ideologies (great ideas) and (great) historical figures, which are sometimes important constituents of imagotypical representations of GCSs.

At this point it is worthwhile to consider the relationship between textual representations of people (figures/characters) and their spaces. For this purpose, the concept of GCS embedded in the definition of image at the beginning of this article is taken as a given. In the meantime it has become clear that it refers to geographic/historical spaces of the real/actual world inhabited, produced, or imagined by people.[6] But what is more important for the present discussion is the (methodological) preference of space over people in the concept of GCS: a space is considered the most abstract category of the thematic

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6   In an earlier imagological case study I proposed this definition: "The term geo-cultural space refers to any real existing geographical space that is shaped by human beings, be it through physical intervention in space (construction of settlements, tillage) or through a semantic act, i.e. through giving meaning to untouched nature. The Hungarian Puszta and the Arabian Desert are in this sense geo-cultural spaces, but the geopolitically indefinite blue of the sky without planes or the blue of the sea without ships are not" (Dukić 2014, 165).

world of a (literary) text, while a character/figure is defined as a function of space. That, however, is not in line with the anthropocentric tradition of literary scholarship—which typically prefers anthropomorphic categories like character, narrator, or lyrical subject—or with the nation-centric orientation of imagotypical thought and its imagological analyses. Accordingly, the most famous monument of European imagotypical thought is called the *Völkertafel* (Tableau of Nationalities) and not *Ländertafel* (Tableau of Lands/Countries), while the most important imagological handbook (Beller and Leerssen 2007) contains in its subtitle the phrase "national characters." From fifty entries in its second part, titled "Images of Nations Surveyed," thirty even belong to peoples proper[7] and twenty to geographic spaces (ibid., 79–258).

In a synchronic imagological approach, the preference of space over people/characters seems to be reasonable. But as soon as one considers the diachronic aspect—despite modern theories of nation and nationalism and a kind of fetishization of the concept of hybridity in contemporary theory—ethnic groups are generally understood as more stable entities than geographic/political spaces that change names and boundaries—even if one assumes that it is precisely the nationalist discourse that contributes to that impression. Finally, the arguments for the central position of human beings in the systematic approaches to the actual/real world can be noticed both in the Christian tradition (the central place in the Earth's environment in The Great Chain of Being, after God and Angels but before Animals, Plants, and Minerals) as well as in modern axiology (Krzeszowski 1997, 63–74; Edwards 2010, 40–41).

The relationship between peoples and spaces can be briefly examined using three examples from the handbook by Beller and Leerssen. Two examples essentially represent historically nomadic peoples and "diaspora nations" ("Gypsies" and Jews), and one refers to a unique territorial community of different peoples (Switzerland). The article "'Gypsies'" (single quotations used in the original text) includes a note about its title, which emphasizes the value aspect of the ethnonym: "the term 'gypsies' is widely considered inappropriate and derogatory (the more neutral terms being 'Roma' and/or 'Sinti'); it is used because it is the operative term in the stereotyped discourse which is addressed here" (Kommers 2007, 171). Kommers does not mention space anywhere in his paper. The text does not discuss the early modern belief that Gypsies originated in Egypt or the modern assumption of their Indian origin. Neither is the symbolism of the official Romani flag addressed. The historical

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7   Six of them (Dutch, English, French, Irish, Portuguese, and Swiss) have a primary neutral meaning—relating to a given geographic space and to its inhabitants—and a secondary meaning relating only to people.

dimension of the image of the Gypsies is equally lacking. As expected, their value attributes, both negative and positive, signify the presupposed essential character of the concerned people ("threatening vagabonds," "impostors," "lazy," "immoral," "thieves of children," "cannibals"/"penitent pilgrims," "romantic wanderers," "free").

A counterexample is the article "Swiss" (Schnyder and Beller 2007) wherein the historical dimension is much more emphasized and almost all value attributes are explicitly or implicitly related to space ("jealously-guarded independence and military prowess," "placid cowherd," "morality of the frugal peasant's life," "regenerative environment and sublime scenery," "cosmopolitanism"/"political and moral isolation," "nostalgia," "xenophobia").

The article "Jews" (Gans and Leerssen 2007) is a special, "mixed" example. In describing the image of the "diaspora nation *par excellence*," the diachronic dimension is even more emphasized than in the previous one. Consequently, the attributes from the time of diaspora differ significantly from the attributes from the period of existence of the State of Israel: the first are related to the character of the people ("plutocrat," "greed-driven treason," "duplicity," "conniving," "untrustworthy," "plotting," "conspiring," "infiltrating"/"dignified and heroic endurance of persecution," "admirable in their endurance," "clear moral judgement," "high-minded morality that transcends religious differences," "long-suffering victims," "special talent for the arts"), while the second imply a relation of the people to their own space ("strength," "youthful vigour, robust resistance," identity symbol of "prickly cactus or 'Sabra'").

The analysis confirms what one would expect: the absence of the category of space in the imagological description of nomadic people/diaspora and its strong presence in the description of a multinational political entity.

The Styrian *Völkertafel* (Tableau of Nationalities)—an oil painting representing ten European nations by male figures in traditional costumes and with a table of their features/characteristics in seventeen columns—is probably the best-known and best-studied imagological source from the eighteenth century. The author of the Tableau is unknown and the creation date is not certain, approximately 1730–1740 (for more on the *Völkertafel*, see the introductory chapter in this volume: Edtstadler, Folie, and Zocco 2022, 15). Several copies of the Tableau have been preserved and the most accessible one is in the Austrian Museum of Folk Life and Folk Art in Vienna (*Österreichisches Museum für Volkskunde*). The so-called *Leopold-Stich* (Figure 2.1), a copper engraving from Augsburg named after the author Friedrich Leopold (1668–1726), is a somewhat lesser-known work of the same type, despite the fact that it is considered older (dated between 1719 and 1726). From the slight differences in the texts of the tables, it can be presumed that it represents the main

source for the *Völkertafel*. Therefore, the following short analysis concerns only the *Leopold-Stich* (hereinafter LS).[8]

FIGURE 2.1 *Leopold-Stich*, Augsburg, between 1719 and 1726.
For a transcription and translation into English, see Table 2.1.

Two insights should be mentioned immediately no matter how banal or expected they may seem. First, the LS focuses on people, not on space—the first row of the table contains eleven ethnonyms (ten figures) in the following order from left to right: Spaniard, Frenchman, Italian, German, Englishman, Swede, Pole, Hungarian, Russian, and Turk or Greek. However, the category of space is explicitly or implicitly present in the picture: the title of the LS contains the word "land-peoples" (*Land-Völcker*) and not just "peoples" (*Völcker*, as in the title of the *Völkertafel*) and one of the seventeen columns is labelled with the phrase "Their land" (*Ihr Land*). The unexpected combination of Turks and Greeks in the last column can only be explained by their belonging to the same space of the Levant, and finally, the order of peoples suggests, though not perfectly, the movement from West to East. Another fulfilled expectation is the absence of the diachronic dimension, which is typical for stereotypical thought—it signifies an eternal present.

Therefore, only one of the seventeen terms for a comparative description of the European peoples belongs to the category of natural environment ("Their land"). Seven terms fall under the category of people ("Manners," *Sitten*; "Nature

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8 For an English translation of the *Völkertafel*, see Dalbello (2011, 155).

and character," *Natur u. Eigensschaft*; "Mind," *Am Verstand*; "Properties," *Der Eigenschaft Anzeigung*; "Vices," *Untugenden*; "Diseases," *Kranckheiten*; "Comparison among animals," *Vergleich unter den Thieren*), and nine under the category of culture ("Knowledge," *Wissenschaft*; "Costume," *Tracht der Kleidung*; "Preferences," *Lieben*; "War virtues," *Kriegs Tugenden*; "Religion," *Gottes Dienst*; "Recognize as their ruler," *Erkennen für ihrem Herrn*; "Have plenty of," *Haben Überfluß*; "Pastime," *Verzehren die Zeit*; "In life and in death," *im Leben und grab*[9]). However, the proposed division into seventeen categories is not quite consistent. Namely, some of the terms, according to the given criteria, have a hybrid character; that is, some of their attributes are more compatible with other categories, for example "Preferences" may contain connotations of individual characters ("pleasures," *Die Wollust*, for Englishmen; "beating," *Den Prügel*, for Russians; "selfishness," *Selbst eigene Liebe*, for Turks or Greeks) and the same applies to all attributes in the row "War virtues."

Do some categories indicate a higher tendency for more explicit valuation? The answer is affirmative: value-charged attributes are located in the rows "Manners," "Nature and character," "Mind," "Vices," "Their land," "War virtues," "Religion," and "Pastime," while the prevailing neutral attributes can be found in the columns "Knowledge," "Diseases," "Recognize as their ruler," "Have plenty of," "Comparison among animals," and "In life and in death."

The last question in this quick axiological survey concerns the evaluation of represented peoples. In all cases one can notice value ambivalences, but certain value tendencies allow the classification and creation of a complete table of values, from the most positive to the most negative European people according to the LS. However, for the purpose of this article, the simplest tripartite axiological classification will suffice:

1. predominantly positively evaluated nations (Spaniards with five positive attributes [2, 3, 6, 11, 12][10] and one negative attribute [1], and Germans with six positive [1, 2, 3, 4, 11, 12] and three negative attributes [6, *15, 17*]);

2. neutrally evaluated (Frenchmen with three positive [2, 3, 12] and three negative attributes [1, 6, 15], Englishmen with four positive [1, 2, 3, 11] and four negative attributes [*6, 8,* 12, 13], and Swedes with three positive [2, 11, 12] and three negative attributes [1, 3, 4]);

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9   In the *Völkertafel* (VT) this column is marked with the phrase "Ihr Leben Ende" (Their end of life). About the phraseological differences between LS and VT see more in Tatzreiter (1999).

10 The numbers refer to the columns of the LS. The attributes that are not unambiguously positive or negative are marked with italic font. The columns 7 (Vices), 9 (Diseases), 10 (Their land), 14 (Have plenty of), and 16 (Comparison among animals) are not taken into account because of the constant negative (7) or indeterminate evaluation (9, 10, 14, 16).

TABLE 2.1   Text of the Leopold-Stich. Transcription: [Manuela M.] Reiter / [Franz K.]
Stanzel. Source: Stanzel 1999, 40. English translation by Davor Dukić

Aigentliche Vorstell- und Beschreibung der Fürnehmsten in EUROPA befindlichen Land-Völcker

	Nahmen	SP Spanier	F Französs	W Wälscher	T Teütscher	E Engelländer
1	Sitten	Hochmüetig	Leichtsinnig	Hinterhaltig	Offenhertzig	Wohlgestalt
2	Natur u. Eigenschaft	Wunderbahrlich	Holdselig u. ansprächig	Eyffersichtig	Gantz gut	Liebreich
3	Am Verstand	Klug u: weis	Fürsichtig	Scharffsinnig	Witzig	Anmuthig
4	Der Eigenschaft Anzeigung	Männlich	Kindisch	Schier wie man will	Überal mit	Weiblich
5	Wisssenschaft	Schrifft-gelehrt	in Kriegs Sachen	in Geistlichen Rechten	in Weltlichen Rechten	Welt-weiß
6	Tracht der Kleidung	Ehrbar	Unbeständig	Ehrsam	Nachaffer	Auff Frantzösisch
7	Untugenden	Hoffärtig	Betrügerisch	Geilsichtig	Verschwenderisch	Unruhig
8	Lieben	Ehr-Lob und Ruhm	Den Krieg	Das Gold	Den Trunck	Die Wollust
9	Kranckheiten	Verstopffung	An Aigner	A böser Seüch	Am Podagra	An der Schwindsucht
10	Ihr Land	ist fruchtbar	Wol gearbeitet	Ergötzlich u. wollüstig	Gut	Feucht
11	Kriegs Tugenden	Großmüthig	Arglistig	Fürsichtig	Unüberwindlich	Ein See-Held
12	Gottes Dienst	Der allerbeste	Gut	Etwas besser	Noch andächtiger	Veränderlich wie der Mond
13	Erkennen für ihrem Herren	Einen Monarchen	Einen König	Einen Patriarchen	Einen Keyser	Bald den bald jenem
14	Haben Überfluß	An Früchten	Am Wahren	An Wein	An Getrayd	An Vieh weiden
15	Verzehren die Zeit	Mit spielen	Mit Betrügen	Mit schwätzen	Mit trincken	Mit arbeiten

S Schwed	P Polack	U Ungar	M Moßcowtter	TG Türck oder Grich
Starck u: Groß	Bäurisch	Untreü	Boßhafftig	Wie das Aprill Wetter
Grausamm	Noch wilder	Aller grausamste	Gut Ungarisch	Ein Lügen Teüfel
Hartnäckig	Gering-achtend	Noch weniger	Gar nichts	Oben nauß
Unerkentlich	Mittel-mässig	Blutbegierig	Ungehobelt	Zärtlich
in freyen Künsten	in unterschiedlichen Sprachen	in Lateinischer Sprach	in Griegischer Sprach	Ein falscher politicus
Vom Leder	Lang-Röckig	Viel färbig	An Peltzen	Auf Weiber Art
Aberglaubisch	Praller	Verräther	Noch ärger	Noch betrüglicher
Köstliche Speisen	Den Adel	Die Auffruhr	Den Prügel	Selbst eigene Liebe
An der Wassersucht	An Schrätlzoppfen	An der Fraiß	Am Keichen	An Schwachheit
Bergig	Waldicht	Frucht- und goldreich	Voller Eüß	Ein liebliches
Unverzagt	Ungestümm	Aufrührisch	Bemühsam	Gar faul
Eyferig in den Glauben	Glaubt allerley	Unmässig	Ein Abtriniger	Eben ein solcher
Freye Herrschaft	Einem Erwehlten	Einem unbelibigen	Einen freywilligen	Einem Tyrannen
An Ertz-Gruben	An Peltzwerck	In Allem	An Ymen	An zart u. weichen Sachen
Mit essen	Mit zancken	Mit miessiggang	Mit schlaffen	Mit kräncklen

| 16 | Vergleich unter den Tieren | Einen Elephanten | Einen Fuchsen | Einen Luchsen | Einen Löwen | Einen Pferd |
| 17 | im Leben und grab | Im Bett | Im Krieg | im Laster | im Wein | im Wasser |

A real presentation and description of the most important land-peoples located in EUROPE

	Names	Sp Spaniard	F Frenchman	I Italian	G German	E Englishman
1	Manners	haughty	careless	sly	frank	shapely
2	Nature and character	wonderful	charming and talkative	jealous	very good	amiable
3	Mind	smart und wise	careful	perceptive	witty	graceful
4	Properties	male	childish	opportunistic	always there	feminine
5	Knowledge	learned in Scriptures	in war matters	in Canon law	in Civil law	earth science
6	Costume	honourable	fickle	honourable	ape	after French fashion
7	Vices	Vain	fraudulent	lustful	wasteful	restless
8	Preferences	honour and glory	war	the gold	drink	pleasures
9	Diseases	constipation	syphilis	bad epidemic	gout	phthisis
10	Their land	is fertile	well cultivated	handsome and pleasant	good	wet
11	War virtues	magnanimous	maliciously	careful	insuperable	sea hero
12	Religion	The very best	good	somewhat better	more devout	changeable like the moon
13	Recognize as their ruler	a monarch	a king	a patriarch	an emperor	now this, now that
14	Have plenty of	fruits	goods	wine	cereals	cattle grazing
15	Pastime	with games	with fraud	with chatter	with drinking	with work
16	Comparison among animals	an elephant	a fox	a lynx	a lion	a horse
17	In life and in death	in bed	in war	in vice	in wine	in water

Einen Ochsen	Einen Beern	Einem Wolf	Einen Esel	Einen Hund
Auf der Erd	im Stall	Beim Sebel	im Schnee	im Betrug

Sw Swede	P Pole	H Hungarian	R Russian	TG Turk or Greek
strong and tall	boorish	unfaithful	malicious	like the April weather
cruel	even wilder	most cruel	good Hungarian	a lying devil
obstinate	little appreciated	even less	nothing at all	aloft
inscrutable	mediocre	bloodthirsty	uncouth	tender
in Liberal Arts	in different languages	in Latin	in Greek	fraudulent politics
from the leather	long robe	multicoloured	fur	effeminate
superstitious	greedy	treacherous	even worse	more deceitful
delicious food	nobility	revolt	beating	selfishness
dropsy	diarrhoea	cramps	whooping cough	weakness
mountainous	wooded	rich in fruits and gold	iced over	lovely
fearless	impetuous	seditious	arduous	lazy
eager in faith	believes all sorts of things	immoderate	a renegade	the same one
free reign	an elected one	an undesired one	a self-willed one	a tyrant
ore mines	furs	everything	bees	delicate and soft things
with food	with quarrel	with idleness	with sleep	with sickness
an ox	a bear	a wolf	a donkey	a dog
on earth	in the stable	with sword	in snow	in fraud

3.   predominantly negatively evaluated (Italians with three positive [3, 6, *11*] and six negative attributes [1, 2, 4, 12, *15*, *17*], Poles with six negative attributes [1, 2, 3, 11, 12, 15] and without positive attributes in the considered columns, Hungarians with nine negative attributes [1, 2, 3, 4, *8*, *11*, 12, *13*, 15] and without positive attributes in the considered columns, Russians with one positive attribute [*11*] and seven negative attributes [1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 12, *15*], and Greeks or Turks with one positive attribute [*4*] and nine negative attributes [1, 2, *3*, 5, 8, 11, 12, 15, 17]).

A few general conclusions can be drawn from this brief axiological analysis of the LS. The imagological thesis on the importance of national character in imagotypical discourse is generally confirmed: it is precisely the sphere of human character traits that is subjected to evaluation ("Manners"; "Nature and character"; "Mind"; "Vices"; "War virtues"; "Religion"; "Pastime"). Some parts of culture ("Knowledge"; "Recognize as their ruler") and some natural phenomena ("Diseases"; "Have plenty of") are neutrally evaluated. The columns "Their land" and "Comparison among animals" constitute special cases. The first includes only positive attributes, and the second requires interpretation because of its metaphorical potential. The attributes in the row "In life and in death" contain cultural/anthropological and characterological connotations that could be interpreted as value-charged, especially in the case of the comic punch line "in fraud" (*im Betrug*) for Turks or Greeks. Waldemar Zacharasiewicz (2010) has convincingly demonstrated that many of the attributes in the Tableau of Nationalities come from the traditional theory of climate. This brief axiological analysis of the older variant of the same kind of source—without any preliminary hypothesis—demonstrates another ideological background, namely, the dominance of a (Western) Eurocentric view of the peoples on the eastern periphery of the continent.

The LS exhibits some features of imagotypical representations of GCSs, that is, of their imagological reconstructions: representative attributes, value ambivalence (within a set of attributes ascribed to peoples), and irony (e.g. the attributes for the Hungarian and Russian in the column "Nature and character"). What distinguishes the LS from literary objects of imagological investigations is the absence of "empty cells" in the LS table, and the value ambivalence within the same column. In other words, descriptions of peoples in the LS are firmly structured and complete, no cell in the table lacks data, and attributes are either positive or negative or neutral.

In order to further consider the axiological foundations of imagology, it is necessary to return to the analysis of the Beller and Leerssen 2007 handbook, namely to the articles about the same eleven peoples that are presented in the LS. From a modern imagological point of view, the difference between the two

analysed objects seems to be ontological, as a difference between an imago-typical source and an imagological treatise. But in the original contexts both of them pretend to be a source of knowledge about the same topic, albeit on a different level: the older one about national characters, the younger one about their representations. However, for the sake of this discussion, some other differences of form and content are more important. The articles on peoples in the handbook are undersigned and written by various authors; descriptions include the diachronic dimension; they are, quite expectedly, far more loosely structured than the LS, but a certain descriptive pattern can be reconstructed from the contents of the articles; the sources of imagotypical attributes are transparent—they appear either as quotations or as the authors' generalizations (with or without quotation marks). Theoretically, the content of the articles could be presented in the form of a table, but that table would be far more complex than the LS, including a diachronic axis, references to sources, and the abovementioned "empty cells." Due to the complexity of the problem, we will focus only on the following axiological-imagological insights relevant to our discussion:

– The semantic or value potential of the designations of peoples are discussed only in three cases, emphasizing the following: the different names for "Germans," especially the Slavic forms with the etymological root *nêm-[11] meaning "dumb" or "stammering" (Beller 2007a, 159–160); the supposed etymology of the English and French word *ogre* from the old French name for the Hungarians (*Hongre*) meaning "'monster, men-eater frightening children in fairy tales'" (Marácz 2007, 175); and the recent substitution of "Greece" with the more prestigious name "Hellas" as the country's official designation (Paschalidis 2007, 170).

– The value of the key attributes of the here considered peoples—either directly quoted from the sources or synthesized by the authors of the articles—are obviously markedly indicative, even without a context, but there are still two exceptions. The personification of "John Bull," the stereotype of "gentlemen," and the notion of "phlegm," that are all essential attributes of "Englishness" (Spiering 2007), contain certain value potential, which, however, strongly depends on the given context. And the same goes for the "social-democratic idea of *folkhem* (home of people)" (Rühling 2007, 248), which occupies a central place in the article "Swedes."

– The degree of expression of the diachronic dimension in the analyzed articles may depend on the competencies and knowledge of their authors.

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11   In historical linguistics the asterisk (*) indicates a reconstructed, hypothetical form/word. Here it designates the presumed Proto-Slavic form.

However, a strongly emphasized diachronic structure implies changes in content or evaluation of representations of the given GCSs, while, on the other hand, a dominant synchronic structure indicates stability of the respective image. In that sense the Spaniards, Germans, Swedes, Hungarians, Greeks, and Turks are described as peoples with historically changeable imagotypical representations, whereas the attributes of the French and Italians are presented as historically far more stable.

– The natural environment occupies a relatively small share in the total value potential of the observed GCSs. Somewhat exceptional is France "as a privileged place: with a pleasant climate, neither too hot nor too cold, its topographical position ensuring fertility as well as variety—in short, an ideal location for its citizens" (Florack 2007, 154) and the attractive Italian scenery, although inseparable from the cultural, urban landscape (Beller 2007b, 196–197). On the other hand, in the articles on the Germans and Poles there is a complete absence of attributes about the natural landscapes of their countries.

– The frequency and distribution of the inherited (biological) character attributes is similar. Some such attributes can be noticed in the articles on the Spaniards ("cruelty," "bestial rage," "lustful," "fierce and coarse," etc.) and Germans ("robust stature, bravery in war, chastity among women, and a tendency towards hard drinking," Beller 2007a, 160); however, in the articles on the Italians and Russians, such attributes are completely absent.

– It can already be assumed that culture is a more important object of evaluation than natural environment and biological character traits. This is particularly true for descriptions of the French, Italians, English, Swedes, and Russians.

– As already emphasized, the imagotypical aspects of culture may be different. In most cases, that is a cultural space, for example Paris, functioning as a value ambivalent metonymy for France as a whole (Florack 2007, 157–158). Art plays an important role in the positive evaluation of the Italians and Russians. Ideology and politics gain an imagotypical potential in the articles on the Poles, Russians, and Turks. (Great) historical personalities and literary figures function as national cultural metonymies in the articles on the Germans (Arminius, Siegfried, Faust, Barbarossa, Frederick II, Bismarck; see Beller 2007, 160), Poles (Copernicus, Chopin, Mickiewicz; see Gerrits and Leerssen 2007, 217) and Hungarians (Nicholas Zrinyi, Liszt, Kossuth; see Marácz 2007, 175–176). Even food can have a powerful imagotypical potential, such as in the Anglo-French rivalry in the eighteenth century, more precisely the English preference for a steak over complicated French dishes (Spiering 2007, 147).

– The last point, which may be the most important aspect of culture as an ima-
  gotypical topic, are cultural character attributes, which are not always easily
  distinguished from innate, biological character traits, all the more so because
  they often come together in the same sequence. A good example is this sen-
  tence from the article on the French: "As tradition and popular wisdom will
  have it, the French are aristocratic, well-bred and hospitable, yet also change-
  able, fickle and profligate, according to the humanist Julius Caesar Scaliger in
  his influential *Poetices libri septem* (1561)" (Florack 2007, 154).

The first three attributes are undoubtedly derived from the sphere of culture,
whereas the second set, especially the first two attributes, belong to the realm
of nature. The largest number of cultural character attributes in the articles
analysed here are linked to the French ("well-dressed," "spirited," "sexual
liberty," "civilized behaviour in eloquence, courtesy, gallantry, sociability, light-
heartedness, self-expression and wit, in addition to love of their king," etc.,
see Florack 2007), but they also play an important role in the images of the
Spaniards ("lack of education," "fanatical and intolerant Catholics, oppres-
sors of civil liberties," "colourful customs," etc., see López de Abiada 2007) and
Russians ("backward, sparsely populated realm of nobles and serfs, with lit-
tle political organization and no cultural achievement," "hegemonic threat,"
"a temperamental disposition towards the anti-pragmatic, and meditative,
moral and even mystical character," see Naarden and Leerssen 2007).

The analysis of a representative sample of imagological articles on European
peoples shows that most of the imagotypical attributes, both positive and neg-
ative, come from the field of culture. Natural environment, if mentioned at all,
is mostly evaluated positively. The value nature of attributes of GCSs is usu-
ally clearly indicated and even classified as positive, negative, or ambivalent,
but the causes of particular evaluations are rarely explained, especially when it
comes to stable evaluations in longer time periods. There are some exceptions
where the causes are sought in general ideological schemes (e.g. in the oppo-
sition "wild" vs. "civilized" in the imagotypical discourse about the Gypsies;
cf. Kommers 2007, 171), in historical reality (e.g. in the Spanish military power
for the anti-Spanish *leyenda negra*, cf. López de Abiada 2007, 243), or in the reli-
gious position of the "spectator" (e.g. the negative *hetero-images* of the Italians
and Poles in English Renaissance literature and in Russian nineteenth-century
literature, respectively; cf. Beller 2007b, 195; Gerrits and Leerssen 2007, 217).

2.3 *Diachronic Changes and Evaluative Apriorism*

The eleven articles analysed provide useful material in considering the impor-
tant imagological phenomenon of diachronic changes in the evaluation of a
specific GCS. The possible causes of such changes are included in this general

statement about the nature of representations of GCSS in the article on the Spaniards: "The main factors that played a part in the formation of these representations depended, then as now, on the geographical location, political projection and economic power of the nation in question" (López de Abiada 2007, 243).

Among the three mentioned factors the "geographical location" seems to resist most diachronic changes (although not completely). The factor of "economic power" can be broadened to include some other forms of power (political, cultural, etc.) or with a more abstract concept of "prestige." And finally, under the factor of "political projection" one can understand the ideological position of the "spectator"—in the case of national stereotypes that factor often functions as "an affirmation of homegrown values" (Florack 2007, 156). Furthermore, it is also worthwhile to consider, that is, classify, some concrete examples from the analysed articles.

In most cases, changes of imagotypical representations of GCSS are explained as a result of political, social, and economic factors, that is, the factors in the actual/real world:

– After the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 the German image of France gained new key attributes: "old, over-refined and decadent" (Florack 2007, 156). At the same time the image of Germany as "'the land of poets and philosophers' had turned into an industrial and military power" (Beller 2007a, 162).

– The long-standing Swedish auto-image (*folkhem*) became questionable in the 1980s due to immigration, "slowing economy and unemployment," which caused "a veritable national identity crisis" (Rühling 2007, 249).

– The hetero-image of the Poles as "the ultimate idealists" became current after the three "Polish partitions" in 1772, 1793, and 1795 (Gerrits and Leerssen 2007, 217).

– The West European "romantic image of freedom-loving Hungary" changed after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 into the critical image of "Magyar Hungarians as brutal oppressors of the country's other nationalities" (Marácz 2007, 176).

– In the Western hetero-image of the Russians in the nineteenth century, Russia as a new military power became a "hegemonic threat"; on the other hand, in the second half of the century the West witnessed a growing cultural prestige of Russia due to its literature, music, and ballet (Naarden and Leerssen 2007, 228).

The analysed articles contain only two examples that emphasize cultural factors in changing imagotypical representations of GCSS:

- The contemporary hetero-image of Spain as "antitraditionalist, postmodern culture" was caused by architecture (Santiago Calatrava) and cinema (Carlos Saura, Julio Médem, Pedro Almodóvar) (López de Abiada 2007, 247).
- Greek films *Never on Sunday* (1960) and *Zorba the Greek* (1964) contributed to the construction of a new image of Greece as a modern, dominantly positive hetero-image of the country (Paschalidis 2007, 169).

According to the results of the analysis, fictional worlds obviously play a much smaller role in the changes of the representations of GCSs than factors in the actual/real world. There is also no example that demonstrates the full autonomy of the system of stereotypes from occurrences in the real world. At best, imagologists sometimes resort to an argument of the recurrence of old stereotypes in a specific historical situation, especially concerning explanations of the changes of images in the 1930s and 1940s:

- The Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) provides a model example: "Republican propaganda abroad invoked the image of the free people in arms, while the Nationalists deployed a mythologized version of sixteenth-century Spain, portraying themselves as 'crusaders' taking a stand against the infidel" (López de Abiada 2007, 246).
- The fate of Poland in WWII "reinforce[d] the older tropes of a victimized, suffering" country (Gerrits and Leerssen 2007, 217–218).
- The participation of Russia in the anti-Nazi alliance activated in the West "the trope of the long-suffering, patiently enduring Slav" (Naarden and Leerssen 2007, 229).

In all of the abovementioned examples, changes in the representations of certain GCSs are explained as consequences of changes in the real world, more often in its social-economic-political basis than in its fictional production. The opposite phenomenon of evaluative apriorism—that is, the resistance of images to contextual changes that should undermine the existing attributes of the given GCS—is far less, if at all, discussed in the articles analysed. The issue is implicitly included in the imagological key concept of the *national stereotype*, that is, in the concept of *stereotypes about national characters*. But as pointed out at the beginning of this article, since the concept of verisimilitude plays no role in modern imagology, each stereotype about national character is not in itself an example of evaluative apriorism. At this point of discussion, we are, therefore, limited to only a few principal/hypothetical remarks. First and foremost, in order to demonstrate evaluative apriorism, it is important to compare factual and imagotypical attributes. The principal causes of stable prejudices about GCSs can be sought in two slightly different aspects of evaluation. The first one seems to regard thinking along imagological lines

as a "normal" strategy in *national thought*, which prefers the position of the "spectator," which means that the attributes that are similar to those of his/her/their *auto-image* will be positively evaluated and vice versa. According to this principle of similarity—which for the purpose of this bifurcation is considered more natural than ideological—a *hetero-image* is only a function of an *auto-image*. All other cases of the discussed phenomenon could be subsumed under the category of an ideologically conditioned evaluative apriorism. Even radical antinationalism as the opposite of national thought falls under that category. In any case, in this type of evaluative apriorism ideological coherence and stability is preferred over the real state of (geocultural) affairs. Evaluative apriorism is easily detectable by historically oriented imagological research, but the investigation of its manifestations and causes remains one of the basic tasks of the discipline.

3   Summary and Prospect

The value aspect of representations of GCSs should be the starting point of any imagological analysis: the value potential of the *image* has to be precisely described, which includes an explanation of a given (dominantly) positive or negative value, or value ambivalence. The analysis of the articles in the handbook *Imagology* (Beller and Leerssen 2007) showed that the explanatory context—at least in the cases of diachronic changes in the evaluation of GCSs—should be sought in historical reality rather than in a relatively autonomous *imagotype system*. Besides, to achieve a convincing result in an imagological analysis, it is advisable to define the abstract concept of geocultural space as a subject of study, which includes the here discussed dominant subject of *national character*. However, the analysis conducted here demonstrates that national/ethnic character is a focal point in the evaluation of GCSs. The conceptual system and terminology of the formal axiology (Hartman 1967; Edwards 2010) certainly cannot be directly applied to imagology, but it can inspire its systemic axiological foundation.

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Toward a Production-Oriented Imagology

Ulrike Kristina Köhler

Abstract

This article outlines a production-oriented imagology and equips the imagological toolkit with concepts and terminology from cultural memory studies, reception aesthetics, narratology, rhetoric, and text linguistics. It thereby presents the theoretical framework which makes it possible to analyse generic elements without a national connotation with regard to their function in generating a national image. Using as examples genres from English Romanticism and how they evoke Englishness, the article highlights the aesthetic complexity of national images and their range of variation. Simultaneously it paves the way for a more nuanced deconstruction of these images.

Keywords

imagology – production aesthetics – genre – implied reader – English Romanticism

1   Introduction

Imagology is invested in the deconstruction of national images, not least because it strives to disclose their fictional character and discriminatory potential. For this purpose, it has assembled a notable and differentiated toolkit, and has long developed into a structural analysis of national images (cf. Leerssen 2000, 271). At the same time, this objective resulted in a narrowing of its viewfinder to explicit representations of nations, such as national stereotypes and topoi. In doing so, imagology has largely overlooked that generic elements without a national connotation can also contribute to generating a national image. As a consequence, it lacks the analytical instruments for the investigation of these generic elements.

A production-oriented imagology, as presented in this article, assembles the missing tools to trace and deconstruct the different layers of complex

national images in a nuanced way. The article crystallizes the core aspects of production-oriented imagology as developed and tested in the monograph *Poetik der Nation. Englishness in der englischen Romantik* (Köhler 2019). First, a production-oriented imagology adopts a panoramic perspective, taking in a genre in its entirety and thus allowing to identify all generic elements be they narrative, aesthetic, rhetorical, formal, or of another kind. Then its view-finder zooms in on the different generic elements, "putting" them "under the microscope" (Wellek 1963, 9) for a thorough examination. In order to be able to analyse them conclusively, the imagological toolkit has to be augmented with concepts and terminology from different fields of literary and cultural studies. To showcase the benefits of a production-oriented imagology, this article will outline the manifestations of Englishness as they show themselves in a range of genres with a variety of differing generic elements, including narrative, aesthetic, stylistic, formal, and rhetorical ones. Therefore the analysis focuses on the following four genres: the political essay, the travelogue, the Gothic novel, and balladry.[1] The article will spotlight the role of generic elements which are not weighted with national overtones, and how they interact with explicit representations of nations.

The cultural-historical context is English Romanticism, a period which peaked around 1800, ended in the 1830s, and was harbingered as early as the 1760s.[2] During this epoch, the concept of nation and nation building took centre stage, and literature played a crucial function in shaping the idea of the English nation. The Gothic novel "rose on the nationalist tide" (Miles 2007, 14–15), and poetry after 1800 was employed to foster nationalist sentiments (cf. Leerssen 2018, 109). The epoch is marked by a heightened interest in subjectivity, the imagination, the sublime, the beautiful, and the picturesque, as well as in sensibility. A mystified age of chivalry became an idealized past that the nation could turn to in search of its roots and values. Simultaneously, traditional order and hierarchy in both art and society were fiercely challenged. Romantic writers dismissed the neoclassical poetics of the eighteenth century which had its

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1 For a comparative case study of two travelogues see Sandra Vlasta's article in this volume (part 1, chapter 4). Moreover, Vlasta's article proposes an innovative imagological approach to travel writing since it integrates "how the genre-specific stylistic elements of multilingualism and intertextuality inform the performance of auto- and hetero-images" (Vlasta 2022, 112) in the genre.

2 In his introduction to *The Oxford Handbook of British Romanticism,* David Duff (2018, 1) dates the beginning of English Romanticism to the year 1760. The handbook synthesizes the current state of research regarding English Romanticism. The different phases of the epoch are characterized in chapters 1–5. For a concise outline of the period see Casaliggi and Fermanis (2016).

epicentre in France as "a foreign, colonizing influence that had pushed British literature off its natural course" (Duff 2009, 33), and understood genres as forms to be transgressed and played with. These changes in art and literature were inseparably intertwined with the upheavals of contemporary history. The French Revolution shook Europe to its core. British radical forces (among them poets and intellectuals) hoped the revolutionary tidal wave would reach Britain, whereas conservatives saw in the unprecedented events on the continent a crisis of social stability and peace (cf. Gibson 1995, 111–115). Later on, the Napoleonic Wars brought about a change in the general perception of France.

Regarding the manifestations of Englishness in the four genres named above, this article builds on the findings of *Poetik der Nation. Englishness in der englischen Romantik* (Köhler 2019). The monograph examines the four genres in detail by looking at a representative corpus of each of them.[3]

2 Outlining a Production-Oriented Imagology

Imagological analysis can, as Joep Leerssen has pointed out, greatly benefit from analytical tools with a poetological-narratological angle (cf. Leerssen 2012, 16). A prerequisite to answering this call is the identification of the different generic elements, since they in turn point to the tools required for their analysis.

The political essay of the Romantic period is "a short, rhetorical and argumentative piece concerned to record and influence immediate events or conditions" (Christie [2005] 2008, 434). It is characterized by the audible and politically clearly positioned voice of the essayist, who addresses a like-minded audience and fiercely rejects an opposite position. Frequent topics are the French Revolution, the domestic parliamentary system, and the constitution. The level of rhetorical sophistication varies, and the political essay of the Romantic period is in its essence a shapeshifting hybrid, "a *real* Proteus" (Hardison 1989, 27, emphasis in the original), as it intercedes with the political pamphlet on the one hand and the philosophical essay on the other.[4]

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3 A detailed outline of the corpora can be found in Köhler (2019) on pp. 56–58 for the political essay, on pp. 90–92 for the travelogue, on pp. 128–129 for the Gothic novel, and on pp. 166–168 for balladry.

4 Detailed definitions of the genres on which the analysed corpus of each of the four genres is based can be found on pp. 51–53 in Köhler (2019) for the political essay, on pp. 85–87 for the travelogue, for the Gothic novel on pp. 126–128, and on pp. 164–166 for balladry.

In the travelogue, a "traveling I" retraces a preceding journey and presents it in the form of a narrative (cf. Korte 1996, 1). During the Romantic period a "concern with the traveller's subjective impressions, and a corresponding narratorial endeavour to chart the flux of thoughts and feelings" (Thompson [2005] 2008, 563) becomes characteristic of the genre. It is further marked by borrowings from the Gothic novel, and by anecdotes and comparisons between the own and the visited nation. Landscape descriptions framed in a rhetoric of the sublime and picturesque echo the contemporary discourse of aesthetics (cf. Butler 1998, 366). Moreover, intertextual references colour the visited country in the language of the familiar.

In the Gothic novel, the story typically revolves around an innocent, orphaned heroine, persecuted by a Gothic villain (cf. Milbank 2007, 155). The backdrop for these plot-driven stories is provided by an imaginary medieval South marked by sublime and picturesque landscapes, "mouldering castle[s] or monaster[ies]" (ibid.), ruled by a malicious, morally degenerate clergy. Recurrent elements are the (pseudo)supernatural and the motif of the doppelgänger. A canonized variation is Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein, or The Modern Prometheus* (1818). Employing the eternal ice of the North Pole for its canvas, the plot of persecution is transferred into the realm of science with his own creation haunting Victor Frankenstein.

Balladry, in the Romantic period, is an umbrella term that accommodates a wide range of texts (cf. Castein 1971, 9). Innovative poems such as William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge's *Lyrical Ballads* (1798) experiment with everyday language and portray an idealized rural population. Walter Scott's more traditional ballads, such as *The Troubadour* (1815), tell stories of chivalry and minstrelsy, and thereby offer a projection surface for the commemoration of an imaginary national past. This also holds for the web of texts and paratexts that span around collected traditional ballads, which were displayed as the relics retrieved from bygone times.[5] Less literary specimens of the genre such as John Thelwall's *A Sheepsheering Song* (1795), which the radical orator published in his political magazine *The Tribune*, fuelled the heated discussion within the political arena (cf. Thelwall 1795a, 190–192) and were part of song culture.[6]

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5   In 1765 Thomas Percy published *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, a collection of texts which triggered the Romantic balladry revival (cf. Roe [2005] 2008, 6).

6   For the construction of a national Self in political songs see Renée Vulto's article in this volume (part 5, chapter 19).

2.1   *Expanding the Theoretical Toolkit*

The succinct genre definitions already point to the fields of literary and cultural theory which provide the concepts and the terminology for their analysis. By nature, narratology proves particularly resourceful for the prose genres. Wayne Booth's concept of the implied author forms the basis with which to capture the essayists inscribed in the political essay. The concept denotes a "'second self'" of the real author (Booth [1961] [2]1983, 151). In its essence, it is the understanding that authors leave an imprint of themselves revealing their values and decisions in each of their works (cf. ibid.). Usually, the implied author remains a rather abstract entity, a kind of "puppeteer" (ibid.) pulling the strings behind the scenes. In comparison, the implied essayists are easier to grasp. They appear as distinct political individuals with straightforward messages. Hence, political essays share characteristics with historical narratives. Like the latter, the political essay teaches how to "carry[] out intentions" (White [2004] 2007, 94), as it aims to create a bond between the essayist and the assumed like-minded audience, and to defy the political opponent. To be able to examine the rhetoric employed, the terms "Sprache der Nähe" (Koch and Oesterreicher 1985, 21)—"language of closeness"—and "fingierte Mündlichkeit" (Goetsch 1985, 202)—"feigned orality"—of text linguistics come into the picture.[7]

With regard to the travelogue and the Gothic novel—both in the broadest sense forms of narrative—Gérard Genette's narratological categories and terminology allow to examine the narrative situation and the adopted point of view, or, in Genette's terminology, the *focalization* (Genette [1972] 1983, 189, emphasis in the original) as separate units and in the necessary differentiated manner. Algirdas Greimas's structuralist model of fictional characters completes the genre-specific theoretical framework of the Gothic novel. Greimas understands fictional characters as regards their function within the plot.

1. The first kinds bring the help by acting in the direction of the desire or by facilitating communication.
2. The others, on the contrary, create obstacles by opposing either the realization of the desire or the communication of the object. These two bundles of functions can be attributed to two distinct actants that we will designate under the name of Helper vs. Opponent.
   GREIMAS [1966] 1983, 205

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7   The translations given here are my own.

To understand characters through their function within a plot makes it possible to read the recurrent storyline of the damsel in distress in the Gothic novel as a national narrative, something which will be elaborated on later in this article. The terminology of poetry analysis regarding stylistic devices, formal aspects, and rhythm helps to trace how images and other characteristic elements of poetry contribute indirectly to evoking Englishness. This is of particular interest for the analysis of balladry.

Since genres do not emerge *ex nihilo*, but are part of their sociocultural context and have a reception-aesthetic quality, central aspects of the concepts of cultural memory and reception aesthetics belong to the analytical repertoire of all four genres. In a broad sense, the term "cultural memory" refers to the reservoir of texts, images, and rituals circulating at a time or epoch (cf. Assmann 1988, 15). The term "accentuates the connection of memory on the one hand and socio-cultural contexts on the other" (Erll 2008, 4). It is collective, since "it is shared by a number of people and […] it conveys to these people a collective, that is, cultural, identity" (Assmann 2008, 110).

Of consequence to the discussion here is the fact that texts and images activated in a genre allow conclusions to be drawn with regards to their audience. This does not mean the actual reader, who could be anyone, but rather the implied addressee who is inscribed in the fabric of the genre. The term "implied addressee" is modelled on the role Wolfgang Iser assigns to the recipient in his concept of the implied reader:

> T]he role of the reader […] is definable in terms of textual structure and structured acts. By bringing about a standpoint for the reader, the textual structure follows a basic rule of human perception, as our views of the world are always of a perspective nature. […] By virtue of this standpoint, the reader is situated in such a position that he can assemble the meaning toward which the perspectives of the text have guided him.
>   ISER [1978] 1980, 38

A real reader of M.G. Lewis's *The Monk*, for example, could dismiss the story when the novice Matilda is revealed to be a demon, rejecting the idea of supernatural beings. The implied addressee, on the other hand, would accept the world in the way it unfolds in the novel. What is more, an implied addressee is able to decipher the novel in its entirety, understand allusions, intertextual references, and not least national stereotypes, whereas a real reader would not necessarily have the knowledge or the competences to do so.

2.2 *The Foundation of a Production-Oriented Imagology*

At the core of a production-oriented imagology is, of course, imagology. Therefore, the approach presented here builds on the theoretical insights of this field of research. First and foremost, this holds for the insight that national stereotypes function according to underlying mechanisms. National stereotypes—the fixed, simplified images of self and other—associate the Self and the Other with a limited set of often contrasting qualities (cf. Beller 2007, 429). Stereotypes are organized, as Leerssen has shown, according to specific "*imageme*[s], [...] 'blue print[s]' underlying the various concrete, specific actualizations that can be textually encountered" (Leerssen 2000, 279, emphasis in the original). National topoi can also function as structural patterns involving diverse generic elements, including the characterization of figures and the plot. Luise Gottsched's *Die Hausfranzösin oder die Mammsell* (1744) is one example from the corpus of German and French literature that Ruth Florack has examined. In this comedy, the dangerous influence of everything French is prominently embodied by a female French servant characterized by vanity and haughtiness who, despite her low rank, demands special treatment simply because she is French (cf. Florack 2007, 184). Intending to impose pressure on their masters, the foreign servants abduct a daughter of the house. Thus the topos of the selfish, fickle French becomes a plot-driving force (cf. ibid., 185). Birgit Neumann also highlights the fact that different narrative components can contribute to evoking a national image (cf. Neumann 2009a, 66). As a result, she augments her imagological toolkit with the analytical terminology of narratology. To give one example, she employs Genette's term "homodiegetic narrator" to describe the narrative situation in the eighteenth-century travelogue (cf. ibid., 118).

Neumann also integrates aspects of cultural memory studies into her approach of a cultural and historical imagology, developed in *Rhetorik der Nation* (2009). With her interest in the impact of national stereotypes and images, Neumann draws the attention to the recipient. For the integration of reception aesthetics in the theoretical framework, imagology, in particular a production-oriented one, is largely indebted to Emer O'Sullivan, as she has shown that stereotypes function as a kind of literary shorthand (cf. O'Sullivan 1989, 57) which "triggers an extensively preprogrammed actualization of associations" (O'Sullivan 2005, 40). Hence, stereotypes exhibit a "recognition value" (Leerssen 2016, 19).

Imagology has also investigated the pseudoscientific underpinning of national stereotypes. These are the concepts of "national character" and climate theory. Both are based on the belief that "the core qualities of representatives

of groups and nations" (Zacharasiewicz 2010, 68) would show themselves in an apparent national character. Climate theory correlates the alleged character of entire populations and nations with the climate zone that they inhabit (cf. ibid., 67–69). For a production-oriented approach which uses the genres of the Romantic period as an example, this is important for two reasons. Firstly, both climate theory and the belief in an existing national character were accepted "knowledge" during the Romantic period, and even appeared in nineteenth-century educational material for children (cf. O'Sullivan 2017, 60–63). Secondly, as will be explained later in this article, climate theory can be employed as a compass to identify characters of the Gothic novel as English, although they are nominally French, Italian, or Spanish.

3   The Interplay of Generic Elements with and without a National Connotation

Before spotlighting the elements which elicit Englishness in the political essay, the travelogue, the Gothic novel, and in balladry, the genre-specific manifestations of an English self-image will be presented in their essentials. In the political essay, the nation appears as a liberal community framed between tradition and vision. Beyond this, the English self-image takes shape in two contrasting variations, which are determined by the two prevailing political attitudes adopted in the texts. Conservative essays chart the nation as a hierarchical community gaining stability from its traditions, whereas radical essays envision the nation as a future-oriented democratic republic aware of its history. The understanding of a common national past functions as the unifying factor in the genre (cf. Köhler 2019, 82–83).

In the travelogue, the nation appears as a liberal republican society and well-organized superpower, with the middle class as the driving force. Subsequently, Englishness is associated with bourgeois norms. Male strength, righteousness, and the capacity to run an efficient administration complement female virtue and purity.[8] Middle-class values seem to stem from an English capacity to recognize the transcendent in nature as the English "traveling I" in particular is drawn to contemplating sublime landscapes. Its philosophical underpinning is the idea that man faces the transcendent in sublime landscapes such as high mountains and deep ravines (cf. Burke [1757] 1998, 66). As a result, an indirect

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8 A sense of superiority has also been diagnosed with regard to Victorian travelogues. In her article in this volume, Sandra Vlasta, for example, observes that Charles Dickens "never lets go of his superior position" (2022, 120) in his depiction of Genovese women.

claim to cultural hegemony is inherent here. Humour and Protestantism as an "ingredient" of an English self-image play a minor role, and Protestantism as an English characteristic becomes mainly evident in texts which trace an itinerary through Catholic countries. Due to its leap toward a republican society, revolutionary France—and to a lesser degree other European countries (e.g. Switzerland with its national hero Wilhelm Tell)—functions as a positive projection surface, albeit less prominently here than in political essays with a radical orientation (cf. Köhler 2019, 121–122).

The Gothic novel differs from the travelogue in that the aspect of the civilizational gravitates toward an Enlightened human sensibility and the faculty to empathize as the foundation of society. A female disposition marked by gentleness and sensibility has its counterpart in male readiness for self-sacrifice and chivalry. Another predominant characteristic of Englishness is its association with an Enlightened Protestantism (cf. ibid., 160).

Balladry, on the other hand, associates Englishness with chivalry, military superiority, a sense of being earthborn, an awareness of the own heroic national past tinged with medievalism, and a capacity for humour. At the core of an English self-image is the understanding that the nation is a harmonious rural England, and at the same time a defiant seafaring community. Similar to the political essay, historicity is ascribed to the nation, even though the way it manifests itself in balladry differs from the manifestation in the prose genre, since in balladry it is mainly connected to an imaginary chivalric past and belligerent conflicts such as the defeat of the Armada (1588). Balladry portrays a range of different social groups as designing actors within the national community. They are the different voices in a polyphonic but harmonious chorus toasting the nation (cf. ibid., 202). These different manifestations of an English self-image come into being because generic elements without a national connotation interact with elements which are explicit representations of nations.

3.1 *The Use and Function of National Stereotypes and Topoi*

In the political essay, the use and function of national stereotypes depend on the political attitude adopted in the texts. Conservative political essays employ them to delineate negative depictions of France, and they can, as in Burke's *Reflections of the Revolution in France* (1790), merge with a religious hetero-stereotype. The negative image of a superstitious Catholicism represents in this essay the newly established, and from a conservative perspective illegitimate, French rulers. In radical texts, stereotypes only exhibit a slight national tinge. The elements of the political essay explicitly associated with the nation are historical and mythological elements of cultural knowledge, which have

traditionally played a role in constructing an English self-image. These are the Norman Conquest (1066) and the myth of the Norman Yoke, according to which the Norman William the Conqueror had put an abrupt end to a free, egalitarian Anglo-Saxon society, replacing it with an iron-fisted foreign rule (cf. Newman [1987] 1997, 190). In addition, the Glorious Revolution (1688/1689), which led to a new contract between the monarch and the aristocracy, is another historical touchstone. If the constitution is mentioned, it is presented as a national achievement, heavily weighted with associations. The named elements fulfil a direct function in evoking Englishness, because they are employed to construct English history, and simultaneously activate the idea of English liberty.[9]

Due to the many encounters with "foreigners" depicted in the travelogue, representations of the national Other are a core element in this genre, and "provide formulaic communication aids" (Beller 2007, 430). Explicit comparisons of national Self and Other construct "binary-opposed character traits" (ibid., 433). Another form of comparison depicts the national Other in an explicit way, associating it with derogative and even discriminatory images. "Nothing, indeed, can equal the stupid obstinacy of some of these half alive beings" writes Mary Wollstonecraft in *Letters Written During a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark* (1796) about Scandinavians, and she continues, "who seemed to have been made by Prometheus, when the fire he stole from Heaven was so exhausted, that he could only spare a spark to give life, not animation, to the inert clay" (Wollstonecraft [1796] 2009, 93). Here Englishness is implicitly outlined as the positive opposite of the national Other. The same mechanism is at work when the national Other is portrayed in anecdotes. Since anecdotes are meant to elicit laughter, Englishness is thereby linked to humour and the faculty to ridicule.[10]

In the Gothic novel, national stereotypes are an essential part of the depiction of characters, and merge with character types such as the damsel in distress. Climate theory is the compass that makes it possible to reveal that heroines and other positive characters, which are nominally French, Italian, or Spanish, match English stereotypes. According to eighteenth-century English theoreticians, including the influential William Falconer, a Northern climate fosters a phlegmatic temperament. In the Gothic novel the "phlegmatic genius of the North" (Falconer 1781, 85) shows itself in female and male characters alike. The angelic, gentle bride of Victor Frankenstein in Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein, or The Modern Prometheus* epitomizes in the best possible way such a

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9   For detailed explanations regarding this aspect see subchapter 4.5 in Köhler (2019, 63–69).
10   For a detailed analysis of the function of anecdotes and comparisons see subchapter 5.4 in Köhler (2019, 92–102).

character in its female manifestation: "The saintly soul of Elizabeth shone like a shrine-dedicated lamp in our peaceful home. [...] [H]er smile, her soft voice, the sweet glance of her celestial eyes, were ever there to bless and animate us" (Shelley [1818] 1994, 36).

In the Gothic novel, the characters are constructed as "opposing binaries" (Schmitt 1997, 13) based on the imageme of a "North-South opposition" (Leerssen 2000, 276). The depiction of the malicious Marchesa di Vivaldi, a character in Radcliffe's *The Italian, or the Confessional of the Black Penitents. A Romance* (1797), reads as the negative counterpart of the English heroine in foreign disguise. Her character traits seem to be copied verbatim from a dictionary of epithets: "She was of violent passions, haughty, vindictive, yet crafty and deceitful" (Radcliffe [1797] 1998, 7).[11]

Several ballads take the English gentleman as the model to stylize prominent figures of the army—Lord Nelson and the Duke of Wellington—as national heroes. Also specific to the genre are the auto-stereotypes of John Bull, the round-bellied, lower-class counterpart of the English gentleman, and Jack Tar, the image of the courageous English sailor, which appear onstage. Together with the auto-image of Merry England, in its essence the depiction of uplifting landscapes and gardens (cf. Blaicher 2000, 9), they contribute to represent England simultaneously as an indomitable seafaring nation and a harmonious rural community (cf. Köhler 2019, 202). The manifestation of Merry England in balladry corresponds with the appearance of the auto-image at the transition from the Romantic to the Victorian period, as described by Günther Blaicher (cf. Blaicher 2000, 63). Consequently, it solidifies in beautiful landscapes blended with images of popular culture, including mythic figures such as Robin Hood (cf. Köhler 2019, 189).[12]

3.2 *The Function of Generic Elements without a National Connotation*

Even if a national aspect is not evident at first glance, narrative elements can fulfil an indirect function in evoking Englishness. This holds for the Gothic novel and the travelogue in their genre-specific way. Building on Cannon Schmitt's finding that in the Gothic novel "threatened femininity comes to stand in metonymically for the English nation itself" (1997, 2), the plot of the

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11   For detailed explanations of how climate theory can be employed to identify the "true" nationality of the stock characters of the Gothic novel see subchapter 6.3 in Köhler (2019, 130–138). How climate theory can be applied to identify the "character" of Catholicism and Protestantism as it is sketched in the Gothic novel see subchapter 6.4 in Köhler (2019, 138–144).

12   For expanded explanations with regard to this aspect see subchapter 7.7 on pp. 189–195 in Köhler (2019).

damsel in distress can be read as a narration of the nation with therapeutic qualities. It addresses the fear of an external threat, while simultaneously suggesting that England, like the damsel in distress, will manage to keep its enemies at bay (cf. Köhler 2019, 160).

To realize this reading, it is necessary to identify the subtle allusions to the conflict with France and to determine the "true" nationality of the characters as it has been done with the help of climate theory. The narrative situation and the focalization support this interpretation in an indirect way, but no less forcefully. With exceptions, a heterodiegetic narrator, per definition "absent from the story he tells" (Genette [1972] 1983, 244), and thus apparently unbiased, prevails in the genre. Adopting a "*zero focalization*" (ibid., 189, emphasis in the original) that is no one's perspective, the heterodiegetic viewpoint also suggests reliable objectivity. This way, the thoughts of the Gothic villain confirm the fears of the damsel in distress, and give proof of his malice and perverted desires. In Lewis's *The Monk*, for example, the heterodiegetic narrator recounts the stirred-up emotions of the damsel in distress and her tormentor who represent the English nation and the foreign aggressor respectively. "With every moment the Friar's passion became more ardent, and Antonia's terror more intense" (Lewis [1796] 1998, 383).[13]

The analysis of the political essay and balladry gives evidence that tone, rhetoric, and formal elements also contribute to delineating the genre-specific manifestation of an English self-image. A pathetic and sensitive tone enriches and reaffirms the meaning of a representation that offers scanty facts. It also refers to the essayists and their understanding of the English nation. The varnish of pathos polishes the image of the national Other, turning it into a glowing projection surface for an empathy-driven English community. Moreover, two rhetorical techniques contribute indirectly to evoking Englishness within the political essay. The emphatic tone in which the reader is addressed conjures up a "we," a sense of togetherness. The radical orator John Thelwall welcomes his audience with "Citizens, You assemble this evening" ([1795b] 2009, 255), and makes use of the already mentioned "language of closeness" and of a feigned orality. The conservative Strap Bodkin uses the same rhetorical device, and suggests with "Brother Farmers" (1793, 1) even greater familiarity. This contrasts with a rhetoric that distances the political opponent, doubting his or her righteousness and patriotic zeal. Edmund Burke, the most resonating conservative voice in the revolutionary controversy, denounces the clergyman Richard Price and his *A Discourse on the Love of our Country, delivered on Nov. 4, 1789* (1789)

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13   For detailed explanations see subchapters 6.6 on pp. 150–157 and 6.8 on pp. 160–161 in Köhler (2019).

with the following poignant words: "For my part, I looked on that sermon as the public declaration of a man much connected with literary caballers, and intriguing philosophers; with political theologians, and theological politicians, both at home and abroad" (Burke [1790] 1964, 9). The technique of creating closeness on the one hand and distance on the other reinforces the political attitude, voiced in the respective essays, and this rhetorical strategy underpins either the traditional or the visionary outline of the nation.

In a number of ballads, a sublime-emphatic tone engulfs the nation in a sacred aura. Stylistic devices fulfil a pivotal role because imagery and puns serve to characterize nations. *A Droll Ballad* (1815) depicts Napoleon's campaign against Russia as a failed excursion. Here the play on words, "Markoff he mark'd them off" (Anon. [1815] 1976, 488), to give one example, distorts the name of the Russian officer E.I. Markov in such a way that it resembles an English verb, which in turn is then employed to present the action on the battlefield in a humorous way.[14] Here the core function of "entertaining [...] the readership" (Neumann 2009b, 280), as defined by Neumann for the rhetoric of national character, becomes evident. Apart from denigrating the national Other as an object of ridicule, the national Self is implicitly associated with superiority and humour. In some ballads, cross-rhymes frequently alternate with heroic couplets, which then serve to praise the deeds of the national heroes. Not only ballads centring on chivalry, such as Walter Scott's *The Troubadour* whose protagonist is "[r]esolved for love and fame to fight" (Scott 1815, 255), but also the paratextual web, woven around the genre during the Romantic period, furnish the nation with mythic medieval roots.

Accordingly, formal elements also contribute to evoking Englishness indirectly. Aesthetic and philosophical concepts of the Romantic period take on an indirect but nonetheless significant function in giving Englishness its genre-specific colouring. The concepts of "imagination" and "sensibility," even more those of the "sublime" and the "picturesque," take on a salient role. An idealized image of the French Revolution and the faculty for social empathy are the foundation for Enlightened humanistic values, proposed in radical political essays as the coordinates of the own nation. Sensibility has also left its imprint on the Gothic novel, in particular on the heroines and their male counterparts, who exhibit a pronounced education of the heart. Since they epitomize the English nation, this characteristic appears to be specifically English. In the Gothic novel, the concept of the "imagination" also takes on an indirect function, interplaying here with an intertext widely known during

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14   E.I. Markov was involved in a campaign against the retreating French troops (cf. Lieven [2009] 2010, 538/542).

the eighteenth century. John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* (1563) received a national reading, and was available in the churches next to the Bible (cf. Colley [1992] 2005, 25). Words and graphic illustrations recount the suffering of Protestants tortured at the hands of the "Papist" inquisition during the brief reign of the Catholic Queen Mary. Accordingly, the book offers ample material to fill in the gaps in the mere schematic representation of a dark medieval Catholicism.[15] Inherent in this image is a positive notion of an English Protestantism.

The sublime serves in balladry in part as rhetoric to set the national Self above the national Other. In travelogues, the sublime shapes the way in which landscapes are portrayed, and subsequently how the national Other is depicted. Its function regarding Englishness is indirect, and it is only possible to identify it if the transcendental dimension of the sublime is taken into account. In this interpretation, God reveals himself in contemplation of the sublime. It is the English "traveling I" who, standing *pars pro toto* for the nation, unlocks the transcendental dimension of the sublime in contemplating respective landscapes (the inhabitants of the toured country are usually not portrayed as onlookers).[16]

The picturesque in the travelogue serves to delineate the national Other as a tranquil and unencumbered place. Behind this image, England rises as a further advanced community in terms of civilization. This community needs a place of relief, allowing to factor out the war with France, the beginning of industrialization, and the harsh marks of the politics of enclosure which resulted in the fencing of hitherto common pasture. Employing a bridge as an image of transition, this becomes most evident in Dorothy Wordsworth's *Recollections of a Tour made in Scotland* (1874) where she writes: "We enter Scotland by crossing the river Sark; on the Scotch side of the bridge the ground is unenclosed pasturage" ([1874] 1997, 41).

In the political essay, the implied addressee appears as a well-informed reader who already holds the political position adopted in the essay. The elements of cultural knowledge focus on aspects of history. Since they receive no explanation, the implied addressee is characterized as a reader who is familiar with these elements and their context. Accordingly, the reader appears as one who is able to fill in details and to relate historical events to a national Self. The cultural frame of reference (in particular the national history) becomes thereby the link between the different readerships, ranging from radical religious Dissenters to traditional landowning farmers (cf. Köhler 2019, 78–79).

The sum of intertexts portrays the implied addressee in the travelogue as an educated member of the middle class. Because several intertexts presuppose

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15   For detailed explanations see subchapter 6.4.2 on pp. 142–144 in Köhler (2019).
16   For detailed explanations see subchapter 5.7 on pp. 113–116 in Köhler (2019).

that the reader is, for example, expected to be familiar with English travelogues of previous decades, they connote the reader as "English" (cf. ibid., 119–121).

Few Gothic novels mark the reader as English in an explicit way. Radcliffe's *The Italian, or the Confessional of the Black Penitents: A Romance* pictures the implied addressee as an English armchair traveller, because, like the English traveller of the frame narrative, the implied addressee is drawn into the blood-curdling events related in the embedded narrative (cf. ibid., 153). Also, the gaps in this Gothic novel, as well as in the genre as a whole, connote the reader as English. In particular, the negative religious stereotypes which outline the image of a dark evil religious Other leave a gap when it comes to the depiction of the Self. What this Self is supposed to look like is already inscribed in the text; it materializes as the opposite of the negative Other. The implied addressee appears as a recipient who can fill in the gap in this contrast relation, and is then able to relate it to a religious and national Self. Subsequently, reception-aesthetic elements reinforce the norms and values advocated in the genre and which the plot and the polar organization of the characters connote as English.

In the case of balladry, it is appropriate to refer to a range of implied addressees, since this diverse genre addresses different social groups and assigns to them a significant role within the national community. The cultural knowledge activated in the genre also associates the reader with Englishness. This holds for the auto- and hetero-stereotypes and the knowledge about victorious battles of past centuries (cf. ibid., 199–200).

4   A Word about Future Research, or the Flexible Character of a Production-Oriented Imagology

Using the manifestations of Englishness in genres of English Romanticism as an example, the preceding explanations have highlighted that national images are highly complex aesthetic constructs. They take shape through the interaction of diverse elements. National stereotypes and topoi certainly play a salient function, but of equal relevance are elements which are not nationally connoted. Of importance in all four analysed genres are elements appertaining to reception aesthetics and cultural memory. This indicates that these elements might also play a role in other genres, and consequently they should be given particular attention in future research.

Production-oriented imagology has an inherently flexible character and requires specific tailoring for each individual research question. Methodologically clearly anchored in a context-sensitive close reading, the approach

augments its analytical toolkit depending on the genre that is to be analysed. It offers the theoretical framework to identify all elements involved in evoking a national image, and it allows for an analysis of their respective function.

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Imagology and the Analysis of Identity Discourses in Late Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century European Travel Writing by Charles Dickens and Karl Philipp Moritz

Sandra Vlasta

Abstract

This article analyses processes of collective and individual identity formation in European travel writing from the late eighteenth and the middle of the nineteenth century and argues that these processes are based not least on the national stereotypes described and performed in the texts. I explore how the genre-specific stylistic elements of multilingualism and intertextuality inform the performance of auto- and hetero-images and in doing so suggest converging travel writing studies and imagological studies. To illustrate my thesis, I analyse travelogues by Charles Dickens and Karl Philipp Moritz.

Keywords

From the late eighteenth and well into the nineteenth century, travel writing was an extremely popular genre in Europe, not least because it accompanied and shaped the far-reaching political and social transformations that took place at the time; that is, the formation of European national states and identities on the one hand, and the formation of a middle class on the other. Although travelogues have been referred to as major sources of literary auto- and hetero-images, especially in earlier imagological studies, the subsequently emerging field of travel writing studies, particularly in the Anglophone countries, hardly considered imagological theory and methodology. In this article I propose to examine collective and individual identity discourses in travel writing by European authors of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

by approximating travel writing studies and imagological approaches. More precisely, I suggest to analyse the "grammar," as Leerssen has called it (2000, 271), of auto- and hetero-images in European travel writing with reference to structural features that, although typical for the genre, hitherto have not been studied in detail—that is, its multilingualism and intertextuality.[1] To illustrate my argument, I present analyses of two travelogues: Charles Dickens's *Pictures from Italy* (1846) is a typical travelogue of its time in the sense that it talks about a popular and well-known destination—Italy. What is more, it was written in the middle of the nineteenth century, when already a plethora of travel writing about Italy had been published. Dickens thus had to find an individual approach to the subject. Multilingualism, though an element that can often be found in travel writing, is used by Dickens for this purpose and it strengthens the auto-image the traveller/narrator gives of himself, as I will show in my analysis. As a second text, I chose Karl Phillip Moritz's *Reisen eines Deutschen in England im Jahre 1782* (*Travels in England in 1782*)[2] as an example from the late eighteenth century, in which the transformation of the genre to a more subjective account of the journey is clearly visible. In my analysis I will concentrate on the intertextual references applied by Moritz. Again, this is a common feature in travel writing that, however, is rarely looked at in detail. I argue that the intertextual references play a decisive role in the negotiation of identity, be it that of others or that of oneself. As Moritz was a passionate reader not least of English literature, his text is a very suitable example for such an analysis.

1   Travel Writing (Studies) and Imagology

Travelogues have been called one of the key genres of imagology and, in fact, many ethnotypes—I use Leerssen's term to refer to "representations

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1   In a similar manner, Ulrike Köhler in her contribution to this volume (part 1, chapter 3) applies a production-oriented imagology to, among others, English travel writing of the Romantic period. She demonstrates how generic elements without a national connotation can also contribute to generating national images.

2   Moritz's travelogue was translated into English several times. The titles of these translations vary: the first translation, published in 1795 (and reprinted several times), was *Travels, Chiefly on Foot, Through Several Parts of England in 1782, Described in Letters to a Friend*. A later translation (based on the first one), published in 1886, was entitled *Travels in England in 1782*. The translator of these two editions remains anonymous; in the 1795 edition it simply says: "Translated from the German by a Lady." In 1965 Reginald Nettel published a new translation of Moritz's text; it was republished in 1983 and 2009 by Eland and is called *Journeys of a German in England: A Walking Tour of England in 1782*.

of national character" (2016, 16)—first emerged and were later adapted and perpetuated on the basis of the information conveyed in supposedly factual reports about foreign people and places, be it other nations or distinct regions of the same nation (cf. Meier 2007). Moreover, (re)presentations created in travel writing, both of the other and of the self, have been a major focus of travel writing studies, a field of literary studies that has emerged mainly in the Anglophone countries since the 1990s.[3] Contemporary scholars of travel writing have emphasized that these depictions are not to be read as mimetic representations of empirical reality, but that they are constructs which depend on the discourse surrounding them, on the authors' intentions, and on the targeted readership. Nonetheless, contemporary travel writing studies have not engaged with imagology (or image studies) on a broader scale. That is to say that (imagological) key terms such as auto- and hetero-images have not found their way into travel writing studies, nor the development of imagology and its turn toward an analysis of structural features (the "grammar") of national stereotypes.[4] Rather, stereotypes and the stereotyping performed in travel writing and/or the readers' perception have been studied by applying a postcolonial approach.[5] This obviously works well in (post)colonial circumstances; still, the transfer of postcolonial theory to other historical situations is debated and brings with it a number of problems, especially if the conditions of power distribution, dependencies, historical development, and so forth are very different. It may lead to a certain blindness with regard to a number of features, be it on the level of content or on a structural (or formal) level. Although the postcolonial focus increases the critical awareness of notions such as the stereotyping of colonized subjects, processes of othering, symbolic appropriation

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3   This importance is illustrated, for instance, by the structure of Carl Thompson's introduction to travel writing, where he dedicates one major section to the question of "Revealing the Self" (2011, 96–129) and another to the act of "Representing the Other" (ibid., 130–167).

4   See, for instance, the absence of references to this critical approach and the relevant terminology in leading introductions to travel writing and travel writing studies such as Hulme and Youngs (2002), Thompson (2011), and Youngs (2013). Individual case studies applying imagological methodology are the exceptions that prove the rule; see for instance Anneli Kõvamees's research (e.g. 2013) on images in Estonian travelogues.

5   The reason for the ignorance of imagological approaches in travel writing studies may lie in the fact that imagology was mainly developed in non-Anglophone European contexts, such as France, Germany, and the Netherlands, and "was rejected by more aesthetically-oriented critics" (Leerssen 2018) in Anglophone contexts. The field of literary travel writing studies, however, emerged and is most lively precisely in the Anglophone world, as is confirmed by the introductory works to the field published in English and the two major academic journals in the same language (*Studies in Travel Writing* and *Journeys: The International Journal of Travel and Travel Writing*).

of the colonized space,[6] and strategies of (postcolonial) writing back, other dynamics in travel writing, especially if it deals with travels in a European context, may be overlooked. I propose an alternative analysis that is situated at the intersection of travel writing studies and imagology: the application of a cutting edge, twenty-first-century imagology and its methodology to the analysis of travel writing can help to identify further aspects, forms, and functions of cultural stereotyping, of representations of self and other. It can help, moreover, to identify the forms and functions of the "grammar" of national prejudice and thus enable us to recognize the different levels of identity discourses that are at play in travel writing, a genre that spans a great variety of texts and in so doing aims at and attracts a wide readership with different hermeneutic interests.

From the end of the eighteenth century, numerous travel accounts were published by professional writers, but also by diplomats, officials, explorers, and so on, and it was one of the most translated genres at the time.[7] What is more, even clearly fictitious travel accounts (such as travels to the moon or under the sea; just think of Jules Verne and Robert Louis Stevenson) were much sought after. A number of reasons for this popularity have already been identified: in addition to the interest in other places, regions, and countries, as well as in the activity of travel, the genre satisfied the general appetite for knowledge at the time, sparked by the Enlightenment. Furthermore, travel writing was an important medium that helped to establish and consolidate colonial power. However, I believe that there is more to it: in that particular period, travel writing was a fundamental medium in Europe, in both the process of nation building and in the process of the development of the middle class and, with it, the formation of a more defined idea of the individual, the bourgeois; that is, in two different processes of identity formation, namely that of collective and that of individual identity. During this period, which Reinhart Koselleck (1972) called the *Sattelzeit*, discussions about a united German nation (both in a political and in a cultural sense, cf. the term of the *Kulturnation*) were a

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6 An example of such an appropriation would be "monarch-of-all-I-survey scenes," as Mary Pratt has called them (2008, 197–204). In such scenes, quite common in travel writing, the narrators survey the country/region they visit, often from a (geographically) elevated point of view, enumerate what they see (e.g. fertile land, livestock, villages) and in this manner take dominion of it, at least in their mind. Especially in colonial contexts, this often led to or was part of actual political domination. Furthermore, the narrators in this way literally position themselves above the local population and underline their superiority (cf. Thompson 2011, 120–121).

7 On the distribution of translated travelogues see Martin and Pickford (2012); Scheitler (1999, 17).

major topic among German-speaking intellectuals.[8] In Italy, too, first efforts toward a united state governed by the Italians were under way. At the same time, the formation of the middle class, the development of new media (in particular journals and newspapers), and the creation of new forms of consumption and cultural activities meant that individuals became increasingly aware of their possibilities and their identity as members of a growing social class. These sociopolitical processes—at their height during the period in question—are depicted, described, and performed in travel writing, and not least based on the auto- and hetero-images the texts convey. Consequently, the different images that we find in the texts cannot be separated from identity discourses. Or, rather: to identify identity discourses we need to identify auto- and hetero-images of the self and the other(s). Image and identity are therefore not the same thing but are closely linked—a fact we should be aware of in our analyses.

With the notion of the grammar of national prejudice, Leerssen refers to invariant structural factors of stereotyping, such as the opposition between North and South, weak versus strong, and central versus peripheral. In his examples, Leerssen (2000, 275–278) suggests elements mainly found on the level of plot (or, per Genette (1994), on the level of *histoire*). Yet I would like to take this one step further and look not only at the deep structures of national stereotyping but, in particular, at the deep structures of stereotyping and identity building—two notions that I would like to converge in what follows—in travel writing. I suggest that in travel writing (as in other texts), an analysis of this particular grammar (in Leerssen's sense) needs to take into account formal characteristics of the text, that is, the question of *how* these elements are narrated. In fact, there are a number of generic elements that serve, not least, to further the discourses on identity and the auto- and hetero-images in the texts in question. These features, such as multilingualism, meta- and intertextuality, and the oscillation between fact and fiction, although typical for the genre, have previously not been studied in detail, especially not with reference to their role in the performance of identity.[9] For identity is performed rather than static; as Manfred Pfister reminds us: "it emerges from, takes shape in, and is constantly defined and redefined in individual and collective performances"

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8   See Andrea Horz's contribution to this volume (part 5, chapter 20) on the role of national ideas in public discourse about the opera in the 1770s.

9   Recently, Johannes Görbert (2014) has applied a similar "grammatical" approach to travel writing and showed how features such as prefaces and paratexts, among others, serve to create an auto-image of the writers/travellers (in his case Georg Forster, Alexander von Humboldt, and Adelbert von Chamisso).

(2008, 9). Travel writing is one of the cultural performances where—individual and collective—cultural identity is shaped (and continuously reshaped, as this is an ongoing process). These performances of identity feed into and form the images of the travellers and all the other people the travellers meet on their recounted journeys. Hence, auto- and hetero-images, too, are not static but dynamic; they change according to their function in distinct historic and political contexts.[10] There is a further dynamic aspect to the performance of identity and thus to the creation of auto- and hetero-images in travel writing: as travellers often move between cultures, travel writing is mostly of an intercultural character. Such intercultural performances and transactions, however, provoke a more intense negotiation of cultural identity and of difference; it seems that there is a greater need to draw a line between oneself and the other—no matter how these two poles may be defined. In fact, the definitions of *self* and *other* may vary significantly in different travel accounts. If for the moment we concentrate on the figure of the traveller/narrator, their definitions of self and other depend on various social categories and identity-forming aspects, such as gender, age, ethnicity, nation, religion, or social class. Notions such as these inform the travellers' identity and their view of the world, they *intersect*; therefore, rather than analysing them individually, one should focus on their interdependence, as the concept of intersectionality reminds us.[11] What is more, a close look at travelogues shows us that the self and the other may not be in such a binary position as it may seem at first.[12] Rather, besides the natives of a place, there might be a number of protagonists that are perceived as the other, for instance, other travellers. Manfred Pfister mentions the "triangulation of gazes" (2008, 14) that can be observed in travelogues on Italy: "travel writers do not only look at Italy but also look at the English or respectively German travellers looking at Italy" (ibid.). Consequently, identity and difference are constructed not only with regard to the destination but likewise in response to other travellers one meets. Furthermore, the travellers/narrators and their readers might be sketched as different groups. Or, rather, the travellers/narrators might be outlined as so individual that their auto-image is not necessarily to be confounded with that of their readers.

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10   See Leerssen (2007) and Neumann (2010) who have retained that images are mobile and changeable.

11   See, for instance, Walgenbach et al. (2007).

12   On the binary construction of the self and the other in travel writing see for instance Susan Bassnett who claims that travel writing "is premised on a binary opposition between home and elsewhere," by writing "about oneself" and "the cultural other" (2003, xi).

Two generic elements whose analysis can help us to better understand these complex entanglements are multilingualism and intertextuality. In what follows, I will analyse their role in the description, negotiation, and performance of collective and individual identity. Both aspects share a multidirectional quality, pointing toward the self (the traveller/narrator, as well as the readers who identify with them) as well as the others (the ones observed, other travellers, other texts, other writers, etc.), and they invite us to read the accounts within a wider (cultural, linguistic, literary, etc.) context. This renders these aspects particularly interesting for the present case study.

2   Multilingualism to Stage the Self

Although translation has been a topic in travel writing studies (cf. Bassnett (2019); Cronin (2000); Martin and Pickford (2012)), the multilingualism of these texts has hardly been studied to date. Still, I suggest that an analysis of literary multilingualism in travel writing can give us new insights into the former's function in the depiction, performance, and negotiation of identities. The use of multilingualism, that is, of different languages (code-switching and other forms), in travel writing can either defy nationalist developments or, rather, enforce the idea of cultural identity and/or difference. In what follows, I analyse this aspect with regard to the traveller/narrator figure in Charles Dickens's *Pictures from Italy* (1846). Dickens travelled to Italy and stayed there for a year from 1844 to 1845. He voyaged with his family from Great Britain through France, where he visited cities such as Paris, Lyons, and Avignon, and then proceeded to Italy. There the family rented a place in Genoa, from where Dickens, either on his own or with his wife, travelled to various places: he visited a number of northern Italian cities, such as Verona, Mantua, Milan, and Venice, and eventually journeyed to Rome and Naples. He recorded his impressions and experiences during these travels in the travelogue *Pictures from Italy*.

The entire text is highly multilingual and is interspersed with insertions in Italian and French, mainly forms of code-switching on an intrasentential level. That is to say that Dickens uses one (or more) word-interferences, single words, or a small number of words in Italian and French in his otherwise English text, and he does so mainly to refer to realities and facts: for place names, buildings, objects, or local customs, he uses the original names. Here are some examples: Genoa's famous "Strada Nuova," now Via Giuseppe Garibaldi, and "Strada Balbi," now Via Balbi (both Dickens [1846] 1998, 39), "the church of the Annunciata" (ibid., 48), and the "Monte Faccio" (ibid., 55) in Genova are mentioned with their Italian names. Also the French original

for the dungeon in the Palace of the Popes in Avignon, where about sixty people were killed during the French Revolution in 1791, is given: The people were buried beneath a load of quicklime "in the dismal tower *des oubliettes*" (ibid., 21, Dickens's emphasis). The woman who guides the Dickens family through the former rooms of the Inquisition in the Palace of the Popes tells them about her profession as a "Government Officer," and her original job title in French is given in parentheses: "[S]he told us, on the way, that she was a Government Officer (*concierge du palais apostolique*), and had been, for I don't know how many years" (ibid., Dickens's emphasis). These one-word-interferences render the text more authentic—the place names as well as the job title are verifiable and underline the validity of Dickens's report and of his own authority. Minor errors, such as the fact that the correct name of the Monte Faccio most likely is Monte Fasce, would probably not be detected by his readers. Furthermore, Dickens uses such one-word-interferences to create atmosphere; he can be quite sure that his Italian travelogue is not the first read by his audience—in fact, he himself in his introduction to the travel book, entitled "The Reader's Passport," refers to the "many books [that] have been written upon Italy" (ibid., 5)— and hence can count on his readers' familiarity with certain terms, such as "vetturíno" (ibid., 60, a cabman or coachman)—a word most readers of travel writing would have already known from other texts. In a similar vein, references to food are given in the original: for instance, Dickens mentions the "real Genoese dishes, such as Tagliarini" and "Ravioli" (ibid., 38) and he watches "sellers of maccaroni and polenta" (ibid., 42–43). Unlike some of the French expressions mentioned above, these Italian words are not translated, and they are not even italicized, thus suggesting the level of familiarity the author expects from his readers. This kind of multilingualism serves to inscribe Dickens and his travelogue into the genre of travel writing. Not only does he recognize and refer to the bulk of travelogues and therefore acknowledge his familiarity with the genre's history, its topics, and its style; by issuing a passport to the reader, Dickens in addition installs himself as a major authority in the field. What is more, his multilingual insertions present him as an educated, sophisticated traveller who acts as a cultural mediator for his readers; in this manner, the multilingual elements inform the traveller's/narrator's auto-image. Later in the text, Dickens even advises his readers on pronunciation: to a number of Italian words, he adds accents that serve to indicate stresses: "Vetturíno" (ibid., 60), "Avvocáto" (ibid., 62), "bambíno" (ibid., 132). On one occasion, in a similar vein, he even imitates the local pronunciation: "Ecco Fióri! Ecco Fior-r-r!" (ibid., 127). This didactic attitude is visible in other instances, too; for example when Dickens guides his readers to supposedly new concepts in Italian or when he briefly describes the long white veil worn by women in the region around Genoa and

then calls it by its original name, "the 'mezzero'" (ibid., 35). Even stronger than before, in these instances, Dickens becomes a guide, perhaps even a teacher to his readers. He does so tongue-in-cheek, yet he never lets go of his superior position upon which, however, he does not reflect. The English white male traveller's auto-image is that of a distant observer who never loses control or is swept away by what he sees. The fact that he himself is never depicted as using either Italian or French underlines this aspect; the use of multilingualism on the level of the narrative implies that he knows both languages well enough.

At times, Dickens leaves the level of one-word-interferences and switches languages between sentences or, at least, longer phrases (intersentential switching). At one point, he significantly does so when referring to a national stereotype: Dickens cites the phrase "*dolce far' niente*" (ibid., 33), which he chooses not to translate. Rather, *dolce far' niente* is supposed to be a stereotype known to English readers as something typically Italian, which they will recognize.[13] What is more, Dickens chooses an ironic manner to reinforce the cliché: it is some "perfect Italian cows" that enjoy the *dolce far' niente* all day long (cf. ibid.) in their stables in a suburb of Genoa. Not only does he exploit the stereotype, but he enforces it by equating Italians and animals. Here Dickens combines multilingualism with irony in order to refer to and trigger the national stereotype of the lazy Italian. He scores by getting his readers' laughs, reinforces the stereotype, and, at the same time, plays with it by not ascribing it to the Italians directly.

3   Performing Images through Intertextual References

In his travelogue *Reisen eines Deutschen in England im Jahre 1782* (*Travels in England in 1782*), Karl Philipp Moritz describes a relatively short journey of a couple of months, from the end of May to the middle of July in 1782, from London toward the north, to the Peak District and the Peak Cavern at Castleton, an unusual itinerary and destination for German travellers at the time. Moritz then returned south to London via Loughborough, Leicester, and Northampton before sailing back to Germany. Most of the time, he travelled on foot, a mode of traveling that was then quite unusual in England. Heide Hollmer notes that, for the autobiographical narrator in Moritz's travelogue, literature and nature (at times experienced through literature) are entangled

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13   See Joep Leerssen, who underlines the familiarity which stereotypes have gained
      through frequent reiteration (2000, 280), and Neumann (2010), who builds on Leerssen's
      statement.

(cf. Hollmer [1783] 2000, 192). In the text, as Hollmer writes, this entanglement becomes visible in the form of a "tissu de citations" (ibid.), a "fabric of quotations," as Roland Barthes calls it.[14] In fact, the travelogue in question is a highly intertextual account in the sense that it engages with literature, other texts, and their authors in different ways. The term "bookish," which Michel Butor (1974, 14) uses to describe Romantic travel writing, also applies to Moritz's (slightly earlier) text.[15]

The author most often referred to in Moritz's text is John Milton (1608–1674), whose *Paradise Lost* (1667) he takes with him on the journey. References to Milton's masterpiece at times are a way of paying homage to the author and the text, but more often than not they are of a dialogic nature and have diverse functions.[16] For instance, the description of the edition Moritz carries with him—"For two shillings, I bought a Milton in duodecimo in French binding which is very convenient to carry in my pocket."[17]—is used as a starting point for a paragraph on the book market in England, in which Moritz discusses different editions of books, their prices and the places where books can be bought (cf. Moritz [1783] 2000, 32–33). In another instance, the observation that one of Moritz's landladies reads Milton is used as an example of the fact that in England, the classical authors are read by the people, unlike in Germany, where only the scholars and the middle classes read, but not the common people.[18] Moritz by this means suggests the hetero-image of a reading nation, an idea that conforms with the notion of England as the country where the Enlightenment originated. This image becomes even stronger due to the particular example Moritz chooses: he describes how his landlady, and hence a female representative of the common people, reads Milton.

At the same time, the many instances when Moritz pauses along the road in order to read Milton serve to present himself as a reader (cf. Moritz [1783] 2000,

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14   In his well-known essay *The Death of the Author* (1967), see Barthes (1984).

15   Butor eventually arrives at the conclusion that to travel writers, "travel *is* writing" (1974, 14, emphasis in the original).

16   With the term "dialogic" I refer to Manfred Pfister's systematization of intertextuality in travel writing, see Pfister (1993). By dialogic intertextuality, Pfister means that texts are not just cited or referred to but that the authors inscribe themselves into a literary network and thus become part of a dialogue or conversation. It can also comprise a very critical relation with one's predecessors, but this is not the case in Moritz.

17   "Ich habe mir für zwei Schillings einen Milton in Duodez in niedlichem Franzband gekauft, der sich äußerst bequem in der Tasche tragen lässt" (Moritz [1783] 2000, 32). All translations are mine unless indicated otherwise.

18   "[die] Gelehrten, der Mittelstand" (Moritz [1783] 2000, 32). The saddler whom Moritz meets later while walking northward and who is very familiar with Homer, Horace, and Virgil is another example of this argument.

74, 83, 84, 93, 104). Here he is a reader of Milton, but in connection with the references to other English authors in the travelogue, it becomes clear that Moritz has read English literature extensively and is therefore an expert, though one with understatement (and in this way similar to Dickens): his readers may assume—though it is not spelled out explicitly—that he reads all these texts in English, just as his travel edition of *Paradise Lost* is in English. He even cites from the latter in English without providing translations (this aspect is perhaps less humble on Moritz's part but implies a certain education and social standing on the part of his readers)[19] (cf. Moritz [1783] 2000, 132–133, 155, 168).

Finally, these instances of intertextuality confront us with the reaction of Moritz's environment. Several times in his travelogue, Moritz mentions that as a walking traveller, many people are rather suspicious of him. At the time, walking was not a common way of traveling in England and those who are neither settled nor traveling by coach or on horseback are suspected to be either beggars or criminals.[20] Consequently, Moritz encounters problems in finding accommodation at times, and even has to leave some villages because he is not welcome. This gets even worse when he stops in order to read (Milton's *Paradise Lost*) at the side of the road: "[T]he ones riding and driving past stared at me with such amazement and made such unambiguous faces as if they thought me crazy. It must have seemed very odd to them to see somebody sitting next to a public road and reading a book."[21] The process of walking, reading, and thinking that becomes so important to Moritz (and eventually to his *alter ego* Anton Reiser in Moritz's later novel of the same title; cf. Hollmer [1783] 2000, 192) and that is an image of illuminated emancipation, is thus presented as something that is often misunderstood or simply seen as crazy by others (such as other travellers, but also, in Moritz's and Anton Reiser's case, their families).[22] In his travelogue, though, Moritz shares this process with his readers, who are invited to sympathize with him and to understand the

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19   See Ulrike Köhler, who in a similar vein in her contribution to this volume (part 1, chapter 3) asserts that intertexts in travel writing portray "the implied addressee in the travelogue as an educated member of the middle classes" (Köhler 2022, 106).

20   This changed significantly shortly after Moritz: for instance, in 1790, William Wordsworth walked through France to Italy; some years later, in 1802, Johann Gottfried Seume walked all the way to Sicily—and there are reports by and on many other wayfarers. On travelling on foot, see Albrecht (1999); Solnit (2000).

21   "[D]ie Vorbeireitenden und Fahrenden [gafften mich] immer mit einer solchen Verwunderung [an und machten] [...] solche bedeutenden Mienen [...], als ob sie mich für einen Verrückten hielten, so sonderbar mußte es ihnen vorkommen, einen Menschen an der öffentlichen Landstraße sitzen, und in einem Buche lesen zu sehen" (Moritz [1783] 2000, 83).

22   Both Karl Philipp Moritz and his protagonist Anton Reiser came from poor, conservative, and pious families who did not support their education and interest in literature.

threefold experience that is so important to him and, eventually, to partake in it. This intertextual strategy can be identified as part of a rhetoric of sensibility and the mobilization of his readers' powers of imagination and their sympathies that Alison Martin detects in Moritz's text (cf. Martin 2003, 2008). Martin identifies Moritz's concentration on the personal impression of the journey, the reproduction of direct speech, and his descriptions of the sublime; but in the same manner, he uses intertextual references "to make visual and affective reality of the text" (Martin 2003, 86). In so doing, Moritz invites the readers to share the auto-image he gives of the traveller/narrator who, in the end, is just as much a traveller through England as through the Enlightenment project.

4   Conclusion

In his travelogue on Italy, Charles Dickens uses multilingualism for various reasons, many of which feed into the performance of the narrator's/traveller's identity and the creation of stereotypes. Dickens employs multilingualism to present himself as a well-instructed traveller who is familiar with the facts and able to convey them to his readers. This auto-image includes language skills—by insertions in French and Italian and guidance on how to pronounce words, Dickens presents himself as someone who knows these two languages well and can even teach them to his readers (together with the facts that are connected with them). Besides, he uses insertions in other languages to create atmosphere, as for instance in the description of the tour of the dungeon in Avignon. Thus Dickens inscribes himself into the tradition of travelogues on Italy by applying the stylistic devices he uses in his novels—irony, humour, social criticism—also in his travel writing. Apart from that, Dickens's use of multilingualism has an anthropological quality, that is, he uses it to describe what he sees, and stages himself as an attentive observer without really being involved; he does not openly reflect on language but uses it for his own stylistic purposes. Those described—the others—remain rather one-dimensional, if not stereotypical.

In Moritz's text, intertextual references have multiple functions: on the one hand, he uses them to create the hetero-image of England as a nation of readers. He does so at various points in his text and by allusions on different levels (to the book market, book editions, authors, texts, readers, etc.). On the other hand, Moritz applies intertextuality in order to create an auto-image of himself as a reader and, in particular, as a connoisseur of English literature. Moreover, by presenting his experiences as a traveling reader, he suggests a connection between walking, reading, and thinking, and invites his readers to join him in this practice.

The analysis of two of the aspects of the "grammar" of national stereotypes (to use Leerssen's term one more time) in travel writing—multilingualism and intertextuality—confirm a focus on the travellers/narrators in these texts that is part of a change of the genre. In fact, from the late eighteenth century onward, the genre of the travelogue undergoes a transformation from encyclopaedic, scientific, and positivist to more literary, openly subjective reports in which the travellers' experiences and their impressions of the journey come to the fore.[23] Accordingly, in these new travelogues, often written by professional writers rather than diplomats or civil servants, it is the self rather than the other that is negotiated.[24] This is a trend that has continued to the present day: rather than being about a different place, the majority of travelogues tell us more about the writers/travellers and the cultural, social, and political context they come from.[25] The auto-image is often at the centre and feeds into the performance of individual identity. However, the I of the travelogue does not necessarily (or only to a certain extent) identify with his/her readers; rather, there is the attempt to draw a distinct image of the traveller/narrator that may or may not coincide with the image of their readers. Thus the triangle Pfister proposes is probably not enough to take into account all the gazes and (re)presentations that are performed in travel writing. Rather, especially with the development of the travelogue to an ever more subjective report about a unique experience made by a distinct individual (and therefore not repeatable for others, unlike for instance the guide book, a genre that started to emerge at about the same time in the early nineteenth century), the auto-image the individuals give of themselves in the travelogue is an individual one that, to a certain extent, needs to be distinguished from the image of their readers. The analysis of the grammar of national stereotypes in travel writing can provide us with more insight into these different auto- and hetero-images and may eventually lead us to a more complex, nonbinary theoretical model that can tell us more about the emergence and performance of stereotypes. Furthermore,

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23   See for instance Hentschel (2010); Meier (1989; 2007, 447); Scheitler (1999); and for a comprehensive summary of this transformation Thompson (2011, 96–129).

24   This is not to say that travelogues of a different kind did not continue to exist—rather, less than of a transformation of the whole genre we could speak of the development of new forms of travel writing that complemented other forms. What is more, the focus on the self (e.g. the white, male explorer, but not only) at times meant a complete marginalization of the other, as has been shown in many studies. For an overview on this see for instance Bridges (2002).

25   Nicolas Bourguinat has described this by comparing the new form of travel writing to windows to the authors' inner self as opposed to the mirrors of older travelogues (merely reflecting what the authors see). See Bourguinat (2017, 406).

such an analysis approximates imagology and travel writing studies, and helps to examine the function of formal features used in travel writing that hitherto have been neglected.

Acknowledgements

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Imagology beyond and across the European Nation-State: Trans-/Postnational, Migratory, and Marginalized Perspectives

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The Fall of the Berlin Wall Transnational: Images and Stereotypes in Yadé Kara's *Selam Berlin* and Paul Beatty's *Slumberland*

Gianna Zocco

Abstract

The fall of the Berlin Wall and its literary representations have often been described as a purely (white) German affair, as a discourse regarding (East/West) German identity. Taking on Leerssen's claim for a trans-/postnational imagology, this article provides an analysis of two novels depicting the fall of the Berlin Wall from transnational, not-(only)-German perspectives: Yadé Kara's *Selam Berlin* (2003) and Paul Beatty's *Slumberland* (2008). Comparing images and stereotypes used by both the Turkish-German narrator of Kara's and the African American narrator of Beatty's novel, it aims to undertake an exemplary case study of how imagology may be employed in contexts characterized by complex interferences of national, ethnic/racial, and urban ascriptions of belonging.

Keywords

transnationalism – German reunification – African American literature – Turkish-German literature – Berlin

1   Introduction: Postnational Imagology and the Case of Berlin

When Joep Leerssen calls for a "postnational" imagology that should pay particular attention to the increasingly concurrent articulation of identity constructs "at urban, national/ethnic and translational (global and/or diasporic) levels" he names the study of metropolitan cities and their images as "more and more intriguing imagological working ground" (2016, 28). Similar to Slobodan Vladušić, who had a few years earlier reflected on the project of an "urban imagology" (2012, 176) interested in "the point where national and

urban characterisation clash" (ibid., 178), Leerssen finds the multiethnicity of modern cities and the "tribalization of society, both in terms of lifestyle groups and in terms of the multiculturalization of immigration societies" (2016, 28) particularly challenging for imagology, highlighting that this aspect "confronts us with a sharp departure from traditional notions of culturally or temperamentally homogenous nation-states" (ibid.). Of the European metropolises that come to mind for such research, Leerssen explicitly names Amsterdam, Berlin, Brussels, Rome, and Vienna, among others.

How is this valid for the case of Berlin? Given that the former capital of the Kingdom of Prussia developed into a relatively cosmopolitan city in the course of the eighteenth century[1] and that it became known for attracting writers and artists from all over the world when it, in the Weimar period, "was the capital not only of the newly founded German republic but also of international Modernism" (Duttlinger 2017, 95), it is hardly surprising that Leerssen considers Berlin—now the capital and largest city of the reunified Federal Republic of Germany—intriguing for imagological research. Yet an imagological perspective on Berlin risks neglecting these cosmopolitan, international aspects when it chooses to focus on one of the more recent historical periods that Berlin is—ironically—most famous for internationally: the fall of the Berlin Wall and the transition from a divided city to the capital of a reunified Germany in 1989/1990.

Constructed in 1961 and officially called the "Antifaschistischer Schutzwall" or "Antifascist Protection Rampart" by German Democratic Republic (GDR) authorities, from its beginnings the Berlin Wall did not only possess the material reality of a 155 kilometre-long guarded concrete barrier but also the qualities of a symbol. As Maurice Blanchot pointedly put it, it came to be seen as expressing "the problem of opposition between two cultures within the same cultural context, of two languages without inner relation inside the same language" (1994, 346). Given this common perception of the wall as symbolizing the inner division of *one* people or nation, it was a German-centred perspective and what could be called the imagological mode of "intracultural foreignness"[2] that dominated the public discourse in the period of German reunification: with many observers seeing the *Wende* as "a purely German-German affair" (Yildiz 2017, 221), early academic publications emphasized how the brutality

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1   Under the reign of Frederick the Great (1740–1786), Berlin became home to a sizable Huguenot and Bohemian population, as well as to a Jewish community (cf. Erlin 2017, 13).

2   I borrow this term from the title of the book *Intrakulturelle Fremdheit. Inszenierung deutsch-deutscher Differenzen in Literatur, Film und Theater nach der Wende*, edited by Ortrud Gutjahr, which is announced to come out in 2022 with publishers Königshausen und Neumann.

of the wall expressed the "damage that was done to the *German* soul" (Keune 1996, xiv, emphasis mine). Related to this, the Saidian notion of "othering practices" was implemented to analyse a West German dominated discourse of difference evolving around the same time that the protest chants changed from "We are the people" to "We are one people," and manifesting itself in hetero-stereotypes of East German otherness that typically evoked images such as the "Trabant," the "Banana," or the East German dated style of clothes (Stein 1996, 334, 337). While the period of reunification was thus accompanied by what Cees Nooteboom pointedly called "racist jokes about people with the same color of skin" (2001, 119), the actual perspective of Berlin's inhabitants with other colours of skin and/or ethnic backgrounds has received much less (public and academic) attention. It is in this spirit that Jeffrey Jurgens—in a study on five young boys from Kreuzberg who shared the fate of becoming "wall victim[s] from the West"[3]—notes "the lack of academic attention that has been paid to migrants' experiences of German division and reunification" (2013, 2); and it is in the same spirit that the Afro-German poet May Ayim laments in her poem "blues in black and white":

> reunited germany
> celebrates itself again in 1990
> without immigrants refugees jewish and black people
> it celebrates in its intimate circle
> it celebrates in white
>
>   1995, 82[4]

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3 The five boys—among them two from Turkish and one from an Italian immigrant family—all drowned in the 1960s and 70s while playing on the riverbank of the Spree near their homes in Kreuzberg. Since the riverbank belonged to the Western part of the city but the entire width of the Spree to the East, locals and officials from West Berlin hesitated to enter the river fearing that they would be shot by Eastern border guards, while East Berlin officials did not (or not soon enough) come to help the drowning boys. The case of five-year-old Cetin Mert, whose death in 1975 was the last incident of this kind, was commemorated in a newspaper article titled "A Wall Victim from the West" by Dilek Güngör in May 2000, and later studied in Jurgens's article of the same title (2013).

4 All translations are my own unless stated otherwise. Original: "das wieder vereinigte Deutschland / feiert sich wieder 1990 / ohne imigrantInnen flüchtlinge jüdische und schwarze menschen / es feiert im intimen kreis / es feiert in weiß." Unfortunately, my English translation of Ayim's poem is not able to reproduce her use of the medial capital I (German: "Binnen-I") in "migrantInnen," which highlights that the heterogeneity of the people excluded in the celebrations of reunification is not only a heterogeneity of ethnic/racial and national backgrounds but also one of gender. The "Binnen-I" is a nonstandard alternative for linguistic cases which traditionally require a generic masculine form.

2   A Turkish-German "Wenderoman" and a Satire of
African American Expatriate Fiction

A spirit similar to the one detected in Jurgens's study and Ayim's poem can be found in the two novels that this article focuses on: Yadé Kara's *Selam Berlin* (2003) and Paul Beatty's *Slumberland* (2008). Both novels recount the fall of the Berlin Wall and the period of transition from perspectives opposing the view of reunification as an exclusively "German-German affair" as well as the overall celebratory mode already criticized in Ayim's poem. *Selam Berlin*, a novel written in German by the Turkish-German writer Kara (born 1965) and awarded with the Adelbert von Chamisso Promotional Prize and the Deutscher Bücherpreis for a first book in 2004,[5] narrates the events from the perspective of nineteen-year-old Hasan Selim Khan Kazan, who has grown up commuting between Berlin and Istanbul and who self-identifies as a "Kreuzberger" to counter people's need to categorize him as either "Kanacke" or "Almanci" (Kara [2003] 2004, 5).[6] While both Kara (who came to West Berlin as a six-year-old and still lives there)[7] and her protagonist can thus be considered examples of "those who have migrated to and *settled* in the city" (Yildiz 2017, 208), the African American Beatty belongs to the group of international writers of "Berlin literature" "who see themselves and are seen by others as mere transient guests" (ibid.) and tend to write in their original languages. As Yildiz points out, it is typical for such writers (Christopher Isherwood might be considered a prototype) to experience Berlin "as a curious spectacle or site of adventure," whereas the literary production of those who adopt the city as their new home offers "a different challenge to the conception of what Berlin is and of who counts as a Berliner" (ibid.). In this sense, the Los Angeles–born Paul Beatty (born 1962) explains in an interview that it was a tour that first brought him from New York to Berlin in 1993, where he later spent a "rough year" (Sylvanise 2013, 6) as a sponsored writer, after which "I've gone back many times" (ibid.). While his fictional protagonist, the African American DJ Ferguson W. Sowell,

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5   Despite its success, no English translation of *Selam Berlin* is available. However, an English version of the first chapter can be found online. See Kara (2009).

6   "Kanacke" is a German, often derogatorily connoted term typically used for people with Turkish or Arabian roots, whereas "Almanci" is a Turkish derogatory term for people with a Turkish background living in Germany and/or adapting to a German way of life after returning to Turkey.

7   Scant biographical information is available about Yadé Kara. For a relatively extensive and reliable source see her entry on Literaturport, a web portal offered by the Literarisches Colloquium Berlin and the Brandenburgisches Literaturbüro: https://www.literaturport.de/Yade.Kara/ [October 1, 2021].

does not go to Berlin as a writer, his relation to the city can similarly be seen in terms of a temporary adventure. The gifted graduate of a music academy, who—driven by "acute left-handedness, a fear of crowds, and what I consider to be my healthy hatred of self" (Beatty 2008, 23)—provocatively calls himself DJ Darky, decides to go to West Berlin in the late 1980s after inventing a "beat *presque parfait*" (ibid., 33) that can only be ratified by The Schwa, a little-known avant-garde jazz musician mysteriously linked to the (actually existing) Slumberland Bar in the borough of Schöneberg.

Though the backgrounds of Kara's and Beatty's protagonists are just as different as the discourses that the two novels have primarily been related to—Kara's novel has been seen as "the first Turkish-German 'Wenderoman'" (Fachinger 2007, 247) and Beatty's as an update and a revision of African American expatriate fiction about a Black American's journey to a purportedly more progressive country (Stallings 2013, 190–191)—a comparison between the two seems intriguing from a transnational imagological perspective. First, the young male protagonists share the fate of having grown up as belonging to the marginalized groups of African Americans and Turkish-Germans and are thus equally used to being perceived through restrictive stereotypical lenses. Second and following from this, both protagonists have developed an often ironic or satirical way of reacting to the essentialist notions they encounter and of being particularly perceptive of the "ambivalence" of the stereotype, which—in the words of Homi Bhabha—is "a form of multiple and contradictory belief" that "gives knowledge of difference and simultaneously disavows or masks it" (1994, 77). Third, the two novels share similar timelines that encompass each protagonist's experiences in West Berlin (and in Istanbul and the US, respectively) before November 1989, their witnessing of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the days immediately after, as well as the depiction of life in (soon-to-be) officially reunified Germany.

Making use of these similarities in the timelines of the novels, this article aims to analyse the triangulation of images and stereotypes concerning notions of East/West German, Turkish-German/Turkish, African American/American, as well as "Berlinian" identity in three steps: I begin with an investigation of the protagonists' experiences as young men with a Turkish and African American background in West Berlin before the fall of the wall, which includes a consideration of the comparisons drawn between West Berlin, Istanbul, and the US. The next part then focuses on the fall of the Berlin Wall and the period immediately thereafter—a time Berlin finds itself in a state of exception, which Kara's protagonist calls a "Berlin Party" ([2003] 2004, 9), whereas Beatty's character finds that the image of badly dressed, euphoric, insecure East Berliners reminds him of the situation of African Americans in the US. Finally, I investigate the

development of both plots after the opening of the wall has become a new normality, and conclude with a reflection on the pessimistic endings of both novels: while Hasan eventually discovers the "nomad inside me" (Kara [2003] 2004, 382)[8] and feels an urge to move away, *Slumberland* shows Ferguson as part of the curious endeavour to—in the words of The Schwa—rebuild "the Berlin Wall with music instead of concrete, barbed wire, and machine guns 'n' shit" (Beatty 2008, 199).

3   A Hicktown with a Wall around It and an Island of State-Supported Hedonism

Although the main plotline of *Selam Berlin* chronologically recounts the events from November 9, 1989 until October 3, 1990 from Hasan's perspective, the novel includes various flashbacks covering the protagonist's experiences as a child and young adult in the "island city" of West Berlin. Throughout the narrative, Hasan highlights that his connection to the city is that of a native, a "gebürtiger Westberliner" (Kara [2008] 2010, 57), whose Turkish family background differs from the stereotype of the uneducated, typically Anatolian, Turkish migrant worker with rural manners:[9] He explains that his parents—his father a former student of aircraft construction with communist convictions, his mother the descendant of a rich Istanbulian family—first came to Berlin when his father received a university fellowship and that they initially planned to return to Istanbul after a few years, but his father's semesters in Berlin quickly "[…] turned into decades, the airplanes became airplane ticket sales in a travel agency, and the parliament a political association in a backyard in Kreuzberg" (Kara [2003] 2004, 163).[10] As a consequence of these delusions and an ongoing "north-south decline" (ibid., 10)[11] between his parents, the life of Hasan's family was characterized by the experience of permanent commuting: since Hasan turned thirteen, he and his brother attended the German school in Istanbul and lived in the Turkish metropolis with his mother during most of the year, while his father stayed in Kreuzberg at the travel agency, became a frequenter of the Berlin–Istanbul airline, and was only joined by his family in the summer months.

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8   "Der Nomade in mir."

9   A description of the stereotype of the Turkish migrant worker, as well as a brief account of the older image of the Ottoman Empire as Western Europe's "strongest Other: Islamic, alien, cruel and tyrannical" can be found in the entry on Turkey in Beller and Leerssen's imagology survey (Kuran-Burçoğlu 2007, 255).

10   "Doch aus den Semestern wurden Jahrzehnte, aus den Flugzeugen wurde Flugticketverkauf im Reisebüro, und aus dem Parlament ein politischer Verein im Kreuzberger Hinterhof."

11   "Nord-Süd-Gefälle."

As a result of this life in the mode of "transit" (ibid., 17) Hasan's perspective on West Berlin (and Germany) is characterized by comparisons with Istanbul (and Turkey). It is noteworthy that in these comparisons widespread stereotypes about Germans and Turks are juxtaposed with more original and often contradictory images: for example, Hasan's description of his father's preference of "the order and security on German motorways," "the clean roads and proficient people," and "the reliable agencies and bureaucrats" (ibid., 10)[12] complies with attributes commonly associated with the German hetero-stereotype (among them "diligence, efficiency, obedience, systematic thoroughness, a penchant for neatness" (Beller 2007, 162)). On the other hand, Hasan strongly disagrees with the equally common hetero-image of Berlin as "a metropolis of modernity in industry, lifestyle, arts and literature" (ibid., 163) when describing his native city as a "small-sized hicktown with a wall around it" that he likes for its lucidity and calmness (Kara [2003] 2004, 12).[13] Although this unusual description of (West) Berlin and its inhabitants is occasionally joined by more expected characteristics such as the city's hectic pace, the social expectation of a critical and direct attitude, and the wet and cold weather (ibid., 31, 102, 125), the image of Berlin as a "village" (ibid., 326) is further reinforced through the contrast with Istanbul. As Petra Fachinger observes, it is in Istanbul, rather than in Berlin, where Hasan locates a cosmopolitan "Western society in constant flux" (2007, 252), which—holding the typically German hetero-stereotype of Turkish-German migrant workers as an "uncivilized pack" (Kara [2003] 2004, 120)[14]—looks down on Berlin and its Turkish inhabitants, and is oriented toward Florida, Boston, and New York (ibid., 157). Even more surprising is the fact that Hasan ascribes qualities historically linked to (Weimar) Berlin and its status as "the European capital not only of sexology but also of sexual libertinage" (Krass and Wolf 2017, 189–190) to the predominantly Muslim city of Istanbul:

> This city was like a raped mistress that tried to defy the whole chaos with her last power and beauty. Everything collided. There were quarters, where people were walking around in shalwar and chador. Some streets further transvestites and prostitutes philandered with their suitors.
> KARA [2003] 2004, 12[15]

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12   "Er mochte die Ordnung und Sicherheit auf deutschen Autobahnen. Ihm gefielen die sauberen Straßen und tüchtigen Leute. Vor allem mochte er die zuverlässigen Behörden und Bürokraten."

13   "Aber es war ein überschaubares Kaff, mit einer Mauer drum herum."

14   "Unkultiviertes Pack."

15   "Diese Stadt war wie eine vergewaltigte Mätresse, die dem ganzen Chaos mit letzter Kraft und Schönheit zu trotzen versuchte. Alles prallte aufeinander. Da gab es Bezirke, wo die

Compared with Hasan's refusal to describe Berlin in cosmopolitan and cultur-ally liberal terms, the first experiences of *Slumberland*'s protagonist Ferguson on West Berlin territory show a higher degree of complying with the positive hetero-image of the city as providing "for a living out of counter-normative, creative identities" (Webber 2017, 9). While Hasan laconically notes that he knows "every nuance" of the hostile "common Berliner's tone against foreign-ers" (Kara [2003] 2004, 18),[16] Beatty's protagonist makes a different observa-tion early in the novel, when admitting that he misses his native Los Angeles:

> […] but what I don't miss is the fear. In Los Angeles my fear was audible. […] you'd never guess that we black men are afraid of many things […]; however, what we fear above all else is that out there among the 450 mil-lion other black men who inhabit this planet is an unapprehended habit-ual offender, a man twice as bad as Stagolee and half as sympathetic, a freeze-motherfucker-or-I'll-blow-your-head-off-nigger on the lam who looks exactly like us. Moving to Berlin reduced the fear of being mistaken for someone else to almost nothing.
>
> 2008, 18

In particular, it is the atmosphere in the Slumberland Bar—where Ferguson is hired as a "jukebox sommelier" (ibid., 44) and starts a brief romance (which soon develops into a longer-lasting friendship) with the bartender Doris—that recalls common images of both Weimar Berlin and enclaved West Berlin: "This was Berlin before the Wall came down. State-supported hedonism. Every one-night stand a propaganda poster for democratic freedom and third world empowerment" (ibid., 62). Or, even more bluntly: "Slumberland. The room pulsed with sexual congeniality. My vow against lustful miscegenation was quickly forgotten" (ibid., 64).

Although an African American security guard's statement that "Germany is the black man's heaven" and that "you just have to let them love you" (ibid., 58) proves, in this sense, true for Ferguson, there are more nuances to his per-ceptions of West Berlin. Citing some of the common hetero-stereotypes partly also accepted by Hasan, he emphasizes the cleanness and the gray weather conditions of the city (ibid., 8–11), and laments "the puzzling absence of air conditioners and wall-to-wall carpeting" (ibid., 57). In an allusion to the genre

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Leute in Shalwar und Tschador herumliefen. Einige Straßen weiter schäkerten Transves-titen und Nutten mit ihren Freiern."

16   "Das war der übliche Berliner Ton Fremden gegenüber, und ich kannte jede Nuance dieses Tones."

of the slave narrative with its typical ending in the "free states" of the North,[17] he compares himself to a runaway slave stranded in a city "populated entirely by Quaker abolitionists," who—while friendly on the surface—hide their racist convictions in "subtle get-the-fuck-out-of-my-country-musings like, 'Wow, I can't believe you've been here three months already. When are you going back to America?'" (ibid., 51). After becoming friends with Doris and her new boyfriend Lars, Ferguson reflects intensively on issues related to their German and his own African American background. For example, he observes that it seems part of the German auto-image to note the "Germanness" of "anything involving sexual perversion, punctuality, obsessive-compulsiveness, and oblique references to the deep-rooted national malaise," whereas he finds it more adequate to propose "the reflex to characterize such things as 'very German'" as part of his German hetero-image (ibid., 61). When considering the reasons that led to the quick ending of his romance with Doris, racial stereotypes are, interestingly, not mentioned at all, whereas he considers their belonging to different nationalities crucial: "The inevitable clash of puritanical Americanism and German pragmatics. I should have known from the start it could have never worked" (ibid., 74).

The absence of racial issues in Ferguson's conflicts with Doris is contrasted with the role of Blackness in his friendship with Lars, a freelance pop culture journalist. Similar to the sexual attraction that the white female guests of the Slumberland Bar feel for Black men,[18] Lars holds a special fascination for Blackness that operates along the schema of exoticism. As Leerssen points out, such positive appreciation of something other typically involves two characteristics: on the one hand, it is the search for a preferable alternative led by the dissatisfaction with domesticity; on the other hand, it often functions as "ethnocentrism's friendly face," meaning that the other culture is appreciated exclusively in terms of its strangeness and thereby "pinned down to its local colour and its picturesque elements" (2007, 325). Both aspects can be found in the characterization of Lars. Regarding the former, he is shown as strongly influenced by "German guilt," a condition earlier called the "national malaise" and described as the inability to admit to any feelings of patriotism (Beatty 2008, 84). Regarding the latter, Ferguson finds Lars asking him questions such as "What's it like listening to jazz with no white people around?," which—according to the protagonist—reveal a belief in "the mystique and exclusivity of Negro expression"

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17   For a brief and easily available description of this genre, see Andrews (2008).
18   In this sense, the novel also compares the Slumberland Bar to "a repressed white supremacist's fantasy. At almost every table sat one or two black men sandwiched by fawning white women" (Beatty 2008, 59).

(ibid., 92). As Ferguson's deconstructive use of the racial slur "Darky" in his stage name reflects, he not only refuses such beliefs but sees his own musical ambitions as opposed to them. As Christian Schmidt puts it in his analysis: "Instead of becoming a true racial artist, however, DJ Darky uses music to eradicate blackness as a label for art and, thereby, to dissimulate what he calls a fourteen-hundred-year 'charade of blackness' on the novel's opening page" (2014, 156).

4   East German Otherness and the Dynamic of Gazes

Hasan's description of West Berlin as a (mostly) likable hicktown and Ferguson's image of "the black man's heaven" (Beatty 2008, 58) share—despite their differences—one feature: the only minor or indirect role that the wall and Berlin's fate as a divided city has on the protagonists. While Ferguson admits that he never even saw the wall (cf. ibid., 113), Hasan recounts that the family's apartment in Kreuzberg's Adalbertstraße was located next to it, as a consequence of which the physical symbol of the "Iron Curtain" not only turned into a playground to shoot balls against and hold races along (cf. Kara [2003] 2004, 48) but became almost invisible to him: "Eventually, I did not notice the wall anymore. It stood there, as cars, trees and dog shit just stand on Berlin streets" (ibid., 35).[19]

For both protagonists, this ignorant or trivial attitude about the city's division fundamentally changes when they learn about the fall of the wall. In *Selam Berlin* Hasan's experience of November 9, 1989 is recounted in the opening chapter: On the day in question, he is daydreaming on the sofa of the family's apartment in Istanbul when he discovers the news from the television. His first reaction is characterized by the contrast between the wall's sudden transformation into a place of international public interest and his own more familial relation to it:

> Trabants drove through the border crossing Bornholmerstraße to West Berlin. A woman in a fur coat poured sparkling wine on the engine hoods. Thick men in Volkspolizei jackets were hugging and patting on each other's backs. [...] Crowds at the wall; on the wall; on my graffiti wall ... [...]
>
>   Suddenly streets, squares, places of my childhood were attracting the interest of world affairs.
>
>   IBID., 8[20]

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19   "Irgendwann nahm ich die Mauer gar nicht mehr wahr. Sie stand da, wie Autos, Bäume und Hundekacke auf Berliner Straßen halt so stehen."

20   "Trabis fuhren durch den Grenzübergang Bornholmerstraße nach Westberlin. Eine Frau im Pelz schüttete Sekt auf die Motorhauben. Dicke Männer in Volkspolizei-Jacken

It is in these days of "revolution" (ibid.) in Berlin that Hasan's own emotional bond to the city becomes most visible. Not only does he admit his proudness of being a "Berliner" and identify with his native city "as if it were a state of its own" (ibid., 18),[21] thereby replacing the restrictive concept of national belonging with the "open identity" of being a Berliner.[22] Upon learning of the events, he also immediately wants "to join the Berlin Party and participate in everything" (ibid., 9).[23] Ignoring his mother's and brother's warnings that he—who has just completed his A levels—will inevitably be a "Kanacke" in Berlin and only find work as a taxi driver or waiter (ibid., 19, 15), he boards a plane to the city a week later.

Hasan's first impression of a reunited Berlin is positive: the sky above the city is "gleaming," the officer at Tegel airport is "gleaming," and he himself—feeling treated "as if I were the millionth guest worker"—is also "gleaming" (ibid., 20).[24] However, this image of brightness soon clouds over. On his way from the airport to Kreuzberg, he already notes that West Berlin has changed since all West Berliners have disappeared, expulsed by "a landslide of people with pale colour of skin and light hair" (ibid.).[25] And while he—like an ethnographer—observes in the subway how these "dull and thin," "well-behaved" "East people" in "beige and grey jackets" have "alert eyes" that observe everything attentively (ibid., 21),[26] he suddenly realizes that they are looking at him:

> Was my fly open? Or did I have leftover jam on my mouth? Was I from another planet? I felt examined like a camel in the Berlin Zoo.
>
> Was it my black hair? My Charlie Chaplin suitcase? What was there to stare at? I suddenly felt so alien in the Berlin subway with which I had practically grown up.
>   IBID.[27]

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umarmten und klopften sich auf den Rücken. […] Massen an der Mauer; auf der Mauer; auf meiner Graffitimauer … […] Plötzlich standen Straßen, Plätze, Orte meiner Kindheit im Interesse des Weltgeschehens."

21   "als wäre es ein Staat für sich."

22   A more detailed analysis of Hasan's open identity of Berliner can be found in the articles by Kate Roy (2011) and Lyn Marven (2007).

23   "Ich wollte voll in die Berlin-Party mit einsteigen und alles mitmachen."

24   "Der Himmel über Berlin strahlte. […] Er strahlte. […] Aber jetzt kam ich mir vor wie der einmillionste Gastarbeiter […]. 'Willkommen im vereinten Berlin!' Ich strahlte zurück."

25   "Eine Lawine von Menschen mit blasser Haut und hellen Harren rollte an."

26   "Die Ostleute hatten beige und graue Jacken an. Darin sahen sie so brav aus. Sie waren nicht so fett wie die Westberliner. Nein, sie wirkten fade und dünn. Aber ihre Augen waren wach. Sie sahen sich alles genau an."

27   "War mein Hosenschlitz auf? Oder hatte ich Marmeladenreste am Mund? War ich von einem anderen Planeten? Ich fühlte mich begutachtet wie ein Kamel im Berliner Zoo.

Interestingly, Hasan's first encounter with people from East Berlin shows strong similarities with the situation in which Ferguson learns about the fall of the wall. Unlike in *Selam Berlin*, where the event is told at the beginning of the book, Ferguson gives his account of November 9, 1989 in the middle of the novel and ironically calls it "the second-most embarrassing moment of my life," explaining that he "confirm[ed] every stereotype of American ignorance about world affairs and geography" as he—upon hearing that the wall just fell—replied: "What wall?" (Beatty 2008, 112). As a consequence, Ferguson first sees East Berliners on the street before he even knows what happened, when he suddenly finds the sidewalks crowded "with giddy, overly inquisitive Germans drinking Coca-Cola and noshing bananas and all moving in the same direction" (ibid., 110). Admitting that he was not even sure if they were German at first, he—like Hasan—finds their "incredibly un-eye-catching" style of clothes particularly noteworthy, highlighting that "they looked German, albeit with even tighter pants and uglier shoes" and that "the people seemed to be a lot like their clothes. They were a sturdy wash-and-wear group who favored comfort and practicality over style and flashiness" (ibid., 110–111).

One aspect that is remarkable about such descriptions in both novels is that they show strong compliance with the clichéd images and stereotypes recognized as "visible markers of otherness" (Stein 1996, 337) by West Berliners at the time. As Mary Beth Stein points out, it was "the dated style of clothes, the inferiority of products, the foreignness of dialects, and the strangeness of behaviors" (ibid.) that were most commonly regarded as indicating an East German background. While the style of clothes and typical forms of behaviour (such as staring at unfamiliar things) are seen by both Hasan and Ferguson as such markers, it is in particular the "native" Hasan whose reaction comes to mirror feelings of ambivalence, aggression, and superiority also shared by many West Berliners (cf. ibid., 334). He not only proudly admits his expertise at the ethnographic "game" of distinguishing East Berliners from West Berliners (Kara [2003] 2004, 22) but also self-assuredly claims: "The East people still have to learn a lot" (ibid., 23).[28]

A second aspect the two novels have in common is the dynamic of gazes the protagonists soon find themselves enmeshed in. While Hasan, in the long quote given above, feels like a camel in the zoo stared at by the East Berliners in the subway, Ferguson has a similar experience when he observes a young

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Waren es meine schwarzen Haare? Oder mein Charlie-Chaplin-Koffer? Was gab es da zu glotzen? Ich kam mir plötzlich so fremd vor in der Berliner U-Bahn, mit der ich praktisch aufgewachsen war."

28   "Die Ostleute müssen noch viel lernen."

and "breathtakingly beautiful woman" "clomping the streets in the most ungainly pair of dogshit-brown-flats" and gawking at him "like I was the monkey masturbating in the trees" (Beatty 2008, 111). However, the reactions of the two protagonists are different. While the situation in the subway marks, for Hasan, the beginning of a process of alienation from his native city and its inhabitants, Ferguson draws on his own experience of marginalization in his native country to sympathize with the East Berliners and their naive euphoria about life in the "free" world:

> A large middle-aged man [...] spotted my black face in the overwhelmingly white crowd. He stumbled up to me and ensnarled me in a big bear hug. When he released me, he threw up his arms and shouted, "Ich bin frei!" *I am free!* Then, cribbing from Kennedy's famous speech, he whispered in my ear, "Ich bin ein Negro. Ich bin frei jetzt." [...]
>
> I suppose being East German was a lot like being black—the constant sloganeering, the protest songs, no electricity or long-distance telephone service—so I gave the East German Negro a hearty soul shake and a black power salute and wished him luck with the minimum-security emancipation he'd no doubt serve in the new German republic.
>
> IBID., 118

5   New Walls in the Reunified City

"The wall fell; it crumbled onto mum, Ediz, and me!" (Kara [2003] 2004, 310).[29] This statement that Hasan gives near the end of *Selam Berlin* can be seen as sad resumé of what German reunification eventually comes to mean for him. In its most obvious sense, this expression relates to the dramatic developments in Hasan's family, which is affected by reunification in a way contrary to the common view of it as bringing together long separated "brothers" and "sisters" (cf. Yildiz 2017, 221): In his case, the falling of the wall reveals that his father has had a long-term affair (and a son) with a woman from East Berlin, which irrevocably shatters the marriage of his parents and leads Hasan to realize that the union of his family required the "protection" of the "rock-solid" wall for its stability (cf. Kara [2003] 2004, 304).

This, however, is only one reason why Hasan eventually feels that the wall "crumbled" on him. The other has to do with his identification as "Berliner" as

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29   "Die Mauer fiel; sie zerbröckelte auf Mama, Ediz und mich!"

a more neutral, transnationally "open" notion of identity transcending people's need to categorize him as either German or Turk. With Berlin becoming the centre of heated discourses over German national identity, Hasan's proud auto-image as a native of the city, who—as in his ethnographic game of visually distinguishing Germans from East and West—belongs to the ingroup of old-established West Berliners looking disparagingly upon the newcomers from the East, cannot be maintained in the light of numerous experiences of discrimination. Such incidents do not only impute the hetero-image of the "other" to him, but they also have the bitter consequence that the falling of the wall eventually *limits* his freedom of movement to Kreuzberg, the part of the city which he considers most safe from racist threats (ibid., 334). The difficulties Hasan encounters are narrated over his experiences with people from different sociocultural and regional backgrounds, who—though often non-Berlin natives from other parts of Germany—all perceive Hasan in this stereotypical manner. One of the most noteworthy episodes concerns his getting a small role in a movie by a well-known German avant-garde director, who poses as liberal and cosmopolitan but turns out to have narrow-minded and even nationalistic ideas. In the movie, described as a "*Westside Story* à la Kreuzberg" (ibid., 220), Hasan is cast in the stereotypical role of a violent Turkish drug dealer, and his local knowledge of Kreuzberg is not used to create a sense of authenticity but exploited to affirm negative hetero-stereotypes. Similarly, the movie director treats Hasan in a way that recalls Bhabha's description of the stereotype as both "other and yet entirely knowable and visible" (1994, 70–71), meaning that he recognizes in him an "other" he already knows entirely: he is nothing but a "problem case" caused by the fate of being "disrupted" between two different cultures (ibid., 223).

In the course of *Selam Berlin*, Hasan's growing feelings of alienation in a reunified Berlin are amplified by the depiction of the similar experiences of his friends with multicultural backgrounds. In the context of this article, a character of particular relevance is the African American G.I. Redford, who becomes the boyfriend of Hasan's cousin. Through Redford, Kara not only draws a comparison between the experiences of Turkish-Germans in Germany and African Americans in the US but also draws attention to Hasan's belonging to an international group of migrants and marginalized people who—though often challenged by the difficulty of understanding each other's experiences (cf. ibid., 172)—are capable of feelings of solidarity and communion, and who—in the novel's sequel *Cafe Cyprus*—are even positioned as a new and superior elite: "We were carrying inside all the historic, cultural, and political differences, and we were growing through them and building bridges. We did not fit in any

pattern and were basically something completely new; a mixture such as us had never existed on European soil" (Kara [2008] 2010, 317).[30]

Although the introduction of Redford and the reference to icons of African American culture such as Malcolm X, Alice Walker, James Baldwin, and Sidney Poitier (Kara [2003] 2004, 111, 169, 250) possibly makes the idea of comparing *Selam Berlin* to an African American novel set in Berlin more self-evident, the optimistic image of "building bridges" in *Cafe Cyprus* signals a strong contrast to *Slumberland*, which ends with a "Black Passé Tour" ironically entitled "Building Walls, Tearing Down Bridges" (Beatty 2008, 209). However, there *are* obvious similarities in Beatty's description of a reunified Berlin (though—as I will show in the following—the consequences drawn by the protagonists are different): what Anne-Rose Meyer described as one of the most disturbing experiences for Hasan—the sudden transformation of formerly convinced socialists into shopping maniacs and formerly liberals into chauvinists (2007, 74)—is also observed by Ferguson. He notes that his friends Doris and Lars only initially see their excursions to East Berlin "like travelling to see an extended family of stepsisters and -brothers" and that they grow increasingly "sour" about their "poor relations" in the East, emphasizing their fundamental otherness and describing them by negative hetero-stereotypes such as being lazy, unmotivated, and ungrateful (Beatty 2008, 136). In the same vein, he observes changes regarding their attitude about being German, noting that they are suddenly less shy about expressing their frustration with their nationality and recounting a scene where Doris expresses her anger about a journalist by exclaiming: "I hate this old Jew!" (ibid.). Using his knowledge of American history, Ferguson compares such transformations with the antebellum period in the American South, when the official abolishment of slavery led to more implicit forms of racist discrimination, and when new practices of othering made "the gilded cage of freedom seem [...] more unethical than slavery" (Hoagland 2015, 149). In the words of Beatty's protagonist:

> Germany changed. After the Wall fell it reminded me of the Reconstruction period of American history, complete with scalawags, carpetbaggers, lynch mobs, and the woefully lynched. The country had every manifestation of the post-1865 Union save Negro senators and decent peanut butter. Turn on the television and there'd be minstrel shows—tuxedoed

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30   "Wir trugen all die historischen, kulturellen und politischen Gegensätze in uns, und wir wuchsen daran und schlugen Brücken. Wir passten in keine Schablone und waren eigentlich etwas ganz Neues, so ein Gemisch wie uns hatte es nie zuvor auf europäischem Boden gegeben."

> *Schauspieler* in blackface acting out *Showboat* and literally whistling
> Dixie. There were the requisite whining editorials warning the public
> that assimilation was a dream, that the inherently lazy and shiftless East
> Germans would never be productive citizens. There were East Germans
> passing for West Germans.
>
> BEATTY 2008, 134

The consequences Ferguson draws from observing such similarities differ
from Hasan's reaction to the changes in the reunified Berlin. Whereas Hasan
hopes that the new dynamics in his native city can be disposed of by mov-
ing to London—a metropolis he considers more advanced in terms of inter-
culturality—Ferguson perceives his privileged life in enclaved West Berlin as
exceptional, with the reunified Berlin now approaching a well-known nor-
mality he had hoped to get away from. Although lamenting that the fall of the
wall "had the unforeseen impact of quadrupling the number of white male
assholes" he refrains from concluding that the "asshole-per-capita ratio" in
East Germany is higher than in the West (ibid., 139),[31] and even sympathizes
with people from the East, whose experiences come to resemble "a microcos-
mic Black experience that links modern-day otherness to modes of expulsion,
migration, and exploitation found in the greater Black Atlantic" (Hoagland
2015, 148).

Ferguson's sympathy for the situation of East Germans in the reunified
country increases when he encounters two Afro-German sisters from East
Berlin who—as "others," both due to their skin color and their East German
background—struggle with the "second-class treatment" (ibid., 137) they
receive in their native country. The depiction of their experiences as nonwhites
both in the GDR and in reunified Germany complements the perspective of
the Black, male, American expatriate only temporarily staying in (formerly)
West Berlin. By embedding their story in the contexts of the discrimination of
Blacks during World War II and the evolution of the Afro-German movement
in the 1980s and 1990s (ibid., 177–180, 190), Beatty not only widens the genre of
African American expatriate fiction toward the "contemplat[ion] of discourses
of race and blackness outside of a U.S. context" (Stallings 2013, 202) but ulti-
mately articulates a sentiment shared by *Slumberland*'s Black expatriate com-
munity, the Afro-German sisters, and many East Germans: the experience that
Ferguson's initial claim that "the charade of blackness is over" (Beatty 2008, 3),
just as the euphoria over the becoming of "one" people in reunified Germany

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31   He rather thinks that "Reunification and the rise of neo-Nazi activity had given the West
      German asshole the freedom to show his true colors" (ibid., 139).

cannot be maintained, and that the official opening of walls and the mere installation of antislavery laws risks the tacit displacement of discrimination and separation into more implicit, less visible spheres. It is for this reason that Ferguson and his friends eventually come to rebuild the Berlin Wall through a public sound performance called "wall of sound"—a wall that can optionally be seen as "confinement, exclusion, or protection" (ibid., 198) and that, as Schmidt puts it, does not articulate a mere return to the former state of division but instead calls for a change of epistemologies by moving away from the predominantly visual model of the actual Berlin Wall to "an aural regime that highlights the fluidity of demarcations and resists binary classifications of any kind" (Schmidt 2014, 157).

6   Conclusion

It was the intention of this article to compare the literary depiction of the fall of the Berlin Wall in two transnationally oriented novels and, thereby, to undertake an exemplary, imagological case study operating at the crossings of national, urban, and ethnic/racial ascriptions of otherness. Although the two protagonists' different cultural backgrounds and different positions as second-generation Turkish-German migrant and African American temporary expatriate lead to divergent experiences in the former "island city" of West Berlin, the similarities in the recounts of the fall of the Berlin Wall are noteworthy. Not only do both novels depict the encounter of West and East Germans as structured by stereotypical modes of perceiving otherness, but they also show how the changes regarding German national identity have effects on the not-(only)-German protagonists. While the Turkish-German Hasan fails in his attempt to replace exclusionary national concepts of identity with the transnationally open, urban notion of the "Berliner" and grows increasingly alienated with his native city, the African American Ferguson experiences German reunification as a process resembling the situation in the antebellum American South, in which the short period of reconstruction eventually led to the installation of the Jim Crow laws and in which new racist stereotypes and less explicit forms of discrimination quickly evolved. The consequences drawn from these delusions are, however, quite different: *Selam Berlin* does not fundamentally doubt the idea that national models of identity can be replaced by transnational, open, and typically urban models more adequate to experiences of cultural hybridity and multiple forms of belonging—it simply depicts the Berlin of 1989/1990 as not advanced enough for this. *Slumberland*, on the other hand, expresses a more fundamental delusion about the possibility of permanently

escaping limiting stereotypical ascriptions of otherness articulated in terms such as "Blackness" or "East Germanness." The final installation of a Berlin wall of sound can be read as an attempt to destabilize such national, urban, and/ or ethnic/racial hetero-stereotypes by revealing their existence through irony and satire—a destabilization that, however, does not believe in the possibility of building or finding an "alternative world" (Schmidt 2014, 160) in some other country or time.

Acknowledgements

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Immigration and Imagology, or Nationalisms Abandoned

Manfred Beller

Abstract

This article applies imagology to "migration literature"—a genre that is described as a "peripheral phenomenon" in the 2007 handbook *Imagology*, but that requires more thorough attention due to the increasing number of significant writings by immigrant authors. Focusing on works by Rafik Schami, Tahar Ben Jelloun, Amara Lakhous, Igiaba Scego, Hatice Akyün, Yoko Tawada, and Emine Sevgi Özdamar, and considering theoretical observations by Edward Said, Salman Rushdie, and Homi Bhabha, this article analyses how most texts prefer arguments and metaphors of everyday life to the traditional images and stereotypes of nationalistic discourse. It concludes by distinguishing two perspectives central to most of them: that of an "in-between" and/or a "Third Space."

Keywords

imagology – nationalism/s – migration literature – identity – Third Space

Traditionally, the study of imagology deals mainly with research on images, prejudices, and stereotypes between European nations. In 2007 the handbook *Imagology*, edited by Joep Leerssen and myself, included an article titled "Migration Literature," referring to it as a "peripheral phenomenon" (Beller and Leerssen 2007, 365–371). In more recent times, however, due to an increasing number of significant personal writings by immigrant authors, the perspectives of that literary genre have greatly expanded and require a more intensified study into its motifs.

Edward Said realized in his *Reflections on Exile* (1984) that exile "is the unhealable rift forced between a human being and a native place, between the self and its true home," adding, perhaps with regard to his own privileged

professorship at Columbia University: "Modern Western culture is in large part the work of exiles, émigrés, refugees" (Said 2001, 173). Said thus connects "place" with national identity arriving at the central argument of this article: "Nationalism affirms the home created by a community of language, culture, and customs" (ibid., 176).

Salman Rushdie, born in Bombay, became a refugee with his family in Karachi, before being exiled to England. In 1987 Rushdie argued that the migrant loses three essential living conditions: "You no longer belong to a place; you no longer belong to a language; you no longer belong to any kind of broad community" (Rushdie 2001, 77).

The Syrian-German poet Rafik Schami, arriving in Germany in 1971, describes his experiences in *Damals dort und heute hier*: "As long as he continues to remain a foreigner his surroundings will consider him a menace—they want to smooth out all his rough edges. [... My home is] where my wife, my son, and my childhood live, in Syria and Germany. My heart is a swallow" (Schami 1998, 28, 69).[1] The reference to his heart as a migratory bird is a lovely poetic image.

The real despair of exiles is more plausible in the character of Houria portrayed by the Moroccan author Tahar Ben Jelloun in *Hospitalité française*: "Her voice becomes furious when she speaks. [...] Neither French nor Algerian. She seeks after a country where she could plant her roots. [...] No, better to be left without a fatherland. Do they exist, people without a fatherland?" (1984, 94, 96)[2] Ben Jelloun relates to the *in-between* of so many migrants' fates mostly as a negative experience that can be expressed by a *neither-nor*. However, there are moments when this precarious *in-between* situation can take on a more positive solution expressed as an *as-well-as*.

The Turkish-German journalist Hatice Akyün, a second-generation immigrant of Anatolian descent, subtitled her autobiographical sketches *Leben in zwei Welten* (2007). In this book, she recounts her father's life, a first-generation immigrant who discovered, while living in Germany, a yearning for his native Turkey; yet when on vacation in his homeland he became overwhelmed by desire to return to Germany. Hatice Akyün herself refers to both countries as "my parallel world" (2007, 30).[3]

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1   All translations are my own unless stated otherwise. Original: "Die Umwelt sieht in ihm, solange der Fremde fremd bleibt, eine Bedrohung, sie möchte seine Ecken und Kanten rundschleifen. [... Meine Heimat ist] wo meine Frau, mein Sohn und meine Kindheit leben, in Syrien und Deutschland. Mein Herz ist eine Schwalbe."

2   "Quand elle parle, de la colère passe dans sa voix. [...] Ni française, ni algérienne. Elle cherche une terre où planter ses racines. [...] Non, autant être apatride. Ça existe, les apatrides?"

3   "Meine Parallelwelt."

Ben Jelloun devotes a separate chapter to "The Myth of Return" (1984, 133–144),[4] the desire and firm intention to return home that accompanies all migrants for the rest of their lives. They rapidly lose the culture of their homeland without gaining familiarity with the culture of their destination. He analyses the difference between the majority of natives and the minority of foreigners: "Like it or not, the difference is what defines identity. But taken to extremes, these social differences can prove fatal to communication, creating the ghetto" (ibid., 88).[5]

This negative identity attributed to the young strangers is not the identity that they have left behind; it is a fictitious identity ascribed to them by the host country. The loss of their original identity is the most important theme in several of Ben Jelloun's novels—for example, in *Partir.* The young Moroccan Azel is looking from Tangier to the Spanish coast:

> Leave the country. That was an obsession, a kind of folly which afflicted him day and night. How to get away, how to put an end to the humiliation? To leave this land that no longer wants its children, to turn your back upon this beautiful country and return one day, proud and perhaps rich, leave to save your skin, even if it means losing it.
>
> BEN JELLOUN 2006, 23[6]

The wealthy Spaniard Miguel, in search of a male prostitute, rescues Azel from difficulty by taking him off to Spain and offering him a luxurious life. The price Azel pays is an abyss of despair and shame. Prostitution is the predominant metaphor for loss of identity in Ben Jelloun's description and analysis of the young migrant's destiny. In *Partir* it is the allegorical figure of the old African Moha who sums up the author's grim opinion on the problem of migration:

> So you want to run away, leave, flee the country, go to the Europeans, but they are not waiting for you [...], you believe there is work, comfort, beauty and grace, but my poor friends, there is sadness, loneliness, grayness, there is also money, but not for those who come without an

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4 "Le mythe du retour."

5 "Qu'on le veuille ou non, la différence est ce qui définit l'identité. Mais poussé á l'extrème, la différence dans une société c'est la mort de la communication, le ghetto."

6 "Quitter le pays. C'était une obsession, une sorte de folie qui le travaillait jour et nuit. Comment s'en sortir, comment en finir avec l'humiliation? Partir, quitter cette terre qui ne veut plus de ses enfants, tourner le dos à un pays si beau et revenir un jour, fier et peut-être riche, partir pour sauver sa peau, même en risquant de la perdre."

invitation. Well, you know what I'm talking about, how many guys left and drowned?

BEN JELLOUN 2006, 146[7]

Coincidentally, the year that *Partir* was published, 2006, is the same year the Algerian-Italian writer Amara Lakhous sets his story *Contesa per un maialino italianissimo a San Salvario* in (published in 2014). The book tells the story of the Nigerian Joseph and his little domestic pig. When the piggy Dino is discovered in a mosque in the district of San Salvario a terrible scandal arises among the Muslim community. The story is narrated by an Italian character named Enzo Laganà, who was born in Turin to Calabrian parents. Lakhous infuses the Italian North-South disparity with the current problems of the African and mostly Islamic wave of immigrants. The satirical crime thriller is flavoured with the common prejudices toward the *Meridionali*, the *Mafiosi*, and the Muslims of North Africa. (Enzo's friend, the Moroccan Samir from Tangier, a somewhat clandestine but talented musician living in Italy, is reminiscent of the Moroccan Azel in Ben Jelloun's novel *Partir*.)

In his earlier novel *Scontro di civiltà per un ascensore a piazza Vittorio* ([2011] ³2014) Lakhous invents a small culturally mixed community of Arabs, Pakistanis, and others who live together in a block of rented flats in the centre of Rome. He characterizes the different groups of people, developing the conflict between racism and tolerance. However, his social criticism and observations of tribal and national types give rise to entertaining caricatures.[8]

Igiaba Scego's novel *Adua* (2015) tells a different story concerning immigration. It deals with the traumatic experiences of a Somalian girl who arrived in Italy as an orphan immigrant during the time of the Italian conquest of Ethiopia in 1935–1936. Her father Zoppe, who worked as an interpreter for imperial Italy, is later arrested by the Somalis as a traitor. His seventeen-year-old daughter Adua gets involved with Italian film producers who pay for her flight to Europe and then, on her arrival in Rome, exploit her as an actress

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7   "Alors ainsi vous voulez déguerpir, partir, quitter le pays, aller chez les Européens, mais ils ne vous attendent pas […], vous croyez que là-bas il y a du travail, du confort, de la beauté et de la grâce, mais mes pauvres amis, il y a de la tristesse, de la solitude, de la grisaille, il y a aussi de l'argent, mais pas pour ceux qui viennent sans être invités. Bon, vous savez de quoi je parle, combien de gars sont partis et se sont noyés?"

8   Schwarz Lausten (2010, 93–111) calls Lakhous's *Scontro di civiltà* an "excellent crime comedy" (ibid., 106) and quotes the author: "We don't live in a country, but in a language. The Italian language is my new home" (ibid., 111) (Original: "Non abitiamo un paese ma una lingua. La lingua italiana è la mia nuova dimora"). Cf. Moll (2010, 233–242).

in pornographic films. In two central chapters, Scego describes the deception, brute violation, and sexual humiliation of the young African dreaming of a career as an actress (cf. Scego 2015, 114–124, 130–140). It is interesting to note that this story was written shortly before the Me Too campaign started in 2017.

Scego reveals in the "Epilogo" that some years later, Adua accompanies the illegal African Ahmed to Termini station in Rome, where a human trafficker affirms the prejudice that all migrants' problems are resolved in Germany: "Suffice it to say that in Italy you are treated badly and they leave you in Germany. The Germans care about human rights, after the Holocaust they are good people" (2015, 168).[9]

On the surface Scego does not seem to mention any stereotype or imagological concept, yet in the last chapter on the Piazza dei Cinquecento she presents us with a symbolic image of Adua's existential problem. Adua has covered her head with a turban wrapped together with a blue shawl, the only keepsake of her father. A gull then attacks and tears the blue turban from her head. "It was the sign of my slavery and of my former shame, this turban. It was the yoke I had chosen to redeem myself" (ibid., 172–173).[10] This represents the shackle of her identity; in losing it she is free to start a new life.

In *The Satanic Verses* (1988) Salman Rushdie writes of the tragic consequences of the loss of identity through migration and assimilation. His own experience when he returned to Bombay, where the Indians were astonished at the manner in which he pronounced Hindustani, is symbolized by the smashed mirror (cf. Rushdie 1988, 58). Already in 1982 Rushdie had formulated the distancing effect of migration in time and space:

> It may be argued that the past is a country from which we have all emigrated, that its loss is part of our common humanity. […] But I suggest that the writer who is out-of-country and even out-of-language may experience this loss in an intensified form. It is made more concrete for him by the physical fact of discontinuity, of his present being in a different place of his past, of his being "elsewhere."
>
> RUSHDIE 1991, 12

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9   "Basta dire che in Italia ti trattano male et ti lasciano in Germania. Ci tengono ai diritti umani i tedeschi, dopo l'Olocausto fanno i buoni."

10   "Era il segno della mia schiavitù e delle mie antiche vergogne, quel turbante. Era il giogo che avevo scelto per redimermi."

Rafik Schami emphasizes different speeds of time from one country to the next:

> The losses of a man in exile are enormous. You lose the most important and valuable condition of all human cultures, a sense of belonging, to a place and its inhabitants. But above all the exiled man loses the simultaneous passing of time with his or her relatives. In the moment one leaves their own people, one also leaves their time.
>
> SCHAMI 1998[11]

There are also other aspects connected with the experiences of exile. The Turkish-German journalist Hatice Akyün was just three years old when she arrived together with her parents from a rural village in Anatolia at the industrial town of Duisburg on the Rhine. She freed herself not only from the paternal constraints of her family but also from the concepts of ethnic and national identity: "My parents had only *one* identity, they knew only *one* world when they came to Germany. They knew exactly where they belonged, to Turkey. [...] They spoke [only] one language, their Turkish native tongue" (Akyün 2007, 183).[12] In her perception of herself, Akyün asserts a double identity: "To be honest, I don't feel myself to be in any kind of dilemma, nor would I change anything. I consider my life a great richness, because I have two different lives depending on whether I'm staying with my Turkish family or if I'm in Berlin" (ibid., 181).[13] She smooths over any eventual reflections or sentiments that could be hidden in such self-assertive statements: "For me, the question of identity has nothing to do with a certain place, but rather with a life situation" (ibid., 185).[14]

The emancipation of Scego or Akyün is motivated by their move to the big capitals, Rome or Berlin. It's worth observing that most migrant intellectuals

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11   "Die Verluste eines Menschen im Exil sind enorm. Man verliert die wichtigste und teuerste Voraussetzung aller menschlichen Kulturen, die Zugehörigkeit zu einem Ort und dessen Bewohnern. Vor allem aber verliert der Mensch im Exil die Gleichzeitigkeit des Zeitganges mit seinen Angehörigen. In dem Augenblick, in dem man seine Angehörigen verläßt, verläßt man auch ihre Zeit."

12   "Meine Eltern hatten nur *eine* Identität, kannten nur *eine* Welt, als sie nach Deutschland kamen. Sie wußten genau, wohin sie gehörten, in die Türkei. [...] Sie sprachen [nur] eine Sprache, ihre türkische Muttersprache."

13   "Ehrlich gesagt, fühle ich mich weder in einem Dilemma, noch möchte ich etwas ändern. Ich betrachte mein Leben als großen Reichtum, denn ich habe gleich zwei davon, je nachdem, ob ich mich gerade bei meiner türkischen Familie aufhalte oder in Berlin."

14   "Für mich hat die Frage nach der Identität nichts mit einem bestimmten Ort zu tun, sondern mit einer Lebenssituation."

prefer the big cities as places of residence. As early as in *The Location of Culture* (1994), Homi Bhabha ended the chapter "Dissemination: Time, Narrative and the Margins of Modern Nation" with the statement:

> I have suggested that the people emerge in the finitude of the nation, marking the liminality of cultural identity, producing the double-edged discourse of social territories and temporalities, then in the West, and increasingly elsewhere. It is the city which provides the space in which emergent identifications and new social movements of the people are played out.
>
> BHABHA 1994, 169–170

The modern city erodes nationalistic blinkers. The increasing number of minorities transform cities into clusters of different ethnicities, nations, and religions.

This is why Salman Rushdie chose London as the centre of his epic novel *The Satanic Verses*. In his *Interviews* he pointed out the function of the metropolis for migrant or exiled writers: "The idea of the great metropolis as it has developed in the twentieth century is a location for migrants. [...] The migrant as invented self connects with the novel's wider exploration of the city as invented space" (Rushdie 2001, 77, 95).

Ben Jelloun states in the conclusion to *Hospitalité française* (1984) that the motivation behind his decision to live in Paris and take part in the French cultural and literary scene was to criticize the racism of the French toward the immigrants of former French colonies. In order to do this fluency of the French language was crucial (cf. Ben Jelloun 1984, 157).

Migrant writers such as the German-writing Yoko Tawada with origins in Japan, Emine Sevgi Özdamar with origins in Turkey, and Rafik Schami with origins in Syria have used language as a tool to facilitate their integration into their second homeland. The postnational character of immigration literature is reflected in the status of the postmigration and linguistic métissage.[15]

In her book *Talisman* Yoko Tawada compares her pleasure of listening to the sound of other languages to that of a composer listening to birds singing in the forest. Language gains a kind of bodily structure when speaking with another tongue. Writing business letters during her first office job, she called the typewriter a "Sprachmutter," playfully reversing the German word "Muttersprache" (Tawada 1996, 12).

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15   See Myriam Geiser's chapter on "Imigration und 'Weltliteratur': Plurikulturelle Literaturen in transnationaler Perspektive" (2015, 317–597).

Emine Sevgi Özdamar found another way of accessing the German language through mixing Turkish words and expressions in her autobiographical novels *Das Leben ist eine Karawanserei, hat zwei Türen, aus einer kam ich rein, aus der anderen ging ich raus* (1992) and *Die Brücke vom Goldenen Horn* (1998) (cf. Beller 2006, 213–221; Di Bella 2014, 153–166). She also denotes the bodily perception of the new language and describes the process of integration in her second homeland as a gradual approach to the German language: "In the fifth year I observed that the entries in my diary became half Turkish, half German—before they were purely Turkish. After the sixth or seventh year I made only German entries. That is how it is, one is here, completely here" (in Saalfeld 1998, 181).[16]

Rafik Schami, who tells his German stories in an Arabian manner, declares: "I found a new homeland in Germany and in the German language. Therefore, I decided to write my stories directly in German" (1998, 96).[17]

In the poems, novels, and tales of the immigrant writers, words like "home" and "language" occur frequently but words like "nation" or "people" appear seldom. They prefer to tell stories or to describe their everyday life, conditions, social problems, and sentiments. Nationalist arguments are a matter for political, journalistic, and critical essays. Sandra Vlasta, in a recent study on immigration literature, uses a thematic approach when studying *themes* and *motifs*: "Themes are [larger units of] language, translation, identity and the search for identity, the new homeland, periphery, and centre. Within these themes, several motifs will be identified and analysed, for instance the motif of the tongue, cooking, eating, arrival, and the climate" (Vlasta 2016, 44). Almost all immigrant writers discussed here favour arguments and metaphors of everyday life and essential problems over traditional images and stereotypes of any nationalist discourse.

Returning once more to Rushdie's *Notes on Writing and the Nation* (1997):

> 7. [...] Nationalism is that "revolt against history" which seeks to close what cannot any longer be closed. To fence in what should be frontierless. Good writing assumes a frontierless nation.

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16   "Im fünften Jahr habe ich bemerkt, daß meine Tagebucheintragungen halb türkisch, halb deutsch wurden—vorher waren sie rein türkisch. Nach dem sechsten, siebten Jahre habe ich nur noch rein deutsche Notizen gemacht, Das ist so, hier ist man, ganz hier."

17   "Ich fand in Deutschland und in der deutschen Sprache eine neue Heimat. So beschloß ich, meine Geschichten direkt auf deutsch zu schreiben." For a similar description of the German language as a new home, see Boubia (1996, 120).

> 8. [...] The intellectual uprooted against his will rejects the narrow
> enclosures that have rejected him. There is a great loss, and much yearn-
> ing, in such rootlessness. But there is also gain. The frontierless nation is
> not a fantasy.
>   RUSHDIE 2002, 67

What conclusions can we draw from this? Nations continue to exist, though
the unlimited public readership in our globalized world renders them more
and more obsolete. Nationalism persists as an instrument of power in the
hands of conscienceless politicians; however, the experiences of immigrant
writers represent a frontierless world in the midst of settled populations.

Thus the literary image of immigrants has two perspectives. One answers to
the *in-between*: between the nation, culture, and religion of provenience and
the nation, culture, and way of life of destination (where the migrant arrives).
The immigrants bring with them their original culture and behaviour of the
country that they left, the physical and psychical baggage. However, living in
another country and perceived as a stranger, they fall into an abyss, feeling
rejected by the new country. This is the negative aspect, to be and to remain
in-between. To express it in a formula: they are no longer *A* and not yet *B*. This
is a common situation described by immigrants, who often create a hybrid lan-
guage by mingling their mother tongue with the new language in a somehow
hybrid manner (cf. Adelson 2006, 37–40).

The second perspective is the creation of a new literary status in its own
right. By this means immigrants can develop new perspicacity, values, and life-
styles. They no longer cling to their original culture nor to the culture of their
new homeland, refuting both the ethnic "ghetto" and complete assimilation.
This perspective makes demands on this deliberately positive act—based on
the works they are creating and their economic success, art, music, and poetry
can be used to represent a new kind of cultural reality. From this perspective,
hybridity could be seen as a positive value and as a fully accepted literary form.

The creation of a "Third Space" as an artistic vision has been discussed in
exemplary novels, highlighting "the inherent physical and mental dangers for
those who move within them" (Bach 2010, 19–20). However, when examin-
ing the literary works of the immigrant writers quoted above, we must also
consider Homi Bhabha's statement that "the very concepts of homogeneous
national cultures [...] or 'organic' ethnic communities [...] are in a profound
process of redefinition" (1994, 5). In this context and in accordance with the
above formula *A* ›—‹ *B* I would encourage a utopian cosmopolitan culture in-
between, *C*, whereby the immigrant authors achieve a new identity through
their literary works.

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Transnationalizing National Characterization: Meta-Images and the Centre-Periphery Dynamics in Spain and the South Slavic Region

Josip Kešić

Abstract

This article compares two similar yet never compared cases of intra-European othering: Spain and the South Slavic region. Their common denominator is what I call the *Periphery Problem*: a hierarchical cultural difference between Europe's symbolic centre (Western Europe) and its exotic peripheries. Using paradigmatic examples intertextually linked to Prosper Mérimée, this article focuses both on the centre (exemplified by Mérimée), and the peripheries' recent responses to Mérimée through *meta-images* (your image of others' image of you). The structural commonalities in characterization and the entanglements of internal and external images show that national characterization in Europe is profoundly a *transnational* phenomenon.

Keywords

periphery – meta-image – transnationalism – Spain – South Slavic region

1   Introduction

One of imagology's methodological assumptions, as outlined by Joep Leerssen in "Imagology: History and Method" (2007, 29), concerns its fundamentally transnational dimension:

> The study of national images is in and of itself a comparative enterprise: it addresses cross-national relations rather than national identities. Likewise, patterns of national characterization will stand out most clearly when studied supranationally as a multinational phenomenon. Certain imagined moral-characterological oppositions are nationally unspecific

and can be encountered in many different cases: northern-cerebral vis-à-vis southern-sensuous, peripheral-timeless vis-à-vis central-modern, or western-individualistic-active vis-à-vis oriental-collective-passive. This indicates that national characterizations are often specific instances and combinations of generic moral polarities, and that our way of thinking in terms of "national characters" boils down to an ethnic-political distribution of role patterns in an imagined anthropological landscape. It is in this comparatist aspect that imagology holds out a challenge and a promise for future research.

In other words, national characterization is not only inherently relational and therefore multinational, it is also often nationally unspecific and should therefore be studied comparatively. These theoretical premises are the starting point of this article that focuses on what I call the *Periphery Problem*. The Periphery Problem is a discursively constructed perception and invocation of cultural, civilizational, and temperamental differences within Europe. It is fundamentally predicated on the distinction between Europe's symbolic centre and its peripheries. Where Western Europe embodies Europe's core attributes (Leerssen 2021), the peripheries are often reduced to their relative lack of Europeanness.

The Periphery Problem can be observed in a great variety of historical periods and geographic contexts across Europe. This article compares two similar yet hardly ever compared cases of intra-European Othering: Spain and the South Slavic region.[1] More precisely, this article looks at how these peripheral countries are represented both from the outside (i.e. the centre) and from the inside. Although the peripheries hold a relatively subaltern position in the asymmetric power relations inherent to processes of representation, they are still agents actively positioning themselves vis-à-vis the European centre. This positioning occurs not only through the articulation of self-images—which always explicitly or implicitly involve hetero-images—but also through the articulation of *meta-images*. Coined by Hercules Millas, meta-images can be defined as "imputing to Others the way how we think that they look at Us" (Leerssen 2016, 24). The very act of articulating meta-images should be regarded as a distinct mode of positioning. Moreover, the concept is useful in understanding how and why "intellectuals from Eastern Europe [and Spain alike, J.K.] had to respond to images and formulas devised in Western Europe" (Wolff 1994, 373; see also Todorova [1997] 2009, 61). Such responses,

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1 Explicit imagological comparisons between Spain and the South Slavic are rare, brief, and general (e.g. Klobucka 1997, 235; Sekeruš 2007, 235).

as this article will illustrate, often consist of entanglements of meta-, self-, and hetero-images.

By comparing these entanglements in two cases, this article complements existing cultural research. Generally, cultural scholarship has been limited to one direction within a single centre–periphery relationship, that is, how a periphery perceives the centre, *or*, how the centre imagines one periphery (e.g. Hammond 2010; Milutinović 2011; Coenen 2013; Venegas 2018). This article looks not only at two peripheries but also how both are imagined from the inside *and* from the outside. Employing a comparative approach to the Periphery Problem—not as a unidirectional process but as a multidirectional dynamic—enhances our imagological understanding of transnational dimensions of image formation. The Periphery Problem is illustrated by a sample of paradigmatic and canonical source material intertextually linked to the figure of Prosper Mérimée, a transnational "nodal point" (Leerssen 2012a) where images of various European regions converge. In the next section, Mérimée's depictions of Spain and the South Slavic region are briefly discussed, followed by the cultural responses from both peripheries, with a particular focus on the peripheries' meta-images.

2   Images from the Centre

Prosper Mérimée's most well-known work is a literary thematization of Spain, *Carmen* (1845), turned into a global opera evergreen by Georges Bizet in 1875. The novella starts with a French narrator recounting his journey through southern Spain in the early nineteenth century. Initially undertaken with the purpose of archaeological and historical research, his journey revolves around encounters with two exotic, violent, and passionate characters: the soldier-turned-outlaw-murderer Don José and the seductive Gypsy outlaw Carmen. Carmen is imbued with "a strange and savage beauty [...] her eyes were at once voluptuous and fierce [...] eyes of a Gypsy, eyes of a wolf" (Mérimée [1845/1847] 2006, 24).[2] A major part of the novella is about Don José's journey from the north (Basque Country) to the south (Andalusia). Don José's geographic displacement corresponds with the increase and progression of passion and violence through seduction, infatuation, banditry, and—finally—multiple murders, all due to his involvement with Carmen. The more Don

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2 "C'était une beauté étrange et sauvage [...] Ses yeux [...] avaient une expression à la fois voluptueuse et farouche [...] Oeil de bohémien, oeil de loup." All translations are my own unless stated otherwise.

José is exposed to Carmen's influence, the worse it gets for him, in contrast to the French scholar/anonymous narrator who remains the unchanged personification of superior civilization. That is why Mérimée's book shifts at the end from an adventure narrative to a scholarly (philological, historical, and anthropological) discourse on the distinctiveness of the Gypsies' origin, customs, and race.

   Less known is the fact that the exoticism and narrative techniques in *Carmen* were already present in Mérimée's earlier book that deals with the South Slavic region. *La Guzla, ou Choix de poesies illyriques, recueillies dans la Dalmatie, la Bosnie, La Croatie et l'Hertzegowine* (1827) includes both an adventure narrative and scholarly essays on the local customs and the natives' character. Narrated from a first-person perspective, the narrative revolves around a protagonist who travelled through the Illyrian region populated by the uncouth and uncivilized Morlachs.[3] His partly Morlach background and the intimate knowledge of and experience with the region enabled him to find and translate the allegedly authentic local oral poetry presented in the book.[4] As in *Carmen*, Mérimée's 1827 book invokes the civilizational difference between the European centre (France) and its periphery (Illyrian region) through the quasi-colonial encounter between characters who metonymically function as representatives of their respective collectives. The main character is Hyacinthe Maglanovitch, a lazy, drunk local bard with a violent personal history who accompanies himself with a typically local one-string instrument (*gusle*) when performing the indigenous folk songs. In line with *La Guzla*'s general depiction of Morlachs as a "savage people," the bard's "cry or rather scream resembled a wounded wolf's" (1827, xi)[5] and his eyes had an expression of "savage beauty" (1827, 11).[6] Most of the folk songs performed by Maglanovitch and eventually translated by the narrator revolve around violent and passionate conflicts between either Morlachs themselves or Morlachs and the invading Ottomans. For both the anthropological and poetic aspects of the Morlach culture in his literary hoax, Mérimée strongly relied on Alberto Fortis's *Viaggio in Dalmazia* (1774). Fortis's travel account played a crucial role in the European literary "discovery" of the

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3   The term Morlach had been in vogue in the nineteenth century to denote the Slavic populations in present-day Croatia, Bosnia, and Serbia, later replaced by South Slavs/Yugoslavs. Illyria is the geographic equivalent of this supranational aggregate, also used by the French administration to name the region under its rule (1809–1814).

4   Shortly after the publication, Mérimée admitted that most of the poems were his own fabrications.

5   "le chanteur pousse un grand cri ou plutôt un hurlement, semblable à celui d'un loup blesse."

6   "ne expression de beauté sauvage."

South Slavic region, mainly due to the extraordinary popularity of the ballad "Hasanaginica," also included in Mérimée's *La Guzla* (Leerssen 2012b).

Mérimée's primitivist imagery applied to both Spain and the South Slavic region is primarily invoked through the main characters, Carmen and Maglanovitch, both synecdochally standing for their region and peoples at large. His works also employ the much older conflation of civilization with urbanism, and primitivism with rurality or nature. Urban settings are either avoided, merely mentioned, or employed as a picturesque background of phenomena and peoples that are more deeply associated with uncouth spaces where the supernatural and/or the immoral prevail. Another structural similarity between how Spain and the South Slavic region are represented is the centrality of outlaws, in *Carmen* as Gypsy bandits and in *La Guzla* as Hajduks, described by Mérimée as "a variation of bandits" (1827, 6).[7] A more general similarity has to do with Orientalization.[8] Spain has been associated, compared, or even equated with the Orient by an impressive number of famous cultural producers, such as Voltaire, Hugo, Stendhal, Irving, and Ford, to name just a few (Colmeiro 2002; Charnon-Deutsch 2004; Domínguez 2006; Steingress 2006; Venegas 2018). Where the Moorish past played a central role in the Orientalization of Spain, the Ottoman past has had the same function with regard to images of the South Slavic region. Telling are the phrases used in the West to refer to this region such as the "Orient within the Occident" or "Turkey in Europe" (Wolff 1994; Todorova [1997] 2009; Raspudić 2010).

All these aspects amount to the centre–periphery differentiation with regard to human temperaments and the concomitant social organization. The peripheries' exoticism lies not only in their relative social backwardness regarding technology, politics, and economy but even more in the primitive character of their uncouth peoples. These peoples are imagined as possessing violent temperaments governed by the ethos of honour and shame, as well as heated but unpredictable passions such as jealousy, hatred, and seduction. Such images, which invoke both repulsion and fascination on the part of the "civilized" observer from the centre, are in both cases contrasted with the same symbolic centre of European civilization, in Mérimée's case epitomized

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7   "Heyduques [...] espèce de bandits." The importance of outlaws is in line with the imagological insight that "certain ethnotypes will gravitate to certain sociotypes" (Leerssen 2016, 26), i.e. that national characterization is disproportionally correlated to particular social (not national) categories such as class, gender, or age.

8   I prefer Orientalization over Said's Orientalism because intra-European cases of Orientalism, generally speaking, lack straightforward colonization, an institutionalized tradition of knowledge production, and are more ambiguously in-between than the Orient Said wrote about.

by France. The centre consists of ordered civic societies governed by the rule of law and the state's monopoly on violence and populated by rational, cultivated, and reserved citizens. Their behaviour is regulated by the bourgeois morality whose pillars are Christianity, inhibited sexuality, and economic productivity. Such images have materialized in many cultural fields (e.g. Davies and Powrie 2006; Utrera Macías and Guarinos 2010). That Mérimée as a single author produced two similar books on two different regions in Europe should not be seen as an individual idiosyncrasy but rather as a paradigmatic example of a broader pattern of imagination.

3 Responses from Spain

The reception of Mérimée's *Carmen* in Spain can be seen as a representative microcosm of the much broader Periphery Problem as invoked by Spaniards themselves in a great variety of genres of cultural production (Perriam and Davies 2005; Utrera Macías and Guarinos 2010; Miralles 2016). Telling are the titles of Spanish cinema adaptations of *Carmen* from 1938 (*Carmen, La de Triana*) and 1959 (*Carmen, La de Ronda*) in that they emphasize the local rather than the foreign origin of the heroine. The lyrics of Carmen Sevilla's paso doble *Carmen de España* (1953) articulate the coexistence of meta- and auto-images even more explicitly: "I am Carmen from Spain, not the one by Mérimée."[9] Perhaps the most famous Spanish adaptation of *Carmen* is the work of one of the icons of twentieth-century Spanish cinema, Carlos Saura. The foreign success of his work has also made him a key figure in the international diffusion of images of Spanishness through multiple flamenco films, *Carmen* (1983) being the most famous. It shows a group of flamenco dancers rehearsing a dance performance based on Mérimée's novella. Antonio, the choreographer, falls in love with the main dancer called Carmen, mirroring the fictional love story they rehearse. The French novella is literally quoted by the voice-over at the beginning of the film, and the actors are instructed by the performance's director, choreographer, and main protagonist Antonio, reading aloud Mérimée's prose in Spanish. For the music of his performance, Antonio uses the score from Georges Bizet's 1875 opera version of *Carmen*, which is even more famous and influential than Mérimée's original. The permanent presence of mirrors in front of which the actors change appearances and practice the flamenco dance movements continually reminds us of the artificial character of what

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9   "Yo soy la Carmen de España, y no la de Mérimée [...]."

is considered to be typically and authentically Spanish. That flamenco has become a cliché performed by Spaniards to meet the expectations of foreigners is also suggested in a scene where Carmen dances in a traditional Andalusian polka dot dress for Asian tourists. By attributing Spanish local colour to the realm of the stage performances rather than to offstage authenticity, Saura shows the intricate entanglement of foreign literary expectations and the Spanish reality, of meta- and self-images.

Saura's *Carmen* does not merely dismiss its French predecessors. Illustrative of the Spanish negotiation of the French images of Spain is the scene that revolves around the problem of which music should be used for the performance. The camera moves from the Spanish musicians playing flamenco to Antonio listening to French music from Bizet's opera. The hesitation in Antonio's look is reflected in the simultaneous coexistence of Spanish flamenco and French opera music. This tension between two cultural models serving as the basis for the onstage performance, is resolved through the *hispanicization* of the French music. One of the leading musicians in the film and in real life one of the iconic giants of modern flamenco, Paco de Lucía, uses the French melody to create a flamenco version (*por bulerías*), making it more suitable for the flamenco dance onstage. The most important aspect of the film is the resemblance between the plot of the play as enacted onstage and the offstage developments: Antonio falls in love with Carmen, but the despair of not being able to possess her eventually drives him to kill her. The French novel and opera are not dismissed but rather used as the inspirational template for Saura's more hispanicized version. In Saura's film, he Spaniards act exactly according to Mérimée's depiction, both on and offstage. Saura's film teaches us that "Carmen" is not only a foreign, fictional construction of Spanishness but also a Spanish reality that Spaniards themselves accept and internalize. In this internalization through hispanicization, the meta-image and self-image become indistinguishable.

Illustrative of the Spanish critical responses in cultural production to the foreign exoticization of Spain is a novel written by Román Gubern, a prominent scholar in film and literary history who had already analysed the Carmen myth in depth in his *Máscaras de la ficción* (2002). His first fictional work, *La confesión de Carmen* (2012), recounts Carmen's coming-of-age story during the journey she undertook with her family from the north of Spain to the south. When the book's plot concerns Carmen adult life, it largely overlaps with Mérimée's novella even to the point of literally replicating many dialogues and phrases. Yet the differences are telling. More than any Carmen adaptation inside or outside Spain, Gubern's book provides a broader picture of the heroine, making her more human, and relatable.

In comparison to Saura, Gubern pushes further the notion of the "periphery talking back." The most important aspect of the book is the fact that Carmen herself is both the narrative's narrator and focalizer. This hispanicization of both authorial agency (Gubern) and narrative perspective (Carmen) also entails a characterization of the European civilizational "centre" differing from the French novella. In contrast to Mérimée's novella, where Frenchness and its superiority remain mainly implicit, Gubern's prose renders Frenchness more present, explicit, and negative. Frenchness is repeatedly depicted as a despicable phenomenon throughout the novel at both political and personal levels. The French army invading and conquering Spain is mirrored by the personal trauma of Carmen's mother who was raped by a French soldier, tellingly called "barbarian" and "gabacho," a pejorative word for the French. Gubern's engagement with Mérimée becomes explicit through Carmen's gaze: "*mesié* Próspero [...] seemed a stranger to me, and I thought I could have easily strangled him" (2012, 173).[10] Mérimée's foreignness, weakness, naivety, and elegance make him, in short, feminine. The English are depicted in a similar way, as cultivated, artistic, feminized, sexually submissive, and homoerotic. Carmen is aware of the cultural difference between England and Spain. Where in England dandies are considered elegant, "In Spain this cannot be encountered, and men who are men do not like it when one confuses them with a faggot" (2012, 138).[11] Where Carmen despises the feminized masculinity attributed to Northern Europe (France and England), she prefers the virility of Spanish masculinity, characterized by courage, uncouthness, energy, and dominance.

La confesión does not only reinforce the European North–South divide by differentiating forms of masculinity. Gypsies are also depicted in a stereotypical way, as joyful, promiscuous, incestuous nomads, magicians, guitarists, fortune-tellers, bullfighters, sharpeners, and bear trainers with strong family ties and a rigid regulation of behaviours according to their own specific laws. The end point of Carmen's geographical journey from the North to the South during which outlawry, promiscuity, and violence intensify is Andalucía: the "Gypsies' second homeland [...] where almost everybody was their friend [...]" (2012, 53).[12] Saura and Gubern are two representatives of the immense corpus of Spanish Carmen adaptations which differ in the critical nature toward

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10   "*mesié* Próspero [...] me pareció extranjero y pensé que podría sangrarle sin much difíl-
       cultad."

11   "En España eso no ocurre y al hombre que es hombre no le gusta que le confundan con un
       marión."

12   "la segunda patria de los gitanos [...] allí casi todo el mundo era amigo de los gitanos [...]
       pues la primera es Egipto."

their meta-images, yet all perpetuate the conflation of ethnicity (Gypsies), sociotypes (outlaws), and geography (Andalucía), thereby internalizing and reproducing the centre's gaze.

4   Responses from the South Slavic Region

Cultural producers from the South Slavic region have also positioned themselves vis-à-vis the European center through direct responses. As a direct reaction to Alberto Fortis's influential *Viaggio in Dalmazia* (1774), Mérimée's main source for *La Guzla*, the Dalmatian Ivan Lovrić wrote his *Osservazioni di Giovanni Lovrich sopra diversi pezze del Viaggio in Dalmazia del signor abate Alberto Fortis: coll'aggiunta della Vita di Soçivizça* (1776) in order to correct the exaggerations and errors in *Viaggio*. In order to attack and counter Fortis's account, he provided ethnographic counterevidence from the insider's perspective by adding a chapter on the outlaw "Soçivizça" (Gulin 1997). Ironically, only this part of his book, which perpetuates the stereotype, was translated into many languages and received literary success in learned Europe. Telling for the continuity of the responses from the periphery to the centre by means of meta-images is the frustration expressed by one of the former Yugoslavia's most eminent writers of the twentieth century, Miroslav Krleža. He had visited Paris in the early 1950s to curate an international exhibition that was supposed to provide a panoramic overview of Yugoslav culture from the Middle Ages till the present. The exhibition's main purpose, showing the world that the rich and civilized Yugoslav culture has always been connected to and a part of Europe (Ravlić 2011), clashed with the harsh reality of French expectations. Echoing the Romantic imagery created by Fortis, Goethe, and Mérimée, the contemporary French gaze holds, in Krleža's own words,

> the picturesque, commercial, touristic image of our country, with veils, Turkish drums, turbans, folk instruments, and vendettas, the myth of an archaic, backward Balkan people of blind *gusle* players, hajduks, and vampires, [...] of an oriental mystique and melancholic passivity [...] and cruel vendettas [...] What Western Europeans deemed interesting about us, is a decorative optical trick totally incongruent with the truth.
> KRLEŽA [1953] 1966, 51

Such discontent with foreign representations of the South Slavic region articulated through meta-images can also be found in Danilo Kiš's *Homo Poeticus* (1995). In this collection of essays and interviews, he denounces the European,

and in particular French, misconceptions of his home culture. Kiš criticizes Mérimée's *La Guzla* because it contributed to the foreign exoticism of the alleged primitive spirit of the South Slavs and, as a result, feels the need to emphasize that "we belong to the family of European nations" (1995, 79).

Perhaps the most eminent, contemporary voice from the region that reflects on the European Periphery Problem is the internationally established author Dubravka Ugrešić. The main topic of her fictional and essayistic work is the dynamics within the cultural and political relations between Eastern and Western Europe, in particular the complex entanglements of self-, hetero-, and meta-images. Representative of her oeuvre is the collection of essays *Nobody's Home* (2007), where she critically addresses the ways in which Europeans from both the East and the West view themselves and each other.[13] This East-West dynamic is most explicitly formulated in the essay *Europe, Europe.* This essay focuses on the official EU literary project Literaturexpress 2000 that entailed thirty-five European writers traveling across Europe and participating in many cultural events. Ugrešić reveals the discrepancy between the hegemonic identity narratives that portray Europe's unity and equality, on the one hand, and the (historical and current) realities of conflict, dividedness, and hierarchy as reflected in the prevalence of stereotypes, prejudice, and exclusion, on the other. Approaching this literary project as a microcosm of intra-European relations more generally, Ugrešić asserts:

> I am sure that many of my fellow West European writers felt uncomfortable during the trip or even felt scorn for the East which is not the West, for the East aspiring to be the West, and for the East which is like the West. I believe that many writers brought along in their mental luggage a significant overweight of stereotypes about Eastern Europe, but they paid no mental fine for that. [...] Do they [the Easterners] harbor fantasies of their own about the West? Indeed they do. Many of them want to be the West, because many are ashamed that they are East. Most of the Western fantasies about the East come from an unarticulated feeling of superiority, just as most of the Eastern fantasies about the West spring from an articulated sense of inferiority.
>
> 2007, 114

The articulation and negative evaluation of meta-images by cultural producers from Southeast European peripheries, here exemplified by Ugrešić,

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13   The original in Croatian, *Nema nikog doma* (2005), was published two years earlier. All the Ugrešić quotes are from the English 2007 version.

is often accompanied by additional forms of positioning by means of alternative self- and hetero-images. One of the strategies employed by Ugrešić to respond to meta-images is what can be called *subversive equation.* Her reflection on her migration experience from the nationalist, war-torn ex-Yugoslavia to Western Europe is exemplary of this type of self-positioning vis-à-vis the centre: "I thought that emigrating from that country would mean getting away from stereotypes. I was wrong. They rather multiplied" (2007, 26). Even in the allegedly cultivated realms of high-brow literature, the old East–West divide and the concomitant stereotypes remain resilient. Western Europe appears to be the same as her nationalist home country in that she is never seen as an individual but always as a representative of a region or ethnic group: "I am, namely, a Balkan woman [*Balkanka*]" (2007, 26), ironically referring to the meta-image. Ugrešić subverts the self-congratulatory meta-images of the West that assume the contrast between tolerant cosmopolitanism (centre) and intolerant nationalism (periphery) by invoking the omnipresence of ethnic stereotypes and the obsession with national/regional in the context of Western Europe.

Another prevailing strategy to deal with meta-images is the *inversion of characterization.* Reminiscent of Occidentalism, Ugrešić turns the chauvinistic Western perceptions upside down by invoking the image of Western Europe that has lost its cultural refinement, specificity, and heterogeneity due to the homogenizing effect of global capitalism. As far as there is still a European culture it can only be found in precisely that region that the West has placed outside the symbolic boundaries of Europeanness. The old idea of Europe as the cradle of civilization, art, and culture has survived only in Eastern Europe. Exemplary is also how she deals with outlawry, one of the central elements stereotypically associated with the South Slavic region and Spain alike by Western Europeans. With an ironic tone, Ugrešić inverts the meta-images when writing:

> A Slovak writer's bag was stolen in Madrid [...] From that moment forward, a writer had something nicked in almost every city, including the very last day in Berlin, when 1000 US Dollars disappeared from the inside pocket of a Serbian writer [...]. I lent an Italian writer my hair dryer which he returned immediately.
>   2007, 106

These examples of meta-images show that the Periphery Problem exemplified by Mérimée still haunts the cultural producers from the South Slavic region.

What this representative sample also illuminates is that meta-images are accompanied by various strategies through which writers from the periphery position themselves vis-à-vis the centre, often perpetuating the European centre–periphery divide with slight variations in characterization and valorisation.

5   Conclusion

The central idea of this contribution is the Periphery Problem, the belief that European peripheries lack "Europeanness" due to their exotic liminality and are therefore hierarchically different from the European centre. More specifically, I focused on the Periphery Problem with regard to similar but hardly compared cases in Europe, Spain, and the South Slavic region, both from external and internal perspectives, with a particular emphasis on the peripheries' meta-images.

Such an approach demonstrates that "national" characterizations operate as *transnational* phenomena. Any characterization of a nation or region inherently involves a relational embeddedness in a broader framework. For both Spain and the South Slavic region this overarching whole is Europe, functioning as the default and often implicit master frame in which the national becomes meaningful. The transnational dimension can also be discerned in the peripheries' relation to the whole's symbolic representation, Western Europe, which in both cases functions as the main point of reference or the Big Other, regardless of whether it is considered inferior or superior, same or different, to be resisted or emulated. Why "national" images are transnational in nature also becomes clear in the fact that similar or even the same characterizations occur in and are imputed onto different contexts.

Foregrounding similarities does not mean that differences are absent or overlooked. Whereas Spanishness is articulated through cultural symbols (flamenco, bullfighting) and iconic figures (Carmen, Don Juan) that are immediately associated with Spain as a specific geocultural space, imageries of the South Slavic region, generally speaking, lack such a high degree of particularistic recognizability. Another difference between the two cases is that images of Spain are predominantly informed by the North–South polarity, whereas images of the South Slavic region are primarily invoked in an East–West opposition. I would claim however that the North–South and East–West polarities, operative both within and between European countries, are variations of the underlying centre–periphery distinction. As they differ more in the recognizability of their form than in relative position and characterological content,

national characterizations are highly unspecific.[14] I regard the similarities between the contexts more important than the differences.

A final note on the broader impact of such cultural stereotyping. Although cultural production is where "national stereotypes are first and most effectively formulated, perpetuated and disseminated" (Leerssen 2007, 26), the *political* relevance of the Periphery Problem can hardly be overestimated. It is telling that the nation's "Europeanness" is a central topic during the pivotal events and turning points in Spain's and the South Slavic region's recent political history both as self-image and meta-image of cultural and/or political belonging and legitimacy. In his speech after the 1975 coronation, the king of Spain said to the not yet democratic parliament that "Europe must count on Spain and we Spaniards are Europeans. It is a necessity of this moment that both sides understand this, and that all of us draw consequences from it" (quoted in López Gómez 2014, 83). Representative of the South Slavic region is a statement made by the first democratically elected Croatian president, Franjo Tuđman. He hoped that:

> the European countries and the EU will understand that the Croatian struggle for its territorial integrity, its freedom and democracy is not only the fight of the Croatian nation, the fight against the restoration of socialist communism [...] but the fight for normal conditions when Croatia can join Europe, where she historically belongs.
>
> QUOTED IN LINDSTROM 2003, 317

The trope of "return to Europe" was not only omnipresent in the public discourse regarding the transitional process from one political system to another (from Francoism and socialism to democracy, in 1975–1978 and 1991 respectively), but also in the accession to the European Union (Spain in 1986 and Croatia in 2013). There is something ironic about this urgency to emphasize the respective nations' "Europeanness": the more one foregrounds that self-image of Europeanness, the more one confirms the opposite (as implied in the meta-image).

The Periphery Problem has also remained prominent in the Western European political and public discourses. A case in point would be the essentialist perceptions of the war in the former Yugoslavia during the 1990s. Part of these

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14   Henry Remak makes a similar point with respect to Romantic exoticism, that there are "manifold conceptual, functional, and strategic links between and among exotic targets, several of which seem, to varying extent, interchangeable" (1978, 62).

essentialist perceptions is the interpretation of the war "as the re-emergence of an inborn tendency to ruthless, genocidal violence" (Leerssen 2008, 16), which is a recent variation within the historically resilient "discourse about savages and barbarians" invoking the liminal "non-Europeanness of […] the Balkan peoples" (Sekeruš 2007, 236). For Spain it was not a war but the Eurozone crisis from 2009 onward that triggered the transition from relatively latent to manifest stereotyping (cf. Leerssen 2016). The belief, or rather hope, held by many Spaniards that "[s]ince its entry into the EU, Spanish society has broken all the stereotypes, changing the image of it held by the rest of Europe" (Borrell 2006, 6), here formulated by the president of the European Parliament Josep Borrell several years before the crisis, was premature. Instead, public discourse gave new life to the old North–South axis dividing the continent into a hardworking, honest North, and a lazy, corrupt South, the latter referred to by the derogatory acronym PIGS (Portugal, Italy, Greece, and Spain) (see Capucha et al. 2014). The prevalence of such stereotyping in European politics and media cannot be better summarized than by a statement made by the head of the Eurogroup Dijsselbloem, which triggered fierce criticism from high-ranking politicians in Southern Europe. Referring to the position that solidarity (of the Northern countries) requires duties on the part of the South, he said: "I can't spend all my money on women and alcohol and then at the end ask for your help" (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung 2017).[15] One of the detrimental effects of such stereotyping is that it obstructs a more serious analysis of highly complex economic-financial problems, including the publicly unaddressed issues of the involvement, interests, and partial responsibility of "Northern" private and public actors.

By illuminating how Spain and the South Slavic region have been culturally imagined by both others and themselves, this article argues that there are striking structural similarities between these analogous albeit never compared cases. For the common denominator of these geographically distant but symbolically proximate regions I used the label the *Periphery Problem.* Both the commonalities between the peripheries' characterization and the entanglements between self-, hetero-, and meta-images show that national characterization in Europe is profoundly *transnational* in nature.

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15   "Ich kann nicht mein ganzes Geld für Schnaps und Frauen ausgeben und anschließend Sie um Ihre Unterstützung bitten."

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Of Orient/Occident and Other Geopolitical Dichotomies: Imagology and Its Systems of Cultural Mappings

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Between Orient and Occident: The Construction of a Postimperial Turkish Identity in Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar's Novel *Huzur*

Johanna Chovanec

Abstract

This article aims to show that imagology is a promising method for analysing images of the European Other and the Turkish Self as expressed in Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar's novel *Huzur* (1948; trans. *A Mind at Peace*, 2007). The narrative challenges the rhetoric of early Turkish nationalism by promoting a synthesis of the national present with both the melancholically evoked Ottoman heritage and with European cultures. At the same time, the novel's protagonists stand for diverse and often contradicting conceptions of Self and Other and thus provide an insight into the various identity conflicts present in Republican Turkey.

1   Introduction

The transition from the multiethnic and multicultural Ottoman Empire to the Republic of Turkey was marked by a series of political and cultural ruptures in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the course of the wide-ranging Tanzimat reforms (1839–1876),[1] the governing elites aimed to modernize the cultural, economic, and political realms of the Ottoman Empire following a Western model of progress. Processes of westernization reached their climax

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1   The Tanzimat period began with the declaration of the Imperial Edict of Gülhane (1839) and ended with the announcement of the first Ottoman constitution in 1876; see Topal (2017).

in the radical reforms implemented by the founder of the Republic, Mustafa Kemal (later Atatürk) in the 1920s and 30s. The break with the Ottoman past and its cultural heritage in the wake of the newly founded nation-state has had a lasting impact on Turkish society and its self-conception. One of the most significant changes was the abolition of the Arabic alphabet in favour of the Latin alphabet, symbolizing the cultural orientation toward Europe. From the foundation of Turkey in 1923 until the 1980s, many canonized Turkish novelists promoted the secular state ideology of Kemalism without critically engaging with its homogenizing principles, neglecting the literary, musical, historical, cultural, and ethnically pluralistic legacies of the empire.[2]

Against this backdrop, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar's (1901–1962) oeuvre is exceptional. In his novels and essays, the well-known Turkish writer and literary scholar explores perceptions of Europe and the search for a Turkish identity beyond the Kemalist paradigm. Tanpınar captures the political and cultural transformations of his time—sometimes melancholically, sometimes ironically. His literary works express melancholy related to Istanbul's detachment from the past and increasing Europeanization, which distances contemporary Istanbul, as Turkey's cultural centre, and its inhabitants from the idea of cultural authenticity that can only be found in continuity with the past. Originality in times of Europeanization is a central theme in Tanpınar's novel *Huzur* (1948; trans. *A Mind at Peace*, 2007). The main protagonist, Mümtaz, a melancholic intellectual, feels disoriented in postimperial Turkey, searching for an identity that combines both the imperial past with the national present and elements of European culture with "Turkishness." Images of a fragile yet unknown Self are negotiated against the dichotomies of past and present as well as East and West. To what extent can aspects of the Ottoman lifeworld, such as literature and music, be part of the new Turkish national culture? Is it possible to follow European ideas of modernity while remaining true to one's own cultural heritage?

In this article I draw upon imagology to analyse images of the (Turkish) Self and the (European) Other as expressed by different characters in Tanpınar's *Huzur*. Depending on the particular viewpoint of the novel's protagonists, the Ottoman Empire is portrayed either as a necessary part or as a crucial Other of the national Self. The analysis shows that fluid, often conflicting categories

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2   As described by Brinker-Gabler (1998, 84), national literature and especially national canons have to dismiss plurality for the sake of unity. In Turkey, popular historical novels were published after the foundation of the republic and dealt with the Ottoman-Islamic history but did not become part of the (national) literary canon as the secular Kemalist elites promoted literature which supported new national narratives (see Furrer 2005, 5; Gay 2012, 370).

capture the complexities and ambiguities of a society undergoing a process of change. Inspired by the imagological sensitivity toward the relevance of context and intertext when understanding images of Self and Other in literary texts (Leerssen 2016, 20–21), special attention will be paid to the historical circumstances and references to Tanpınar in contemporary Turkish literature with a special focus on Orhan Pamuk. Of primary interest here is Tanpınar's complementary approach, which is based on overcoming the allegedly static and dichotomic difference between "occidental" and "oriental" attributions. Tanpınar opposes the rhetoric of early Turkish nationalism by promoting a synthesis not only with the Ottoman past but also with European cultures.

2 Imagology and Occidentalism

In his famous book *Orientalism* (1978), Edward Said criticizes the dichotomous differentiation between Orient and Occident, which in Western countries had become the basis for the scholarly, literary, or political preoccupation with non-Western Others. As Said defines it, "Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between the Orient and (most of the time) the Occident" ([1978] 2003, 2). Orientalism includes the use of stereotyping and essentializing images, which evoke the so-called Orient as a vague but homogenous geographical and sociocultural space. The reductionist image of "the Oriental" and the dialectical understanding of Self and Other *ex negativo* give rise to the self-perception of "the Westerner" (Carrier 1995, 2). For Said, Occidentalism is the discourse Westerners ascribe to themselves as a result of their engagement with "the East." These identity-building attributions are rooted in paradigms such as modernity, civilization, or rationality. In this dialectical relationship the "Near East" functions as "[the] great complementary opposite" of the 'West' (Said [1978] 2003, 58).

Scholars have criticized Said's oppositional model for the fact that it does not take the reciprocity of relationships into account and instead perpetuates the division between East and West as if they were clearly distinguishable geopolitical and cultural entities. As Çırakman holds, in Said's work, "East and West are presented as monolithic ideological constructs" (2002, 20). Another criticism of Said's approach is that the term Occidentalism only refers to self-images of the West while neglecting the possibility of "Easterners" talking about *their* perceptions of the West. The scholarly debate in the 1990s aimed to correct Said's theory in this respect. James Carrier has suggested the term "ethno-Occidentalism," which he defines as "essentialist renderings of the West by members of alien societies" (1992, 198). Lamont Lindstrom

understands Occidentalism as the "discourse among orientals about the West" and thus defined the term *auto-Occidentalism* as "the self-discourse of Westerners" (1995, 35). After the 9/11 attacks in 2001, several books were published on Eastern perceptions of the West, attempting to make sense of the violence and hostility expressed in terrorism. Some of them, however, have been heavily criticized for their essentializing understanding of the West (Bilgrami 2006, 384; Akıllı 2013, 25).

Despite this gradual development, Akıllı points out that cultural studies of non-Western countries up until the 2000s were more occupied with the European view of non-Western Others than with the "reverse gaze" (2013, 23) of non-European perspectives. There are two noteworthy exceptions to this trend. First, Chen's (1995) work on images of the West in China distinguishes between a so-called official Occidentalism, in which the Chinese government portrays the West as the foreign invader, and an antiofficial Occidentalism expressed by certain parts of Chinese civil society, in which the West becomes a metaphor for a critique of domestic oppression.[3] Second, Nanquette's (2013) study on Orientalism and Occidentalism compares literary images of the respective Other in France and Iran. In the Turkish context, as Akıllı points out, the tendency to focus on Europe's viewpoint continued throughout the 2000s, when a broad array of studies was published on European perceptions of the Turks or Ottomans (e.g. Çırakman 2002) but only a few on Turkish perceptions of Europe (e.g. Wigen 2009).[4]

Against this backdrop, I suggest that studying images of Europe in Turkey, and more specifically in Turkish literature, is a promising and until now insufficiently pursued endeavour. Literature, with its indissoluble tension between fiction and reality, captures and reflects how certain notions such as "Europe" are conceived and discussed at certain points in history. Here, Occidentalism is a suitable theoretical starting point for the discussion of the role of Europe in Turkey's cultural imagination. In this article, I define Occidentalism as the plurality of images related to Europe that are formulated by different groups or individuals in Turkey and reflected in Turkish literature. Occidentalism not only refers to discourses on Europe in Turkey but also to how these debates

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3   China's images of the West are further investigated in the contributions to part 3 of this volume by Federica Casalin (chapter 9) and Zhu Wenjun (chapter 10). Zhu's article also provides further reflections on Chen's concept of Occidentalism (cf. Zhu 2022, 237–238).

4   The contribution on Turkey in the imagology handbook edited by Beller and Leerssen (Kuran-Burçoglu 2007) gives a summary of the secondary literature on images of Turks and Turkey in European countries. The volume also offers a chapter on Orientalism in European cultural history (Thum 2007), but a contribution on Occidentalism is missing.

shape or reflect images of the Self. The umbrella term "Europe" may refer to specific geographical regions such as France or to other aspects of this historic, cultural, political, or imagined space, including values and ideas. The concept of Occidentalism not only relates to contemporaneous discourses on Europe but also encompasses the historic dimensions of Europe–Turkey relations and how they have been perceived. This includes aspects such as the lasting effects of the so-called Great Powers' political and economic interference in the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century and the correlating reform activities implemented by the Sublime Porte (the central government).

Questions of alterity, images of the Self and the Other and how they are evoked in literature are at the heart of imagology or image studies. As Leerssen puts it, the objects of imagological studies are fictional and nonfictional texts (Leerssen 2016, 18). Imagology is concerned with representations of national character, and thus provides a tool to focus on changing conceptions of Self and Other embedded in the long-lasting transformation of political systems from imperial forms of governance to nation-states. The history of imagology itself dates back to the early nineteenth century and can be linked to the emergence of national philologies, "when the academic study of literature along national categories was closely linked to political demands for national unity" (see the introduction to this volume: Edtstadler, Folie, and Zocco 2022, 4). Analysing the creation and perception of national images of Self and Other (auto- and hetero-images) also raises questions about times preceding the nation-state. Narratives of empires are different from and often conflict with narratives of nations, particularly in the case of Turkey, where the formation of the nation-state was accompanied by a shift from a multicultural population to a largely homogenous Turkish-Muslim society (Chovanec and Heilo 2021, 4–8). Which representations of national character, that is, ethnotypes,[5] were to be selected or developed in this situation, and in contrast to what or whom?

In order to answer these questions by means of Tanpınar's famous novel *Huzur*, I draw upon Leerssen's imagological triangle ("threefold procedure," Leerssen 2016, 20–21), including the contextual, textual, and intertextual examination of narratives. First, I contextualize Tanpınar's biography against the backdrop of the Tanzimat period, the transformation from empire to nation-state, as well as the role of Europe in the development of modern Turkish

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5 Ethnotypes as representations of national character invoke Self–Other oppositions (auto-images vs. hetero-images) "and/or will silhouette a given national character against the implied background of how it differs from other[s]" (Leerssen 2016, 16–17).

literature.[6] Second, the textual analysis of *Huzur* reveals the auto- and hetero-images surrounding the new national Self of the young Republic of Turkey in relation to not only Europe but also the Ottoman past. Third, the intertextual perspective takes centre stage. Leerssen's understanding of intertext is "to trace the paper trail of textual occurrences of the commonplace in question" (2016, 20) in the past. As I cover the past in the context section, I deviate from Leerssen's approach by looking instead at intertextual references to Tanpınar's work in Pamuk's memoir *İstanbul—Hatıralar ve Şehir* (2003; trans. *Istanbul: Memories of a City*, 2005). This allows me to shed light on the current significance of Tanpınar's literary themes for contemporary Turkish literature. Taking Pamuk as an example, references to Tanpınar are manifold and illustrate his literary themes' unabated importance for Turkey's literary and intellectual history.

3   Context: Tanpınar and the Role of Europe in Modern Turkish Literature

The development of modern Ottoman-Turkish literature should be understood against the backdrop of the Tanzimat reform era, which went hand in hand with cultural, legal, and political transformations and included an increased diplomatic exchange between the Ottomans and the Europeans. Considering the important geopolitical situatedness of the Ottoman Empire, the European powers were eager to include it into the new regional order that was to be established after the Congress of Vienna in 1815. From the beginning of modern Ottoman-Turkish literature in the nineteenth century, novels dealing with topics such as Europeanization (*Avrupalılaşma*) or the East-West issue (*Doğu-Batı meselesi*) formed an important subgenre in fiction. The so-called Tanzimat literature (1860s to 1890s) was influenced by rapid sociopolitical changes. The novel itself was a key part of this process: it was in the 1840s that the first translations of foreign, mainly French, novels were published in the Ottoman Empire. Ottoman writers started to adopt this new literary style, and the first "Ottoman novels" were published in the 1870s.[7] One of the most noteworthy authors in this context is Ahmet Mithat. Mithat and other intellectuals critically

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6   Understanding the political and historical context as a frame of reference for the study of texts allows for an interdisciplinary focus exploring differences and commonalities between literary and political discourses as well as their reciprocal influence; see Leerssen (1992, 289).

7   In the nineteenth century, written literature increasingly turned away from the until then traditional Divan tradition, see Kuru (2013, 567–568).

examined the influence of Western European countries on Ottoman society. As Saraçoğlu claims, "Midhat's voice was an influential one in the hegemonic process of defining what it meant to be 'Ottoman' as the empire tried to prove its compatibility with the modern West" (2006, 20). Authors criticized the new consumerism becoming visible among Ottoman elites, which was seen as "the symbolic occasion pinpointing that the system has been subverted [by the West]" (Mardin 1974, 424). Instead, the desired goal was seen in combining a moderate orientation toward the material goods and prosperity in Europe with maintaining one's own spiritual, moral, and religious values. Many authors in this period expressed the fear of losing the connection with their own culture.

After the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, westernizing reforms reached their climax and went hand in hand with the denial of the Ottoman past as a possible source of cultural identity. In this civilizing mission pushed for by Kemalist elites, the Ottoman Empire was portrayed as an obstacle on Turkey's way to becoming a modern nation-state (Gay 2012, 370). The goal of Kemalism was to transform the society not only politically and legally but also culturally. The slogan "despite the people for the people" (*Halka rağmen halk için*) illustrates the paternalistic approach to reform aspects of daily life even against the will of the people. Under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938), Kemalists tried to implement a European lifestyle (*alla franca*) as a condition for economic and political progress as well as the development of a modern Turkish civilization (Günay 2012, 172) presented as the vital "Self" defined by everything the Ottoman Empire as old and stagnating "Other" had been lacking (Wigen 2009, 96).

Literature in what had become Turkey continued to focus on East-West questions. However, contrary to the scenarios created by late nineteenth-century novelists, the Ottoman Empire was now mostly rejected as a possible source for identification. Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar is exceptional in this regard, as he tried to bridge the gaps not only between past and present but also between Europe and Turkey. Most of Tanpınar's narrations are set in Istanbul, the Ottoman capital city. Inspired by the famous poet Yahya Kemal (1884–1958), Tanpınar studied literature in Istanbul and graduated in 1923, the year in which the Republic of Turkey was founded and Ankara became the new capital city. He first worked as a teacher and then became a professor of literary studies in the Faculty of Letters at Istanbul University in 1939. Tanpınar was not only a scholar, poet, and writer, but also politically active. He was selected as a deputy for the Kemalist party CHP (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, "Republican People's Party") in 1942 and served in the Grand National Assembly. He later returned to academia and continued working as a professor until his death in 1962 (Günay-Erkol 2009, 103). Throughout his professional career, and in

addition to his academic work, Tanpınar published novels, poetry, short stories, and essays. Among his most important works are the novels *Saatleri Ayarlama Enstitüsü* (1961; trans. *The Time Regulation Institute*, 2001) and *Mahur Beste* (unfinished, 1975), the essayistic compilation *Beş Şehir* (1946; trans. *Tanpınar's Five Cities*, 2018), the biography of his famous teacher and mentor *Yahya Kemal* (1946), and the yet untranslated story collection *Abdullah Efendi'nin Rüyaları* (1942, The Dreams of Abdullah Efendi).

In secondary literature, Tanpınar is often described as an author who was "at home" in European as well as in Ottoman/Turkish cultures, a poet of intellectual floating and in-betweenness (Lerch 2008, 557). His novels and essays reflect the drastic sociopolitical changes in the first half of the twentieth century and are deeply influenced by Yahya Kemal. For both authors, visions of the nation are supposed to be rooted in tradition; their critique of top-down forced modernization and radical reforms calls for continuity with the past. As a political and cultural rupture, the downfall of the Ottoman Empire is an important theme in Tanpınar's writings, often melancholically aestheticized as an irretrievably lost past. The echoes of the empire reverberate in Tanpınar's novels as a "phantom pain" (Rentzsch and Şahin 2018, 11) and are intertwined with questions of national identity.[8]

4   Text: *A Mind at Peace* (*Huzur*)

4.1   *Formal Aspects and Contents*

Before being published as a book in 1949, the novel *Huzur* was released in 1948 through regular instalments in the newspaper *Cumhuriyet*, which is still today close to the Kemalist political party. The novel is set in Istanbul in the late 1930s, when the outbreak of World War II was intensively discussed among Turkish intellectuals. It consists of four main chapters that are named after the four key protagonists: Mümtaz, Nuran, İhsan, and Suat. The story is told by a heterodiegetic narrator who describes the lifeworlds of the protagonists without being part of them. Mümtaz is the main protagonist and "focalizer" as it is his perspective through which the story is told. The original Turkish title *Huzur* is translated into English as *A Mind at Peace*. In modern Turkish, *huzur* refers to inner peace or composure as well as presence. These meanings are reflected

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8 "*Huzur, Saatleri Ayarlama Enstitüsü* ve diğer bazı eserlerinde hep batmış imparatorluğun yankısını ve kaybolan kimlik işaretlerinin fantom ağrısını duyuyoruz […]" (Rentzsch and Şahin 2018, 11).

in the etymological derivation of the term. In Arabic, *huzur* has three connotations: firstly, "quiet, calm, or peace" (*rahat*), secondly, "present or available" (*hazır, mevcut*), and thirdly "deep-rooted" (*yerleşik*) (Etimoloji Türkçe n.d.). The protagonists in Tanpınar's novel are characterized by *huzursuzluk*—the absence of *huzur*, i.e. unrest and unease.

The novel begins with twenty-six-year-old Mümtaz trying to find a nurse for his mentor and relative İhsan, who has fallen alarmingly sick. The story line further develops with many flashbacks that inform the reader about the main protagonist's childhood in an Anatolian town and then focus on the dramatic love story between Mümtaz and Nuran in Istanbul. When his parents die during the Turkish War of Independence, the eleven-year-old Mümtaz is sent to live with İhsan in Istanbul. İhsan takes on the role of Mümtaz's father, elder brother, and teacher. Mümtaz spends much time in İhsan's library, reading books from both European and Ottoman collections. At the age of seventeen, Mümtaz has become something like İhsan's intellectual companion, helping him with his writings and engaging in discussions about world politics and literature. While strolling through Istanbul in order to find a nurse for İhsan, twenty-six-year-old Mümtaz remembers where he used to be with Nuran and thus tells the story of their love, which begins shortly after he finishes his doctoral thesis. He first meets Nuran and her daughter on a ferry to the Princes' Islands. After a failed marriage, Nuran is taking care of her daughter alone. Mümtaz idealizes Nuran and often compares her with famous paintings and the beauty of the Bosphorus. Throughout the novel, his descriptions of and admiration for Nuran often get blurred with his fascination for Istanbul. Both Nuran and Istanbul seem to open doors to a lost past for Mümtaz. When their relationship evolves, however, Mümtaz is increasingly afraid of losing Nuran. This fear manifests itself when Suat, who is also in love with Nuran, appears as Mümtaz's rival. Mümtaz is haunted by the idea that he will lose Nuran to his antagonist.[9] Ultimately, it is Suat's suicide that destroys Mümtaz's relationship with Nuran: Suat finds the key to the couple's flat and hangs himself there. The reader witnesses Mümtaz's increasingly dubious state of mental health, İhsan's death, and learns that Nuran has reconciled with her ex-husband.

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9   While Günay-Erkol (2009, 97) traces this tension back to a fragile masculinity and unstable self-image, the rivalry between Mümtaz and Suat can also be explained by the characters' oppositional intellectual positions: whereas İhsan takes views similar to those of Tanpınar's mentor Yahya Kemal, Suat is a nihilist, supportive of war and violence, and ready to cut all ties with the past in order to create a new future.

4.2   *Images of Self and Other*

Throughout the novel, Mümtaz and İhsan discuss topics such as Turkey's future and the question of Turkey's cultural identity in relation to European identities. Of primary imagological interest are the two intertwined Self/Other dichotomies negotiated between the protagonists. The first one relates to the new national Self versus the past imperial Other; the second deals with Turkey's position(ing) in the East/West debate.

When Mümtaz, İhsan, Suat, and their friends Nuri and Fahri have a conversation about the books they are currently reading, a discussion about East and West evolves. Suat wonders "whether everyone reads as much as we do" (Tanpınar 2008c, 105), and Fahri answers, "Europe reads much more than we do. And a number of languages at once."[10] Fahri thus implies that "Europe" is intellectually advanced compared to "us." İhsan then replies that when "we" read about "ourselves," meaning when they read what Europeans write about Turks, it becomes obvious "that we're wandering on the peripheries of life."[11] İhsan makes the point that the Westerner (or the Westerner's perspective) satisfies "us" only when "we" remind "ourselves" that we are world citizens.[12] Interestingly, this implies that "they" are world citizens but forget this global belonging due to a feeling of marginalization. İhsan argues that "some of us read as if embarking on a voyage, as if escaping our own identities" (ibid., 105).[13] Escaping means that there is something to run away from—and the question of what their identity might be is answered differently by all characters, showing the plurality of conceptions of both individual and collective Selves.

Suat wants to escape the in-betweenness of Turkey by getting rid of both European and Ottoman traditions: "Indeed, with one leap to shake and cast out the old, the new, and everything else" (ibid., 105).[14] By "the old," he refers to the Ottoman heritage, and with "the new" he points to the trends and customs that have been influencing the region since the nineteenth century. Suat's concept of the Self remains in abeyance and its solution is projected into a utopian

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10   "Avrupa bizden çok fazla okuyor. Birkaç dilde birden okuyor" (Tanpınar [1949] 2008b, 90).
      I include quotes from both the Turkish original ([1949] 2008b) in the footnotes and the
      English translation (2008c) in the text in order to include Ottoman terms used in the
      original and to slightly adapt the English version where necessary.

11   "Kendimizi okuduğumuz zaman hayatın hâşiyesinde dolaştığımızı biliyoruz" (Tanpınar
      [1949] 2008b, 90).

12   "Garplı, bizi, ancak dünya vatandaşı olduğumuzu hatırladığımız zaman tatmin ediyor"
      (ibid., 90).

13   "Hulâsa, çoğumuz seyahat eder gibi, benliğimizden kaçar gibi okuyoruz" (ibid., 90–91).

14   "Evet, bir adımda eski yeni ne varsa hepsini silkip, fırlatmak" (ibid., 91).

future ("He [the New Man] has yet to be born," ibid., 107).[15] For the sake of a completely new civilization, Suat is in favour of war and violence as they would inevitably destroy the past and the present, giving way to an allegedly completely new future. When İhsan argues that war would ruin civilization, Suat confirms, "this is exactly what I want" (ibid., 108).[16]

İhsan takes a different stand: "To cut our ties with the past and to close ourselves off from the West! Never! What do you think we are? We're the essence of Easterners of taste and pleasure. Everything yearns for our persistence and continuity" (ibid., 107). In the Turkish original, İhsan uses the term *millet*, saying that of all the nations of the East, "we" are the one with the most classic taste.[17] He identifies Turkey as an Eastern country that is perceived by the European Other as rich in traditions and heritage. For İhsan, the assumed Western gaze—the meta-image (see Leerssen 2016, 24)—is a crucial factor in deciding to maintain the connection with the Ottoman past. Europe, imagined as educated, progressive, and modern while at the same time rich in tradition, is assumed to expect a similar continuity or synthesis from Turkey. However, according to İhsan, only certain aspects of the Ottoman tradition should be selected for this new national Self in order to be on an equal footing with the West: "We'll cast out our dead roots; we'll engage in a new enterprise and foster new people and society …" (ibid., 107).[18] Here, the Kemalist stance becomes visible: to create a new, modern society, people have to be educated and change in order to fit into the image of a progressive nation.

Whereas Suat is oriented toward the future and İhsan is engaged with the challenges of the present, Mümtaz is occupied and sometimes even obsessed with the past. In the Kemalist nation-state, radical cultural transformations and the estrangement from Ottoman heritage leave him forlorn and desperately searching for an identity. Mümtaz is anxious about the present and feels torn about the past. This inner imbalance finally leads to his increasingly critical state of mental health. He promotes continuity with the past and is convinced that it is only the past that should serve as a framework for national identity.[19] He acknowledges that analysing and developing social realities is necessary, but "our attachments to the past are also part of these social realities,

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15   "[…] bu yeni insanı daha doğmadı. Fakat doğacak, eminim…" (ibid., 92–93).

16   "Işte ben de bunu istiyorum" (ibid., 93).

17   "Hele mazi ile bağlarımızı kesmek, garba kendimizi kapatmak! Asla! Biz şarkın en klasik zevkli milletiyiz. Her şey bizden devam istiyor" (ibid., 92).

18   "Ölü kökleri atacağız; yeni bir istihsale gireceğiz: Onun insanını yetiştireceğiz …" (ibid., 92).

19   "Bir hüviyet lazım. Bu hüviyeti her millet mazisinden alıyor" (ibid., 171).

because those attachments constitute one of the manifest forms our life has taken, and this persists into the present as well as the future" (ibid., 199).[20]

Mümtaz searches for places in Istanbul that might bring him closer to the inevitably lost Ottoman history. For instance, he enjoys going to the Grand Bazaar in the district of Fatih, and laments the inexpensive wholesale products, shoddy imports, and cheap imitations that are sold there (ibid., 47). However, within the labyrinth of the bazaar, he loves the Bedesten, the old cloth merchant hall, as well as the flea market. There, he feels a connection with the past as he finds glimpses of the Ottoman Empire.

Mümtaz feels drunk and satisfied after having immersed himself in those lost worlds that can only be approximated but never reached. Similarly, his lover Nuran opens a whole new (old) world to him by introducing him to Ottoman music: "In [Ottoman] music, he found one of the purest and most rejuvenating wellsprings of the human soul" (ibid., 194). When Nuran asks him why they are so bound to the past, Mümtaz says, "whether we like it or not, we belong to it" (ibid., 197).[21] For him, music is the key to this lost past he inevitably belongs to. Ottoman music embraces Istanbul and the history of "their" civilization, with both glorious and filthy parts and its final decay. Mümtaz contrasts his immediate emotional connection with the inability of the Westerner to fathom "their" music—a lack which makes the Westerner a stranger (cf. ibid., 170). For Mümtaz, Istanbul and Nuran bridge the gap between the present and the irretrievably lost past. Mümtaz intertwines Nuran with Istanbul and vice versa:

> Nuran's every aspect drove Mümtaz wild on that day. Her amorous surrender to love in expectation of pleasure, a moored vessel in calm harbor waters; her face veiled like a somnolent Istanbul morning; smiles emerging seemingly from beyond the present moment […].
>
> IBID., 163[22]

Mümtaz's orientation toward the past prevents him from "being in the moment" and from productively engaging with the present. He is a melancholiac, longing for what has become his idea of an idealized Ottoman past.

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20   "Fakat bu realiteler içine maziyle bağlarımız da girer. Çünkü o, hayatımızın, bugün olduğu gibi gelecek zamanda da şekillerinden biridir" (ibid., 172).

21   "-Niçin eskiye bu kadar bağlıyız? … -İster istemez onların bir parçasıyız" (ibid., 170).

22   "O gün Nuran'da her şey Mümtaz'ı çıldırttı. Kendi kendisini aşka veriş şekli, hazza sâkin bir limanda bekleyen gemi gibi hazırlanmış yüzünün mahmur İstanbul sabahlarının hatırlatan örtülüşleri, yaşanan zamanın ötesinden gelir gibi tebessümler, […]" (ibid., 141).

However, just as the Ottoman Empire has been lost, he is also afraid of losing Nuran, which proves to be a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Nuran does not take part in most of the conversations between Mümtaz and his friends; however, she protests against Mümtaz orientalizing her (see Hemmat 2017). When the couple visits an Ottoman summer palace that once belonged to a Sultan's concubine, Mümtaz's imagination casts Nuran as "a favourite odalisque of the age of Sultan Murat IV" (ibid., 147). By evoking the Ottoman past as an exotic lost world or depicting Nuran, a "modern" single parent, as an Ottoman harem's concubine, Mümtaz reproduces orientalist images. When Mümtaz tells Nuran about his fantasies, she makes a clear point by saying: "No, thanks. I'm Nuran. I live [...] in the year 1938 [sic!] and I wear more or less the fashions of my day. I have no desire to change my style or identity. I'm not in a state of despair [...]" (ibid.).[23] This short statement shows clearly that Nuran wants to be "herself." She wants to neither get lost in imaginations of the past nor in utopian ideas of the future. It is remarkable that Nuran, who rarely takes part in the male-dominated intellectual circles, often adopts a clear position when she gets the chance to raise her voice (see Nolte 2017, 252–253). Although it is Nuran who introduces Mümtaz to Ottoman music, she seems to naturally integrate the past into the present. In contrast to Mümtaz, she is neither stuck between an exoticized Ottoman Other and a fragile national Self, nor between images of a modern Europe and a yet unknown Turkey. In fact, as a single mother, she benefits from the more open societal structures and criticizes Mümtaz's idealization of the Ottoman Empire. Nuran embodies a positive, nonmelancholic counter concept. Having both feet on the ground, she also does not buy into Suat's visions of a utopian future. And Nuran's natural way of being in the present also provides a contrast to İhsan's technocratic approach, evaluating cultural elements of the past in order to artificially form a new national narrative.

5 Intertext: Tanpınar in Orhan Pamuk's Work

Tanpınar posthumously[24] became known as one of the most important Turkish writers who aesthetically captured the transformation from empire to

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23   "Hayır istemiyorum. Ben Nuran'ım. [...]. 1937 senesinde yaşıyor, aşağı yukarı zamanımın elbisesini giyiyorum. Hiçbir elbise ve hüviyet değiştirmeğe hevesim yok. Hiçbir ümitsizlik içinde değilim [...]" (ibid., 127).

24   Tanpınar himself was aware of this fact and wrote in his diary on March 4, 1961: "They will surely turn to me one day. But when?" (Tanpınar quoted in Ertürk 2017, 264). According to

nation-state.[25] As Göknar argues, "One of Tanpınar's literary achievements is his narrative aestheticization of the anxiety of a society on the verge of permanent yet uncertain change" (2003, 650). This aestheticization of what is irretrievably lost, namely the Ottoman Empire and its cultural realms, and the connected question of cultural authenticity are among the main characteristics of postmodern Turkish literature, and it was Tanpınar who coined them. The intellectual conflicts discussed in his novels have influenced many authors, including Orhan Pamuk. Rentzsch and Şahin even speak of "Tanpınarology" (2018, 11) as a lens through which to view Turkey.[26] In the postmodern period after 1980, when authors such as Pamuk appeared on the literary scene, and against the background of Turkey's possible accession to the European Union, the East–West issue gained renewed importance. Simultaneously, history and in particular Ottoman history became a main theme in literature. Since the 1980s, the Ottoman Empire and its multicultural population, imperial architecture, and rich musical and literary traditions have become part of what I have referred to as the Ottoman Myth in Turkish literature (see Chovanec 2017, 2018, 2021). A central element of this myth is a postimperial melancholy that expresses a longing for both cultural and social aspects of the empire.[27] On a general level, this imperial nostalgia in literature challenges the Kemalist framings of history and sheds light on forgotten or suppressed parts of Turkish national history. More specifically, postimperial melancholy often has different political faces or aims, ranging from a critique of capitalism and its destructive policies (e.g. in Ahmet Ümit's crime novel *Istanbul Hatırası*) or a search for identity in a lost past (e.g. in Pamuk's novels)[28] to proposals for an alternative model of the present inspired by the multicultural outlook of the Ottoman society (e.g. in novels by Elif Şafak).[29]

Pamuk's notion of *hüzün*, as elaborated in his memoir *İstanbul—Hatıralar ve Şehir* (2003; trans. *Istanbul: Memories of a City*, 2005), became known to a European readership as a particular term expressing melancholy connected to the rapid change of Istanbul from its once glorious imperial past. Pamuk's city

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Ertürk (2004), the "Turkish 'rediscovery' of Tanpınar must be understood in the context of the post-Kemalist turn of the 2000s."

25   Attention to Tanpınar—including the translation of his novels—increased significantly after Pamuk received the Nobel Prize in Literature in 2006.

26   "Türkiye'de [...] Tanpınaroloji'den söz etmek mümkündür"; Ertürk speaks of a "Tanpınar Turn."

27   Parallel to the developments in literature, neo-Ottomanism started as a trend among conservative Islamists in Turkish politics; see Yavuz (1998, 2016).

28   See Konuk (2011).

29   See Furlanetto (2015).

narration contains several intertextual references to Tanpınar and his novel *Huzur*. Pamuk emphasizes that he has written his memoir in constant dialogue with four melancholic (*hüzünlü*) writers among whom he mentions Tanpınar as well as Tanpınar's mentor Yahya Kemal (Pamuk [2003] 2013, 107). For Pamuk, these authors gave modern Istanbul its melancholy and also shaped his own imagery of the city; they felt they would only find an original voice if they turned to their city's irretrievable, lost past and wrote of the melancholy it inspired (ibid., 112). In his chapter "Hüzün-Melankoli-Tristesse" (ibid., 92–107) Pamuk refers to *Huzur* as the most important novel ever written about Istanbul. According to Pamuk, the main protagonists of Tanpınar's novel suffer from *hüzün*, a state of mind which they draw from the city's history and which makes them feel broken and condemned to defeat.[30] Pamuk promotes *hüzün* as an authentic feeling of belonging, exclusively incorporated by Istanbulites and explicitly distinguished from the European "melancholia" or "tristesse." Pamuk thus finds a way to solve the dilemma Tanpınar's male protagonists are caught in: the downfall of the Ottoman Empire and the clear severance from its heritage leads to the untranslatable, unique experience of *hüzün*, a feeling which captures Istanbul's special positioning between East and West as well as past and present. Tanpınar's literary themes live on in how Turkey is portrayed in contemporary novels. For Tanpınar, Istanbul, the neglected former imperial capital city with its rich history and traditions, is the door to the past and the bridge between "Orient" and "Occident." Without getting to know Istanbul and its manifold histories, the Self is lost: "If we don't truly know Istanbul, we can never hope to find ourselves" (ibid., 195).[31]

6   Conclusion

Embedding Tanpınar's novel *Huzur* in the historical context of early modern Turkish literature has shown that the specific auto- and hetero-images evoked by the protagonists capture the struggles of a society shaped by long-lasting social and cultural transformations. The quest for one's own cultural identity is omnipresent in Tanpınar's narration and has continued to reverberate in postmodern Turkish literature, as the intertextual references in Pamuk's Istanbul memoir have illustrated. As revealed in the textual analysis, the central

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30   "İstanbul hakkında yazılmış romanların en büyüğü olan Huzur'da kahramanlar şehrin tarihinin, yıkım ve kayıp duygusunun kendilerine verdiği hüzün yüzünden kırık iradeli ve yenilgiye mahkûmdurlar" (Pamuk [2003] 2013, 106).

31   "İstanbul, İstanbul, diyordu, İstanbul'u tanımadıkça kendimizi bulamayız" (ibid., 168).

problem discussed in *Huzur* is the split between past and present that affects individuals not only on a personal level but also collectively. The Western concept of modernity defined and shaped the cultural and political realms of both the late Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey. As İhsan puts it, "We're conditioned to regard the modern with suspicion because it's foreign to us and we look upon tradition as of no consequence because it's outdated" (ibid., 83).[32] This state of in-betweenness is described as a "duality" (*ikilik*) that becomes visible in almost all parts of daily life such as entertainment, aesthetics, morality, etiquette, and conceptions of the future. The dichotomies of present Self versus past Other and Eastern Self versus Western Other form uncertain, ambivalent auto-images. The national Self neglects its own traditions and strives for civilizational progress; and this denial leads to a feeling of inferiority.

The psychological effects of this inner in-betweenness are illustrated through the main protagonist Mümtaz, whose anxiety represents his inability to find his Self in the uncertain present. He searches for glimpses of his individual and collectively embedded identity in his exchanges with Nuran and longs for peace (*huzur*) in the present but cannot find it unless he immerses himself in the history of the Ottoman Empire. Mümtaz adopts orientalist hetero-images such as the "Eastern emotionality" expressed through Ottoman music as a positive auto-image. Similar to Orhan Pamuk's notion of *hüzün*, described as a typically Istanbulian feeling that cannot be grasped by foreigners, the ability to connect with Ottoman music is depicted as one of the positive features distinguishing the Easterner from the Westerner.

The heterodiegetic narrator of the novel as well as the protagonists mainly use the dichotomy of East and West (*şark* and *garp*) when discussing images of the Self in relation to the Other. The Occidentalism expressed in the novel is characterized by a vague idea of a distant, unspecific Europe. Europe is mostly referred to as an abstract, imagined space and not geographically specified. The meta-image of Europe (how the protagonists think of the image Europeans allegedly have of Turkey) is one that judges and evaluates Turkey: Europe as an economically and intellectually progressive and superior entity is contrasted with the Eastern Self, which is economically underdeveloped and culturally ambivalent. Targeting this felt imbalance, several characters in the novel want to popularize their own culture and literary traditions.

Tanpınar's synthesizing approach suggests going beyond the clearly distinguished dichotomies of empire/nation and East/West, and creating continuity with the past and a synthesis with the West. Continuity with the past is

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32   "Yeniye başından itibaren bizim olmadığı için şüphe ile, eskiye eski olduğu için işe yaramaz gözüyle bakıyoruz" (ibid., 246).

absolutely necessary for Tanpınar and his intellectual protagonists Mümtaz and İhsan, who "[…] only know one thing: the necessity of relying on established roots. If we fail to do so, we won't be able to move beyond a state of duplicity" (ibid., 288).[33] With foresight, Tanpınar warns against the long-term effects of Kemalist state-orchestrated changes in Turkish culture, arguing that this might lead to a divided society in which one group is the "mangled remnant of traditional culture and the other newly settled tenants of the modern world" (ibid.).[34] Tanpınar's analysis somewhat foreshadows today's polarized political camps in Turkey that, in broad strokes, represent the conservative Muslim society on the one hand, and the Kemalist secular population on the other.

Acknowledgements

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33 "Yeni Türk insanının ölçülerini kim biliyor? Yalnız bir şeyi biliyoruz. O da birtakım köklere dayanmak zarureti. Tarihimize bütünlüğünü iade etmek zarureti. Bunu yapmazsak ikiliğin önüne geçemeyiz" (ibid., 250).

34 "Birisi eski bir medeniyetin enkazı, öbürü yeni bir medeniyetin henüz taşınmış kiracısı olmasınlar. İkisinin arasında bir kaynaşma lazım" (ibid., 251).

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European Ethnotypes in Chinese Words: The Translation and Negotiation of Some Western National Characters in Early Nineteenth-Century China

Federica Casalin

Abstract

The *World Geography* (*Wanguo dili quanji* 萬國地理全集) published in 1844 by the Protestant missionary Karl F.A. Gützlaff was the first geographical account to introduce some European ethnotypes to China. Based on recent archival findings, my article compares this book with both its presumed Western source and its rendering in the 1847 edition of Wei Yuan 魏源's *Maps and Documents of the Maritime Countries* (*Haiguo tuzhi* 海國圖志). It thus explores the role that interlingual and intralingual transfers respectively played first in negotiating and then renegotiating two European stereotypes in their early travels to and within the Qing empire.

Keywords

China – European ethnotypes – translation – intralingual transfer – world geography

As a discipline born in Western Europe, imagology is primarily concerned with ethnotypes that originated from and proved functional to the emergence of both national states and nationalistic claims within Europe (Beller and Leerssen 2007, 17–32). This article proposes to broaden the scope of the research on European ethnotypes by retracing their textual travel to and within China during the first half of the nineteenth century, a phenomenon that still awaits scholarly investigation. In particular, this contribution intends to assess how some stereotypical images codified in Europe were transmitted to China, as well as how and to what extent they were adapted in Chinese sources during the first decades of the nineteenth century. With this aim, sentences concerning

two ethnotypes (the German and the French) will be excerpted from the very first full-length treatise on world geography written in Chinese by a Protestant missionary, Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff (1803–1851), during the period concerned, the *Wanguo dili quanji* 萬國地理全集 (A Complete Collection of World Geography, hereafter shortened and italicized as *World Geography*). This book soon went out of print, but its contents—or at least a selection of them, as we shall see—were widely circulated thanks to their inclusion in one of the most influential collections of world geography for decades to come, the *Haiguo tuzhi* 海國圖志 (Maps and Documents of the Maritime Countries, hereafter *Maps and Documents*) by Wei Yuan 魏源 (1794–1857).

Since the *World Geography* is generally considered to be the translation of a Western source, issues concerning interlingual translation or *translation proper* (Jakobson 1959, 233) will first be taken into account when examining the contents of this book related to foreign ethnotypes. Besides, as recent findings of some extant copies of the *World Geography* offer an unprecedented opportunity to submit this book and Wei Yuan's version to contrastive analysis, this article also investigates the intralingual transfer that took place in China during the 1840s. In so doing, it pursues three objectives: first, it tries to retrieve the travels of some Western ethnotypes to and within China at a time when China's vision of all non-Chinese people as "barbarians"[1] started to be questioned; second, it intends to contribute to applied research on intralingual transfer (Zethsen 2009) by proposing a case study practiced in a context of transcultural communication; third, by relying on the fruitful interconnection of imagology and translation studies (van Doorslaer, Flynn, and Leerssen 2016), it outlines some suggestions for further advancements deriving from a triangulation with sinological research.

1   Gützlaff's *World Geography*: Some Recent Findings

Gützlaff's *World Geography* belongs to a group of secular publications issued in Chinese by the first Protestant missionaries who tried to enter China after Emperor Kangxi (r. 1661–1722) in 1721 had prohibited proselytizing activities in the Qing empire (1644–1911). Forced to live in secret or to move outside the Chinese borders to nearby territories such as Singapore and Malacca, the few missionaries that operated in China before the first Opium War (1839–1842)

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1   The supposed equivalence between various words used to indicate outside populations and their rendering as "barbarians" has recently been called into question by various authors. See for instance Nylan (2012) for what concerns antiquity.

devoted a part of their proselytizing efforts to publishing activities in the hope of reaching a broader audience. Almost two-thirds of their writings were religious tracts, the rest being works on history, geography, and medicine.[2] Before the publication of Gützlaff's *World Geography*, only three geographical sources were issued in Chinese (Zou 2007, 70–71): those three booklets, each consisting of no more than thirty double-sided folios, were all published in Malacca and had low circulation; their contents focused on physical and political geography, while national characterization was almost absent (Casalin 2016, 324–326). Compared to them, Gützlaff's *World Geography* occupies a prominent place in the history of the dissemination of geographical knowledge in China, as it was the first systematic treatise to update information about the outside world that had initially been provided by Jesuit sources during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. China's self-perception of being "Everything under Heaven" (*Tianxia* 天下), which had resisted its first encounter with Western missionaries, this time gradually but inexorably collapsed. In this context, the idea of "foreigners" coming from different countries, "having different beliefs (denominations) and value systems, different political systems, different mores and customs" (Fang 2001, 99–100) slowly gained prominence.[3]

Gützlaff's *World Geography* is, to my knowledge, the very first geographical source that tried to convey to China the idea of Europeans as a mosaic of diverse national characters.[4] Chinese sources attribute this book to Guo Shila 郭實獵. This was the name that the Prussian missionary adopted when he reached the Qing empire. Born in 1803 in a small village in Pomerania, which in 1815 was included in the German Confederation, Gützlaff arrived in Asia in 1827 and operated restlessly for more than two decades by preaching, writing, and translating: he reportedly composed more than sixty works in Chinese, along with two dozen works in Japanese, Siamese, Dutch, German, and

2 Xiong ([2]2010, 75) calculates that, among the 147 works published by Westerners in China from 1803 to 1842, 113 were religious and 34 were nonreligious. Nonreligious works are still little investigated and only some conjectures have been made concerning their composition: scholars usually define them as the result of translations (or cotranslations, with Westerners translating the source text orally and Chinese assistants writing the text in Chinese), but the source text is often unknown.

3 A rather late testimony of Sinocentric schemata of ethnotyping is described in this volume by Zhu Wenjun (part 3, chapter 10), who examines an illustrated travelogue published in 1891 and highlights its indebtedness to the traditional worldview encoded in *The Classic of Mountains and Seas* dating from the first millennium BCE.

4 Some national characterizations can be found also in a historiographical work published by the same Gützlaff in 1838, but they are few, short, and rather indirect, as they are limited to exposing the morality of each country's rulers (Casalin 2019).

English.[5] The *World Geography* was long considered to have been published in 1838 by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in China (SDUKC), which operated in Canton from 1834 to 1839 (Chen 2012). During those years, Gützlaff acted as one of the two "Chinese secretaries" of the SDUKC and was in charge of the publication of the majority of its secular writings in Chinese; this role perfectly suited him, convinced as he was that knowledge and science were crucial to the diffusion of the true religion, Protestantism. In fact, the attribution of the *World Geography* to the SDUKC was recently confuted by Zhuang Qinyong (2019, xv–xvi),[6] according to whom the sudden interruption of the Society's editorial activities, caused by the outbreak of the first Opium War, prevented Gützlaff from completing the editorial project at that time. He managed to write the *World Geography* no earlier than in 1843 and the volume was published in 1844 by the Chinese Union, established in that year in Hong Kong by Gützlaff himself.

The *World Geography* is made up of thirty-eight untitled textual units called *juan* 卷; each *juan* is subdivided into titled units that for the sake of convenience can be called chapters. According to Zhuang (2019, xxi), while the *juan* related to Asia are based on Chinese sources, Gützlaff "edited and translated" (*bianyi* 編譯) the remaining *juan* by relying on *The Encyclopaedia of Geography* by Hugh Murray (1779–1846).[7] At first glance, the *Encyclopaedia*'s macrostructure differs greatly from that of the *World Geography* both in length and content organization. Still, by focusing on some statistical data available in the *World Geography*[8] and comparing three editions (1834, 1839, and 1840) of Murray's *Encyclopaedia*, in which statistical information was progressively updated, Zhuang (2019, xxi) came to identify the edition of the *Encyclopaedia* issued by Lea and Blanchard in Philadelphia in 1839 as Gützlaff's source text. In the following analysis, the discursive construction of two national characters in the *World Geography* will be examined and compared to the contents available in

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5   The life of this controversial missionary was the subject of numerous publications, particularly by Jessie Lutz; for a monographic account see for instance Lutz (2008).

6   Zhuang located three copies of the *World Geography* in two European libraries: one is kept at Leeds University, while two other copies are kept by Leiden University Library. As I personally consulted Leiden's copies, in this article all textual quotations will bear both the indication of one archival source (SINOL. KNAG 82) and Zhuang's annotated edition. I take this opportunity to thank the librarians of the Special Collections of Leiden University Library for their courteous cooperation.

7   Interestingly, even Lin Zexu's 林則徐 *Sizhouzhi* 四洲志 (A Treatise on the Four Continents), whose excerpts open every chapter of Wei Yuan's *Maps and Documents*, is considered to be a "translation" of Murray's *Encyclopaedia* (Lutz 2008, 202).

8   See, for instance, Zhuang (2019, xxxii, xxxiv, xxxviii, xl, xli, xlvi, xlvii).

the *Encyclopaedia*.[9] My intent is not to contest the identification of Murray's book as the source of Gützlaff's information but rather to assess similarities and differences between the two sources and thus evaluate the importance of the two activities of editing (*bian* 編) and that of "translating" (*yi* 譯)—a word that I purposely put in quotation marks to highlight its problematic use—in Gützlaff's work.

2   The Germans and French in Gützlaff's *World Geography*

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Germany was a fragmented territory; Napoleon's escape from Elba in 1815 roused the Germanic polities to form some sort of unity, which culminated in the founding of the German Confederation in the same year. In dealing with the Confederation (*juan* 20), Gützlaff first stresses what in his view bestowed unity and cohesion to its population:

> The inhabitants all speak the same language, with the same pronunciation; this also applies to the books they write. But there are two faiths: Catholicism and Orthodoxy. By native disposition they love studying and there's nothing they would not pursue to advance each art and skill. They are even familiar with the book(s) of the Han [Chinese books] which are read through by the classicists.[10]

According to this brief passage, despite religious divisions the Germanic peoples were fundamentally united by two elements: not only did they share a common language but also a "native disposition" to learning and enterprise.[11]

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9   Due to limits of length, it is not possible to fully quote Murray's passages concerning the Germans and French, which are generally much longer than those in the *World Geography*. Therefore only some references will be provided in footnotes or in the main text in order to highlight significant differences or similarities.

10 「國民都講同樣話音不異，所著之書亦同，但其教門兩樣，即天主與正端。民之素性乃好學，以進各藝術，無所不務，連漢書儒所讀悉矣。」 (Gützlaff 1844, 20, f. 53r; 2019, 228). All translations are mine. The expression Han shu 漢書 is unclear: rather than the *Book of the* [*Former*] *Han*, it may indicate books in Chinese.

11 Such a focus on intellectual abilities and the exclusion of other stereotypical representations of the Germans—for instance as being "strong, warlike, uncivilized" (Beller 2007, 160) or simple-minded like the enduring "national figure" of the "Teutsche Michel" (Sagarra 1994)—somewhat recalls the "lofty intellectual ideal-type formulated by Mme de Staël in 1800" (Beller 2007, 161) in *De l'Allemagne*, a work "which has fixed the parameters for all later visions and descriptions of Germany" (Leerssen 1994, 44). Still, on the contrary, no binary opposition between a cerebral north and a sensuous south is made.

This unity finds no equivalent in the *Encyclopaedia*, as Murray reports that "the people that inhabit Germany are distinguished into two races, the Germans and Sclavonians [sic]. The Germans […] are divided into two families, High and Low German, distinguished less by physical differences, than by character, and particularly by the mode of pronouncing the language" (1839, vol. 2, book I, 93). This clearly marks from the beginning the great distance of the *World Geography* from the *Encyclopaedia*, which stimulates some questions: If we admit that the *Encyclopaedia* was Gützlaff's source, why did he alter the national characterizations that were originally formulated for English readers? What factor(s) guided his choices? Did the missionary's nationality and religious affiliation play a role in this process? In this respect we may hypothesize that the initial depiction of the Germans as being profoundly united by both language and native disposition may derive from Gützlaff's being a citizen of the German Confederation. Besides, two more statements in this passage clearly betray his "intrusion." The most evident is the reference to German sinology, which is absent in Murray's book, and may have been purposely added as an attempt to win the goodwill of the Chinese. The other statement concerns religion: his reference to Protestantism as "Orthodoxy" also reveals the confessional stance underlying the *World Geography*.

The issue of the national character of the Germans is addressed once more in the closing sentences of *juan* 20, but this time regional differences are taken into account: here the analysis departs from the traditional binary opposition between the "cerebral and austere north as opposed to the more sentimental and sensuous south" (Leerssen 1994, 47), as it proposes a tripartite vision of the population:

> With regard to Germany, as they serve various rulers, its inhabitants have extremely diverse and assorted habits: the northern inhabitants are strong and healthy in spirit, they adore studying, and are good, accommodating, and placid. The people of the southeastern state love to eat and drink inordinately, and feed themselves to satiety and excess; they are satisfied with what stands in front of their eyes and by no means reprove their superiors nor bully their subordinates. The inhabitants of the southwest work hard to make a living, they do not perceive pressure and weariness at all.[12]

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12   「至日國居民因服列君其風俗太異不同，北方居民精神強健，最好學，良順
        悅心。南方東國之民，好繁飲食，飽飫過量，以眼前之物自滿，並不怨上欺
        下。西南之民勞苦，以度食，並不知壓倦。」(Gützlaff 1844, 20, f. 54v; 2019, 237).

This differentiation—which is absent in the *Encyclopaedia*[13]—somewhat recalls the heterogeneity that characterized the German self-image for centuries, perpetuating medieval characterizations of the various German tribes (Beller 2007, 162). One of the three areas, the "southeastern state" might refer to the Kingdom of Bavaria,[14] whose inhabitants, according to Gützlaff, love to eat and drink to excess and tend to make do with what they have, being fair-minded and obedient. By contrast, the so-called "southwest" might refer to the linguistic group of Swabians residing in Baden and Württemberg, who in Western sources are often described as "diligent and stingy" (Beller 2007, 162). The most positive description concerns the people of northern Germany, which partly coincided with Gützlaff's motherland: its inhabitants embody a perfect synthesis of vigour, intelligence, and amiability.

In line with what various scholars have identified as an age-old binary system in Western sources that contrasts the presumed German virtues of loyalty, sincerity, strength, and courage with the equally presumed "immoral, voluptuous, false, and cowardly French" (Beller 2007, 162), hereafter my analysis will shift to the discursive construction of the French national characterization in the *World Geography*, which is fully contained in a single paragraph:

> The inhabitants of France are people of great spirit; they are ceremonious and welcome guests from faraway lands with politeness and magnanimity. They often sing, do not have worries or resentment. When they gather, men and women dance tirelessly. They do not worry at all about the future and are content with the joys of the present. In moments of danger they are brave and firm in action, nourish no fear and would rather die than lose their dignity. When a man likes a woman, he normally devises a plan to start an illicit liaison, so as to have many adulterous intercourses. French women are charming and lively, and their loquacity indeed conquers your heart. However, after they marry they have illicit liaisons. Neither the old nor the young, neither dignitaries nor humble people rush into extravagance, they dress well and are kind, each one at his own liking. [French] people speak out of turn, contradict themselves and are not credible. When they do some favor they are not generous.

13 After the initial bipartition between the Germans and the Slavonians, Murray divides the German population into "the nobles" and "the body of the German people." The latter's character "has many estimable features. They are, perhaps, the hardest-working nation in Europe; slow, heavy, and laborious [...]. Their habits are simple and domestic; and plain honesty and fidelity usually mark their transactions. [...] The character of the Germans is very military" (1839 vol. 2, book I, 93).

14 As the passage contains no toponyms, this can only be conjectured.

First they promise and then they soon forget, one moment they are full
in spirit and the next dejected. They are excessive in both joy and sorrow.
They have always enjoyed [undertaking] military campaigns, and even if
these have caused millions of dead and wounded, having achieved vic-
tory, they return to their homeland in triumph, oblivious to their fatigue
and sacrifices. Because of this, from the past to the present they have
sought pretexts to go to war with other countries, risking death and put-
ting braveness in war to the test; and if they succeed in protecting their
nation's integrity, they are satisfied.[15]

Several features in this paragraph stand out in comparison to what Murray
describes as the "French national character" (1839, part III, 540–541). The first
difference lies in Murray's awareness that stereotypization depends greatly
on the point of view of the observer;[16] indeed, he starts by comparing the
French self-image as incarnating "all that is refined and polished" with the
hetero-image of their "rougher neighbours, [who] brand them as artificial,
effeminate, and fantastic" (ibid.). Murray also observes that "the impression
of the general dissoluteness of French manners has been chiefly derived from
the opulent circles of the capital," while if one observes life in the provinces
"the gay hilarity of the French character does not seem quite so universal as
is generally supposed" (ibid.); such cautious distinctions find no equivalent in
the *World Geography*. Besides, Murray underlines what he defines as "a very
strong national feeling" but never mentions any love for military action, ruth-
lessness in campaigns, or fearless behaviour, let alone what Gützlaff describes
as their being "brave and firm in action" to the point that they "would rather
die than lose their dignity." On the positive side, Murray highlights more than
once what he calls the French "art of living in society," explaining that they
"resort habitually to the theatre, spectacles, and scenes of public amusement"

15　「佛國居民最係精神好禮，以惠厚待遠來之客。時常唱歌，不憂不怨。會集
之際，男女跳舞無倦。毫不遠慮，乃以現時之樂爲足。當危之際，敢作敢
爲，毫無懼之態，寧死不可失大體。男者戀愛女人，常有懷姦之計，節次私
通。其女怪活，言語如流，甚取人之心。但結媾姻後，與別人溢 [the 2019 edi-
tion reads as 濫] 交也。男幼尊賤，種種不顧毫費，美裳麗澤，各俱所悅矣。其
民言語多嘴，反覆無信心。施恩不寬量，即許即忘。忽興豪氣，又忽喪心，
喜憂過量也。向來極喜武功，不論傷亡者千萬，若得獲勝，凱旋本國，則忘
勞捨身。是以自古以今，與各國肇衅，效死奮勇相戰。若果能守國家之大
體，便心滿也。」(Gützlaff 1844, 21, ff. 54v–55r; 2019, 239).

16　Ruth Florack similarly observes that, "as tradition and wisdom will have it, the French
are aristocratic, well-bred, and hospitable, yet also changeable, fickle, and profligate [...].
These are a few of the ideas that have been harboured about the French—a wide range of
positive and negative attributes which appear in various combinations and from different
moral perspectives" (2007, 194).

(ibid.), but he never mentions men and women dancing together, as the *World Geography* does. Murray states positively that "the French possess estimable qualities," as they are "ingenious, acute, active, and intelligent" (ibid.): this seems to be in keeping with what the *World Geography* describes as their being spirited, educated, kind, and generous, particularly toward people from far-away lands; also the sentence according to which, from dignitaries to humble people, they all "dress well" recalls Murray's statement according to which "the polish of the higher ranks seems to have descended even to the lowest circles" (ibid.). Finally, both sources contain some gender-based characterizations: while the *World Geography* speaks of both men and women, the *Encyclopaedia* only describes French women's "system of regular flirtation" after marriage, as well as their deportment, which, "however embellished by *tournure* [italics in the original], and the graces, does not accord with *our* [italics mine] ideas of social and domestic propriety" (ibid.).

The pronoun *our*, highlighted above, betrays the subjective judgement of the English author of the *Encyclopaedia*, whose contents differ in many respects from those contained in the work by the Prussian missionary. The *World Geography*, on the other hand, reveals on more than one occasion Gützlaff's promotion of his own national identity—as opposed to other nationalities, particularly the French—as well as his religious affiliation. All in all, despite being called a "translation"—particularly by Wei Yuan, as we shall see below—the *World Geography* shows very little equivalence with what is believed to be its source text. If Gützlaff effectively relied on the *Encyclopaedia*,[17] then his work may perhaps be considered as the outcome of what Justa Holz-Mänttäri (1984) defined as *translatorial action*, namely a mediated intercultural communication without a fixed and distinctive source text. Such a *translatorial action* took place by Gützlaff's combining different "sources" of information, that is, a foreign book on geography and his own set of stereotypical ideas on the European populations, and by negotiating various concerns, including the proselytizing targets of Protestant missionaries in opposition to their Catholic rivals.

3   Wei Yuan and the Adaptation of Some European Ethnotypes in China

As anticipated in the opening paragraph, Gützlaff's *World Geography* was lost for almost 150 years, until three extant copies were found in two European libraries (Zhuang 2019); previous studies mentioning this source usually refer

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17   Due to the lack of documental proof, the possibility that Gützlaff relied on another foreign source cannot be completely ruled out.

to the version edited by Wei Yuan. The contents in Wei's *Maps and Documents* are arranged by continents, each of which is further subdivided into the countries it then comprised. Each country is described through the collation of a series of preexisting texts of various periods and authors—both foreign and Chinese—that Wei Yuan fragmented and reassembled according to their geographical area. Wei Yuan progressively enlarged the sources he relied upon to describe the world, so that the first edition, divided into fifty *juan* and dating from 1844, was followed in 1847 by an enlarged edition divided into sixty *juan*; in 1852 a newly enlarged edition divided into 100 *juan* was issued (Zou 2007, 345–346, footnote 26). The contents taken from the *World Geography* first appeared in the 1847 edition and were then maintained in all subsequent editions and reprints. In quoting the *World Geography*,[18] Wei Yuan never mentions having somewhat altered his source. Did he faithfully quote it? If not, how did he modify it and why? These questions inspire the contrastive analysis I provide below.

In what follows, Gützlaff's *World Geography* will be called the "source text," while Wei Yuan's version will be called the "received text."[19] My analysis examines two aspects: (1) the relationship between the source text and the received text; (2) the role of the Chinese agency in mediating and adapting foreign contents for a targeted audience. Concerning the first, in the "Afterword" to the 1852 edition of his *Maps and Documents*, Wei lists some of the books he consulted after publishing the first edition in order to broaden his sources of information: the *World Geography* is ranked in a group of block-printed volumes that were "translated in Guangdong [province]" ([1852] 1998, 7). Wei thus explicitly considered the *World Geography* a "translation" (*yi* 譯). As he almost certainly did not consult the original source, his version does not fit into the category of "retranslation" in Gambier's (1994, 413) sense. In fact, Wei was not trying to supersede an existing translation[20] but rather adapt a source written in his own language to his intended audience: so the received text ought to be examined in the framework of intralingual transfers. What kind of intralingual transfer took place through Wei's brush?

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18   Excerpts taken from the *World Geography* are always explicitly marked by the title, which is slightly modified by adding the character *tu* 圖 (maps) at the end. Wei never reports the name of the foreign author.

19   I prefer to avoid using the expression "target text" as it may convey the idea that it is the result of a work of translation, while the nature of Wei Yuan's text is still to be assessed.

20   When quoting other translated sources, Wei sometimes calls himself a "recompiler" whose work followed that of the "European original author" and that of the "translator" (Mosca 2013, 275).

In his annotated edition of the *World Geography*, Zhuang defines Wei Yuan's editorial activity as consisting of "collecting and editing" (*huibian* 彙編): in his view, Wei "only aimed at understanding the general idea of each paragraph and section, assimilating the significant information and the main points of what he was reading [...]. He did some simple editorial work such as cutting out [superfluous parts] or polishing and amending the language by supplying missing characters, removing replications or adding some characters of his own" (2019, lxxxvii). Interestingly, Zhuang also expresses his own impressions as a Chinese reader when reading Gützlaff's *World Geography*, in which he finds various flaws[21] that make the book "rather difficult to read" (ibid., xxxvii): this may contribute to explaining Wei Yuan's decision to edit the text for his readers. In order to assess the nature, extent, and results of his editing, a contrastive analysis of the source text and the received version is provided below. The analysis starts from the first passage concerning the overall population of Germany:[22]

> In Germany, language and pronunciation are the same, this also applies to the books they write; there are two faiths: Catholicism and Heterodoxy. By disposition they love studying and are devoted to art and technique, they are even familiar with China's books.[23]

This paragraph offers several examples of rephrasing that do not alter the meaning and seem to be aimed at simplifying and shortening the source text. This happens for instance with the expression "inhabitants all speak the same language, with the same pronunciation," which is rendered as "in Germany, language and pronunciation are the same." But sometimes Wei Yuan's rephrasing alters the source text, as for instance when the sentence "but there are two faiths: Catholicism and Orthodoxy" is modified as follows: "there are two faiths: Catholicism and Heterodoxy." This difference is clearly a mistake since

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21   "Mistaken words and incorrect characters, as well as redundant expressions and missing words can be found throughout; the translation of toponyms is inconsistent; punctuation in place names is sometimes wrong; the lexicon is poor, grammar tends to be incorrect and the influence of foreign syntax can frequently be perceived." See Zhuang (2019, xxxii–xxxvii).

22   Here and below, for the sake of readability I only report the resulting version in English, while modifications are reported only in the Chinese version in the footnotes. Characters between square brackets are suppressed, bold characters added.

23   「國中[民都講同樣話]**語**音不異，所著之書亦同，[但]其教門[兩樣]**有**二，即天主與[正]**異**端。民[之素]性[乃]好學，[以進各]**務**藝術，[無所不務，連漢]**並中國之書**[、、儒所]**皆**讀悉[矣]。」(Wei [1852] 1998, 1273).

in the received text Catholicism is opposed to Heterodoxy and not (Protestant) Orthodoxy, thus subverting the religious stance of the source text. Besides, the received text omits the adversative conjunction "but," thus leaving out what for Gützlaff probably was an incomprehensible contradiction, namely the fact that German people were united by a common language *but* had different faiths. Wei Yuan also substitutes the expression Han shu 漢書 (*Book of the [Former] Han* or perhaps books in Chinese), which probably sounded unclear, with the generic expression "China's books," and leaves out the reference to the social group of the *ru* 儒, the classicists who perpetuated the Confucian tradition in China. This might simply be due to the fact that the expression "China's books" included texts of the Confucian tradition and mentioning the *ru* would thus sound redundant. Whatever the reason, this omission deprived the national characterization of the Germans of a peculiar hue of erudition.

Coming to the second paragraph on the Germans in Gützlaff's book, Wei Yuan renders it as follows:

> As they serve different rulers, its inhabitants have peculiar and diverse habits: those from the north are strong in spirit, robust and healthy; they adore studying. Inhabitants of the south and east love to eat and drink inordinately. Inhabitants of the southwest struggle a lot to make their living.[24]

Here again we find some rewording ("extremely diverse and assorted habits," for instance, is rendered as "peculiar and diverse habits") as well as what seems a misunderstanding, since the expression "inhabitants of the southeastern state" is turned into "inhabitants from the south and the east," thus referring to two geographical areas rather than one, and omitting the reference to a geopolitical entity which—as stated before—probably corresponds to Bavaria. Besides, in this passage Wei Yuan omits a few sentences: if some may have been discarded because they sounded redundant (i.e. "feed themselves to satiety and excess," which reiterates the concept "love to eat and drink inordinately"), in other cases the original contents are irremediably lost, such as the sentence according to which people from the north "are good, accommodating, and placid," or the fact that inhabitants of the southeastern state

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24   「[至日]國中居民，因分服列君，[其]風俗[太]殊異[不同]：北方居民，精神強健，最好學[，良順悅心]。南方、東方[國]之民，好繁飲食[，飽飫過量，以眼前之物自滿，並不怨上欺下]。西南之民勞苦[，以]度生[食，並不知厭倦]。」(Wei [1852] 1998, 1276).

(now called the "south and the east") are happy with what they have, they "by no means reprove their superiors nor bully their subordinates."

Wei Yuan's editorial selectiveness is much more evident in the paragraph concerning France, whose length is about one third of the original:

> The inhabitants of France are people of great spirit; they are ceremonious and magnanimously welcome guests from afar. Men and women gather to sing and dance, they only rejoice for the present and disregard the future. In moments of danger they are brave and firm in action, and would rather die than submit. As for women, their clever words sound like flutes; they are indeed delightful. However, they do not fully comply with ritual propriety. People promise easily and renege easily. They nurture a keen interest and pleasure in military actions; they often stir up trouble with other countries, risking death and displaying bravery in war.[25]

Once again we find examples of rewording that do not modify the original meaning, such as when the sentence "[they] do not worry at all about the future and are content with the joys of the present" is rendered as "they only rejoice for the present and disregard the future." Besides, some long passages are summarized in a few words: the four-character idiomatic expression "[People] promise easily and renege easily," for instance, summarizes two rather redundant expressions, namely "contradict themselves and are not credible," and "first they promise and then they soon forget." Yet, content omissions still account for the major changes: in the received text French people "lose" their presumed elegant bearing (nobody "rush[es] into extravagance, they dress well and are kind, each one at his own liking"), their temperamental excesses ("one moment they are full in spirit and the next dejected. They are excessive in both joy and sorrow"), as well as their national pride.

Some textual modifications concerning gender relations in France also deserve special attention: while the source text depicts both men and women

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25　佛蘭西國民最係精神好禮，[以惠]厚待遠[來之]客。[時常唱歌，不憂不怨，]**男女**會集歌舞[之際，男女跳舞無倦，毫不遠慮，乃以現時之樂爲足]**惟樂目前，不慮久遠**。[當]危[之際]**時**敢作敢爲，[毫無懼之態，]**寧**死不居人下[可失大體]。[男者戀愛女人常有懷姦之計，節次私通。]其女**巧言如簧**[怪活，言語如流，]甚**悅**[取]人**意**[之心]。但**不甚守禮**[結媾姻後，與別人溢交也。男幼尊賤，種種不毫費，美裳麗澤，各俱所悅矣。]其民[言語多嘴，反覆無信心。施恩不寬量，即許即忘]**輕諾寡信**[，忽興豪氣又忽喪心，喜憂過量也。向來極]**豪興喜武**[功]，[不論傷亡者千萬，若得獲勝，凱旋本國，則忘勞捨身。]是以[自古以今，]**常**與各國肇衅，效死[奮]**勇**[相]戰[若果能守國家之大體，便心滿也]。（Wei [1852] 1998, 1268).

as prone to infidelity, the received text omits this content as related to men. As for women, the sentence "after they marry they have illicit liaisons" is substituted by a rather generic expression: "they do not fully comply with ritual propriety." The reasons for these changes can only be conjectured and might be due to the fact that *Maps and Documents* was conceived as a tool to "use the barbarians in order to manage the barbarians" that were threatening the integrity of the Qing empire (Wei [1852] 1998, *juan* 1, 1); contents related to private relations might have sounded irrelevant to this intent. Finally, a peculiar example of rewording as related to women occurs in the use of the four-character expression "their clever words sound like flutes," which substitutes "[they] are charming and lively, and their loquacity indeed conquers your heart." Wei uses an undeclared quotation from the most ancient collection of Chinese poetry, the *Classic of Odes* (*Shijing* 詩經), whose 305 poems, dating from 1000 to 600 BCE, contributed to the codification of Chinese moral standards for more than two millennia. In the original poem this expression was used to criticize the sweet but malevolent words of some slanderers. Since Wei continues this passage by saying that French women are "delightful," he probably did not intend to confer a fully negative taint to his words.[26] Still, his rewording adds an ambiguous hue that cultivated readers in China would probably have noted.

These examples induce us to reconsider the editorial work done by Wei Yuan. Besides "polishing and amending the language" (Zhuang 2019, xxxvii) so as to optimize readability, Wei's major interventions related to national characterizations consist in rewording and—even more importantly—"omitting" some content. These interventions were most likely due to a series of concurring factors, ranging from the need to suit the reading standards of his intended audience, to that of shortening the overall length of the *Maps and Documents*, and facilitating his aim of using the collection as an instrument to protect the empire from a rather generic foreign adversary, to whose (presumed) national identities most Chinese were probably still rather indifferent. Whatever the reasons, the result of Wei's intralingual transfer produced some rather evident shifts and changes in characterization which departed from the explicit wording and implicit intentions of the source text.

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26   The first English translator of the *Shijing*, the Protestant missionary James Legge (1815–1897), renders this expression as "their artful words, like organ-tongue." For a full translation of the poem see Legge ([1871] 1983, 340–343).

4 Sinology, Imagology, and Translation Studies: Some Future Perspectives

The case study examined in this article suggests the need to further develop connections between the fields of sinology and imagology, an endeavour that would greatly benefit from a synergy with translation studies, as I will explain below. As far as sinological research is concerned, existing works on the circulation of information about the outside world in China during the 1830s and 1840s are still rather limited; yet, those decades were crucial for China to form a comprehensive idea of the contemporary realities beyond its borders. Both foreign and local agencies contributed to framing this integrated view: in the field of geographical knowledge, as evidenced by Matthew Mosca, works produced by Protestant missionaries were never taken as an "unmediated authority" but rather "continued to depend on their reception, analysis, and evaluation by Chinese scholars" (2013, 222). Wei Yuan was only one—though probably among the most influential—of such scholars; in fact, any future analysis on the topic of the transmission of geographical knowledge could and should be extended to other sources so as to include, for instance, Lin Zexu's *Treatise on the Four Continents* (1839), as well as the *Yinghuan zhilüe* 瀛環志略 (Brief Account of the Maritime Circuit) published in 1849 by Xu Jiyu 徐繼畬 (1795–1873).[27] For Zhuang (2019, lxxxvii), Xu's approach to Western sources was different from Wei Yuan's: while the latter "collected and edited," the former tended to "compose and write" (*zhuangxie* 撰寫). How, then, did the editorial choices of these literati differ in mediating foreign ethnotypes and for what reasons? To what extent did each of them preserve or alter the national characterizations they relied upon? Furthermore, did the European practice to depict national characters play a role in China's definition of a national self-image toward the end of the nineteenth century? These are some of the questions that sinologists, relying on imagological theory, methods, and findings, may want to face in order to enhance our understanding of the circulation of knowledge about the outside world in nineteenth-century China and its impact on forming the modern Chinese state. Conversely, the research conducted on Chinese sources would also help to retrieve "the intertextual

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27 This book also had a lasting impact on the circulation of information about the outside world for decades to come, as demonstrated by the fact that some of the Chinese envoys of the Qing government who reached Europe during the last three decades of the nineteenth century explicitly referred to the descriptions of the world they read in Xu Jiyu's *Brief Account*.

trail of transmission and dissemination" (van Doorslaer, Flynn, and Leerssen 2016, 3) of European ethnotypes well beyond Europe, something that imagological studies may want to further investigate in the future.

As this article demonstrates, when dealing with the transcultural mediation of ethnotypes to and within China, processes of both interlingual and intralingual transfer are to be examined. Trying to define whether such transfers ought to be considered as translations by applying more or less encompassing theoretical definitions (Göpferich 2007; Zethsen 2009) goes beyond the scope of this article, whose main target is to assess how some national characterizations underwent negotiation and renegotiation under the influence of differing agencies. Still, this case study offers an opportunity to reflect on the very concept of "translation" in transcultural and diachronic perspective[28] by focusing on the Chinese word that is commonly considered an equivalent of "translation": *yi* 譯. Investigating translation history, D'hulst has already highlighted the risks of using "in a straightforward manner modern translational categories for the analysis of historical translations and translation processes" (2010, 403). In consideration of this, is it correct to apply modern conceptualizations of translation to nineteenth-century occurrences of the term *yi* 譯 at a time when Chinese had no translation theory and when the target culture was considered "infinitely superior and hence not quite the 'recipient'" (Chan 2004, 3–4)? What did Chinese scholars of the time mean when using the character *yi* 譯? The semantic value of this word ought to be thoroughly studied by experts in translation studies, who could benefit from the theoretical framework of what Lydia Liu, investigating early twentieth-century Sino–Western encounters, codified as "translingual practice" (1995, 26). By tracing the textual trajectories of images across the Eurasian continent, translation scholars would thus not only help imagologists locate the alterations that European ethnotypes underwent in their travels to China, highlighting the role of translation as a "dynamic force co-constructing differences rather than merely reflecting them" (van Doorslaer, Flynn, and Leerssen 2016, 5); at the same time, they would also help sinologists assess the role played by different agencies in negotiating the construction of foreign national images in China during the nineteenth century, right before the collapse of the Qing empire and the advent of the modern Chinese nation.

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28   On this topic see St. André (2012), particularly pp. 11–26.

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A Study on *The Travel Journal and Pictures*: Li Danlin's Image of Foreign Lands and Cultures

ZHU Wenjun

Abstract

This article studies the hetero-images in premodern Chinese painter Li Danlin's travelogue *The Travel Journal and Pictures* with regard to Daniel-Henri Pageaux's and Jean-Marc Moura's theories. Li draws pictures of foreign lands and cultures to express his exoticist interest, following the tradition entailed from *The Classic of Mountains and Seas*. He transforms the reality and constructs two forms of hetero-images: those of Western cultures by applying clichés, and stereotyped images of indigenous peoples as "Manyi." These hetero-images give us insights into premodern Chinese ideology and offer an example of Occidentalism as a Sinocentric form of ethnotype.

Keywords

In 1903,[1] Li Danlin (李丹麟, 1846–1916),[2] a Cantonese painter in the late Qing dynasty of China, made an overseas trip following the Chinese ambassador Yang Ru (杨儒). He travelled to many countries and continents such as Korea, Japan, the United States, Peru, and Europe, and later visited Vietnam, Cambodia, and the South Pacific islands at his own expense. The journey

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1 Li Danlin narrated in *The Travel Journal and Pictures* that he departed in 1903. However, according to *Boluo Xianzhi*, the local chronicle of Li's hometown, and *Huizhou Mingren*, the biography of the celebrities in Li's hometown edited by Zhu Jitang and Huang Songsen, Li started his journey in 1891.

2 The dates of birth and death confirmed by *Huizhou Mingren* are widely accepted. Nonetheless, *Boluo Xianzhi* records other dates: 1840–1910.

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lasted for around three years. During the trip he made 205 drawings appended with explanatory texts, and compiled them into the two volumes of *Youli Tuji* 游历图记 (The Travel Journal and Pictures).[3]

Although Li was the first Chinese artist to travel around the world and draw his impressions, his book has received little attention in academia. It has only been documented in some Cantonese historical and biographical sources, such as *Guangdong Huaren Lu* 广东画人录 (The Biographies of Cantonese Painters) (1985, 76–77), *Huizhou Mingren* 惠州名人 (The Celebrities in Huizhou) (1999, 45), and *Boluo Xianzhi* 博罗县志 (The Chronography of Boluo County) (2001, 760).[4] This indicates that the circulation of Li's travelogue was probably confined to local intellectual circles in Guangdong (Canton). While most of the premodern[5] Chinese travelogues were written in the form of a diary in classical Chinese, Li created for the first time a large-scale, systematic depiction of foreign lands, combining the genres of essay, poem, and painting.

My research aims to examine how Li perceives and represents foreign people and cultures from the perspective of imagology, paying particular attention to the specific form of the book, and to further explore the particularities of Sinocentric ethnotyping reflected in *The Travel Journal and Pictures*. My study of hetero-images in Li's travelogue is not limited to the literary text but will also consider his drawing and cartography.

The Travel Journal and Pictures consists of four parts. The first part includes twenty hand-painted maps of various locations around the world. His so-called maps vary in form: some are bird's eye views, some are horizontal views, some are detailed, some are simplified. As we can see from the map "Into Nagasaki, Japan,"[6] unlike in regular geographic maps, the cartography is a mixture of map and Chinese landscape painting. Different from "Ditu" (地图), the modern maps that we are accustomed to find in atlases, cartography using conventional

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3   Since the journal has never been translated into English or other languages, I translate all the titles and notes cited from the volumes myself.

4   There exist various versions of *The Chronography of Boluo County*. The earliest was edited by Han Rizuan (韩日缵) in the late Ming dynasty (1628–1644), and later ones are based on this and other early versions. The edition that I consulted relates the history of Boluo (博罗) county from 214 BCE to 1990 CE.

5   The "premodern" period in the Chinese context refers to 1840–1919, from the Opium War to the May Fourth Movement.

6   There are no page numbers but only the numbers of maps or figures in the 1905 edition of *The Travel Journal and Pictures*. Please note that the number of a map or figure given in parentheses after a quote from Li's travelogue refers to the numbers used in the 1905 edition of *The Travel Journal and Pictures*, whereas the designation "Figure 10.1" (up to "Figure 10.5") in the caption lines of a printed image relates to our own system of numbering. You can compare both numbers in the List of Figures and Tables on p. XIII.

landscape painting style is called "Yutu" (輿图), and was the dominant form in China before the twentieth century. Obviously, the maps painted by Li are "Yutu" rather than "Ditu." For instance, the mountains and buildings around the bay in the following image (Figure 10.1) do not conform to a proportional graphical perspective but follow the conventions of Chinese landscape painting, which value artistic representation instead of verisimilitude.
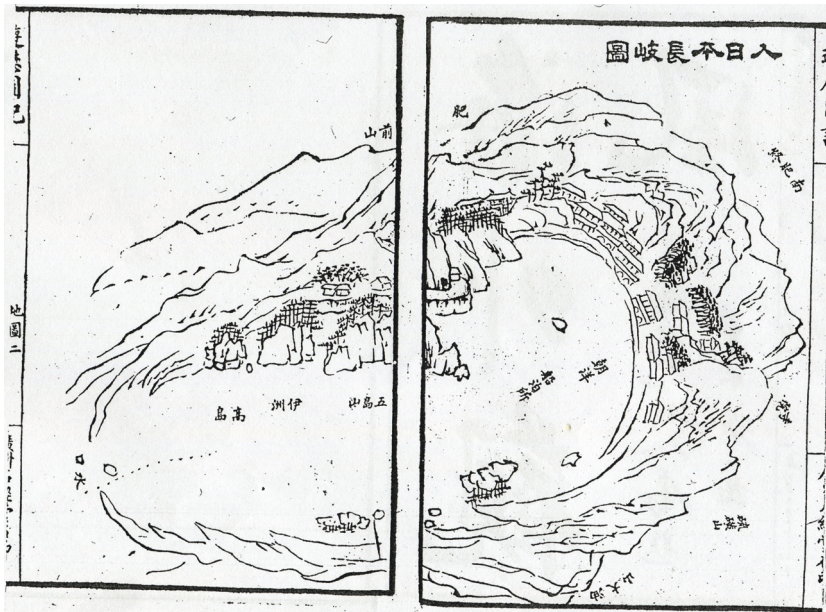
FIGURE 10.1   "Into Nagasaki, Japan" 入日本长崎图.

This is the reason why I translated the title as "Travel Journal and Pictures," since the term "picture"—unlike possible alternatives such as "map" or "painting"—may refer to multiple genres of painting, drawing, and "Yutu." Because Li specializes in the depiction of flowers, birds, and figures but not landscapes, his attempt to paint the panorama results in a serious deformation of the landscape. Li's choice of cartography reveals his outdated technique and traditional mindset.

In the second part, he portrays people in foreign lands with explanatory texts. The painted figures include people from North and South America (Native Americans), Japan, Luzon (the Philippines), Malta, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Java, Kelantan (Malaysia), Siam (Thailand), Tibet, Holland, Hawaii, Malaysia, Bangladesh, Kolkata (India), Vietnam, Phnom Penh (Cambodia), Laos, France, and so forth; and people from indeterminate regions like Nanyang (a Sinocentric Chinese term for the "South Sea" or Southeast Asia) and Taixi (泰西, the Far

West). Because the geographical terms and the toponyms are not unified, the areas that Li refers to are too vague to be pinned down precisely.

Li consciously paints people of different ages, races, social classes, occupations, and genders for comparison. The characters depicted are chiefs, ancient kings, men, women, children, ancient officials, businessmen, and poor people. They are more specifically divided into elegant men, businessmen, wealthy women, female workers, nuns, and old peasants. Among the gestures shown are the following: arrow shooting, dining, selling food, holding a baby, treasure hunting on the sea floor, spitting arrows, saluting, shooting a gun, smoking, etc. The costumes worn include long gowns, formal dresses, etc. The diverse appearances shown include nose piercings, symmetrical beards, beards under the chin, etc. Sometimes Li zooms in to paint the earrings, aprons, shoes, etc. And sometimes he paints both the front view and the back view. Some pictures have titles and notes; while others are marked with either titles or notes.

Li adopts the Chinese style of line drawing in traditional ink and brush to outline the figures. In his day, Western painting techniques had already been circulating for a long time, having been introduced to China by Giuseppe Castiglione (1688–1766), an Italian missionary in China who served as an artist at the imperial court. Castiglione paints in a unique way, fusing European and Chinese traditions and adjusting the Western style to suit Chinese tastes. However, Li sticks to the form of Chinese line drawing without any trace of Western influence, which coincides with the Sinocentric content of his travelogue.

The third part is made up of essays and poems comparing the West with China, including; "Visit to Various Countries and Comment on the Backwardness of Chinese Science and Technology," "Visit to Philadelphia and the Principle of Making Guns and Artillery," and "Poem on Visiting the Bronze Column as Boundary Sign in Vietnam." Li reflects on the reasons why the development of Chinese science and technology fell behind that of the West, and draws the conclusion that the advanced Western knowledge and techniques mostly originated in China and were further developed in the Occident to exceed China. This was a widely accepted strategy in the late Qing dynasty to provide theoretical support for learning from the West while maintaining ethnic identity and superiority. This kind of argument had already been criticized by certain Chinese intellectuals of Li's time for its arrogance, such as Zhang Zhidong (张之洞) in *Quan Xue Pian* 劝学篇 (Exhortation to Study), but Li still adheres to the problematic strategy. Li's attitude corresponds with his Sinocentric representation of foreign cultures. In contrast with other travelogues and geographical treatises of the same period (see Casalin in this volume, chapter 9), the ideas revealed in *The Travel Journal and Pictures* are comparatively conservative.

The fourth part consists of the articles entitled "The Humanized Tiger," "The Chicken Ghost," "The Tiger Ghost," "The Cannibal Tree," "The Itchy Tree," "The Animal-Hunting Tree," "The Insect-Hunting Tree," "The Feet-Biting Insect," "The Flytrap Tree," "The Intoxicant Tree," "Lujiang Matting Ghost," "Yugui Mountain God," and "The Boa Eating the Elephant." These articles mainly narrate mysterious anecdotes in remote areas, as well as detailing exotic animals and plants.

The Travel Journal and Pictures provides various hetero-images of foreign lands and people. Because I intend to investigate how these hetero-images are formed at both the individual and the collective level, Jean-Marc Moura's theory provides a foundation for my analysis. Moura elaborates on the triple meaning of every image: "image of a foreign referent, image coming from a nation or a culture, image created by the particular sensitivity of an author" (1999, 184). For instance, the image of the saluting "Taixi" general represented by Li's drawing (Li 1905, fig. 59, 60) is based on actual Western soldiers, and shaped by the Chinese traditional conception of "Taixi" and Li's own vision. Correspondingly, three levels of analysis are defined: "the referent, the sociocultural imaginary, the structures of a work" (Moura 1999, 184).[7]

My approach is to scrutinize the peculiar authorial intention of Li's exoticism in section 1, and to study the form and the structure of *The Travel Journal and Pictures* as a homage to an ancient Chinese classic depicting foreign lands and cultures in section 2. I will proceed to the level of sociocultural imaginary, namely the analysis of Li's divergent hetero-images of developing areas and economically developed civilizations as a form of Sinocentric ethnotyping in section 3. Last but not least, in section 4 I will further explore this ideology in relation to the concept of "Occidentalism."

1   Exoticism and Alterity

As the second and the fourth part of his travelogue show, Li Danlin's enormous curiosity about exoticism and alterity predetermines his focus. When he paints a boy hunting treasures in the sea in Hawaii, he notes: "It is so bizarre that I have to draw it for memory's sake" (Li 1905, fig. 32).[8] When describing

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7   My translation. Original quote: "[P]our l'imagologie, toute image étudiée est [...] dans un triple sens : image d'un référent étranger, image provenant d'une nation ou d'une culture, image créée par la sensibilité particulière d'un auteur. Trois niveaux d'analyse se voient définis : le référent, l'imaginaire socioculturel, les structures d'une œuvre."

8   My translation. Original quote: "可谓奇也，故图而记之。"

the sky burial, a ritual of consecrating the human corpse to birds, he calls the carrion birds "bizarre" (ibid., fig. 53).[9] He also comments on the Western style of beard as "bizarre" (ibid., fig. 67). In South America, he depicts women with moustaches and remarks: "We Chinese think it is grotesque" (ibid., fig. 68).[10] In the article "Saigon Fortress," in which he uses the phrase "the most curious thing,"[11] we find another example of this style. Even when reflecting on the gap between China and the West, Li is still interested in the curious aspects: "European countries invent delicate techniques that become more and more extraordinary."[12] He questions these techniques, asking: "Why did no one make any strange devices or create any curious techniques at the beginning of Western civilization?"[13] "In the past few decades, aren't there more and more incredible things coming up?"[14] It is evident that Li looks for and records strange phenomena with great enthusiasm. According to the preface written by his friend Deng Jiying (邓骥英), Li's personality is "quite curious."

Li's curiosity implies his exceptional attention to the difference between Self and Other. As Daniel-Henri Pageaux remarks, "every image comes from an awareness [...] of an I in relation to the Other, of Here in contrast with Elsewhere" (2014, 455),[15] and the image thus expresses the significant distinction between two cultural entities. Although lacking any in-depth understanding of sociocultural differences, Li consciously made comparisons between China and foreign cultures in his travelogue.

Li's enthusiasm about otherness evokes the notion of exoticism discussed by Victor Segalen, which describes exoticism as resulting from the perception of the difference and the recognition of the Other. According to Segalen, when we find something exotic, the singularity of the others is a source of enjoyment, arousing the durable pleasure of feeling the diversity (Segalen 1986, 44).[16] Therefore, exoticism refers to "the acute and immediate perception of an

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9   My translation. Original quote: "可谓奇异。"

10   My translation. Original quote: "妇人生须，中国以为奇怪。"

11   My translation. Original quote: "所最奇者。"

12   My translation. Original quote: "欧洲各国艺学精巧，愈出愈奇。"

13   My translation. Original quote: "虽彼国文明渐启，尚不闻有人焉，制一奇器，创一奇技也欤？"

14   My translation. Original quote: "数十年来，不更愈出愈奇，有不可思议者乎？"

15   My translation. Original quote: "Toute image procède d'une prise de conscience, si minima soit-elle, d'un Je par rapport à l'Autre, d'un Ici par rapport à un Ailleurs. L'image est donc l'expression, littéraire ou non, d'un écart significatif entre deux ordres de réalité culturelle."

16   My translation. Original quote: "la perdurabilité du plaisir de sentir le Divers."

eternal incomprehensibility" (ibid.),[17] namely the impenetrability of otherness. As Li Danlin takes pleasure from the objects beyond his comprehension and seeks for diversity and alterity, the motivation of *The Travel Journal and Pictures* can be regarded as exoticism.

Nonetheless, as Joep Leerssen points out, exoticism may also be "ethnocentrism's friendly face." When "[t]he other culture is appreciated exclusively in terms of its strangeness; it is reduced to the aspects wherein it differs from the domestic standard" (2007a, 325). Li's depiction lays stress on the weird characteristics of foreign peoples, alienating them from Chinese civilization. By highlighting the opposition of Self and Other, Li distinguishes domestic culture and reaffirms Chinese cultural identity. However, his judgement of strangeness is based on the preconception that Chinese culture stands for the absolute criterion of normality.

2   The Form Drawn from *The Classic of Mountains and Seas* (山海经, Shan Hai Jing)

In the preface, Deng Jiying suggests a connection between *The Travel Journal and Pictures* and *Shan Hai Jing* 山海经 (The Classic of Mountains and Seas), in their way of painting beasts and monsters vividly. *The Classic of Mountains and Seas* is a Chinese classic compilation of fabulous geographical and cultural records in ancient times, and a collection of Chinese mythology. The earliest version that still exists is *Shan Hai Jing Zhu* (山海经注) edited by Guo Pu (郭璞, 276–324 CE). As Yang Yulian (杨玉莲) (2018, 91–94) concludes, there are mainly five opinions about the compilation time of *The Classic*, ranging from the Xia dynasty (c. 2070–c. 1600 BCE) to the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE). Although the compilation date cannot be pinned down exactly, it is certain that *The Classic* had been circulated before Sima Qian (司马迁, c. 145–c. 86 BCE) started to write *The Records of the Grand Historian* (史记, *Shiji*), which mentions *The Classic* (Sima 2012, 3179) for the first time, during the Western Han or Former Han dynasty.

The Classic consists of eighteen chapters, which can be classified into four categories: "Classic of the Mountains," "Classic of the Seas," "Classic of the Great Wilderness," and "Classic of Regions within the Seas." The chapters of *The Classic* progress like a travel journal, as each section concentrates on a specific region, describing its unique races, deities, plants, and minerals. The

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17   My translation. Original quote: "la perception aiguë et immédiate d'une incompréhensibilité éternelle."

world depicted in *The Classic* focuses on the central lands surrounded by the regions of the south, west, north, and east mountains. The mainland is encircled by the four seas, beyond which there are still outlying continents. *The Classic* contains rich knowledge of geography, mythology, folklore, history of science, religion, ethnology, and medicine.

The affinity between *The Travel Journal and Pictures* and *The Classic of Mountains and Seas* can be interpreted along three aspects. Above all, the poem "Du Shan Hai Jing" 读山海经 (Reading *The Classic of Mountains and Seas*) by Tao Yuanming (陶渊明, 365?–427) (1979) confirms that *The Classic* originally consisted of pictures and texts. The pictures have been lost since the Tang dynasty (618–907), and only the texts remain. It can be deduced from the drawings recreated in the Ming (1368–1644) and the Qing dynasties (1644–1911) that the original pictures mainly showed mysterious landscapes and creatures. Thus, based on the similar form and Deng's mentioning of a connection in the preface of *The Travel Journal and Pictures*, I suggest that Li Danlin chose to combine paintings and texts in order to pay homage to *The Classic of Mountains and Seas.*

Secondly, as the lands, gods, and creatures portrayed in *The Classic* blur the boundary between fiction and reality, *The Travel Journal and Pictures* can also be considered a mixture of mythology and geography. By comparing the second and fourth part of the travelogue with our knowledge about the world acquired from documentaries, scientific research, and travel experiences, we can recognize certain exaggerations in Li's depiction of folklore, flora, and fauna, such as the anecdote of "The Tiger Ghost." It is probable that Li Danlin made exaggerated descriptions of foreign people and creatures to imitate *The Classic*.

Thirdly, both works are characterized by exoticism. *The Classic of Mountains and Seas* also shows a peculiar interest in the impenetrability of otherness. It has been noted that "officials and intellectuals were amazed by *The Classic*; by reading it we can investigate auspicious omens and strange things, and know the exotic customs in distant countries" (Liu and Liu 2008, 77).[18] Li Danlin potentially took inspiration from *The Classic* to create a work that intends to amaze his readers with the diversity and incomprehensibility of exotic scenes.

The Travel Journal and Pictures carries on the tradition entailed from *The Classic of Mountains and Seas*, bearing resemblance to its form and content. Combining drawings and writings, realistic portrayal and exotic imagination,

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18   My translation. Original quote: "朝士由是多奇《山海经》者，文学大儒多读学以为奇，可以考祯祥变怪之物，见远国异人之谣俗。" The *Qilüe* (Seven Surveys/Seven Reviews) is the first known bibliography of Chinese works.

Li's choice of form and theme as an allusion to *The Classic* predetermines his way of depicting foreign lands and people.

In the preface to the earliest still existing version of *The Classic of Mountains and Seas*, Guo Pu expresses an idea similar to the basic assumption of imagology that the representation of foreign cultures is shaped by the beholder's ideology: "The objects are not strange in themselves, but only alienated by the subject. The strangeness of the objects lies in the mind of the subject" (Chen 2012, 315).[19] The curious aspects of the hetero-image ("other") can be attributed to the ideology of the curious onlookers ("self"). Therefore, the hetero-images in *The Travel Journal and Pictures*, as well as in *The Classic*, relate more to the "self" (domestic culture) than to the "other" (the foreign scenes).

Guo's statement corresponds to Joep Leerssen's opinion: "The default value of human's contacts with different cultures seems to have been ethnocentric, in that anything that deviated from accustomed domestic patterns is 'Othered' as an oddity, an anomaly, a singularity" (2007b, 17). The foreign objects are not strange by nature, but Li and the author(s) of *The Classic* accentuate their strangeness because of their deviation from Chinese conventions.

3   Two Types of Hetero-Images

As already shown in the previous sections of this chapter, Li's personal interest in exoticism and the analogous structure to *The Classic of Mountains and Seas* significantly shape Li's description of foreign lands and cultures. However, another factor that contributes to these peculiar hetero-images, that is to "the opinion that others have about a group's purported character" (Leerssen 2007a, 343), in *The Travel Journal and Pictures* is the traditional Chinese imagination of foreign lands. As Daniel-Henri Pageaux claims, "the representation of the foreign is dependent on a certain ideological option (made of a complex mixture of ideas, feelings, traditional preconceptions, historical orientation, etc. [...])" (1995, 138).[20] Hence, authors do not just give an authentic portrait of reality when representing foreign countries but instead sort out the features that conform to the ideology of their own culture, consciously or subconsciously.

Li Danlin's selection and representation of hetero-images in *The Travel Journal and Pictures* is imbalanced. On the one hand, his description of

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19   My translation. Original quote: "物不自异，待我而后异，异果在我，非物异也。"
20   My translation. Original quote: "La représentation de l'étranger est tributaire d'une certaine option idéologique (faites d'un mélange complexe d'idées, de sentiments, d'a priori traditionnels, historiquement repérables etc. [...])."

developing areas such as Southeast Asia and South America is so detailed that various little-known regions and minority ethnic groups are displayed distinctively. On the other hand, he refers to European countries and North America in general as "Taixi" (the Far West) or "Westerners" without distinguishing different cultures. Obviously, there are many more paintings and texts about indigenous people in less industrialized regions than about the citizens in economically developed countries of "Taixi." I will analyse the two different types of hetero-images respectively.

3.1   *"Taixi": A Misinterpretation of the West*

In premodern Chinese, "Taixi" (泰西) is a cliché that refers to the Western countries, including Europe and the United States. Its usage can be dated back to the Ming dynasty, when the Catholic missionary Matteo Ricci visited China. It literally means "Far West," which is in contrast with the "Far East" for Western people. As Jean-Marc Moura comments, "the cliché […] is defined as a stylistic effect fixed by the usage, a manifestation of the servile spirit of imitation" (1993, 100).[21] As a result of the repetitive usage of "Taixi," some Chinese people with a more conservative attitude generalized the West as a whole and refused to explore the nuances and diversity among Western cultures. The notion of "Taixi" is paralleled with the Western concept of the "Orient," a historical term for the East evolving from the Near East to the continent of Asia. Western terms such as the "Orient" or the "Far East" are also generalizing and illustrate a lack of affirming the diversity of Asian cultures. Hence, we can find similar patterns of thinking about "others" in East and West.

As most of premodern Chinese travel journals rather focus on developed Western countries, Li's travelogue opens up a new field by introducing neglected parts of the world so as to enrich Chinese people's knowledge of the globe. However, as Xu Junmian (徐君勉) declared, "generally, it is easy to compose travelogues on less cultivated areas, but difficult to write on more civilized places" (Liang 2018, 5).[22] Liang Qichao (梁启超) asserts in *Xin Dalu Youji* 新大陆游记 (Observations on a Trip to America) that "previous Chinese travel journals mostly describe trivial things such as extraordinary landscapes or splendid palaces […] but fail to grasp the key ideas when observing societies with complex civilizations" (2018, 7).[23]

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21   My translation. Original quote: "[Le cliché] relève de la stylistique et se définit comme un effet de style figé par l'usage, manifestation d'un servile esprit d'imitation."

22   My translation. Original quote: "凡游野蛮地为游记易，游文明地为游记难。"

23   My translation. Original quote: "中国前此游记，多纪风景之佳奇，或陈宫室之华丽……但观察文明复杂之社会，最难得其要领。"

Li Danlin fails to understand Western societies and cultures. He paints figures of Western female workers and Western old farmers, without any regard to Western industrial civilization, the social classes in capitalist societies, or the issue of gender relations. He depicts Catholic nuns and priests, yet he appears to know little about Christianity. His ignorance is clearly reflected in the map of Washington (see Figure 10.2).
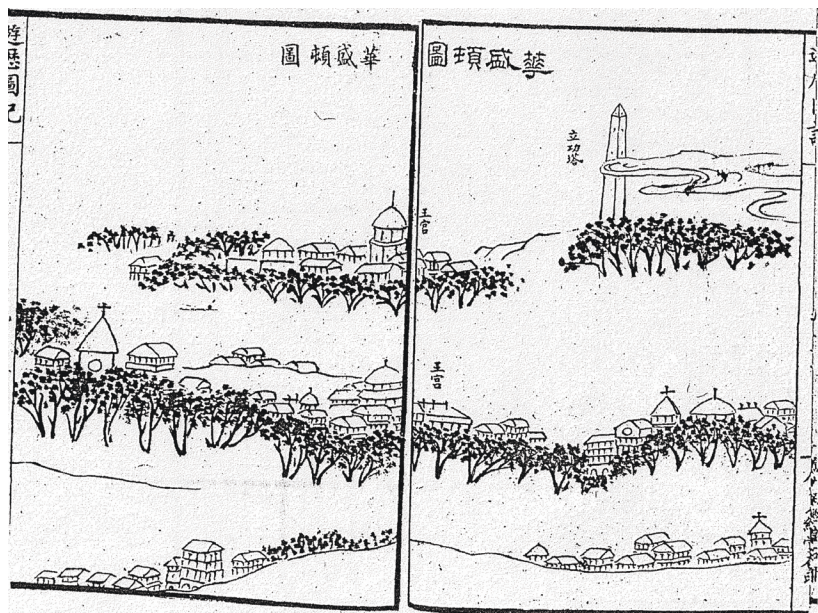
FIGURE 10.2   "Washington, DC" 华盛顿图.

In this picture, Li labels the Washington Monument as "Honour Tower," and mistakes Capitol Hill and the White House for "Royal Palaces." Given that the political institution of the United States had been clarified since 1846 by several Chinese intellectuals, such as Liang Tingnan (梁廷枏) (1993), Xu Jiyu (徐继畬) (1850), and Wei Yuan (魏源) (2011), Li's ignorance of the separation of powers and the democratic political system seems ridiculous. Moreover, he not only applies the traditional Chinese political system of imperial monarchy to Washington but also adapts the architecture to Chinese style. For instance, the United States Capitol is assimilated to a traditional Chinese tower. In Li's paintings, there is not much difference between the architecture in Washington (see Figure 10.2) and in Japan (see Figure 10.1). Recalling Jean-Marc Moura's reflections on the stereotype as a preconceived idea and an exaggerated belief associated with a category (1993, 100), it can be concluded that the stereotype of feudal monarchy formed by traditional Chinese ideology has distorted Li's perception of Washington.

3.2   *"Manyi": Hetero-Stereotypes about Indigenous Peoples*

By contrast, another kind of hetero-stereotype exists in Li's description of developing regions, indicating his prejudice and discrimination against other ethnic groups. For example, in the picture of Vietnamese women (Li 1905, fig. 50), Li Danlin criticizes their gestures, their unruliness, and arbitrariness from the perspective of Chinese conventional manners and norms of behaviour requiring women to be calm, elegant, and obedient. While we just see two women walking casually, Li infers their morality from their gestures and makes negative judgements out of the preconception that women not following Chinese feudal ethical code are ill-mannered.

In the picture of a Vietnamese tribal chief (ibid., fig. 52), Li Danlin refers to tribal people as "Manyi" (蛮夷), a Sinocentric cliché which means "primitive" or "uncivilized" people, namely "barbarians." The original European connotation of "barbarian" was "applied to all non-Greek-speakers," in order to guarantee the Greek "linguistic identity" (Beller 2007, 266). However, in the Chinese context, the term "Manyi" reflects the attitudes of Chinese agricultural society on surrounding nomads.

"Manyi" is a pejorative Chinese term for various non-Chinese peoples bordering ancient China, contrary to "Huaxia" (华夏, China) in the centre, which mainly consists of Han (汉), the majority ethnic group in China. According to the Sinocentric worldview, "Huaxia," namely Han culture, is superior to "Manyi" because of its advanced culture, literature, and etiquette. Ancient Chinese intellectuals including Confucius have emphasized the strict distinction between "Huaxia" and "Manyi" by the measure of courtesy, morals, ideology, costumes, and so forth. For example, Mencius (孟子) states: "I heard that we can convert the Manyi into Huaxia, but I never heard people converted from Huaxia to Manyi" (2000, 175).[24] This ethnotype is seen as based on nurture rather than nature, as the "barbarians" could become Chinese by learning Chinese culture and manners. Despite the fact that the neat line between "Huaxia" and "Manyi" had been blurred, and the superiority of Chinese culture had been challenged first by the nomads, and then by the West at the end of the nineteenth century, Li still insisted on this distinction by highlighting the barbarian features of other ethnic groups.

When Li Danlin depicts the people at the southwest border of China (see Figure 10.3), he criticizes: "Women have autonomy there, with lapels pointing to the left. Their custom is lustful."[25] There are three issues here which illustrate Li's stereotypical manner. Above all, the lapel is the overlapping part of the Chinese gown, which should point to the right according to

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24   My translation. Original quote: "吾闻用夏变夷者，未闻变于夷者也。"
25   My translation. Original quote: "女子自权，左衽长发，俗淫。"

烏吐國英國管屬與雲南毗連又名華城即蜀漢孔明
征孟獲之地女子自權左衽長髮俗淫女人多在市井
貿易男子文身事佛有時與會拜塔富家以金銀多投
於塔內者為勝男女好食檳榔食不用箸

英屬烏吐
國人

遊歷圖記

人物圖七十六

廣州石經堂玉印

FIGURE 10.3   "A man from 'Wutu' Nation (British colony)" 英属乌吐国人.

Chinese convention. It is an ancient Chinese stereotype that those who dress in the opposite way would be regarded as barbarians. For instance, in *The Analects of Confucius* (论语), Confucius claims: "If it were not for Zhong Guan (管仲), we would have untied the hair and worn the gowns with lapels pointing to the left" (Ruan 2009, 5457).[26] It means that if there

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26   My translation. Original quote: "微管仲，吾其被发左衽矣。"

were nobody to fight against nomadic peoples with primitive civilization, the Huaxia or Han culture would have been assimilated by the barbarians. Based on the stereotype, Li imposes the conventional Chinese dress code on other ethnic groups.

Secondly, due to his conservative ideology entailed from the Confucian ethical code, especially the "Three Obediences and Four Virtues" (三从四德), Li took it for granted that a woman should be obedient to her husband as a chaste wife and should not have too much interaction like flirting with other men. Thirdly, besides the text, the drawing also highlights the tattoo on the man's naked body as a trait of the barbarian.

Other recurrent stereotypes in *The Travel Journal and Pictures* underline the savage characteristics of indigenous people. For instance, Li represents Native Americans as "wearing fur coats, drinking blood, hunting with bows and arrows, being ruthless," and characterizes their culture by saying that "the one who kills the most can be the chief."[27] As we can see from the drawing (see Figure 10.4), Li emphasizes the feather decoration, the fur robe, and the bow and arrows as savage traits.

In Li's stereotyped depiction, the indigenous people of a Dutch colony are endowed with a "ferocious nature," "disobeying Confucian moralization, residing in caves and the wilderness."[28] Furthermore, Li describes their cannibalism at length: "when the parents get old, their children divide their corpses and feast on them [...] It is called 'belly burial'."[29] The savage custom goes against Confucian filial morality. As if to arouse the reader's imagination of the bloody scene, Li draws a knife held by an indigenous man (see Figure 10.5).

Li accuses people in Kelantan and India of "not using chopsticks" (Li 1905, fig. 20), regarding chopsticks as a sign of civilization. He depicts them as sitting on the ground, grabbing the food with their right hands, and cleaning their bottoms with their left hands. They rarely wash their hands but only wipe them on their clothes. "You can imagine how dirty their clothes are."[30] Such descriptions convey a note of contempt.

Besides the clichés of "residing in the wilderness," "enjoying hunting," and "being fierce," Li describes the mountain people in Taiwan as blowing arrows from specific pipes (ibid., fig. 23). They are characterized by "not tying their

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27 My translation. Original quote: "衣毛饮血，善箭，好獵，性狼（狠）恶，亦以多杀人为酋长。"
28 My translation. Original quote: "性凶恶，不服王化，野处穴居。"
29 My translation. Original quote: "父母将老，子孙分而食之 […] 名曰腹葬云云。"
30 My translation. Original quote: "不用箸，不用刀叉，用右手将饭爪挪入口而食之，左手不行礼，专以出公（出恭）之便，抹屎而已 […] 食毕，且不洗手，仅以衣拭之。其衣服不洁，可想而知也。"

埂阵國酋。
長式

埂阵國即美洲土人為紅種是也今英美得其地現尚有此
種野居大山英美屬內地衣毛飲血善箭好獵性狼惡亦以
多殺人為首長有功者頭帶鳥羽為威勢年老不留鬚有髯
牙者即均鉗拔去死以火葬手能取火以樹葉向東方合手
一擦咒喃數語火即燃

FIGURE 10.4   "The chief of a native American tribe" 埂阵国酋长式.

hair," having tattoos, painting their bodies with animal blood, and wearing leaves.[31] Li vividly portrays the untidy hair, the almost naked body, the tattoos, and the large pipe.

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31   My translation. Original quote: "台湾生番，野处穴居，喜獵，用喷筒，能伤虎象各兽。披发文身，遇人即伤。以兽血漆身 […] 性凶恶，男女多衣树叶。"

吗挞山民

賀蘭山民出入
以蕉葉作包裹
或食物或糖擔出
市上以換易塩布
等件性凶惡不服王化
野處穴居父母將老子孫分而食之父母年老不能舉物買以肉
食飽之後二日會齊兄弟姊妹用刀分而食之名曰腹葬云云

FIGURE 10.5   "A man from the mountain in 'Mata' (Dutch colony)" 吗挞山民.

There are other repetitive clichés that emphasize the barbarous nature and manifest Sinocentric stereotypes, such as "eating raw meat," and "taking pleasure in killing people or fighting," and so on. Such clichés and stereotypes can be associated with the notion of "national character" proposed by Joep Leerssen. National characters originate from "[t]he tendency to attribute specific characteristics or even characters to different societies, 'races' or 'nations'" (2007b, 17).

The figures painted by Li automatically become personified portraits of different nations and races. Despite their distinctive appearances and attributes, Li ascribes the common national character of "Manyi" to all these developing societies and cultures.

Daniel-Henri Pageaux points out that to invent a stereotype, "the descriptive elements (physical features) are mixed with the normative order (inferiority of such people, of their culture)" (2014, 457).[32] Li's descriptions or portraits seem to be objective and neutral, but they actually involve a negative judgement. Pageaux also clarifies "the formation of otherness, through binary oppositions that merge nature with culture: wild vs. civilized, barbaric vs. civilized, human vs. animal […] being superior vs. being inferior" (1995, 144).[33] This explains how Li Danlin transforms the "reality" to construct otherness and alterity following the Sinocentric standard of ethnotyping. Li's creation of these barbarian hetero-images also conforms to the mythological convention initiated by *The Classic of Mountains and Seas*.

In *The Travel Journal and Pictures*, detailed and stereotyped descriptions of peoples in developing areas contrast with brief and fallacious depictions of Western societies. According to Pageaux, the transformations of "reality" inherent in hetero-images typically show two different modes. The first approach is the cultural integration or domestication of the "other" by assimilating the unknown to the known—this is how Li Danlin applies clichés and stereotypes like "Manyi" to foreign peoples. The second method is exclusion or marginalization—this explains how Li simplifies the descriptions of Western cultures (Pageaux 1995, 142).[34] As Moura reveals, "reducing distant worlds by schematization and generalization, [clichés and stereotypes] allow the creation of a world both exotic and familiar, based on the principle of an artificial distance, which refers to a familiar series of conventions" (1993, 106).[35] To

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32   My translation. Original quote: "Le descriptif (l'attribut physique) se confond avec l'ordre normative (infériorité de tel people, de telle culture)."

33   My translation. Original quote: "On mettra donc en évidence le système de qualification différentielle qui permet la formation de l'altérité, à travers de couples oppositionnels qui vont faire fusionner nature et culture : sauvage vs civilisé, barbare vs cultivé, homme vs animal […] être supérieur vs être inférieur."

34   My translation. Original quote: "Des processus d'appropriation de l'étranger (réduction de l'inconnu au connu) ou d'éloignement, d'exotisation, des processus d'intégration culturelle de l'Autre ou d'exclusion, de marginalisation."

35   My translation. Original quote: "Réduisant les mondes lointains par schématisation et généralisation, ils (clichés et stéréotypes) permettent la création, ou plutôt la fabrication, d'un monde à la fois dépaysant et connu, reposant sur le principe d'une distance mimée, artificielle, qui renvoie à une série familière de conventions."

cater for the traditional Chinese stereotype, Li Danlin creates hetero-images in a dual way: on the one hand, he ignores the democratic politics and core values of certain developed Western societies; on the other hand, he classifies diverse customs of people in developing regions into the conventional Chinese category of "barbarians" based on the division of "Huaxia" and "Manyi," Han and other ethnic groups.

4   Occidentalism: Sinocentric Schemata of Ethnotyping

The Sinocentric perception represented by Li's *The Travel Journal and Pictures* may be associated with the notion of Occidentalism, which can be considered the counterpart of Edward Said's concept of Orientalism. Occidentalism refers to a hetero-image of the West formed by non-Western countries. Like Orientalism, Occidentalism is a political vision of reality with a structure that promotes the difference between the familiar (China, the East, "us") and the strange ("Taixi," the West, "them") (cf. Said 1979, 43). As non-Western cultures are remarkably diverse, individual cultures such as the Middle East, India, Japan, and China all have their own particular perceptions and misperceptions of "the West." My article focuses on Occidentalism in the Chinese context, as *The Travel Journal and Pictures* exemplifies the conventional way that Chinese people perceived and represented the West in the premodern era.

As Alastair Bonnett states, "[t]he oldest heritage of discovering and interpreting the West is from China," which can be dated back to the fifth century (2004, 40). The image of "the West" or "the Occident" has been evolving over time, shifting from the myths in *The Classic of Mountains and Seas* toward a more realistic portrayal, expanding from ethnic groups in western China, the Indian Subcontinent, and Arabia, to the modern geographical and sociocultural West or Occident typically characterized by a capitalist economy, democratic politics, and Christian religion. Summarizing this process, Bonnett claims: "As contact increased, Westerners were accorded a collective identity" (ibid.). The Western countries were gradually essentialized as "Taixi." Since the nineteenth century, as the West showed military and economic dominance over the East, the traditional stereotype of Westerners as "barbarians" was replaced by the neutral term of "foreigners" (see Casalin in this volume, p. 202).

In *Occidentalism: A Theory of Counter-Discourse in Post-Mao China*, Chen Xiaomei elaborates on the official Maoist Occidentalism and the antiofficial discourse shaped by diverse domestic contexts of contemporary China. Wang

Ning claims in his article "Orientalism versus Occidentalism?" that as an immature and problematic academic concept, Occidentalism is only "a strategy of discourse opposed to Western cultural hegemonism, or an ideological force challenging the Western power" (1997, 66). While Chen and Wang are mainly concerned with contemporary China, the case study of Li Danlin's travelogue offers a historical dimension.

According to Said, "Orientalism expresses and represents that part [the Orient] culturally and even ideologically as a mode of discourse with supporting institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, even colonial bureaucracies and colonial styles" (1979, 2). This coincides with the ethnotype of "Huaxia" and "Manyi" that was deeply rooted in Chinese ideology and backed up by numerous Confucian canons[36] and ancient Chinese diplomatic policies. From my perspective, Said's explication can thus be adapted to describe the Chinese form of Occidentalism: continued investment made Occidentalism, as a system of knowledge about the West, an accepted grid for filtering through the West into Chinese consciousness (1979, 6).[37]

Said comments on the Egyptian courtesan depicted by Flaubert: "she never spoke of herself, she never represented her emotions, presence, or history. He spoke for and represented her" (ibid.). Similar to the courtesan, the Western figures in *The Travel Journal and Pictures* appear to be silent and absent. It is unlikely that Li Danlin, taking the position of an interpreter and accompanying the ambassadors, had never communicated with Westerners. In his travelogue, except for commenting on their appearances, he seems to have no intention to exchange ideas. In contrast to this, he notes his conversations with indigenous people in the fourth part of the travelogue. However, these seemingly talkative natives are also represented by Li, whose mentality is profoundly influenced by the Sinocentric convention. As Daniel-Henri Pageaux demonstrates, "the stereotype is the index of univocal communication, of a culture in the process of (self-)blocking" (2014, 456).[38] The readers may never hear the authentic voice from either Westerners or indigenous people.

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36   *The Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu*, 春秋); *The Three Ritual Classics*, which includes *Rites of Zhou* (*Zhou Li*, 周礼), *Ceremonies and Rites* (*Yi Li*, 仪礼), and *Book of Rites* (*Li Ji*, 礼记); *The Three Commentaries on the Spring and Autumn Annals*, especially *The Commentary of Zuo* (*Zuo Zhuan*, 左传); *The Analects* (*Lun Yu*, 论语); *Mencius* (*Mang Zi*, 孟子), and other canons in *The Thirteen Classics* (*Shi San Jing*, 十三经) of Confucian tradition.

37   Original quote: "Continued investment made Orientalism, as a system of knowledge about the Orient, an accepted grid for filtering through the Orient into Western consciousness [...]."

38   My translation. Original quote: "Le stéréotype est l'indice d'une communication univoque, d'une culture en voie de blocage."

5   Conclusion

As a homage to *The Classic of Mountains and Seas* and a nostalgic example of the Sinocentric pattern of stereotyping, Li adapts the reality of foreign lands and cultures in a dual way: the detailed and stereotyped description of people in undeveloped areas contrasts with the brief and fallacious depiction of the Western world. While the clichés and stereotypes reflect Li's conventional mindset about the distinction between barbarians and Han culture, he creates hetero-images of silent Westerners, as well as savage images of indigenous peoples, thus depicting these cultures in a manner that fits his ideologies.

Nevertheless, Li's underlying intention of misinterpreting Western cultures must be situated within the context of a semicolonized China. Analogous to Chen's methodology, James G. Carrier affirms that "political contingencies shape the orientalisms and occidentalisms" (1995, 8). For imagological studies, Joep Leerssen also places emphasis on historical contextualization (2007b, 28). Unlike "Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (Said 1979, 3), in premodern China the critical context was the impending threat of being invaded and colonized. The failure of the two Opium Wars in 1839 and from 1856 to 1860 had severely challenged conventional Sinocentric views, as Chinese people found themselves defeated and partly dominated by the so-called "barbarians."

As shown in my analysis, rather than to present "realistic" images of "others", Li Danlin's misinterpretation of foreign "reality" aims to restore the auto-image of China as an autonomous and culturally orthodox empire. As Carrier points out, the self-image of Non-Westerners "often develops in contrast to their symbolized image of the West" (1995, 6). On the one hand, Li depicts "barbarian" peoples to regain confidence of China as a highly civilized nation; on the other hand, he portrays silent Westerners drawing all of their inspiration from ancient Chinese inventions, in order to escape from the reality of Western hegemony. Leerssen declares that the patterns of othering are necessary for "the maintenance of selfhood through historical remembrance and cultural memory" (2007b, 29). Hence, it is possible that Li Danlin—striving to recover from the collective trauma of semicolonization—tries to reconstruct national identity by revisiting outdated stereotypes. In this sense, *The Travel Journal and Pictures* can be seen as representing a decolonizing or anticolonialist strategy of discourse.

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"I have gotten used to the whites, but I tremble before the blacks!": Fashioning Colonial Subjectivities in *The Brave Rabbit in Africa*

Kristína Kállay

Abstract

The ways in which Self and Other are represented in fiction play a significant role in the formation of racial and other stereotypes in any culture. This article is a reading of the children's book *The Brave Rabbit in Africa* (1931) by Slovak modernist author Jozef Cíger-Hronský. It attempts to point out and analyse the ways in which racial and national identities are constructed in the written text of the book. Arguably, the story deploys colonialist motifs typical of Western literature in order to appraise the modern, civilized identity of the young Slovak nation.

Keywords

children's literature – Slovak – Central and Eastern Europe – Africa – representation

> I follow him to serve my turn upon him:
> We cannot all be masters, nor all masters
> Cannot be truly follow'd.
>> Iago in *Othello, the Moor of Venice* (Act 1, Scene 1, Lines 7–9)
>> by WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

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1 Introduction

Although Slovakia has never been part of a colonial enterprise, an understanding of the non-Western world as wild, dangerous, and inferior sits well and alive in the Slovak cultural and literary imaginary. As I hope to demonstrate,

this discrepancy has also been made manifest in children's and youth literature. This article is a discourse analysis of the children's story *Smelý Zajko v Afrike* (1931, The Brave Rabbit in Africa)—a sequel to *Smelý Zajko* (1930, The Brave Rabbit)—by Slovak modernist author and intellectual Jozef Cíger-Hronský (1896–1960). Both books continue to hold a prominent place in the canon of Slovak children's literature. This study focuses on racial or ethnic representations and stereotyping in the story. It will be argued here that Cíger-Hronský fashions imagined historical and cultural identities by mimicking Western colonial motifs in order to conjoin Slovak subjectivity (particularly the white Slovak man) with the modern, "civilized" world. I suggest that the story, in spite of being situated outside of the Saidian paradigm, evidences the presence of *colonialist* literature in Central and Eastern Europe.

2   Orientalisms and Others

What I refer to as the Saidian paradigm is the imagined dichotomy of a modern, "civilized" West as opposed to the primeval, "uncivilized" East as posited by Edward Said in his ground-breaking study *Orientalism* (1978). Said argued typical representations of the "Orient" to be a "European invention," "a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and remarkable experiences," "the place of Europe's richest and oldest colonies, the source of its civilizations and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its most recurring images of the Other" (1978, 1). The concept of Orientalism buttressed the existing foundations of postcolonial literary criticism and has become a primary prism through which colonialist discourse has been approached in literary studies. But representations of colonial relations have not always and everywhere been rendered and experienced through the eyes of either colonizer or colonized; there are also those whose dialogue with Western forms of imperialism took place in the gray area between this dichotomy.

One such area is Slovak literary history. In order to better understand how colonialism has been experienced by Central and Eastern European culture and popular imagination, the Austrian anthropologist Andre Gingrich has proposed a modification of Said's framework, the concept of "frontier Orientalism," to be applied in cultural analyses in contexts of countries "without any colonial past whatever" but that were "to some extent themselves subjected to dominant influence from other European powers in the past" (1996, 101).[1] To

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1   For an analysis of the frontier Orientalist in Slovak literature, see Pucherova (2019).

come to an understanding of how the Self and the Other have been rendered in Central Eastern European literatures, it could be useful to speak of literary representations and stereotyping, that is, to approach the source material from an imagological perspective and in imagological terms. The stereotype, of course, does not need to concern the textual representation of people exclusively but needs to be regarded as "also concerning places, landscapes etcetera, which is to be scrutinized as to its investment with purportedly 'characteristic' qualities" (Beller 2007, 13).

One of the reasons it seems particularly interesting to look at children's literature for examples in stereotyping is because these books are likely to influence the very early stages of the formation of national consciousness or identity in one's life. We should bear in mind that children's and youth literature, while often itself on the margins, is consumed culturally by both children and adults. After all, which adult does not reminisce about their favourite childhood stories, which parent does not select literature for their children based on their own judgement of what is appropriate, educational, and imparting a certain set of approved values and representations onto the psyche of the child? As we have seen in Emer O'Sullivan and Andrea Immel's recent edited volume *Sameness and Difference in Children's Literature* (2017), books for children perform a vital cultural function in the formation of identity.

Related to stereotyping, this study therefore concerns itself with the function of colonial motifs. Adhering to the distinctions among colonial, colonialist, postcolonial, and imperial literatures as made by Elleke Boehmer, I suggest that *The Brave Rabbit in Africa* exemplifies a case of *colonialist* literature; that is, literature that is "specifically concerned with colonial *expansion*" (emphasis mine throughout this article) (Boehmer 2005, 3). "Colonial" is used by Boehmer to refer to all literatures produced during the colonial era and can be written "by metropolitans, but also creoles and indigenes, during colonial times" (ibid., 2). In what follows and in chronological order, I will be looking here at ways in which this book reproduces orientalist stereotypes in order to affirm the Western narrative of colonial expansion as civilizing, moral, and ultimately unproblematic.

3   Institutionalization, Representation, and Nation Building

The decision to look at the interwar period for case studies in ethnic stereotyping and nation building in Central Eastern Europe makes sense insofar as Czechoslovakia and with it respective national cultural institutions effectively only came into existence after the Great War. It matters that the Slovak literature published in the interwar period was largely coordinated and published

by state-financed, "national" institutions; their role in the interwar years became crucial to the nation-building processes in the country. The proliferation of Slovak culture (and the formation of the Slovak canon of children's and youth literature) was most notably fostered by the cultural and academic institution Matica Slovenská (but also other publishing houses such as Štátne nakladateľstvo or nakladateľstvo O. Trávnička) (Sliacky 2007, 87). Matica in particular held the monopoly on the production of educational material for children, as well as magazine and book publishing (children's, youth, and adult). It is because of the unprecedented state-sponsored institutional support of literary production in this period that a case study of ethnic and racial stereotyping seems especially intriguing.

Inhabiting the southeast perimeter of the Habsburg Empire until 1918, the narrative of Slovaks bearing the brunt of imperial political marginalization and the onslaught of the "Turks" (the Ottomans) has always been intrinsic to Slovak national consciousness (the Ottoman Empire also appears in *The Brave Rabbit in Africa*). It is certainly true that the only major (and rather direct) historical contact of the Slovaks with the Orient has been via Ottoman encounters throughout the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, and indeed a substantial amount of Slovak literature generally has and continues to thematize these (for examples in Slovak children's and youth literature,[2] see Sliacky 2007). We will see in the case of *The Brave Rabbit* that twentieth-century fictional accounts of these encounters may, in some cases, constitute a symbolic stepping stone to more modern and contemporary discourses of race and empire than those that Slovak writers have tended to depict in the nineteenth and earlier centuries.

4   *The Brave Rabbit in Africa*

Since its first publication in 1931, *The Brave Rabbit in Africa* has managed to retain its popularity across four political regimes—the First Czechoslovak Republic (1919–1938), the fascist Slovak State (1938–1945), the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (1948–1992), and finally the modern-day Slovak Republic (1993–present). It is the sequel to *The Brave Rabbit* (1930), a story that charts the coming of age of the young Rabbit who, seeking wisdom, ventures to explore the unknown perimeters of the woodland. A testament to its enduring cultural relevance is that, unlike a great many other books produced in said period,

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2   In Slovak academic discourse, the umbrella term for what the Anglophone world designates as "children's literature" is *literatúra pre deti a mládež*, literally "children's and youth/young adult literature."

the original story of *The Brave Rabbit* (1930) and its sequel *The Brave Rabbit in Africa* (1931) are still in print and available in all major Slovak bookstore chains today. It is perhaps the only Slovak colonial-themed children's book to have had such lasting cultural pertinence. Brave Rabbit is a household name and his adventures are among the most beloved stories in Slovak children's literature. The book form (first to recent editions) is structured such that illustrations and text mostly alternate, and that the voice of the narrator is interspersed with dialogue (the ratio of which changes throughout and which I will address).[3]

4.1   *Leaving Home*

The following analysis will focus on the parts of the story most relevant to questions of racial and ethnic stereotyping. "Rabbit does not fetch cabbage from the fields anymore; he has no need to. Nor does Mrs. Rabbit cook soup anymore; the servants cook it for her" (Cíger-Hronský [1931] 2001, 5).[4] Donning traditional Slovak folk costume, walking upright, and speaking Slovak, the main protagonists—a married couple of anthropomorphous rabbits by the names of Rabbit ("Zajko") and Mrs. Rabbit ("Zajkuľa") embark on a journey to foreign lands to seek their fortune. Having abandoned their primeval home in the soils of the woodland, they construct a "human house" (ibid., 8).[5] As soon as the task is accomplished, Rabbit generously gifts the new-fangled hominal burrow to his parents and (to their great sadness) announces his departure. "He [Rabbit] will travel the world and will not return until he has found the sun and pocketed the day, so that he might use it to cast light unto the night" (ibid., 20).[6] The day here represents knowledge about the world (or specifically Africa) that Rabbit wants to wield to gain a certain degree of control over it. The ideal of comprehensive knowledge (that presents the desire to acquire it as invariably positive) has been a common denominator of imperial fiction (Richards 1993, 9). The Rabbits make haste to pack and ready their car, and their inconspicuous voyage south to the shores of the Mediterranean begins.

The first sequence of events in the story takes place in the familiar surroundings of the Rabbits' homeland. They make a stop on the roadside to gather logs in an adjacent vacant felling yard. This is Rabbit's idea; they will need logs if

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3   Both books are illustrated by the prominent Czech illustrator of children's and young adult books Jaroslav Vodrážka (1894–1984). This study will concern itself with written text only.

4   "[...] Zajačik nechodí už po kapustu, lebo nemusí, ani Zajačková nevarieva polievku, lebo navaria jej slúžobci." Unfortunately, the book has not been translated into English. All translations are my own.

5   "[...] chalupu ľudskú."

6   "[...] ba ani nevráti sa domov za ten čas, pokým nenájde slnce a nenaberie si do vriec dňa, aby s ním i v noci mohol zasvietiť."

they are to engineer a raft to carry and navigate both themselves and the vehicle in the unruly waters of the Danube (they will be sailing downstream). Mrs. Rabbit, in turn, laments that if they linger too long in the yard, "the woodsman might see them" and then "that will be the end of them" (ibid., 28).[7] Rabbit reproves his wife for being ignorant and cowardly. "Don't you know," he exclaims, that "as soon as a rabbit puts a pair of pants on, no human can harm him?!" (ibid., 28).[8] The Rabbits' folk costumes can be read as representing Slovak ethnic subjectivity; now that the Slovaks have a state and therefore a tangible, enshrined identity (much like the clothes of the rabbits), the more powerful folk cannot harm them. It is clear that the more ignorant folk (like Mrs. Rabbit) are not aware that civilized rabbits need no longer fear humans. It is precisely on this matter that Rabbit seems to be schooling his wife (and the readership). The relationship of the Rabbits with humans will become more complex and problematic later in the story, when they encounter humans of different racial and ethnic identities.

4.2   *Trenčín Castle*

Determination and desire driving the Rabbits forward, they make a stop at Trenčín castle (in today's northwest Slovakia). The site of the castle constitutes the first part of a sequence of fanciful temporal excursions through Slovak history; it is also their last stop that is still in their homeland. The choice of Trenčín castle is arguably not insignificant as the castle played a strategic role in the defence from the onslaught of the Ottomans in the sixteenth century and is a sort of symbol of fortitude in the face of adversity. In the story, it is the first in a series of encounters to represent intercultural contact. Rabbit contends that "the rabbit king once lived in this castle," in a time when rabbits "did not hide away in their burrows" (ibid., 30).[9] Mrs. Rabbit gasps in disbelief, while Rabbit continues to explain to her that not only was the castle once a site of great "rabbit knight feasts" but that "rabbits then could write, and write they did—using their tails!" (ibid.).[10] It is interesting to see that not once does the narrator intervene in the storytelling to engage with what Rabbit is saying; not even here, when Rabbit is very obviously bluffing. Not only that, Rabbit is patronizing Mrs. Rabbit and, like so many times in the story, reprimanding and

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7   "Jaj, veď nám beda, keď nás horár zazrie!"

8   "Či ešte ani toľko nevieš, že keď si zajac natiahne nohavice, už mu nijaký človek ublížiť nemôže?!"

9   "Keď mali zajace kráľa a neskrývali sa po kadejakých dierach, nuž zajačí kráľ býval na tomto hrade."

10   "[…] vtedy zajace vedeli i písať, a písavali chvostom. Aj mnoho, premnoho písali, chvostíky si zodrali a zato ich majú dnes také krátke."

even mocking her for her alleged ignorance while he himself performs the role of the wise man. "Oh, how unknowledgeable you are," he tells her (ibid.).[11] By remaining withdrawn throughout the story, the narrator leaves much of the interpretative work up to the reader. Yet there is clearly a level of irony in this representation of Rabbit's claim to erudition by undercutting the reference to the medieval past of the rabbits with an allusion to the (rather humorous, certainly so to the child readers) image of rabbits in a jousting tournament. (It deserves mentioning here that the illustration of the scene includes rabbits in plated armour holding a shield with a radish as an emblem, a wooden horse with medieval kit, and a giant carrot guarded jealously by a couple of rabbit-squires). The scene can be read in a number of not necessarily mutually exclusive ways: as mockery of representations of a cultural Other, as self-irony, or simply as an allusion to a mythical, long-standing past of an ethnic group (if we accept that in this instance this is roughly what Rabbit represents). The rendering of the main characters as anthropomorphous animals allows for some distancing from ideology that would be less obfuscated were the characters human (see Bradford 2015, 151). We might also read this as a mockery of masculinity, though it is doubtful that that is what the implied child reader would infer. Rabbit's claims and actions remain uncontested throughout the story, and so no matter how silly, his journey will represent a successful enterprise.

4.3 *Constantinople*

The Rabbits have journeyed south on their raft. Passing Constantinople as they cross the Black Sea, Rabbit suggests they make a stop, for "they had never been among Turks before." Mrs. Rabbit protests fearfully, exclaiming that "women there are like phantoms, their faces are covered" (Cíger-Hronský [1931] 2001, 36).[12] Since the Rabbits act as carriers of the values of progress and modernity in the story, the niqab reference is meant to designate a frightening Otherness that had best be avoided. Importantly, the concern is raised by Mrs. Rabbit, rather than by her husband. Her categorical scrutiny of the women of Constantinople, in spite of never having seen them (it is worth adding that Mrs. Rabbit, overall, also speaks very little), is at once an affirmation of her European, Christian identity and can be read as disapproval of Islam.

The bestial form of Mrs. Rabbit might allow the reader to interpret her fears as innocent, though perhaps femininity (were Mrs. Rabbit human) would have been enough to excuse her of her ignorance. The narrator also tells us that Rabbit would have liked to make a stop at the home of the Turks, to "learn a thing

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11   "Či si neumná, ej!"

12   "Vraj keď sú u Turkov ženy sťa mátohy, majú zakrytú tvár iba oči čo im trochu vidieť."

or two" (ibid.).[13] The couple heed to Mrs. Rabbit's apprehensions and decide to continue their journey. Interestingly, we learn that the Rabbits worried that "they would not be able to understand the language" and yet, as we will see later on, the Rabbits will have no trouble at all understanding and speaking to the people or animals in Africa (ibid.).[14] This can signal a number of things. It could simply signal a bypassing of the Ottoman past in favour of striding forward toward a more contemporaneous and fashionable sort of cultural contact with Africa. It can also signal a plain disinterest, or simply that the difference between the Rabbits' and the Turkish world are too great to be overcome. Religion is nowhere mentioned once the main characters are in the environment of Africa. The logic of this representation would seem to suggest that the inhabitants of Africa are lacking in religion or religious sentiment entirely, or that religion ceases to be relevant for their representation.

The landscape surrounding Constantinople is showcased as hostile, its inhabitants but mysterious and frightening figments of the Rabbits' imaginations. The "Turkish" environment bears no semblance to the proverbial riches of the "world" Rabbit has taken upon himself to explore. During their brief stop outside of the city, the narrator describes the area as empty but beset with "Turkish churches" with "little towers" (ibid., 36).[15] The whole scene bears a sort of religious aura. Prior to the Rabbits' decision to move on, Mrs. Rabbit picks a lemon up from the ground, thinking she has found a "sweet orange." Sinking her teeth into the bitter morsel, the ensuing sour taste brings her to tears. Representing deceit, the presence of the treacherous fruit can be read as an allusion to the fruit of knowledge of good and evil in the creation myth of Adam and Eve. Here, our two travellers are not chastised by any supernatural being, nor are they forcefully exiled; instead, they choose to take the presence of the sour fruit as a cue to continue their journey on across the "great water" (ibid., 41).[16] While there is no space to elaborate on this aspect more in this article, the fruit tasting is not the only instance in the narrative of *The Brave Rabbit in Africa* that can be read as allusion to a Biblical tale.

4.4   *Arrival*

Sailing with their car on a raft, the Rabbits encounter a storm and, after some panic, the car is swallowed by a shark. Later, the shark is fished out of the water by a group of indigenous Black men. The Rabbits seem to have arrived at their destination. Peeking out of the darkness of the shark's interior, Mrs. Rabbit

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13   "Zajko aj rozmýšľal, že sa u Turka zastavia, dačo poučia, iba Zajková nie a nie."
14   "Aj sa báli, že sa nedohovoria v tureckom svete [...]."
15   "Veľa tureckých kostolov a na každom rohu hŕba tenulinkých, vysokých veží."
16   "Voda veličizná!"

exclaims "I only see black humans!" (Cíger-Hronský [1931] 2001, 63).[17] Unwavering, Rabbit takes it as a good sign; if there are Black humans, they must indeed be in Africa. Mrs. Rabbit does not share in his confidence. "I have gotten used to the whites," she cries, "but I tremble before the blacks!" (ibid.).[18] In order to circumvent emasculating Rabbit, Cíger-Hronský displaces any perceived weaknesses (such as fear) onto Mrs. Rabbit who, as a woman, can wear them comfortably without it reflecting negatively on her partner. Furthermore, the spouses are occasionally referred to by the narrator as *muž* (man/husband) and *žena* (woman/wife). Cíger-Hronský uses these in the text as a means to bypass their bestial form; *muž* and *žena* as universal concepts together constitute an equally respectable representation of normative gender relations. Much to her surprise, the dozen or so of the fishermen hastily scatter out of sight, frightened by the unexpected emergence of the Rabbits from the fish's entrails. "We are here, in Africa, they will surely gift it [Africa] to us, because they are afraid of us," remarks Rabbit (ibid., 66).[19] The episode, again, shows Rabbit as the unflinching, even fearless hero, whose "knowledge" of the world affords him no hesitation. Like in a number of other moments in the story, here too the narrative doubles on both a colonial trope of the cowardly and ignorant indigenous population and the trope of the vulnerable, dependent woman. The two intersecting stereotypes serve to underscore the image of the Rabbit (the white man) as heroic.

4.5   *Encounter*

The people of colour the Rabbits encounter are mostly people who trick them or who are represented as different (by both the Rabbit and the narrator). There are two sequential incidents in particular that stand out. The first is when the Rabbits progress inland and their car is stolen by a group of "blacks lurking in the bushes" as the Rabbits are distracted looking around "enjoying the flowers" (ibid., 70).[20] This moment marks another occasion on which the Rabbits blunder as a result of their distracted indulgence (like they did outside Constantinople). Mrs. Rabbit is devastated—for how will they "make their way across Africa now if they do not know the roads or how to traverse the desert sands"?! (ibid.).[21] It comes as no surprise then that the Rabbits need not wait long to

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17   "Veď ja iba samých čiernych ľudí vidím!"
18   "Na belochov som si navykla, jaj, ale pred černochmi sa trasiem."
19   "My sme tu v Afrike, a iste nám ju celú darujú, lebo sa nás boja."
20   "[...] dvaja černosi, šli za hlasom, našli Zajkovcov pod palmami." "[...] nazbierali si afrických kvietkov a teraz sa im tešia."
21   "keď sa ani v cestách nevyzná, ani behať nevie po sypkom piesku."

come upon a convenient replacement for their automobile—one that is more suited to the terrain. When the Rabbits stop to marvel at the Egyptian pyramids, they spy a caravan of Bedouins in the distance. When darkness sets in, the two rabbits decide to investigate them. The men of the caravan are gathered in council, sitting on rugs, "arguing loudly" (ibid., 78).[22] They are described by the narrator as "strange." Rabbit listens to them for a while and then whispers to Mrs. Rabbit that it is a good thing they had been cautious in approaching the men. "We must get used to the fact that people in Africa are strange, but there is nothing good to be said of this lot! I have guessed it already. They are thieving Bedouins! Just look at them closely and you can tell!" (ibid.).[23] From these two incidents onward, the Rabbits encounter both human and animal inhabitants of the area. There are no white people there; arguably but for the Rabbits (if we agree to read them as such) who have brought civilization and order to the destitute and lawless land. In these scenes, the narrator concurs with Rabbit's assessments and vice versa. Clearly, these representations work to reinforce negative stereotypes about the human inhabitants of Africa.

4.6   *Emulating Strength*

The animals of Africa, even if superior to the Rabbits in terms of their respective places in the food chain hierarchy, subordinate themselves to Rabbit's authority. Rabbit signifies status that is conferred to him by his upright posture and bravery. After pulling out the sore tooth of a lion who is "king of the desert" (ibid., 83),[24] for example, Rabbit is pronounced as the "court dentist" and later "court judge" (ibid., 99).[25] At the request of the lion-king, who "consulted with Rabbit how to make his subjects healthier and stronger," Rabbit swiftly takes on the task of educating the local animals on exercise, justice, and work ethic (ibid.).[26] Mrs. Rabbit gives dancing lessons. Rabbit rallies the African animals and lectures them that they need to work together and stop squabbling among themselves; then there will be only one enemy—the humans, "because the humans are smarter" (ibid., 104).[27] Throughout the story, it is usually stated whether or not a human is Black or white (at the beginning, the humans Mrs. Rabbit warned about in the felling lot were clearly white, though it was not emphasized). In the narrative, *human* signifies by default a white human.

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22   "[…] o niečom sa hlasito radia."
23   "Že sú tu ľudia čudní, tomu musíme v Afrike privyknúť, ale tu ani jednému nič dobré z očí nevyzerá! Už som aj uhádol, že sú to lúpežní Beduíni."
24   "Kráľ púšte."
25   "dvorný zubár" and "dvorný lekár."
26   "I radil sa s ním, ako by mohli byť všetci jeho poddaní zdraví i mocní."
27   "Toho sa všetci bojíme, lebo je múdry."

The fact that a human is white or not white matters here because, in the case of people of colour, race is always emphasized (as either Black people, Blacks, Bedouins, or natives) and the cue to the qualities of either of those groups is how our brave, upstanding heroes respond to them.

In the sequence in which Rabbit gives the aforementioned lecture, the animals of the jungle are rounded up to engage in a sort of military-style collective exercise drill. This is the result of the lion-king having asked the advice of Brave Rabbit as to how he can improve his subjects' health and strength. "Easy!," exclaims Rabbit, "we will teach them about physical education" (ibid., 99).[28] And so, all the animals stand up, on their hind legs, and follow the example of Rabbit. I propose that this is an instance of a sort of scout-like militarism that is being depicted here. The productive "diligence" of the Rabbit is demonstrated again and again in this section when Rabbit puts various animals to work for good measure, sometimes in penance for trespassing justice and obstructing his efforts to civilize the jungle. In one instance, a monkey complains to Rabbit about a crocodile who bit her tail off after she had, on Rabbit's recommendation, gone "to the river" so that she may be "clean and beautiful" (ibid., 110–111).[29] Rabbit finds the crocodile, captures him using a piece of rope and a stick. The crocodile expresses remorse and is made to "serve the monkeys" in penance, helping them with their various tasks of tending to the jungle (ibid., 105–117).[30] The motif of foreigners bringing justice to the lands of the East is very common to colonialist fiction (Boehmer 2005, 41). It signals indigenous incompetence, the supposed goodwill of the colonizer, and the moral duty to bring affairs into order under his command.

With his physical and intellectual virulence, bravery, sense of justice, and well-intentioned work ethic, Rabbit represents a white colonial masculine identity that renders him safe from any real danger.

4.7   *The King of Africa*

Throughout his time in Africa, Rabbit expresses the wish to be crowned king. In this story, fortune invariably favours the brave. Finally, echoing the career of the popular figure of the Upper Hungarian Count Maurice Benyovszky (1746–1786) who was, according to his own account, proclaimed the ruler of Madagascar,[31] Rabbit is crowned "king of Africa" (ibid., 124) by a local tribe as a reward for rescuing a native human child from a tiger. The many animals

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28   "[…] my ich priučíme telocviku."
29   "Išla som k rieke, umyť som sa chcela, aby som bola najčistotnejšia a najkrajšia!"
30   "[…] budeš u opíc slúžiť, a ak sa dobre nezachováš, nikdy viac sa do rieky nedostaneš."
31   See Benyowsky (1790).

and people of the world of Brave Rabbit can be seen to represent a sort of cultural pluralism. The internationalist spirit may well have been one of the factors contributing to the continuing popularity (and ideological approval by the Communist Party) of the story. The narrator tells us that after the Rabbits' departure, "there was much crying and sadness in Africa, and still is today" (ibid., 126) and that "Africa will never know peace" (ibid., 126–128).[32] It is inevitable then that, if the internal logic and message of the story is to be sustained, the departure of Rabbit marks a return of disorder and strife for all the animals of Africa. This ending reinforces the colonialist trope of the Orient that cannot rule itself. Once Rabbit has conquered Africa, he is summoned back home by his parents and leaves Africa. Rabbit does not leave any power structures behind in Africa (it is clear that it was his presence that served to uphold an idea of order in Africa). And so the Rabbits dutifully and yet happily return home to Rabbit's parents, deciding to "remain home again, at least for a time" (ibid., 128).[33]

5   Civilization, Innocence, and Desire

Next to the colonialist tropes and motifs analysed so far, a more general aspect concerns the representation of the relationship between knowledge and desire that runs counter to the role desire has tended to play in many children's literature classics, particularly those (but not only) thematizing exotic journeys. I will give an example by comparison with a contemporaneous English children's book—Hugh Lofting's *The Story of Dr. Dolittle* (1920). The main character, Dr. Dolittle, is a human doctor who snubs the idea of treating humans and instead prefers to treat animals. Dolittle is able to speak with the animals in their own language—just like Rabbit (who is able to speak with most, though not all, humans and animals he encounters on his journey). In his analysis of *Dr. Dolittle*, Perry Nodelman has suggested that the idea that "supposedly dumb animals outwit […] the supposedly clever humans […] represents a [particular] kind of relationship between knowledge and desire" (2008, 43). The further Dr. Dolittle strays from adult ideas of what is desirable and possible, the more his life improves and the happier he is.

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32   "A bolo plaču v Afrike, bolo náreku, ba dosť je ho i dnes, lebo bez Zajka nemohol sa uzavrieť večný mier."

33   "Synko-Zajko ostal doma, ostala i Zajková a že budú vraj teraz aspoň na čas v chalúpke bývať … […]."

While differing in many ways, the two stories share what Nodelman has called a "wish-fulfillment fantasy" (2008, 43). He suggests that when Dr. Dolittle thinks and acts on instinct, he succeeds, and his life improves; as we follow the story of the Rabbit further, however, we will see that the opposite is true of his journey. In other words, Dr. Dolittle purposefully strives (by reverting from reason to instinct) and succeeds to recover the unsullied Rousseauean innocence of childhood that is to be found outside the realm of reason and civilization. But Rabbit's desire is more human, more adult, and more rational; Rabbit acts against the instincts of an animal (as is evidenced throughout the text and by his "civilizing mission"). This civilizational desire drives him, so to speak, forward in historical development; his is, "like almost all colonial journeys, a journey forward in space but backward in time" (McClintock 1995, 242). To say that Rabbit's journey to Africa is one that is "backward in time" is to say that his own special movement represents a historical development from the primitive to the desired modern where, at the same time, the Rabbits' experience of a premodern world (in this case "Africa") represents the assumed backwardness the Rabbit has taken upon himself to conquer.

Like all colonial tales (though this is by no means exclusive to them), the journey to the exotic is in part driven by capital, or a desire for accumulation, which underpins the entire premise of the colonial undertaking. Born and bred in a rabbit hole, Rabbit is the only animal in the forest to have progressed to building a human home; he is able to do this thanks to the money he has acquired from his previous, more regional adventures. "What is true is true, I am brave, I am wise, I've stashes of money, now I also want a human house" (Cíger-Hronský [1931] 2001, 8).[34] Here, wisdom (reason) and capital (money) function to designate the Rabbits' transition to modernity; bravery comes part and parcel with the two aforesaid ingredients, and the status they confer sanctions Rabbit's civilizing mission. But the racial and national locality of Rabbit's identity is not so clear-cut; Rabbit's unique equidistance from both animal and human, from oppressor and oppressed, renders him the perfect incarnation of the emerging yet ambivalent and very much pliant Slovak national self-image.

6   Conclusion

In conclusion, there can be no doubt that the fecund years of national consciousness building in Slovakia included the production of colonialist texts for children and youth, and that these at once problematized the liminal position

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34   "A čo je pravda, to je pravda, smelý som, múdry som, peňazí mám plné vrecia, nuž chcem mať i chalupu ľudskú."

of former Habsburg borderland identities as much as they sought to affirm a civilizational albeit fragile newfound affinity with the modern world. Given that the Slovaks never had colonies, it is likely that authors such as Cíger-Hronský drew on Western adventure and children's literature for inspiration. In addition, the narrative of *The Brave Rabbit in Africa* offers much more material for analysis than has been showcased here (it would be enriching to dissect the intermedial relationship, for example, between visual and written representations). Perhaps the national and racial anxieties of the story are best encapsulated by Mrs. Rabbit's cry, "I have gotten used to the whites, but I tremble before the blacks!" (Cíger-Hronský [1931] 2001, 63). If the Rabbits represent Slovak ethnic and national identity, then the "whites" encapsulate the ambiguous admiration and fear toward imperial superpowers, while the "blacks" represent identities that are distant, idle, and not to be trusted. That the people of colour (and the animals in Africa too) are lazy is iterated on several occasions throughout the story; productivity and prospects are both attributes that are clearly ascribed to race. Rabbit's European identity renders him safe from any real danger. Given the chronology of the plot (particularly the stop in Turkey), *The Brave Rabbit in Africa* is an example of a moving away from a frontier Orientalist idea of the Other being "something different but not geographically remote" (Mitrić 2018, 28) as the plot progresses toward a more contemporaneous, Western type of colonial fantasy. Perhaps this is what makes *The Brave Rabbit in Africa* so unique; in a way, it is able to incorporate and follow a historical trajectory from primeval burrowing, through medieval myth, Ottoman encounters, modernity, and empire. The story very clearly reinforces many negative racial and gender stereotypes. The identity of Rabbit hinges on an implicit and constantly negotiated ambivalence between that of a well-intentioned commonfolk Slovak adventurer, a white man on a civilizing mission, and a member of a marginalized community. In cases where the child (and adult) is unlikely to ever encounter certain phenomena in their lives, the values and representations conveyed in children's stories can indent a series of lasting and outdated impressions of themselves and the world.

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The Myth of the Orient in Flaubert's *Voyage en Égypte* and Bachmann's *Das Buch Franza*

Walter Wagner

Abstract

This study compares and analyses hetero-stereotypes in Flaubert's travelogue *Voyage en Égypte* and Bachmann's prose fictions *Wüstenbuch* and *Das Buch Franza* in order to find out to what extent Flaubert resorts to stereotypical representations of the colonial Orient, and Bachmann perpetuates, transforms, or revises Flaubert's imagological discourse in the age of postcolonialism. Whereas Flaubert's sexist and racist narrative posits white superiority, Bachmann's protagonists subvert the male hegemonic stance of her French predecessor, insisting on white and male inferiority, causing just another stereotypization of race and gender.

Keywords

Bachmann – Flaubert – Egypt – Orientalism – gender

From October 1849 to July 1850, Gustave Flaubert travelled across Egypt to Sudan, along with his friend Maxime du Camp, visiting archaeological sites and gathering various cultural impressions which were published in his posthumous *Voyage en Égypte*. Accompanied by Adolf Opel, Ingeborg Bachmann went to the same countries in 1964, reaching Wadi Halfa—just like Flaubert— as the southernmost point and using Flaubert's travelogue as a guidebook (Westermann 1996, 6). Her experience resulted in the so-called *Wüstenbuch* (1964/1965), which was given up and served as material for "Die ägyptische Finsternis," the final chapter of the fragmentary novel *Das Buch Franza* (1965/1966).[1]

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1 Neither *Wüstenbuch* nor *Das Buch Franza* contains any intertextual references to Flaubert. There is, however, a thematic parallelism with his novel *Madame Bovary* (1856/1857), insofar as both Emma and Franza, the protagonists, try to escape from an unhappy marriage.

In the light of this parallelism, this study examines hetero-stereotypes[2] in Flaubert's and Bachmann's descriptions of their Egyptian journey in order to find out: (a) how far Flaubert resorts to stereotypical representations of the colonial Orient, and (b) how far Bachmann perpetuates, transforms, or revises Flaubert's imagological discourse in the age of postcolonialism.

1   Biographical Background

From an early age, Flaubert (1821–1880) dreams about traveling to the Orient. In a letter to Ernest Chevalier dated January 14, 1841, the future novelist writes: "[…] it is quite possible that I'll leave to become a Turk in Turkey or a mule driver in Spain or a camel driver in Egypt" (Flaubert 1973a, 77).[3] What seems to be simple reverie turns into a vague project judging from a message dated August 14, 1844, which du Camp sent to his friend: "But the day will come, won't it, my dear child, when the two of us will leave. Then, together, we will really see that Orient you have dreamed of so much" (Flaubert 1973b, 792–793).[4] His craze about Egypt[5] (cf. Naaman 1965, 6) is supported by his physician Dr. Cloquet, who, knowing Flaubert's bad health, strongly advises him to travel to "hot countries" (Flaubert 1973a, 505).[6]

On October 22, 1849, the author leaves his hometown Croisset, and on November 4, 1849, he and his travel companion du Camp board a boat to Alexandria at the port of Marseille. From Cairo they travel upstream on the Nile, reaching the Sudanese town of Wadi Halfa on March 22, 1850. After leaving Egypt, they visit Palestine, Syria, and Lebanon, arriving back home on June 16, 1851.

Flaubert uses the notes taken in Egypt to write a travelogue which remained unpublished for several decades. A fragment entitled "La Cange" was released

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2 Hetero-stereotypes are essentialist, shared, and simplistic images of other nations and cultures. Like all stereotypes, they are based on a "minimal collective knowledge which claims to be valid at any historic moment whatsoever" (Pageaux 1994, 63). My translation. Original quote (French): "savoir minimum collectif qui se veut valable, à quelque moment historique que ce soit." A more compact definition of the term is provided by Manfred Beller, who concludes that "fundamentally, stereotypes are fictions" (Beller 2007, 430).

3 My translation. Original quote (French): "[…] il se pourra bien faire que je m'en aille me faire Turc en Turquie, ou muletier en Espagne, ou conducteur de chameaux en Égypte."

4 My translation. Original quote (French): "Mais un jour viendra, n'est-ce pas, mon cher enfant, où, nous deux, nous partirons. Alors, ensemble, nous verrons véritablement cet Orient que tu as tant rêvé."

5 For Flaubert and Bachmann, Egypt represents the Orient.

6 My translation. Original quote (French): "[…] les pays chauds."

in 1881, and in 1910 his niece Caroline Franklin-Grout published a version, purged of its erotic details, under the title *Notes de Voyages.* It was not until 1991 that Pierre-Marc de Biasi's modern edition of the original manuscript was released.

Apart from the manifold experience gained, this long trip to the Orient had positive consequences for the author. First, it helped Flaubert to recover his health, as he declared in a letter dated April 18, 1852, to Henriette Collier: "The Orient has cured my nerves" (Flaubert 1980, 74).[7] Another beneficial effect of his Egyptian adventure was the aesthetic renewal which, as a result, occurs in his subsequent writings. According to Antoine Naaman, this stay ushers in "a new stage in his artistic life" (1965, 35).[8] Manon Brunet, in turn, claims that during his visit to the Orient, Flaubert "metamorphoses his romantic imagination into poetic realism" (2001, 81).[9]

For Bachmann, the Orient is not a long-cherished dream but an opportunity that presents itself to her. While trying to get used to the city of Berlin, her new residence after Zurich, where she lives from 1963 to 1965, she gets to know the filmmaker and writer Adolf Opel, who invites her to accompany him on a journey to Egypt. Although the Austrian poet is in poor health, she is fascinated by this project. On April 20, 1964, she arrives by plane in Athens to meet her travel companion who is waiting for her. Eight days later, they board a ship to Alexandria where Flaubert and du Camp landed almost one hundred years prior. Bachmann and Opel follow the two Frenchmen's itinerary almost exactly, traveling to Cairo and then on the Nile as far as Wadi Halfa. They return to Athens on June 2, 1964, after spending a bit more than four weeks on the African continent.

Although Bachmann is worried at the beginning, the trip turns out to be a success, enabling her not only to regain her health but also providing her with new vital energy, as she confirms in a letter dated June 18, 1964, to Opel: "It was not only my most beautiful journey but so much more" (Opel 1986, 295).[10] And on June 23, 1964, she writes to him: "[…] I'm alive, I'm alive again … In addition, this incredible Egypt has a force which persists, the desert, which persists […]" (ibid., 295).[11] Bachmann's Egyptian journey also marks a turning point in

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7   My translation. Original quote (French): "L'Orient m'a remis les nerfs."

8   My translation. Original quote (French): "[…] une nouvelle période dans sa vie d'artiste."

9   My translation. Original quote (French): "[…] métamorphose son imaginaire romantique en une poétique réaliste."

10 My translation. Original quote (German): "Es war nicht nur meine schönste Reise, sondern soviel mehr."

11 My translation. Original quote (German): "[…] ich lebe, ich lebe wieder … Dazu kommt, daß dieses unwahrscheinliche Ägypten eine Kraft hat, die anhält, die Wüste, die anhält […]."

her literary career. By 1964 she has published several radio plays, two volumes of poetry, and a collection of short stories. On returning from the Orient, she starts her "Todesarten-Projekt," a cycle of novels, only one of which, *Malina* (1971), will see completion.

The two texts which will be used here are *Wüstenbuch* and its extended version, *Das Buch Franza*, whose plot can be summarized as follows: Franza Ranna, who has been psychologically abused by her husband, the psychiatrist Leo Jordan, is trying to break out of her toxic relationship. When her brother, Martin Ranner, sets off on a study tour to Egypt, she goes along with him in the hope of recovering from her mental crisis. While crossing the desert, she is getting better. However, at the foot of the Great Pyramid of Giza, she is raped by a white man and dies shortly after.

2   The Myth of the Orient

In his seminal monography *Orientalism* Edward Said points out that there is not "such a thing as a real or true Orient" (1979, 322), making it clear that this widely used term does not constitute a scientific concept. As a cultural representation, the Orient refers to a discursive entity created by the Occident, resulting from the hegemonic relationship between the colonized and the colonizers and serving as a projection surface for the fears, longings, and desires of the white subject. As a trope of colonial literature, it has been used, abused, and disseminated by the European and American individual, generally male and middle class, that observes and dominates persons of colour, their society, and culture. According to Said, for most white people, a Black person is the epitome of alterity, an objectified human being, studied and discursively constructed by its pale counterpart, which is "never involved, always detached [...]" (ibid., 103). In order to subdue what is perceived as radical otherness, Orientalism resorts to "the stereotype, which is its major discursive strategy [...]" (Bhabha 1994, 94). These preconceived notions about other nations, races, or cultures are based on a number of attributes destined to describe national or racial difference regardless of contextual complexity. In Western literature, such perceived ideas about race are still common in describing nonwhite people of African origin, making little difference between an Arab and a Black African person who are both perceived as dark-skinned by the white narrator or author. What Bhabha says about hetero-stereotypes of Black people can therefore be used as a reference when comparing Flaubert's and Bachmann's portraits of Egyptian characters:

> The black is both savage (cannibal) and yet the most obedient and
> dignified of servants (the bearer of food); he is the embodiment of ram-
> pant sexuality and yet innocent as a child; he is mystical, primitive,
> simple-minded and yet the most worldly and accomplished liar, and
> manipulator of social forces.
>
> IBID., 118

The hetero-stereotypical features mentioned by Bhabha are contradictory,
combining negative connotations such as "violent," "lecherous," and "primi-
tive" with mainly positive ones such as "obedient," "innocent," and "clever,"
reflecting the ambiguous logic of colonialism. Among the traits listed above
the first two appear most frequently in our corpus and will be dealt with in
detail, which does not mean, however, that Flaubert and Bachmann take an
exclusively negative view of the Orient or avoid criticizing white travellers.

3   Violence

Flaubert's travelogue is full of descriptions of physical violence against humans
and animals. One might argue that inhumane behaviour was quite common
in the civilized French world of the nineteenth century. However, the harsh-
ness and frequency of scenes of brutality noticed by the author in Egypt seem
to surpass what was accepted in the writer's home country. In a letter dated
December 1, 1849, to his friend Louis Bouilhet, Flaubert talks about beating
one's way through the crowd, a method used by important people: "In the
streets, in the houses, at every opportunity, blows are dealt with sticks with
excessive cheerfulness" (Flaubert 1973a, 538).[12] The French traveller witnesses
another example of reckless behaviour toward people when a religious dig-
nitary is riding his horse over a human carpet of 300 men lying next to one
another: "The crowd immediately dissolves behind the horse when it has
run past, and it's impossible to know if someone has been killed or injured"
(Flaubert 2013, 646).[13] From a provincial governor, in turn, he learns how many
blows it takes to punish or kill a human being (cf. ibid., 685).

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12 My translation. Original quote (French): "Dans les rues, dans les maisons à propos de tout,
    de droite et de gauche on y distribue des coups de bâton avec une prodigalité réjouis-
    sante."

13 My translation. Original quote (French): "La foule se répand aussitôt derrière le cheval
    quand il est passé, et il n'est pas possible de savoir s'il y a quelqu'un de tué ou blesse."

As far as the harsh manners of the Egyptians are concerned, Flaubert notes in a letter dated December 2, 1849, to his mother, "the contempt they have for the human body" (Flaubert 1973a, 545).[14] The inherent inhumanity and cruelty of oriental society starkly contrasts with the extreme respect locals show for white people, as Flaubert explains to Bouilhet (cf. Flaubert 1973a, 537), a fact that may be explained by the hierarchical gap that existed between Occidentals, who were considered to be powerful in Arab countries, and Orientals in colonial times.

In Bachmann's *Wüstenbuch* and *Das Buch Franza*, the female protagonist Franza also witnesses physical violence during her stay in Egypt. As a guest at an Arab wedding, she is sitting next to a disabled individual with a distorted body. He is bald and dirty and considered to be a holy man and yet, among those present, some treat him as if he were not a human being: "Then some stepped on the cretin's thigh, because he was moving on the ground, and some trod on his hands, and so did the children who had brought him, he smiled and grinned" (Bachmann 1995a, 242).[15] Although the victim is treated badly by some adults and children, the narrator excuses their violent behaviour, declaring: "A human being in the dust, beaten and holy, kicked and ⟪offended⟫, not despised but unbearable to look at" (ibid., 242).[16] It is hard to understand why a person so brutally treated should not be "despised," as the narrator points out. However, this paradoxical conclusion could make sense from the perspective of Franza, who experienced physical and mental abuse by the sexist Leo Jordan. She calls her husband a fascist because she feels that he wants to annihilate her and compares him to Dr. Körner (cf. Bachmann 1995b, 314), a fictional former Nazi physician, who, after carrying out disturbing human experiments during World War II, left Germany to settle in Cairo where Franza visits him.

Given the cruelty Franza experienced at the hands of her white upper-class husband, the violence exerted by the Arabs may still seem harmless. Being dark-coloured, they contrast with the white man whom she implicitly makes responsible for the discrimination against women, for colonial crimes, and the Jewish genocide. Excusing Arab violence is therefore part of her self-healing strategy which depends on the dichotomous division of humankind into the

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14   My translation. Original quote (French): "[…] le mépris qu'on a pour la chair humaine."

15   My translation. Original quote (German): "Da stiegen dem Kretin einige auf die Schenkel, denn er bewegte sich auf der Erde fort, und einige traten ihm auf die Hände, auch die Kinder, die ihn gebracht hatten, er lächelte und grinste."

16   My translation. Original quote (German): "Ein Mensch im Staub, geschlagen und heilig, getreten und ⟪gekränkt⟫, nicht verachtet, aber unerträglich als Anblick." Conjectured words are given in double angle brackets.

sick civilization of the whites and the wholesome Arab world with its dark-skinned population and the desert with its healing powers.

It is precisely the antagonism between the bad white and the good Black races that explains why Franza proves to be indulgent toward Egyptians even if they mistreat women. This happens under her eyes when she arrives at the Cairo main railway station where she watches a local woman down on her knees with her hands tied up behind her back. There is a tall Arab man standing next to her, holding her long black hair with one hand while leisurely eating yellow grains with the other. In *Wüstenbuch*, the protagonist feels sympathy for the Arab because he is taking home his wife who bystanders think to be insane. In comparison with the humiliation and oppression Franza was exposed to by her Viennese husband, her female colleague in Cairo seems to be better off:

> I also know my murderer, who is standing on a platform or in his house, and am craving for proverbs because nobody comes to rescue me. And I am tied up and struck dumb because each scream would take me to the licensed mental asylums because they have long since made a rope out of my hair, and I am praying for the Arab, who might be better, who is taking his mad wife home and protecting her screams there.
>   BACHMANN 1995A, 275[17]

While Leo Jordan is referred to as potential murderer, the rude Oriental is perhaps better in moral terms because he is not locking up his wife in a lunatic asylum—something that could have happened to Franza if she had stayed with her husband.

4   Sexuality

In Western perception, the Orient is a place of debauchery and unrestricted sexuality. This holds true especially for the author of *Madame Bovary* whose Orient, as Said points out, is "eminently corporeal" (1979, 184). Flaubert is fascinated by all manners of strange, perverse, and grotesque manifestations of

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17   My translation. Original quote (German): "Auch ich kenne meinen Mörder, der auf einem Bahnsteig steht oder in seinem Haus, und giere nach Sprichwörtern, weil niemand mich retten kommt. Und ich bin gefesselt und bin verstummt, weil jeder Schrei mich in die konzessionierten Irrenanstalten bringen würde, weil man aus meinen Haaren mir längst einen Strick gedreht hat, und ich bete für den Araber, der vielleicht besser ist, der seine Irre noch heimbringt und dort ihre Schreie beschützt."

eroticism which he often describes in detail. Following the principles of his real-
istic poetics, he does not judge but seeks to convey with detached objectivity
whatever titillates his erotic fantasies. The range of sexual incidents observed
by Flaubert can no doubt compete with many pornographic films. One day, for
example, he encounters a street artist having sexual intercourse with a female
person in a bazar (cf. Flaubert 2013, 623). On another occasion, he watches a
holy man, who is completely naked, urinating on a sterile woman and con-
cludes his report with a sensational piece of information: "A (crazy) marabout
died some years ago exhausted from being masturbated by all the women who
came to visit him" (ibid., 624).[18] Then again, he tells Bouilhet in a letter dated
December 4, 1849, that a young fellow was buggered by a monkey in public
(cf. Flaubert 1973a, 542). Such anecdotes seem to confirm the hetero-stereotype
about the sexual activity of Black men referred to by Frantz Fanon: "The Negro
epitomizes sexual power beyond morals and prohibitions" (1952, 172).[19]

Flaubert and du Camp also gain pertinent experience in brothels and ham-
mams where cheap sex is readily available. It is again his friend Bouilhet that
Flaubert confides in to comment on prostitution in Egypt. In a letter dated
January 15, 1850, he explains that intercourse among men is so common that
"one talks about it with guests at the table" (Flaubert 1973a, 572).[20] Traveling
for educational reasons, Flaubert and du Camp, by the way, make it their busi-
ness to familiarize themselves with this type of practice while in the Orient
(cf. ibid., 572).

What the two travellers are particularly interested in is female prostitution
of which they quickly gain expert knowledge, for having sex with dark-skinned
women fulfils the promise of undreamed-of erotic adventures. In a passage of
Les mémoires d'un fou, an early autobiographical novel, the first-person nar-
rator alludes to this phantasmatically female Orient, mentioning that he is
dreaming of "some dark-skinned woman with a fiery look who was folding me
in her two arms and talking to me in the language of the houris" (Flaubert
2001a, 473).[21]

His fantasy not only comes true but is outdone by Kuchuk Hanem, a famous
Egyptian dancer who is not a common prostitute but combines stunning
beauty and refined manners with outstanding professionality. On meeting

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18   My translation. Original quote (French): "Un marabout (idiot) mourut il y a quelque
      temps épuisé par la masturbation de toutes les femmes qui allaient le visiter."
19   My translation. Original quote (French): "Le nègre incarne la puissance génitale au-dessus
      des morales et des interdictions."
20   My translation. Original quote (French): "[...] on en parle à table d'hôte."
21   My translation. Original quote (French): "[...] quelque femme à la peau brune, au regard
      ardent, qui m'entourait de ses deux bras et me parlait la langue des houris."

her, Flaubert immediately falls prey to the charms of this "tall and splendid creature, whiter than an Arab woman […]" (Flaubert 2013, 659).[22] Significantly, her skin is lighter than that of other natives, which testifies to her superiority to other females and prostitutes. Both in his letters and his travelogue Flaubert praises the exotic beauty of Kuchuk Hanem "whose body becomes a work of art" (Lacoste 2003, 78).[23] After several trysts in her apartment where she enchants the two punters with a lascivious dance called *l'abeille* (the bee), Flaubert falls in love with the young sex worker whom he leaves with a heavy heart. Being naive enough to mistake routine service for real feelings, he jots down in his notebook: "She has thought about us a lot; she considers us to be her children and has not met a cawadja who is as kind" (Flaubert 2013, 700).[24] Calling someone as anticlerical and misanthropic as Flaubert the most amiable "cawadja" (Christian) may sound ironic if not completely inappropriate and yet manages to touch the clear-sighted traveller's heart who fails to understand that "the relationship with Negroes is a non-reciprocal one" (Mbembe 2013, 99).[25]

Interestingly, Bachmann's postcolonial Orient is also pervaded by an atmosphere of eroticism. We must, however, point out that this aspect is more obvious in *Wüstenbuch* where both Franza and her brother indulge in sensual escapades with local men. Martin meets Salam and Achmed, two Egyptians with whom he goes out and has fun with. Unlike the conservative Viennese society of the sixties, which forms the backdrop of the plot and where patriarchal gender roles dominate the relationship between men and women, Egypt enables sexual transgression, making conventional male–female sexuality seem obsolete: "The Orient, males for males, they are not gay, they take advantage of both opportunities instead, but we misunderstand this, it must be something else, this blurring of borders, of sexual drive which is there as an option" (Bachmann 1995a, 247).[26]

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22 My translation. Original quote (French): "[…] grande et splendide créature—plus blanche qu'une Arabe […]."

23 My translation. Original quote (French): "[…] dont le corps devient œuvre d'art."

24 My translation. Original quote (French): "Elle a beaucoup pensé à nous; elle nous regarde comme ses enfants et n'a pas rencontré de cawadja aussi aimable."

25 My translation. Original quote (French): "[…] le rapport aux Nègres est un rapport de non-réciprocité."

26 My translation. Original quote (German): "Der Orient, die Männer für die Männer, sie sind nicht homosexuell, sondern sie machen von beiden Möglichkeiten Gebrauch, aber wir verstehen das falsch, es muß etwas andres sein, die Grenzverwischung, Triebverwischung, die als Möglichkeit gegeben ist."

In Egypt, traditional categories such as hetero- and homosexual are over-come in favour of individual choice and orientation. In an orgy that takes place during her stay the female protagonist not only explores her erotic potential but also takes symbolic revenge on her husband and all the petty bourgeois so proud of their moral hypocrisy:

> Now the three of them are in my room, I talk to them, of course, you have no common language but you talk in such a friendly way to one another. I say that I have slept already. Salah and Mahmed stop talking, only Abdu is still talking, they do not want a woman but more, the whole thing, something together, against one another, everything together, hashinin, being hempseed, I am no longer scared [...]. We are drinking water, we are three and one, are something against the Whites. Arab love, amour arabe, l'amour greque [sic!], the Greek one.
>
> IBID., 272[27]

The multiple occurrence of the adverb "together" in this passage from *Wüsten-buch* is a rhetoric device used by the female narrator to refer to the intended destruction of the traditional gender division and hegemonic sexuality still valid in patriarchal society.

For Franza, Egypt offers the utopian space where the male–female antago-nism has become obsolete. Traveling across this male-dominated country, paradoxically, is a foreshadowing of the social revolution Franza is dreaming of and that will finally make woman and man equal partners, at least when it comes to pleasure. Thus, in the shadow of the pyramids, Martin's sister, who was abused by Leo Jordan, temporarily gains sensual satisfaction and reconcili-ation with the other sex.

5   Colonial or Postcolonial Self-Criticism?

Dedicated to a poetics of radical realism, Flaubert avoids expressing his opin-ion on Egyptian customs and traditions, nor does he pass judgement on the

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27   My translation. Original quote (German): "Jetzt sind alle drei im Zimmer, ich spreche mit ihnen, man hat ja keine gemeinsame Sprache, aber man spricht so freundlich mitein-ander. Ich sage, daß ich schon geschlafen habe. Salah und Mahmed hören auf zu spre-chen, nur Abdu spricht noch, sie wollen auch keine Frau, sondern mehr, das Ganze, etwas miteinander, gegeneinander, alles miteinander, hashinin, Hanf sein, ich habe keine Angst mehr [...]. Wir trinken nur Wasser, sind drei und einer, sind etwas gegen die Weißen. Die arabische Liebe, amour arabe, l'amour greque [sic!], die griechische."

role of whites in this country. Nevertheless, the observations that he makes are significant. Visiting the famous Temple of Kom Ombo in Higher Egypt, for example, he discovers the names of fellow countrymen engraved on the façade without commenting on this act of vandalism. Like other European tourists, Flaubert tries to smuggle antiquities out of the country although this is illegal. In a letter dated March 13, 1850, to Louis Bouilhet, he mentions the difficulty of carrying out this plan: "We do not give up hoping, even if it is difficult, to be able to export (commercial expression) a mummy" (Flaubert 1973a, 609),[28] an obstacle they intend to overcome by resorting to bribery.

If the author does not overtly condemn the colonial attitude which he adopts when it pleases him in his travelogue, he allows himself to be self-critical in his correspondence. On inspecting the Hypogees of Thebes, Flaubert becomes aware of the damage caused by foreigners and it is again to Bouilhet that he breaks the news on June 2, 1850: "It is badly devastated and damaged, not by the weather but by the travellers and scholars" (ibid., 634).[29] He claims that it is people like him, that is, wealthy white men from Europe and the United States, who are to blame for the destruction of the ancient site. Anticipating the disastrous impact of tourism on the Orient, Flaubert clairvoyantly tells Théophile Gautier in a letter dated August 13, 1850: "Soon the Orient will exist no more. We are perhaps the last contemplators" (ibid., 663).[30] Despite this insight, he does not question his own colonial superiority complex, which becomes manifest in an early diary note: "I do not think that the emancipation of Negroes and women is something very beautiful" (Flaubert 2001b, 752).[31] When it comes to the issues of race and gender, the writer, after all, sticks to the conservative perspective common among males of this epoch, who considered people of colour and women in general to be inferior to white men and therefore unworthy of being granted all civil rights.

Bachmann subverts Flaubert's hegemonic stance in her fictional travelogues by challenging white authority. To this end, she draws upon two narrative strategies. On the one hand, she enables Franza to show solidarity with the Egyptians, and on the other hand, she makes the narrator voice harsh criticism of the alleged superiority of the white race and its colonial model.

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28 My translation. Original quote (French): "Nous ne désespérons pas, quoique cela soit difficile, d'exporter (expression commerciale) quelque momie."

29 My translation. Original quote (French): "C'est très ravagé et abîmé, non pas par le temps, mais par les voyageurs et les savants."

30 My translation. Original quote (French): "D'ici à peu l'Orient n'existera plus. Nous sommes peut-être des derniers contemplateurs."

31 My translation. Original quote (French): "Je ne vois pas que l'émancipation des nègres et des femmes soit quelque chose de bien beau."

The female protagonist's orientalization already starts back in Austria when Martin regards her as "his barefoot savage woman" (Bachmann 1995b, 149).[32] Subscribing to a magical worldview and considering herself a tribal woman, she distances herself from modern rational civilization and thus sides with people of colour who were conquered and whose lands were plundered by white colonizers: "[...] I am a Papuan woman. You can only really steal from those who live magically, and for me, everything is meaningful" (ibid., 232).[33] By drawing a parallel between the domestic abuse which she had to deal with at the hands of her husband and which Andrea Allerkamp aptly calls "her internal colonization" (1988, 165)[34] and the exploitation of the colonized societies, Franza demonstrates her solidarity with the latter.

It is in Egypt, however, that her interior assimilation of oriental ways changes her appearance with her skin peeling off and turning brown. Considering herself a victim of male colonization, Franza strongly identifies with the Orientals, who share a common history of white domination, therefore feeling at home in Egypt. Her dark tan may be interpreted as another sign of solidarity and sympathy with the Arabs from whom, however, she fails to hide her ethnic origin.

Bachmann's Egyptian prose undermines the stereotype of the superior white race with which Franza no longer wishes to be associated. In this context, group sex with two Egyptians marks her attempt to escape the bloody history linked to the colour of her skin and allows her to bridge both the gender and the racial divides. In contrast with Flaubert, who is only interested in gaining a maximum of erotic pleasure, for Franza, having sex with Arabs turns into an act of reconciliation between woman and man as well as Black and white. This optimism is only possible because the protagonist shows a strong tendency to generalize, as Monika Albrecht notes: "[...] Bachmann's character Franza is not interested in differences when she forms analogies, instead she somewhat forcefully seems to want to join her story and everyone else's story'" (1998, 82).[35]

In an effort to wipe out her racial identity, Franza severely attacks the white race, punishing herself in an act of counterracism: "[...] les blancs arrivent. The whites arrive. [...] they have seen me through, for I belong to an inferior race"

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32   My translation. Original quote (German): "[...] seine barfüßige Wilde [...]."
33   My translation. Original quote (German): "[...] ich bin eine Papua. Man kann nur die wirklich bestehlen, die magisch leben, und für mich hat alles Bedeutung."
34   My translation. Original quote (German): "[...] ihre innere Kolonisation."
35   My translation. Original quote (German): "[...] Bachmann's Franza-Figur ist bei ihrer Analogiebildung nicht an Unterschieden interessiert, vielmehr scheint sie ihre 'Geschichte und die Geschichten aller' etwas gewaltsam zusammenzwingen zu wollen."

(Bachmann 1995b, 34).[36] This passage is inspired by the Rimbaldian[37] motif of the whites arriving and spreading fear among the Africans. In Rimbaud's *Une saison en enfer*, the poet sharply judges Western civilization, turning racial hierarchy upside down and forcing the white man to acknowledge, just like Bachmann's heroine: "It is quite obvious that I have always been of an inferior race" (Rimbaud 2009, 248).[38] The technically superior master of the Blacks, the white colonizer, turns out to be morally inferior to those he dominates thanks to his clever mind and the weapons he recklessly uses: "The whites arrive. The canon! I submit to baptism, dress, work" (ibid., 251).[39]

The striking intertextual reference to Rimbaud can be explained by his anticolonial attitude, which makes him a welcome ally in Franza's rejection of white male hegemony, with the latter being responsible for the colonization of the female body and the exploitation of alien territories. Both *Wüstenbuch* and *Das Buch Franza* aim at revealing the wrong done by the whites on the African continent. In these two texts, the Egypt of the early sixties becomes the historical geographical background of Bachmann's anticolonial discourse. Although Egypt is independent, the economic and cultural invasion of the country due to Coca Cola and the activity of foreign petrol companies goes on unhindered. Hence, the picture of the colonial situation given by Rimbaud is still valid in Bachmann's postcolonial narrative, filling Franza with indignation (cf. Bachmann 1995b, 231).

Martin's sister also notices the old colonial attitude among the visitors of the Egyptian museum of Cairo where Western tourists stare at the mummies lying in sarcophagi and coffins. Disgusted by their voyeurism, she, not entering the exhibition hall, vomits on the floor. The narrator's critique of white hegemony contains a certain degree of simplification and does not take into account the role of women supporting the colonial system. Besides, it overlooks the fact that archaeologists did not only plunder Egyptian heritage sites but also contributed to preserving cultural heritage which otherwise would have been

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36 My translation. Original quote (German): "[…] les blancs arrivent. Die Weißen kommen. […] sie haben mich durchschaut, denn ich bin von niedriger Rasse."

37 According to Dirk Göttsche, the intertextual references to Rimbaud "discuss the history of violence of European colonialism in Africa in close proximity to Frantz Fanon's critique of neocolonialism […]" (Göttsche 2013, 268). My translation. Original quote (German): "[…] thematisieren die Gewaltgeschichte des europäischen Kolonialismus in Afrika in deutlicher Nähe zur Neokolonialismuskritik Frantz Fanons […]."

38 My translation. Original quote (French): "Il m'est bien évident que j'ai toujours été de race inférieure."

39 My translation. Original quote (French): "Les blancs débarquent. Le canon! Il faut se soumettre au baptême, s'habiller, travailler."

lost in the wars that have shaken the Middle East. Finally, claiming that tourists "steal from the dead" (ibid., 290)[40] is polemical insofar as they represent an important economic factor in an emerging country such as Egypt. However, one must not forget that Franza is not searching for truth but revenge on the whites in the Orient where, ironically, she is raped by a white male individual, dying soon afterward.

6   Conclusion

Flaubert embodies the ideal type of the culturally and economically superior male white colonizer who believes in white supremacy without seriously questioning it. He travels to the Orient, trying to stay objective and yet the choice of scenes and details proves that he subtly resorts to common negative heterostereotypes of Arabs as violent and oversexualized, thereby confirming their cultural inferiority. In other words, he does not take a fresh look at the alien civilization but checks if his real experience of Egypt corresponds to "the Orient read and dreamt about before the journey" (Brunet 2001, 76).[41] Apart from acts of cruelty and scenes of public sex, which Flaubert is particularly eager to find and depict, he searches for the fulfilment of erotic desires. The latter are triggered by the phantasmatic vision of the dark-skinned oriental woman, the incarnation of exotic eroticism and provider of unique sensual pleasures. This romantic image remains intact since the only females with whom he becomes intimate are prostitutes and hence professionals, as if Flaubert wanted to make sure not to be disillusioned by the Orient. After all, "travel writing often reveals much more about the traveller than about the depicted areas [...]" (Meier 2007, 447).

Bachmann's Egyptian prose joins aspects of gender and postcolonial discourse. Both *Wüstenbuch* and *Das Buch Franza* aim at denouncing patriarchal ideology and colonialism as a result of the white superiority complex. Drawing on her personal experience as an Austrian woman abused by her callous husband, Franza identifies with the Arabs by means of indiscriminatingly "equating racism and sexism" (Albrecht 1998, 65).[42] Her oriental discourse is antithetical to Flaubert's because, unlike him, she insists on white inferiority. Where Flaubert subtly mocks Egyptian manners and people, Bachmann's

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40   My translation. Original quote (German): "[...] Leichenschänder [...]."
41   My translation. Original quote (French): "[...] l'Orient lu et rêvé avant le voyage [...]."
42   My translation. Original quote (German): "[...] Gleichsetzung von Rassismus und Sexismus."

protagonist idealizes them. Whereas the French traveller insists on cultural difference, Franza seeks to build solidarity with the Arabs, identifying with their role as victims. Paradoxically, in a country whose society traditionally discriminates against women, she feels free and experiences the promise of sexual emancipation. Although deconstructing Flaubert's male colonial discourse, the Austrian writer, just like her French predecessor, seems to fall into the trap of stereotype construction, as Sarah Lennox points out: "But by continuing to project white fantasies on non-European characters, she does not completely avoid the racial structures which her writings seek to question" (Lennox 1998, 15).[43] However, this biographical reading of Bachmann fails to take into account the fact that both *Wüstenbuch* and *Das Buch Franza* tell the story of the protagonist and not of the author, who might have wanted to show her readers how Franza's unhappy marriage has led to her distorted view of the Orient.

All in all, Franza's sweeping condemnation of white male dominance, which she holds responsible for the discrimination of the female as well as the colonial subject, no doubt transcends Flaubert's blunt racism and sexism but remains, despite its critical potential, a reductionist contribution to the oriental discourse of twentieth-century literature.

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43 My translation. Original quote (German): "Doch indem sie weiterhin weiße Fantasien auf nichteuropäische Figuren projiziert, entgeht auch sie nicht ganz den rassistischen Strukturen, die ihre Schriften in Frage zu stellen versuchen."

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Intersectional Approaches to Imagology: The Multiple Entanglements of Ethnotypes

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Categories, Stereotypes, Images, and Intersectionality

Martina Thiele

Abstract

Starting from the definition that stereotypes are based on categorization and attribution, this article first deals with the relationship between categorization and stereotyping as well as images and imagology. The multitude of categories and stereotypes used in the process of perception raises the question of which categories are decisive in which social contexts and how different social categories are intertwined. Following an examination of categories, stereotypes, and images, these questions of interdependence lead to the fourth important topic of this article: intersectionality.

Keywords

stereotypes – categories – images – intersectionality – media studies

1 Interdisciplinary Research on Stereotypes and Images: The Contribution of Communication Science and Media Studies

In the course of the twentieth century, various scientific disciplines have dealt with the emergence and possible functions of images, prejudices, stereotypes, clichés, and concepts of an enemy. Psychology and social psychology, in particular, but also linguistics, political and social science, and history have given new impetus. Media studies and communication science have partly taken up, but also partly overlooked these new developments. However, since the aforementioned disciplines did not adequately consider media as constructors and conveyors of stereotypes and images, this constitutes an important field of research in communication science.

Walter Lippmann's classic work *Public Opinion* (1922) marked the beginning of social-scientific research on stereotypes. From printer control language he imported the term "stereotype" into a social-scientific context, and

referred in the first chapter of *Public Opinion* to stereotypes as "pictures in our head" (Lippmann [1992] 1945, 3). Since the 1970s this area of research has been expanded considerably because in modern society the form by which most stereotypes are transmitted is through the media—television, radio, movies, newspapers, books, leaflets, stickers, and, since the 1990s, online media. Research has been conducted on geographic, ethnic, and gender-specific, as well as occupational, generational, and religious, stereotypes. Intersectional approaches have been followed with the aim of taking appropriate account of overlaps of stereotypes based on a range of categorizations. Attention has also been paid to the differences within categories, which can be described as an intracategorical approach, as well as, influenced by poststructuralist and (de)constructivist approaches, anticategorical perspectives. All in all, there have been a great deal of theoretically and methodically ambitious studies on the representation, or indeed the marginalization, of various social groups in the media, often accompanied by suggestions for what needs to change.

2   Categories

Human perception—and thus also scientific work—is based on the creation and use of categories. In turn, categorization is predicated on comparison: perceived similarities and differences lead to classifications into categories. Categories therefore combine the characteristics of objects, persons, and events to form classes. In regard to the categorization of humans, particularly salient characteristics include age, gender, and ethnicity, but political orientation, religious affiliation, place of residence, income, education, and occupation can also be used as social categories. This category knowledge can be applied to new experiences; it is called up when we perceive, communicate, learn, plan, and so on. Categories present helpful classifications, which create order and perspective, facilitate systematization, and classify new information into already existing knowledge structures. Thus, they are the basis of all learning and understanding. The social psychologist Henri Tajfel distinguishes between inductive and deductive categorization. In inductive categorization, "an element (item) is assigned to a category on the basis of some of its characteristics, even if certain incompatibilities can remain" (Tajfel 1975, 348).[1] In deductive categorization, "the known affiliation of an element to a category is

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1   My translation. Original quote: "Bei induktiver Kategorisierung wird ein Element (item) einer Kategorie aufgrund einige seiner Merkmale zugeordnet, wenn auch bestimmte Unvereinbarkeiten bestehen bleiben können."

used to classify it under some characteristics which are generally applicable to the category as a whole, without therefore carrying out a more detailed examination" (ibid.; see also Schäfer 1988, 32).[2]

In the empirical sciences, categorizations stand at the beginning of the research process. The category system determines which characteristics are assigned and how. It serves to reduce complex contents to an "appropriate measure" of characteristics. When creating a category system, various standards must be adhered to. Bernard Berelson's statement on category formation in content analysis is frequently quoted in the social sciences: "Content analysis stands or falls by its categories. [...] Since the categories contain the substance of the investigation, content analysis can be no better than its system of categories" ([1952] 1971, 147). The categories should therefore be unambiguous, independent of one another, and mutually exclusive; that is, they should be selective in order to facilitate classification. The category system must be designed in such a way that it covers as many areas of content as possible and helps to examine what is actually to be examined (Holsti 1969, 95; Früh [3]1991, 80; Atteslander [8]1995, 250; Merten 1995, 98; Bonfadelli 2002, 90).

Within empirical social research, the discussion about the formation and selectivity of categories is conducted extensively. On the other hand, there are positions in the sociology of knowledge that fundamentally criticize the essentialization associated with categorizations. Each categorization leads to definitions, limitations, and exclusions that do not do justice to the complexity of the object to be examined—especially when it is a matter of social phenomena. Johann Gottlieb Fichte's philosophy of Germanity, developed in the *Speeches to the German Nation* (Fichte [1808] [4]2017), is regarded as a model of an essentialization that aimed at defining the "German being" as distinct from other "peoples" and "nations." These categories can also be substituted with others. In *The Second Sex*, Simone de Beauvoir addressed the essentialization of social phenomena: "[...] whether it is a race, a caste, a class, a sex condemned to inferiority, the procedure of justification is always the same. The 'eternally feminine' plays the same role here as the 'black soul' and the 'Jewish character'" ([1949] 2010, 32).

Categories are therefore not neutral. Especially social categories related to individuals contain valuations, as Rainer Erb (1995) illustrates by describing three basic forms of categorization: comparison, class formation, and

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2 My translation. Original quote: "Bei deduktiver Kategorisierung wird die bekannte Zugehörigkeit eines Elements zu einer Kategorie benutzt, um es unter einige Merkmale einzuordnen, die für die Kategorie insgesamt allgemein gelten, ohne deswegen eine genauere Prüfung vorzunehmen."

similarity or difference accentuation. In comparison, the attribution of certain characteristics to individuals and groups is not absolute but always in relation to others. When Germans attribute the "virtues" punctuality, thoroughness, and diligence to themselves, this usually means that members of other nationalities are characterized as less punctual, thorough, and diligent. In class formation, individuals and groups are assembled into general classes based on observed "similarities." But these "similarities" are perceived because of preexisting stereotypical patterns of perception. Similarity or difference accentuation overestimates the similarities between the members of a group, while overemphasizing the differences between the groups. Erb gives an example: "Although many Frenchmen are certainly more similar to many Germans (such as the bank employees) than to their own countrymen, the Germans are regarded as equal and different from one another by the French" (1995, 20).[3]

In contrast to essentialist positions, (de)constructivists assume that categories are neither "natural" nor "eternal"; rather, categories are social constructs. The social context determines what constitutes a category, which categories become relevant, where category boundaries run, and which characteristics and qualities are primarily associated with a certain category. Categorization is a dynamic process (cf. Otten and Matschke 2008, 292).

Thus, there are both approaches that take a critical sociology of knowledge view toward essentialist and biologistic settings and attempts to largely evade categorical patterns of order (cf. Lorey 2008, 2010), but the latter are only partially successful. Paradoxically, the act of questioning categories does not exclude their reformulation,[4] which is why even research carried out from a position critical of society runs the risk of reproducing what it attempts to overcome—a positivist understanding of science that aims at objectification, typification, and generalization and has developed a set of instruments for this purpose that does not do justice to individuals in their social relationships and the diversity of social practices to the full.

To make matters worse, for political reasons a "strategic essentialism" (Spivak 1993, 3) occasionally seems appropriate, and even scientists who have been striving for anticategorical thinking consider the complete avoidance of categorizations to be illusory. Irene Neverla summarizes her doubts as follows:

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3   My translation. Original quote: "Obwohl sicher viele Franzosen vielen Deutschen (etwa die Bankangestellten) ähnlicher sind als ihren eigenen Landsleuten, werden die Deutschen untereinander als gleicher und als verschiedener von den Franzosen angesehen."

4   The same is true of stereotypes: their questioning does not exclude their reproduction.

> My question to cognitive psychologists and epistemologists is, whether
> we can think scientifically without doing this in causalities, dualities,
> dichotomies and static snapshots? Can we move from linear, causal,
> static, apodictic models to dialectic concepts that are circular, proces-
> sual, dynamic, elastic?
>
> 2003, 66[5]

However, most categorization processes remain unquestioned or are regarded
both as more helpful than problematic and as unavoidable, since catego-
rizations and stereotyping are considered as barely controllable cognitive
processes.

3   Stereotypes

Gordon W. Allport explains the connection between categories and stereotypes:
"The stereotype is an overpowering belief associated with a category. [...] But
a stereotype is not identical to a category; it is more a fixed idea that accom-
panies a category" (1971, 200). The difference to a category can be found in the
aspects of "conviction" and "imagination." Stereotypes, one might conclude,
go a step further by attributing evaluative characteristics to the categorized
object, person, or group. But it could also be argued that in the process of ste-
reotyping, the first step, categorization, is the decisive one: even the creation of
and division into categories are not "neutral"—only after categorization does
attribution occur.

But what is a stereotype? The term "stereotype" comes from Greek (*stereos* =
"hard, solid, rigid," *typos* = "solid form, characteristic imprint"). The printer
Firmin Didiot used this expression in 1798 to describe printing with fixed let-
ters. In French, *le stéréotype* was soon also used in a figurative sense. But despite
the expansion of the meaning of the word to refer to a "repetition of the same
due to rigid forms," stereotype in the nineteenth century remained largely a
technical term primarily for printers and typesetters. Walter Lippmann's *Public
Opinion* of 1922 gave the term a further meaning and reach by transferring it

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5 My translation. Original quote: "Können wir, so lautet meine Frage an Kognitionspsychologen
   und Erkenntnistheoretiker—wissenschaftlich denken, ohne dies in Kausalitäten, Dualitäten,
   Dichotomien und statischen Momentaufnahmen zu tun? Können wir von linearen, kau-
   salen, statischen, apodiktischen Modellen zu dialektischen Konzepten kommen, die zirkulär,
   prozesshaft, dynamisch, elastisch angelegt sind?"

to the field of human perception. Lippmann, who knew the printing process, used the term stereotype to describe structures of thought, schemata, and routines. Lippmann defined stereotypes as "pictures in our head" (1945 [1922], 3) and explained further:

> They are an ordered, more or less consistent picture of the world, to which our habits, our tastes, our capacities, our comforts and our hopes have adjusted themselves. They may not be a complete picture of the world, but they are a picture of a possible world to which we are adapted. In that world people and things have their well-known places, and do certain expected things. We feel at home there. We fit in. We are members.
>
> IBID., 95

Nowadays and particularly in everyday speech, the term "stereotype" is often used interchangeably and indiscriminately with "cliché" or "prejudice." It is used to express that a statement, an image, a behaviour has little to do with "reality." Academic definitions of the term vary greatly from discipline to discipline. Andreas Zick states that in social psychology there are "myriads of definitions of stereotypes" and that there is now a consensus that "stereotypes are cognitive concepts that represent generalizations about other persons and groups" (1997, 44). From a sociopsychological point of view, stereotyping as social interaction is of particular interest. Penelope J. Oakes, Alexander S. Haslam, and John C. Turner define the process of stereotyping as the attribution of characteristics: "Stereotyping is the process of ascribing characteristics to people on the basis of their group memberships" (Oakes et al. 1994, 41).

In sociolinguistics, it is precisely these "processes of ascribing," the attributions that are of importance. Thus, the focus is on the role of language in the process of stereotyping. According to a comprehensive definition by linguist Uta Quasthoff made in 1973, stereotypes are the expression of a conviction and pictorial imagination and take the form of a judgement. Her definition is also helpful from the point of view of communication studies because Quasthoff understands the "images in our heads" as something describable. A stereotype can be expressed in words, regardless of whether it has been conveyed in the form of an image (caricature, photo), a sequence of images, or a text. Quasthoff summarizes:

> A stereotype is the verbal expression of a conviction directed at social groups or individuals as their members. It has the logical form of a judge-

ment which, in an unjustifiably simplistic and generalizing way, with an emotional-valuing tendency, assigns or denies certain characteristics or behaviours to a class of persons. Linguistically, it can be described as a sentence.

1973, 28[6]

Helmut Gruber, in his study on antisemitism in the media discourse, explained Quasthoff's statements regarding stereotypes using examples (cf. Gruber 1991, 14–15). According to him, the basic form of a stereotype can certainly be formulated as a simple predication, for example in the form "Austrians are enthusiastic about winter sports." However, restrictions are also possible through the use of the subjunctive or rhetorical questions (e.g. "Americans are considered superficial") or sentences in which a consciously subjective statement is made (e.g. "I have the impression that women do not want to face competition"). Finally, stereotypes can occur in a form that Gruber calls the text-linguistic type. Here, the sentence that contains a stereotype needs interpretation. As such, the stereotype is not directly recognizable—Gruber gives the following example: "He's Jewish, but he's very nice" (ibid., 14). The use of the word "but" points to an exception from the rule which contains the anti-Semitic prejudice. Stereotypes and prejudices are therefore not always clearly formulated but are implicitly contained in a statement. They elude an analysis "which is limited to the sentence level" (ibid., 15). For this reason, the various manifest and latent forms in which stereotypes can occur need to be considered in the choice of research methods.

In summary it can be said that stereotypes are based on categorization, simplification, and generalization. They are individual and socially divided opinions about the characteristics of the members of a social group. These characteristics are associated with positive or negative evaluations.

The following section deals with the connection between stereotypes as "pictures in our heads" (Lippmann [1922] 1945, 3), images, and the academic orientation regarding the critical engagement with stereotyping in media as well as productive links to imagology.

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6 My translation. Original quote: "Ein Stereotyp ist der verbale Ausdruck einer auf soziale Gruppen oder einzelne Personen als deren Mitglieder gerichteten Überzeugung. Es hat die logische Form eines Urteils, das in ungerechtfertigt vereinfachender und generalisierender Weise, mit emotional-wertender Tendenz, einer Klasse von Personen bestimmte Eigenschaften oder Verhaltensweisen zu- oder abspricht. Linguistisch ist es als Satz beschreibbar."

4   "Pictures in Our Head," Images, and Imagology

Imagology is an area of research that traditionally examines the composition, emergence, and transformation of images of countries and nations or "ethnotypes" in literary texts. The study of travel literature has proven to be particularly productive for imagology. As a result of both an expanded concept of text and an increasing interest in intermediality, various media and nonfictional texts have also been investigated alongside auto- and hetero-images in literary texts. In addition to images, stereotypes in particular aroused the interest of philologists (cf. Blaicher 1987; Fischer 1987; Schiffer 2005). Also in the social sciences, especially in the field of political communication research, the analysis of images—and particularly images of nations—has become popular (cf. Wilke 1989; Nicklas and Ostermann 1989; Hafez 2002a, 2002b). These studies clearly show the power of the media not only to convey national images but also to create them. And: the greater the political, cultural, and geographical distance to a nation, the more important secondary socialization instances such as the mass media are. They provide the images and attitudes that cannot be gained through direct experience.

According to Kai Hafez (2002a, 35), political image research is strongly influenced by Kenneth E. Boulding's publication *The Image* (1956). Boulding's reflections on self-images and images of others have, however, inspired economics even more than social sciences, especially in the areas of marketing and sales. Working on a company's image, appearance, products, and services has become the core task of public relations (PR) and marketing departments. If the focus of attention is on the intentions of those who want to create a certain image of themselves, this image first of all refers to the public image of a person, a group, a company with its products and services, an association, a political party, or a nation. Following this view and in reference to Helmut Schoeck (²1970, 157), Uta Quasthoff describes a difference between image and stereotype. While a stereotype is understood as "imposed from outside," an image is shaped by self-interest and the deliberate creation, maintenance, and manipulation of one's own "appearance" (1973, 21). However, viewing this process exclusively from the side of the communicator has not gone unchallenged. PR theorists like James E. Grunig call for a differentiated treatment of the concept of image:

> Many public relations practitioners and educators do not distinguish
> carefully between concepts of image as a message produced by the
> organization and image as some sort of composite in the minds of the

> public—the difference between the artistic concept of images as sym-
> bols and the psychological concept of image as something constructed
> by receivers of those messages.
>
>   1993, 267

This distinction between the encoded and the decoded image is indeed impor-
tant, since these two images do not necessarily conform but are nevertheless
connected and in some ways determine or influence each other. The image of
a product or, indeed, a whole company that consumers create thus also gains
in importance. Seen in this light, image production is not a one-sided process
controlled solely by the PR departments.

Erving Goffman further describes images as developed through social inter-
action. One may hold, adjust, or lose an image depending on the influence of
others and their expectations: "But always the own social image, even if it can
be the most personal possession and centre of one's own security and pleas-
ure, is only a loan from society; it is withdrawn from one, unless one behaves
worthily"[7] (Goffman 1971, 15). Here Goffman refers to an image as something
that is created by an individual while still taking into account the expectations
of others. He defines it:

> The term image can be defined as the positive value that one acquires for
> oneself through the behavioural strategy from which the others assume
> one pursues it in a certain interaction. Image is a self-image described in
> terms of socially recognized characteristics—an image that others can
> adopt.
>
>   IBID., 10[8]

The connection between a self-image and an external image becomes clear
here, as does the fact that an image is to be understood as an offer to the
out-group.

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7 My translation. Original quote: "Immer aber ist das eigene soziale Image, selbst wenn es
   persönlichster Besitz und Zentrum der eigenen Sicherheit und des Vergnügens sein kann,
   nur eine Anleihe von der Gesellschaft; es wird einem entzogen, es sei denn, man verhält sich
   dessen würdig."

8 My translation. Original quote: "Der Terminus *Image* kann als der positive soziale Wert
   definiert werden, den man für sich durch die Verhaltensstrategie erwirbt, von der die
   anderen annehmen, man verfolge sie in einer bestimmten Interaktion. *Image* ist ein in
   Termini sozial anerkannter Eigenschaften umschriebenes Selbstbild,—ein Bild, das die
   anderen übernehmen können."

Thus, in the examination of images, first the underlying intentions of those who wanted to create a certain image of themselves seem to have been the focus of attention; however, in the meantime a more holistic perspective has been adopted in which processes of interaction and the formation of symbols are given greater consideration (cf. Michel 2006; Sachs-Hombach and Totzke 2011). Criticism of image creation thus no longer revolves exclusively around image producers but also consumers, whose demand for images, both positive and negative, determines supply. Hence, they also become image producers. As a consequence, Klaus Merten and Joachim Westerbarkey define the image as a construction, as "a consonant schema of cognitive and emotive structures that the human being creates from an object (person, organization, product, idea, event)" (Merten and Westerbarkey 1994, 206).[9]

All things considered, definitions of images—similar to those of stereotypes or clichés—combine the following aspects: first, they attribute actual or presumed characteristics to an individual or a collective. And second, these attributions either concern one's own person or group ("in-group") and thus may result in the creation of self-images (or "auto-stereotypes"), or they concern another person or foreign group ("out-group"), as a result of which foreign images (or "hetero-stereotypes") are created. These images of oneself and of others are interdependent. Their ties to "reality" are limited, but the consequences of "forming an image" are quite real.

Kai Hafez has named a number of special challenges of the image concept: the "image-reality problem," the "image-structure problem," and the "individual collective problem" (cf. Hafez 2002a, 36). Another challenge, in my opinion, is to clarify precisely the kind of image that is under discussion. The distinction between, on the one hand, material, concrete, "graphic," "optical" (Mitchell 2008, 20), and "external" (Sachs-Hombach 2001, 11) pictures, and on the other hand, immaterial, imaginary, "perceptual," and "spiritual" (Mitchell 2008, 20) pictures can also help to clarify the concept of stereotype. It is used both in everyday language and in science in a similarly undifferentiated manner as the concept of image.[10] However, stereotypes occur in very different ways. They are, as coined by Lippmann, "pictures in our heads" ([1922] 1945, 3), but they are also concrete, material "(language) pictures in the media," which

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9   My translation. Original quote: Image als "ein konsonantes Schema kognitiver und emo-
     tiver Strukturen, das der Mensch von einem Objekt (Person, Organisation, Produkt, Idee,
     Ereignis) entwirft."

10   There is also a translation problem. For the German word *Bild*, *image* or *picture* can be
     used in English. But even native speakers are not sure whether they are synonyms or not,
     and if not, what the difference is between *image* and *picture*.

are conveyed both in the text and through a single picture (photo, caricature) or a sequence of pictures (comic, film sequence). The distinction between stereotypes as cognitions or materialized pictures is relevant for communication studies because it determines the relevant fields of research and research methods: while stereotypes *in* the media are identified through methods like content analysis or critical discourse analysis, stereotypes as "pictures in our heads," as cognitive images in the minds of communicators and recipients, are identified through methods like survey research, observation, or experiment. Depending on whether stereotype research focuses either on media content and representation research or on those who (re)produce stereotypical content ("communicators" as well as "recipients"), a different concept of stereotype comes into play.

Just as epistemological challenges have been described for the study of media and stereotypes (cf. Thiele 2015, 386–396), recent studies on imagology also call for adaptation to current developments. Joep Leerssen suggested the following five adjustments:

> 1. the replacement of the national-modular categorization of literary traditions by a polysystemic approach; 2. the decline of print fiction as a [sic] the premier narrative medium, and the rise of film, TV, and other media; 3. the realization that ethnotypes are often encountered in occluded form (deployed ironically or as "meta-images"; or in a "banal" or latent background presence, as dormant frames; 4. new, "intersectional" notions of identity formation; 5. the demise of Eurocentrism and the rise of postnationalism.
>
> 2016, 13

There is consensus between researchers of different academic disciplines: the main goal of new research in the field of media and stereotypes or imagology must be to establish antiessentialist perspectives. In this context, intersectional approaches play a decisive role and are therefore dealt with in more detail in the next and final section.

5   Which Categories to Examine and How? Intersectional Approaches and Stereotype Research

Intersectionality can be understood as a perspective that enables us to look at different phenomena and their interconnectedness instead of focusing exclusively on one and thereby losing sight of possible connections to other

phenomena. Based on concrete experiences with multiple forms of discrimination and in continuation of classical triple-oppression research, concepts of intersectionality have been developed primarily in the United States, asking which categories are relevant when, how they overlap, and which methods can be used to analyse them. The American jurist Kimberlé Crenshaw coined the term intersectionality. Using the analogy of several intersecting roads, she wanted to draw attention to the particular problems of Black female workers, who are discriminated against on the basis of their social position, ethnicity, and gender.

> Consider an analogy to traffic in an intersection, coming and going in all four directions. Discrimination, like traffic through an intersection, may flow in one direction, and it may flow in another. If an accident happens in an intersection, it can be caused by cars traveling from any number of directions and, sometimes, from all of them. Similarly, if a Black woman is harmed because she is in the intersection, her injury could result from sex discrimination or race discrimination.
>
> CRENSHAW 1989, 149

This metaphor has also been criticized because although it shows the individual strands—the "axes of difference" (Knapp and Wetterer 2003) or "axes of inequality" (Klinger et al. 2007)—overlapping at several points, it does not make it clear that these strands may either overlap or be closely interwoven. Seen in this light, interdependence appears to be a more appropriate term (Dietze et al. 2007, 9), but the problem of naming categories remains even if they are thought of as interdependent, according to Gabriele Winker and Nina Degele: a "shift of interactions into the category" merely shifts the problem (2009, 13). Winker and Degele therefore adhere to the term "intersectionality." It has been used internationally, including in German-speaking countries, since the 1990s. The problem of intersectionality, however, has been discussed by feminists both in the United States and in Europe much earlier, as Gudrun-Axeli Knapp points out (2008). Knapp (2005) is critical of a 1:1 application of the US-American concept to conditions in Europe and especially in Germany. She argues that this analytical perspective is first of all bound to the culture and society of its context of origin, the US, where Black feminists criticized the research approaches of white middle-class women, which were perceived as ethnocentric, and demanded that further dimensions that cause inequality, such as class and ethnicity, be considered (Knapp 2005). Thus, European scholars continued discussions initiated by Black feminists as early as the 1960s.

Intersectionality thus focuses on the analysis of interactions between different categories, which Leslie McCall (2001) described as an intercategorical approach. However, in the debate on intersectionality, questions of difference within categories have also been addressed, which can be described as an intracategorical approach. Influenced by poststructuralist and (de)constructivist approaches, anticategorical perspectives have also been developed.

But what is intersectionality from the point of view of the sociology of knowledge? Kathy Davis outlines the different conceptions that exist side by side:

> For some, intersectionality is a theory, others regard the approach as a concept or heuristic instrument, while others see it as an interpretation strategy for feminist analyses. [...] Moreover, it is far from clear whether intersectionality should be limited to the interpretation of individual experiences, whether the approach should serve to form theories about identity—or whether intersectionality should be understood as a characteristic of social structures and cultural discourses.
>
> 2010, 55

Also, the selection and naming of categories is still a matter of discussion today. While in the US race, class, and gender are widely accepted as the pertinent categories, in Europe, and especially in Austria and Germany, the term "race" is disputed. Here, the term is usually replaced by "ethnicity," but sometimes quite different subcategories are included in this category, such as "nation," "citizenship," "place of residence," "guest worker," "internal status," "migration," "religion," and so forth. Winker and Degele, on the other hand, deliberately use the term "race"/"Rasse" without quotation marks because they want to emphasize "processes of racialization as processes of exclusion and discrimination that construct race in the first place, as well as their violent naturalization and hierarchization" (2009, 10).

As far as the triad of race, class, and gender is concerned, the concept of intersectionality provides "no theoretical reason why race, class and gender mark the central lines of difference. Other categories such as age, generativity, sexuality, religion, nationality or disability could also be considered" (Winker and Degele 2009, 15). Helma Lutz and Norbert Wenning offer a compilation of "13 bipolar, hierarchical lines of difference" (2001, 20; reproduced with minor typographical changes in Table 13.1). They emphasize the social constructedness of these differences and also consider other categorizations and subdivisions to be possible.

TABLE 13.1   Thirteen bipolar, hierarchical lines of difference (Lutz and Wenning 2001, 20)

Category	Basic dualism
Gender	male/female
Sexuality	hetero/homo
"Race"/Colour	white/black
Ethnicity	dominant group/ethnic minority
Nation/State	member of this nation/no member of this nation
Class	upper class/lower class
	established/not established
Culture	"civilized"/"uncivilized"
Health	nondisabled/disabled
Age	adults/children
	old/young
Sedentariness/	sedentary/nomadic
Provenance	ancestral/immigrated
Possessions	rich/poor
North-South/East-West	the West/the Rest
Stage of Development	modern/traditional
	(progressive/backward, developed/not developed)

One proposal is to distinguish between "body-oriented" (gender, sexuality, "race"/skin colour, ethnicity, health, age), "(social)-spatially oriented" (class, nation/state, ethnicity, sedentariness/origin, culture, north-south/east-west), and "economically oriented" (class, property, north-south/east-west, level of social development) lines of difference (ibid., 21). These, however, also overlap, as the example of "north-south/east-west" or "class" may be seen to be both (socio)spatially and economically oriented.

It makes sense to point out these many distinct lines of difference in order to avoid neglecting those categories which are usually hidden behind the "etc." that generally follows the enumeration "race, class, gender." What remains controversial, however, is which categories are more important, more decisive, and what would be arguments for or against a hierarchization of categories. This already concerns the triad "race, class, gender," since it has been discussed whether patriarchal or racist structures can be derived solely from economic conditions. Thus, the discussion about master categories or what is framed as main and secondary contradictions in the Marxist tradition continues. An

expression of this debate is the distinction between "structural" and "difference categories" (Aulenbacher 2008; Lenz 2010, 159). Cornelia Klinger (2008, 46) mentions work, body, and foreignness as general structural categories. They must be taken as a starting point to criticize capitalism, exploitation, patriarchy, nationalism, and imperialism, which are linked to these categories. Only in this way can the "metaphor of intersectionality" be used productively—which means that it becomes the basis for changing existing relations.

But how can multiple structures of inequality, different categories, and their interactions be analysed concretely in empirical research? How can several levels of investigation be taken into account, that is, social structures including organizations and institutions (macro and meso level) as well as processes of identity formation (micro level), and cultural symbols (representation level)? For their research, Winker and Degele (2007, 2009) use Pierre Bourdieu's concept of *Habitus* (1976), which combines "supposedly individual ways of thinking, perceiving, experiencing and acting with social milieus, situations and structures in which people are integrated" (Winker and Degele 2009, 23), as well as Anthony Giddens's *Theory of Structuring* (1995), which also assumes interaction between action and structure.

The concept of intersectionality and the multilevel approach proposed by Degele and Winker (2009) are particularly relevant in social inequality research. According to Thiele (2015, 82; 2020), they are also pertinent to research on media and stereotypes (species) and to imagology, both of which have long focused on national stereotypes. However, stereotypes conveyed by the media do not only concern the level of representation and individual processes of identity formation (Winker and Degele 2009, 54) but also societal structures as a whole and processes of collective identity construction—which speaks for a research design that actually takes multiple levels into account.

Yet despite all the advantages that intersectionality offers for more appropriate research in line with complex social conditions, such a design would be highly elaborate and hardly feasible, especially for individual researchers. In addition, the theoretical dilemma of categorization remains, and even multiplies when the interdependencies of several categories are taken into account. Anticategorical thinking, as proposed by Isabell Lorey (2008, 2010), by myself (Thiele 2015; 2020), or as an antiessentialist imagology (cf. Leerssen 2016, 4), for example, does not initially help research practice. Admittedly, it theoretically points in the right direction and enables at least—according to Lorey (2010, 54)—political capacity to act and the constitution of new, different, more just orders.

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Nationality as Intersectional Storytelling: Inventing the *Parisienne*

Maria Weilandt

Abstract

Nationality traditionally is one of imagology's key terms. In this article, I propose an intersectional understanding of this category, conceiving nationality as an interdependent dynamic. I thus conclude it to be always internally constructed by notions of gender, sexuality, race, class, religion, age, ability, and other identity categories. This complex and multi-layered construct, I argue, is formed narratively. To exemplify this, I analyse practices of stereotyping in Honoré de Balzac's *Illusions perdues* (1843) and Henry James's *The American* (1877) which construct the so-called *Parisienne* as a synecdoche for nineteenth-century France.

Keywords

1 Becoming a *Parisienne*

In his essay *La Parisienne*, published in 1893, the French journalist Arsène Houssaye claims that a trade minister once said: "If the Parisienne did not already exist, she would have to be invented" (1893, 9).[1] This curious statement implies, most notably, two things: Firstly, that there seems to be a link between the French economy and Parisian women. And secondly, that being a Parisienne signifies something else or rather something *more* than just being a woman who lives in Paris.

And indeed, a close look at the French media of Houssaye's time reveals that he has a point. Advice literature of that time explains to women how to behave

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1 My translation. Original quote: "Un ministre de commerce a dit ce beau mot: 'Si la Parisienne n'existait pas, il faudrait l'inventer.'"

if they want to appear like a true Parisienne, fashion magazines tell them what to wear and how to wear it as a Parisienne, and department store posters advertise where a Parisienne might do her shopping.[2] These print media were aimed at women who lived in France and other Western European countries or in the US, but for the most part they were targeted at women who *already lived in Paris.* So what exactly is the difference between a Parisian woman and a *Parisienne*?[3]

In the aforementioned essay, Houssaye elaborates on the topic of becoming a Parisienne by stating: "It's the first time a little girl wears a dress that you can say: 'There's a Parisienne.' One can also be born a Parisienne at one's first passion and on one's first trip to Paris, because it is the country of metamorphoses and transfigurations" (1893, 5).[4] It is somewhat telling that Houssaye designates Paris a country rather than a city. He intends to elevate Paris and to create the notion of a place that is vast, multifarious, and, above all, self-sufficient. The author thereby emphasizes centralistic discourses that have differentiated Paris from the rest of France for more than 100 years.[5] This opposition is consistent with that of *centre* and *periphery* as it is analysed within imagological studies in different spatiotemporal contexts. "The relationship between centre and periphery," as Joep Leerssen stresses, "is not a spatial one, but one of power and prestige" (2007, 279). These narratives accordingly subsume the whole of France, apart from its capital, under the derogatory term *province.* Different regions, cities, towns, and villages thus become one homogeneous and retrogressive space whereas Paris emerges as a modern and "dynamic centre" (Leerssen 2007, 280). The life- and, more importantly, identity-changing trip to Paris Houssaye mentions is a popular topos that aligns well with these discourses. Paris is thereby unified as well and becomes a place with a specific kind of agency—a space that changes the people in it. Consequently, change of place is equated with personal change.

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2   See for example Jules Chéret's posters for the ready-made clothing store "À la Parisienne" or the "How to" guides on behaving like a Parisienne in the lifestyle magazine *Femina.*

3   I elaborate more on the themes and approaches of this essay in my doctoral thesis: "*Voilà une Parisienne!* Stereotypisierungen als verflochtene Erzählungen" (En: "*Voilà une Parisienne!* Stereotypings as Entangled Narratives"; not yet published).

4   My translation. Original quote: "C'est à sa première robe qu'on peut dire d'une petite fille: 'Voilà une Parisienne.' On peut encore naître Parisienne à sa première passion et à son premier voyage à Paris, car là est le pays des métamorphoses et des transfigurations."

5   Jean-Jacques Rousseau, for example, writes about fashion and the Parisienne as early as 1761: "Fashion dominates provincial women but the Parisienne dominates fashion […]" ([1761] 1967, 190). My translation. Original quote: "La mode domine les provinciales ; mais les Parisiennes dominent la mode […]."

A popular figure of literary history who takes this particular journey is Honoré de Balzac's Mme. de Bargeton. Marie-Louise Anaïs de Bargeton is a character in Balzac's opus magnum, *La Comédie humaine* (1830–1856). In the novel *Lost Illusions* (orig. *Illusions perdues*, publ. in three parts from 1837, in its entirety in 1843), she and her young lover Lucien de Rubempré move from Angoulême to the French capital. In Paris the two are faced with different gender- and class-specific challenges and the pressure to adapt to their new surroundings. Being *provincial*, they both quickly realize, will not suffice anymore. In a neologism characteristic of Balzac's texts, Mme. de Bargeton recognizes a "nécessité de se désangoulêmer" (Balzac [1843] 1983, 137) which approximately translates to a "necessity of rubbing off Angouleme" (Balzac 2016, n.p.). The evaluative contrast between city and country, or rather everything that is Paris and everything that is not (be it villages or (smaller) cities) in France), which Balzac reproduces, is a harsh one.

On a textual level, this is first and foremost achieved through comparisons. Thus, at her first entry into Parisian society Mme. de Bargeton is compared to the attending Parisiennes. The contrast that is created is particularly effective in that the focalization during this scene lies with Lucien—in other words, the woman's lover, who comes from the so-called province as well, evaluates her appearance. The gaze is very import in this scene (and similar ones throughout the novel) and allows for the female figure to only exist in the assessment of the hetero-cis male observer:

> There were fair Parisiennes in fresh and elegant toilettes all about him; Mme. de Bargeton's costume, tolerably ambitious though it was, looked dowdy by comparison; the material, like the fashion and the color, was out of date. That way of arranging her hair, so bewitching in Angouleme, looked frightfully ugly here among the daintily devised coiffures which he saw in every direction.
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> BALZAC 2016, n.p.[6]

Lucien's critical observation is immediately followed by a remark of the heterodiegetic narrator, who, also judging sharply, confirms Lucien's impression and simultaneously generalizes it. Thereby, individual observation becomes stereotyping:

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6   Original quote: "Le voisinage de plusieurs jolies Parisiennes, si élégamment, si fraîchement mises, lui fit remarquer la vieillerie de la toilette de madame de Bargeton, quoiqu'elle fût passablement ambitieuse: ni les étoffes, ni les façons, ni les couleurs n'étaient de mode. La coiffure qui le séduisait tant à Angoulême lui parut d'un goût affreux, comparée aux délicates inventions par lesquelles se recommandait chaque femme" (Balzac [1843] 1983, 140).

> In the provinces comparison and choice are out of the question; when a face has grown familiar it comes to possess a certain beauty that is taken for granted. But transport the pretty woman of the provinces to Paris, and no one takes the slightest notice of her; her prettiness is of the comparative degree illustrated by the saying that among the blind the one-eyed are kings.
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>   BALZAC 2016, n.p.[7]

By having the confirmation of Lucien's assessment expressed by a hetero-diegetic narrator, who is positioned outside of the action and thus appears to be neutral in his judgement, the statement acquires an epistemic content that transcends the story.

In direct comparison with the fashionable Parisiennes, Mme. de Bargeton cannot (yet) compete—and compete she must because the novel constantly sets its characters, and especially the female figures and their appearances, up against each other. In Mme. de Bargeton's eyes, Lucien disqualifies himself as well when she compares him to the elegant Baron du Châtelet and the narrator remarks how the "disenchantment" (ibid.)[8] of the two is sparked by Paris. Paris, it seems, lends people a clear perspective and sense of judgement.

On the way to the opera the next day, the comparison is resumed. Lucien encounters yet again a number of Parisiennes of whom the text offers no description apart from them being referred to as "divinely dressed and divinely fair" (Balzac 2016, n.p.).[9] Mme. de Bargeton, Lucien concludes, "compared with these queens, [...] looked like an old woman" (ibid.).[10] At the opera, Lucien compares Mme. de Bargeton to her cousin, again a real (and aristocratic) Parisienne: "[...] the brilliancy of the Parisienne brought out all the defects in her country cousin so clearly by contrast [...]" (ibid.).[11] Finally, the novel states that now at last Lucien is able to see the *true* Mme. de Bargeton ("as she really was," ibid.), the way she is seen by all the other people in Paris: "[...] a tall, lean, withered woman, with a pimpled face and faded complexion; angular, stiff, affected in her manner; pompous and provincial in her speech; and, above all

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7   Original quote: "Transportée à Paris, une femme qui passe pour jolie en province, n'obtient pas la moindre attention, car elle n'est belle que par l'application du proverbe: *Dans le royaume des aveugles, les borgnes sont rois*" (Balzac [1843] 1983, 140).

8   Original quote: "désenchantement" (Balzac [1843] 1983, 140).

9   Original quote: "divinement mises et divinement belles" (Balzac [1843] 1983, 145).

10   Original quote: "comparée à ces souveraines, se dessina comme une vieille femme" (Balzac [1843] 1983, 145).

11   Original quote: "[...] la brillante Parisienne faisait si bien ressortir les imperfections de la femme de province [...]" (Balzac [1843] 1983, 147).

these things, dowdily dressed" (ibid.).[12] He feels "ashamed to have fallen in love with this cuttle-fish bone" (ibid.)[13] and decides to leave her—this, of course, being the ultimate punishment in a society that regards heterosexual marriage as an essential objective and women as the passive party in its attainment.

But a change is already taking place in Mme. de Bargeton. Lucien's judgement, which was initially confirmed and thus legitimized by the narrator in the aforementioned passages, is already subtly invalidated elsewhere in the second part of the novel. In order to create suspense for its readers and to portray its characters, the novel employs changes of narrative viewpoint and focalization. One thing that Lucien does not see and cannot see because his provincial origin still limits his perspective is that Mme. de Bargeton's *metamorphosis*[14] has already begun. In this respect, the readers of the novel know more than Lucien because it is indicated to them at a very early stage that Mme. de Bargeton's first appearances in Parisian high society were intended to be learning opportunities for her. Mme. d'Espard, cousin of Mme. de Bargeton, had made it her business to teach her inexperienced relative how to behave fashionably. Just one day after her opera visit, Mme. de Bargeton overtakes Lucien (figuratively and literally: in a carriage) and, transformed into an elegant Parisienne, leaves him behind. Once again filtered through Lucien's perception, Mme. de Bargeton is depicted as unrecognizable:

> All the colors of her toilette had been carefully subordinated to her complexion; her dress was delicious, her hair gracefully and becomingly arranged, her hat, in exquisite taste, was remarkable even beside Mme. d'Espard, that leader of fashion. […] She had adopted her cousin's gestures and tricks of manner […]. She had modeled herself on Mme. d'Espard without mimicking her; the Marquise had found a cousin worthy of her […].
> IBID.[15]

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12 Original quote: "[…] une femme grande, sèche, couperosée, fanée, plus que rousse, anguleuse, guindée, précieuse, prétentieuse, provinciale dans son parler, mal arrangée surtout!" (Balzac [1843] 1983, 147).

13 Original quote: "honteux d'avoir aimé cet os de seiche" (Balzac [1843] 1983, 147).

14 See Balzac [1843] 1983, 160. While Balzac's novel describes Mme. de Bargeton's evolution as a "métamorphose," the English translation by Ellen Marriage, which I am referring to, uses different wording.

15 Original quote: "[…] les couleurs de sa toilette étaient choisies de manière à faire valoir son teint; sa robe était délicieuse; ses cheveux arrangés gracieusement lui seyaient bien, et son chapeau d'un goût exquis était remarquable à côté de celui de madame d'Espard, qui commandait à la mode. […] Elle avait pris les gestes et les façons de sa cousine […] Enfin elle s'était faite semblable à madame d'Espard sans la singer ; elle était la digne cousine de la marquise […]" (Balzac [1843] 1983, 159).

The impression is once more confirmed and reinforced by the narrator's comments, which directly follow Lucien's observations.

This *becoming a Parisienne* is told as a narrative of progress in Balzac's novel. It has become evident that living in Paris is not the same as being a Parisienne. Being a Parisienne rather is something that can (and should) be learned. The story stereotypes the Parisienne as a figure that revolves around appearance, fashion, taste, and a certain habitus. All of them are connoted very positively and set apart from a negative counterimage: the so-called *Provinciale*, who has none of these things, is thus inferior in every way, and consequently runs the risk of being expelled from Parisian high society. But how is it possible that it takes Mme. de Bargeton only two days to achieve a transformation that is made to look all-encompassing when beforehand she was declared not only to be lacking in manners, speech, and taste but also shamed because of her body and age? This question requires a closer look at the novel and points to the intersectional nature of stereotypes.

2   Intersectionality as a Perspective within Imagological Studies

The concept of intersectionality received its initial impulses from critical race theory and Black feminism in the 1970s, mainly in the United States. In the meantime, it has become a central element of gender studies worldwide.[16] The basis of intersectionality is the conviction that systems of power and dominance are interwoven in highly complex ways. Therefore, the main idea of an intersectional analysis is to focus on the simultaneous workings of inequality and discrimination. The term *intersectionality* was coined by the law professor and critical race scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw in her essay "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex" (1989) which deals with the multiple discriminations of Black women on the grounds of sexism and racism within the US legal system. In her essay, the author illustrates the interlinkages of these processes by means of the, now famous, metaphor of the crossroad, which visualizes the various streets as forms of discrimination:

> Consider an analogy for traffic in an intersection, coming and going in all four directions. Discrimination, like traffic through an intersection, may flow in one direction, and it may flow in another. If an accident happened in an intersection, it can be caused by cars travelling from any number of

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16   For a concise overview of intersectional theory, see Hill Collins and Bilge (2016); Walgenbach (2012).

> directions and, sometimes, from all of them. Similarly, if a Black woman
> is harmed because she is in the intersection, her injury could result from
> sex discrimination or race discrimination.
>
> CRENSHAW 1989, 149

As is the case with all visualizations, this is necessarily a simplification of the
matter for the sake of providing orientation and, thus, facilitating discourse.
After all, in order to *intersect* at a specific moment, categories like gen-
der or race, of course, must have been separate before that moment. Other
approaches that have further explored the concept of intersectionality empha-
size the instability of gender, race, class, and similar dimensions of power.
Researchers like Evelyn Nakano Glenn (2002), Leslie McCall (2005), Gabriele
Dietze, or Lann Hornscheidt (cf. Dietze et al. 2012) reject the idea of stable
categories, defining them instead as context-specific and internally structured
by one another.

This idea provides a new perspective on Balzac's character Mme. de Barge-
ton and her sudden transformation. In the novel, France is divided into Paris
and Not-Paris, the so-called province—the latter being the negative counter-
image that constructs Paris as the superior norm. Both of these images are
personified and clearly gendered, which is a common strategy that has been
described by scholars engaging in gender studies for a long time in different
contexts.[17] Once in Paris, both Lucien and Mme. de Bargeton need to adapt to
the norm. Since the novel presents a hegemonic hetero-cis male perspective,
Mme. de Bargeton is, for the most part, scrutinized for her appearance and
behaviour and judged rather harshly. However, in the end, she is the one whose
change is realized quicker and more efficiently than that of her male counter-
part. This has nothing to do with a questioning of gender roles. It has to do
with the way class is narrated in the novel. Gender, race, class, sexuality, and
age are entangled narratively through the story. It is only because Lucien and
Mme. de Bargeton are cisgendered, white, aristocratic, heterosexual, and rela-
tively young that they gain access to that image of elegant and superior Paris,
to Parisian high society, in the first place. Mme. de Bargeton is "already" thirty-
six years old when they arrive and is looked down upon because of it ("old
woman," "withered," "faded"). But Lucien has a disadvantage of his own that
clearly outweighs Mme. de Bargeton's age: he is only partly aristocratic. What is
more, it is his mother who was noble, not his father. When Mme. de Bargeton's

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17   See for example Silke Wenk's works on allegories of different nations that present a form
      of immobilized femininity which, in turn, represents a secure nation (cf. Wenk 1996,
      2000).

cousin is made aware of the fact, she determines Lucien's fate: "The young man looks like a shopman in his Sunday suit; evidently he is neither wealthy nor noble; he has a fine head, but he seems to me to be very silly; he has no idea what to do, and has nothing to say for himself; in fact, he has no breeding" (Balzac 2016, n.p.).[18] It is this last point, uttered as a kind of bottom line, that proves to be the decisive factor. About Mme. de Bargeton, however, her cousin concludes: "If Mme. de Bargeton needed polish, on the other hand she possessed the native haughtiness of good birth, and that indescribable something which may be called 'pedigree'" (ibid.).[19] Class is clearly biologized in the novel ("no breeding," "good birth," "pedigree" (which is called "race" in the French original)) and thus becomes unchanging and inescapable. Balzac stresses the superiority of aristocracy by setting his story during the Second Restoration, thereby choosing a political context different from the time of the novel's publication: a time when aristocracy still retained powers over the bourgeoisie. It is, thus, the interlinkage of gender and class that leads to Lucien's failure, while it opens a role for Mme. de Bargeton that is depicted as synonymous with Parisian superiority: that of the Parisienne.

By their very nature, stereotypes are intersectional dynamics. They are a means of constructing social groups and producing knowledge about them. In most cases, practices of stereotyping attempt this via normalization and naturalization. They create identity and belonging but also, inevitably, exclusion and discrimination. A concept of intersectionality can be very useful in understanding and deconstructing these processes.[20] It has been rightfully pointed out by the editors of this volume (cf. Edtstadler, Folie, and Zocco 2022, from 31) and by other scholars in the field like Joep Leerssen (2016) that intersectionality can provide a valuable perspective for imagological research. Ethnotypes or national stereotypes, as Leerssen stresses, "always work in conjunction with other frames, especially gender, age and class" (ibid., 26).[21] My own research employs a concept of intersectionality that builds on two approaches: (1) the general instability of categories, and (2) the interdependency of these categories. When applied to imagology's central concept, nationality, this means assuming an idea of nationality that is necessarily open, unstable, and always

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18   Original quote: "Cette mise de boutiquier endimanché prouve que ce garçon n'est ni riche ni gentilhomme ; sa figure est belle, mais il me paraît fort sot, il ne sait ni se tenir ni parler ; enfin il n'est pas élevé" (Balzac [1843] 1983, 157).

19   Original quote: "Si madame de Bargeton manquait d'usage, elle avait la hauteur native d'une femme noble et ce *je ne sais quoi* que l'on peut nommer la *race*" (Balzac [1843] 1983, 148).

20   This fact is underlined by the multifarious contributions of this section (cf. the articles by Martina Thiele (chap. 13), Karin Andersson (chap. 15), and Ivana Drmić (chap. 16)).

21   On the methodology of a gender-based imagology see for example Bock (2013).

already interwoven with gender, race, class, age, sexuality, ability, religion, and other categories. As a performative concept, nationality constantly has to be reproduced in different temporal, spatial, and media-specific settings. This highly complex and multi-layered construct is as much about producing a form of national identity as it is about exclusion and discrimination of identities that are not construed as part of this definition. An intersectional understanding of nationality provides a range of questions for an imagological analysis. Above all, it draws attention to the ways that stereotypes of a certain nation differ in various texts rather than to the way they are similar. If we assume that nationality always contains notions of gender, ability, or age, imagology needs to unwrap and to expose these entanglements. This can be achieved by close readings that focus on *how* a national stereotype is narrated—what spaces are assigned to it, for example, how it is perceived by others, and if and when focalization lies with that stereotyped figure. Furthermore, an intersectional perspective draws our attention to elements of nationalized stereotypes that are made to appear self-evident—like the whiteness[22] and heterosexuality of the Parisienne.

The Parisienne has become a national stereotype in the course of the nineteenth century, repeatedly constructing the French capital as a synecdoche for France as a whole. Like Balzac's Mme. de Bargeton, those female characters are always cisgendered, heterosexual, white, able-bodied, and young, or middle-aged. Since the Parisienne represents a nationalized norm, her class changes in the course of the nineteenth century from nobility to bourgeoisie, along with political power shifts in the country. Another literary text that engages in these practices of stereotyping is Henry James's *The American* (1877).[23]

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22   Here, imagology can profit from critical whiteness studies which do not analyse whiteness as an actual skin colour but rather as a racialized normative construction (see e.g. Hill 1997). This perspective can be helpful in deconstructing practices of stereotyping that render whiteness invisible, thus reproducing it as the norm that does not have to be marked.

23   In my analyses I avoid the concepts of hetero- and auto-images. Even though it would be possible to describe Balzac's Parisienne as an auto-image while describing the Parisienne in James's novel as a hetero-image, I think this categorization would create the notion of two stable diametrical figures and thus inherently limit the possibilities for my analysis. My aim is rather to compare and contrast practices of stereotyping in different media, which shifts the analytical focus to the (literary) strategies and ways of narrating a stereotype. Additionally, it leaves room to account for ambivalences, changes, and variations within different stereotypings. I agree with Joep Leerssen who states: "What is an auto-image and what a hetero-image is not the stable polarity that it was once thought to be" (2016, 21).

3   Nationality as Intersectional Storytelling

The American is primarily set in Paris, which is thus (re)produced as a nucleus of European cultural history.[24] In James's novel, Europe becomes a homogeneous, self-reliant entity with a privileged history and culture—being a white, heteronormative, binary, abled culture that knows no more than two classes: nobility and bourgeoisie. The story's first chapter takes place at the Louvre: a topical place linked to cultural knowledge, art, and distinction. More precisely, the story's starting point is the Salon Carré, where the Salon exhibition of the Académie des Beaux-Arts had been taking place since the beginning of the eighteenth century—virtually the heart of the Louvre at the time the novel is set.

Here, the readers are introduced to the novel's good-natured but rather naive protagonist, the US-American Christopher Newman. After a brief description of Newman's feeble attempts to grasp the artworks of the Louvre, the heterodiegetic narrator humorously characterizes him as a stereotypical American:

> An observer with anything of an eye for national types would have had no difficulty in determining the local origin of this undeveloped connoisseur, and indeed such an observer might have felt a certain humorous relish of the almost ideal completeness with which he filled out the national mould. The gentleman […] was a powerful specimen of an American.
>   JAMES [1877] 1978, 17

What is noticeable about this description is not only the humorous but also biologistic tone of the passage, which allows for an implicit comparison with descriptions and classifications of animal species ("a powerful specimen"). At the same time, a kind of connoisseurship is created that reinforces the association with nature observation: the trained spectator will easily be able to assign Newman to a particular nation or "local origin" (ibid.). One might ask oneself at this point whether the humorous tone in which Newman is described and classified by the text ironizes national stereotyping. A close reading makes it clear, however, that the novel merely produces an aesthetic (and hierarchical) distance between the readers and the protagonist, which is supposed to make him the object of ridicule. By essentializing the character's origin and subjecting his perception of the world to national barriers, the stereotypes reproduced by the text are much rather reinforced.

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24   The Europe of Henry James's novels is a limited, topical Europe: the novels are set, above all, in Western Europe and there, almost exclusively, in Great Britain, France, and Italy.

Returning to the *histoire*, subsequently, it is Newman who is observing: he is watching a woman copying a painting by Murillo. The copy (and thus the talent of the woman) is quickly devalued by the narrator, who refers to her work simply as a "squinting Madonna" (James [1877] 1978, 19). Gazes and their inherent power structures are of considerable importance in this chapter— just as they were in Balzac's novel. The nameless copyist initially exists solely through Newman's gaze and through the narrator's comments. While Newman was described extensively, the readers only learn about the copyist that she is a "young lady" with a "boyish coiffure" (ibid.). While Newman observes the copyist, the story makes it clear that she is aware of it: "As the little copyist proceeded with her work, she sent every now and then a responsive glance toward her admirer" (ibid.). Noticeably, the female figure is constantly talked about in a diminutive form ("little copyist," "boyish coiffure"). While the protagonist's gaze is direct and relaxed ("staring at [...] in profound enjoyment" (ibid., 17), "he admires" (ibid., 19)), hers is swift and hectic ("restless glance" (ibid.)). What follows is a kind of dance-like performance during which the copyist displays her body in order to maintain the protagonist's gaze:

> The cultivation of the fine arts appeared to necessitate, to her mind, a great deal of byplay, a great standing off with folded arms and head drooping from side to side, stroking of a dimpled chin with a dimpled hand, sighing and frowning and patting of the foot, fumbling in disordered tresses for wandering hair-pins. These performances were accompanied by a restless glance, which lingered longer than elsewhere upon the gentleman we have described.
> IBID.

Her performance ultimately is successful. Newman approaches the woman ("At last he rose abruptly [...]" (ibid.)) and addresses her with a sudden and contextless "Combien?" (ibid.).[25] This first verbal communication between the story's characters not only reveals Newman's lack of French language skills and manners. Since his "Combien?" directly follows the woman's bodily display, it refers not only to her painting but also, on another level, to herself. The artist, having consciously hinted at it, recognizes the double meaning of Newman's statement but decides to bypass it.[26] Still, Newman's behaviour in the Salon Carré (and subsequently in the further course of the novel) reveals

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25   Meaning "How much?" in English.

26   "The artist stared a moment, gave a little pout, shrugged her shoulders [...]" (James [1877] 1978, 19).

the capitalist consumerist logic[27] that evidently shapes his perception of the world and is in line with negative stereotypes of US-Americans during the nineteenth century. The aesthetic enjoyment of art, as was made clear right from the beginning of the story, does not appeal to him. Instead, he strives to consume art as a commodity, to own it, and to take it home with him.

After the bumpy start, a communication unfolds between Newman and the copyist, in the course of which the protagonist buys her painting (which is repeatedly marked by the narrator as inferior in quality). Furthermore, he will order eight more of her paintings in the course of the story. The dialogue between Newman and the Parisian woman, who is called Noémie Nioche, is as clumsy as its beginning, though. Both of them only partially master the language of the other and yet Noémie Nioche retains control from the onset. Once again, the readers know more than the main character; they know that the copyist continues to cleverly play her role, while Newman remains unsuspecting. At one point, the narrator remarks on her behaviour: "The young lady's aptitude for playing a part at short notice was remarkable" (James [1877] 1978, 20), while Newman reflects only a few moments later: "[...] it gratified him to think that she was so honest. Beauty, talent, virtue; she combined everything!" (ibid.)

By the end of their first meeting, Noémie Nioche has not only persuaded the protagonist to purchase her (rather bad and also unfinished) painting. She has also arranged for Newman to take French lessons with her father, despite him not being a teacher and not being confident about the idea at all. For both, she relentlessly negotiates exorbitant prices. When she has successfully managed everything, Noémie Nioche takes her belongings and leaves Christopher Newman behind in the Salon Carré. The chapter ends with the following sentence: "The young lady gathered her shawl about her like a perfect Parisienne, and it was with the smile of a Parisienne that she took leave of her patron" (James [1877] 1978, 25). The effect of this statement is that of a conclusion or even a kind of punch line. Noémie Nioche has been successful in her act and she has simultaneously assigned the roles in this chamber play: Parisienne and wealthy, naive, and uncultivated American.

In this first chapter of the novel, the two characters are diametrically constructed: *New World* versus *Old World*; naive, good-natured, financially independent, and uncultivated versus clever, manipulative, financially dependent, and cultivated; cis male versus cis female. Both characters constitute each other and, following the dominant Western concept of gender, remain

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27   For an analysis of this consumer logic displayed by Newman, see Kovács (2006, 62–67).

mutually dependent. Interestingly, Noémie Nioche is not named a Parisienne but is merely compared to one (even though she is, of course, from Paris). In this chapter, the stereotype of the Parisienne is not (solely) employed to characterize a female figure but, above all, to characterize the city and its atmosphere. The first chapter of James's novel acts as a kind of prologue in that it establishes its setting by presenting a personification of it. Noémie Nioche was a Parisienne in her actions, which were very clearly evaluated by the heterodiegetic narrator. Everything she is, is Paris. In that way, the chapter foreshadows the rest of the novel's plot that has Newman constantly fail because he misjudges Paris and its inhabitants.

Noticeably, the novel retains the French term *Parisienne* rather than translate it. Thereby, it explicitly calls up the stereotype—a stereotype that is known to the novel's implicit reader as a specific representation of bourgeois, white, able-bodied, heterosexual, cisgendered femininity that is clearly linked to a particular concept of Paris. Interestingly, the naming of the Parisienne coincides with the first time that fashion and performing in/with fashion are mentioned in the text. But the point here is not to understand what it means exactly to put on a shawl "like a perfect Parisienne" (ibid.) or what smiling like one looks like—that remains for the readers to be imagined. The chapter is about setting up two intersectional stereotypes against one another. Furthermore, it is about the narrative production and essentialization of the nation as an active agent that generates clearly identifiable people. In *The American*, topoi, clichés, and stereotypes are exaggerated in a way that makes the novel seem like a parody of those constructs. At the same time, though, the story does not provide its characters with a way out of these fixed structures. The protagonist and the majority of the other characters are doomed to fail because of them. It is only Noémie Nioche, the representation of a manipulative, artificial Paris, who succeeds in the end.

4   Conclusion

In James's novel, the Parisienne represents and produces France as a nation. Moreover, the stereotype acts as a representation of Europe as a whole, a counterimage to that of America. This idea of nationality or national identity, though, is not a stable one. It only ever appears to be because national stereotypes provide linear narratives, which seek to achieve coherence, chronology, and causality. Imagology, as Joep Leerssen has put it, is about "deconstructing the discourse of national and ethnic essentialism" (2016, 13). An intersectional perspective can be helpful in achieving just that: it focuses our attention on the

narrative interlinkages of gender, race, class, sexuality, age, ability, and other identity categories that are (re)produced through stereotypes like that of the Parisienne. An intersectional perspective increases awareness for the specific entanglements that are created by literary texts. In Balzac's *Lost Illusions*, for example, Mme. de Bargeton's gender, race, class, sexuality, and ability are tantamount to an idea of a modern, elegant, superior Paris. However, an analysis of the novel reveals class to be the decisive category, which ultimately decides the fate of both protagonists.[28] This is not the case for later literary representations of the Parisienne. Henry James's Noémie Nioche retains the elegant, fashionable superiority of Balzac's Parisienne. But her age and class have changed. In accordance with political shifts in the country, the Parisienne of the second half of the nineteenth century is always a bourgeois woman. Again, both the character's age and class are pivotal for that first encounter between consumerist, hetero-cis male America and artificial, hetero-cis female France. Stereotypes like that of the Parisienne have no fixed outline or structure. Their stability depends on perpetual repetition. A comparative analysis of different literary texts (and, possibly, other media) reveals the references, the demarcations, the emphases, the ruptures, and ambivalences that mark these dissimilar iterations.

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28   The nobility of Mme. de Bargeton is, of course, always already interwoven with her gender, sexuality, race, ability, etc.

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A "Jezebel" or a Further "Madwoman in the Attic" in Caroline Lee Hentz's *The Planter's Northern Bride*

Karin Andersson

Abstract

This article examines striking similarities between stereotypical characters in Caroline Lee Hentz's US-American plantation novel *The Planter's Northern Bride* (1854), and Charlotte Brontë's classic *Jane Eyre* (1847). Especially, a connection can be made between Hentz's Italian "Madwoman in the attic" Claudia, and Brontë's transatlantic Caribbean counterpart Bertha. An intersectional methodology performed through a close reading will show how both women are literally and metaphorically trapped within spaces and stereotypes. This article transfers imagology into a global setting while extending its scope beyond investigating national characteristics.

Keywords

nineteenth century – plantation novel – intersectionality – Jezebel – Southern Belle

1   Introduction

Cotton, white mansions, fried chicken, voodoo, steamboats, confederate flags, beautiful belles, caring mammies, jezebels, and cavaliers are probably just a few of the images that come to mind when the Old South[1] is mentioned, and engrained internal conceptualizations, or stereotypes, are difficult to alter once established (West 1995, 458). Examining the textual manifestation of such mental images and their surrounding discourses is an important task within imagology, which originated as a branch of European comparative literature, especially connected to German and French scholarly output. However, the approach itself can be applied to any literary text that contains national

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1   The Old South refers to the American Southern states before the Civil War.

stereotypes, which is illustrated through the transnational focus covered by numerous articles in this volume.

One way of expanding imagology's methodological scope is to integrate further means of analysis. For instance, intersectionality as an approach could assist in illuminating reflexive relationships and intersections of categories such as class, ethnicity, age, whiteness, disability, national belonging, nation, and gender. Joep Leerssen (2016) also suggests that intersectionality could help observe and theorize categories of identity and their correspondence to certain sociotypes. Using an intersectional framework widens the scope of imagology, whose purpose is usually to examine national images and characters. Additionally, within this article, I suggest that intersectionality could be employed as a means of illustrating how patriarchal power operates within ethnotypes.

This article will deal with similarities between the nineteenth-century American plantation stereotype of the Jezebel, often literary rendered as a promiscuous, assertive, and cunning mixed-raced enslaved woman, and the European Madwoman, who is portrayed as hysterical, seductive, and animal-like. To examine the intertwinements of these stereotypes I will look at the antagonist of one of Caroline Lee Hentz's plantation novels (*The Planters' Northern Bride*, 1854) Claudia—the Jezebel—and Charlotte Brontë's character Bertha (*Jane Eyre* 1847)—the Madwoman in the attic. Through an intersectional close reading, I will suggest that the Jezebel and the Madwoman seem to be transatlantic counterparts.

2   Intersectionality and Imagology Combined

Intersectionality, which is strongly connected to third wave feminism, is said to be the most important contribution to academia provided by feminist theory to date (Carbin and Edenheim 2013, 234). Since intersectionality turned into a "buzzword" (Davis 2008), the interest in the concept and its application has been remarkable. In fact, between 2011 and 2014, approximately 1,000 scholarly articles were published using intersectionality as an analytical tool or discussing it as such (Marfelt 2016, 33). Intersectionality could be interpreted as an endeavour that "embraces messiness, complexity, multiplicity [...] and it attempts to think outside existing gender, sexuality, and race binaries" (Thorpe et al. 2017, 363). The postcolonial scholars Phoenix and Pattynama have defined intersectionality as "exploring intersecting patterns between different structures of power and how people are simultaneously positioned—and position

themselves—in multiple categories, such as gender, class, and ethnicity" (2006, 187).

Its origin is usually traced back to the legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw, critical race theory, and Third World Liberation movements (Marfelt 2016, 32). The interest in intersectionality is, arguably, from the get-go, its promise to be critical (Davis 2008, 71). Flaunting inequalities obscured due to power hierarchies on structural and institutional levels becomes possible. The empowering effect of intersectionality lies in the "critically informed discussions of difference" (Watson and Scraton 2013, 36), and the chance to show that "the experience of one category drastically alters another" (ibid., 37).

In 2005 the feminist scholar Leslie McCall made a first attempt to establish a methodology for intersectionality. She coined the terms "anticategorical"—rejecting the use of categories all together and discussing identity as a whole (McCall 2005, 1770), "intercategorical"—making use of existing categories, and "intracategorical"—discussing differences within a category. However, how many categories one should discuss is not predecided, and some scholars clearly wish to investigate categories as dynamic processes, for example racialization (Choo and Ferree 2010, 134) rather than race per se.

In 2012 the Danish scholars Ann-Dorte Christensen and Sune Qvotrup suggested a qualitative methodology for conducting intersectional analysis. They argued that intersectional close readings of life-story narratives enhance the understandings of how categories function within an individual. Taking everyday life as a point of departure, they discuss the selection of categories and ways of illuminating intersections. One could say that they apply McCall's intracategorical approach to examine nuances of class articulation but add several implications for a hands-on analysis. To maintain the openness of intersectionality, they advise deciding on categories that seem to display intersections of power, privilege, and identity. However, the first selection should only be a starting point that may be altered later, if other categories turn out to be relevant. Within imagology the interest usually lies in investigating national (European) stereotypes. Intersectionality could throw into relief how nuances of nationality can be further divided into categories such as ethnicity, gender, age, sexual identity, or disability. This endeavour would show how several aspects cannot be separated from one another, which in turn provokes reflection among readers on the constructedness of national stereotypes. Within my analysis, I will perform an intersectional intracategorical close reading according to Christensen and Qvotrup's guidelines while teasing out hidden power structures provided within the narration of two fictional female characters. McCall refers to intracategorical complexity "because authors working in this vein tend to focus on particular social groups at neglected points of

intersection—people whose identity crosses the boundaries of traditionally constructed groups" (2005, 1774). I would argue that marginalized stereotypes like the Jezebel and the Madwoman would both qualify within that range.

Intracategorical in this context also refers to taking the overarching category "woman" as a starting point, and then exploring further subcategories and intersections within that category. I will primarily investigate how ethnicity and gender operate within the antagonists Claudia (Jezebel) and Bertha (Madwoman), since both gender and ethnicity are foregrounded in the narrations of these characters. In this case, gender and ethnicity enable an understanding of privilege, power, and identity, and of how the stereotypes Jezebel and Madwoman are successfully constituted as disadvantaged within the narratives.

3   Plantation Stereotypes

Plantation stereotypes are stock characters to be found in plenty within the plantation novel, also often referred to as the Southern novel, which usually promoted the social institution of slavery in America during the nineteenth century. The Southern Belle, who is often one of the main characters in a plantation novel, could be considered an auto-stereotype of ideal antebellum Southern womanhood. She represented virtue, youth, fertility, and health in a society that was characterized by a hot climate, fatal diseases, and remote living conditions. Once the Belle married she became a Matron who resided over a household, and potentially over enslaved people. For instance, in 1838 Caroline Howard Gilman published her text *Recollections of a Southern Matron*, which is often discussed as a typical plantation novel, with a typical plot: "a young Charleston woman lives in her father's family, witnesses sundry incidents, is courted, marries, has children, and with that, the book stops" (O'Brien 2010, 185). Written as a novel of education, one follows how the Southern Belle Cornelia transitions into a Matron while each chapter of Gilman's novel treats a further aspect of Southern domesticity.

Caroline Lee Hentz was another popular author of this genre and wrote eighteen plantation novels altogether, one of which this article will consider. The plot of Hentz's Anti-Tom novel[2] *The Planters' Northern Bride* is seemingly straightforward and concerns the romantic relationship between the Northerner Eulalia Hastings and the Southern planter and slaveholder

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2   A small genre emerged containing Southern writers' responses to Harriet Beecher Stowe's negative depiction of Southern society in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852).

Russel Moreland. Eulalia's father, Mr. Hastings, is a convinced abolitionist and preacher, which results in several political and ethical discussions between him and Mr. Moreland. Accordingly, the initial hundred pages are devoted to overcoming bumps in the road before the protagonists can finally be married. After the wedding, Mr. Moreland takes Eulalia to his home in the South, where the readers are acquainted with typical enslaved stock characters residing on his plantation. However, neither Gilman's nor Hentz's narrative became nearly as popular as Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), which is probably the first text that comes to mind when the plantation novel is mentioned. Yet Stowe wrote from the perspective of an abolitionist, and, therefore does not represent the genre but rather writes back to it.[3]

After the Civil War, the plantation novel lived on through nostalgic depictions such as Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind* (1936) but also through African American authors like Charles Chesnutt who, at the turn of the century, was one of the first to satirize the genre in his work *The Conjure Woman* (1899).

In hindsight it seems to be a common belief that Southerners were racist and Northerners not; however, both proslavery texts and abolitionist writings frequently relied on racist ideologies (Levy 2012, 274), a fact that is discussed in James Baldwin's text "Everybody's Protest Novel" (1946), which, in turn, writes back to Stowe's text.

Few of the mentioned texts discuss taboo topics such as the corporal punishments, state laws, and ideologies that upheld slavery. Dating back to colonial times, one can find sources that reveal Southerners' fear of the sexuality of enslaved people that they misguidedly assumed to be able to control by reducing Black peoples' personalities to unthreatening hetero-images (Yellin 1972, 57). One example of an unthreatening female stereotype is the so-called Mammy, often depicted as "a bandana-clad, obese, dark complexioned woman with African features" (West 1995, 459). The Mammy is a generally cherished and idealized stereotype, arguably because of her alleged total fidelity and asexuality, whereas her antagonist the Jezebel is depicted as a seductive savage trickster.

The discursive power within plantation stereotypes can be illustrated through the fact that they have an impact on real behaviour. For instance, West writes that the Mammy stereotype is still adopted by many Black women in

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3 Although Stowe's purpose was to criticize slavery, she made use of the same stock characters as proslavery writers, which, especially resulting from the popularity of her text, enforced rather than questioned racial stereotypes. James Baldwin convincingly shows this by, for instance, pointing toward the characters Elisa and George who are both fair-skinned enslaved people who pass as white both by their looks and manners, instead of being portrayed as people of colour.

the US due to its strong reinforcement through mass media, films, and litera-
ture (1995, 459). In addition, the curse of slavery seems to live on through the
sex industry. Alice Walker writes in her short story "Coming Apart" (1980) that
pornography offers Black men a misguided opportunity to access and control
white women, who had previously been unavailable to them. Within this con-
text Black women are still portrayed as Jezebels, allegedly driven by sexuality
and animalistic instincts (Walker 1980, 110).

During the second wave of feminism, a sincere scholarly interest arose in
investigating female plantation stereotypes. The impetus arguably originated
with the critic Barbara Welters's article "The Cult of True Womanhood" (1966),
in which Welter argues that nineteenth-century Western women needed to be
"pious, submissive, chaste, and pure," and that they were "hostages within the
home" (Welter 1966, 151). She asserts that the conventions of the Western nine-
teenth-century woman can be grasped through "the cult of true womanhood,"
hereafter referred to as "the Cult."

Although Welter's concept was widely applied, it was also later severely crit-
icized for being too descriptive and deterministic, especially during third wave
feminism where her research was even referred to as "a clumsy attempt of ana-
lyzing the politics of true womanhood" (Roberts 2002, 151). Importantly, both
Hazel Carby (1987) and Barbara Christian (1980) suggest that Welter fails to
theorize how the Cult is a whitewashed concept that ultimately excluded Black
women from "real" womanhood. They also argue that historians of Southern
history, like Anne Firor Scott (1974), have been preoccupied with determining
to which extent women corresponded to the conventions of the Cult, instead
of investigating the ideology itself (Christian 1980, 7; Carby 1987, 24). Carby
also problematizes the fact that existing scholarship has failed to analyse
female plantation stereotypes reflexively (1987, 21). She especially underlines
that ignoring contextual circumstances has obscured the perception of female
Black stereotypes. Similar to Leerssen, she cautions that a stereotype does not
mirror reality but rather supports dominant societal ideologies, which are in
need of investigation (Leerssen 2016, 22).

4   Defining the Belle, the Jezebel, and the Madwoman

Up until this point, this article has outlined intersectional guidelines for doing
a close reading, and presented the literary genre with which this text engages.
I will now move on to define the stereotypes that the upcoming analysis will
deal with. A typical description of the Southern Belle can be found in *The Old*

Virginia Gentleman (1885), written by the Southern physician and humourist George William Bagby:

> More grace, more elegance, more refinement, more guileless purity, were never found in the whole world over, in any age, [...] archness, coquetry, and bright winsomeness—[...] their character was based upon a confiding, trusting, loving, unselfish devotion—a complete, immaculate world of womanly virtue and home piety was theirs, the like of which [...] was [...] never excelled [...] she is sacred.
>
> 1943, 37

This quote allows us to view the Belle on her pedestal, and, as was argued before, it is this image of a seemingly perfect woman that set an unrealistic standard of womanhood that other female plantation stereotypes could not live up to (Seidel 1985, 118).

The Belle's antagonist seems to be the Jezebel. Old prejudices and delusions concerning Black female sexuality led to the Jezebel stereotype that, during antebellum times, suggested that Black women were promiscuous and driven by their libido. This made them vulnerable, and turned them into scapegoats. Especially, these prejudices simplified the process of men blaming enslaved women for sexual contacts if they ever became public (Gray White 1987, 76).

The name Jezebel is to be found in the Bible, and it is also from the scriptures that the stereotype has received its negative connotation. Jezebel was the first heathen princess, and the wife of Ahab. She is described as adulterous and evil. Betina Entzminger defines the African American Jezebel in a similar way as "a femme fatale [...] hyperbolic and sexually knowing, physically powerful because of her allure, and morally dangerous" (2002, 2). Sue Jewell with others deliver a similar rendering: "Physically, Jezebel was often portrayed as a mixed-race woman with more European features, such as thin lips, straight hair, and a slender nose [...] she functioned primarily in the role of a seductive, hypersexual, exploiter of men's weaknesses" (1993, 162). It could be argued that the Jezebel had more European features in order to appear appealing to white men and the readership. For instance, Aisha Lockridge writes that the Jezebel is "walking a tightrope between sanity and lucidity" (2012, 129), which allows us to draw a parallel between the Jezebel and its suggested transatlantic double—the Madwoman.[4]

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4 The name Madwoman was first introduced by Susan Gilbert and Sandra Gubar in their text *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination* (2000). Other scholars who have retraced the stereotype in eighteenth and

Based on the analysed texts, but also on travel accounts from the time period, it seems as if animal-like behaviour, madness, and a darker skin colour are often connected, since enslaved women were often described as both hysterical and animalistic.[5] The Madwoman found in European literature is described in similar terms. For example, apart from Bertha in *Jane Eyre*, one finds the Italian character Giulietta in E.T.A. Hoffmann's *Die Abenteuer der Sylvester-Nacht* (1815). Similar to Hentz's antagonist Claudia, she is described as a seductive and ill-meaning Italian. The narrator describes that she provides a man with a drink that makes him lose his better judgement. The drink, or rather potion, induces the protagonist to feel drawn to Giulietta. One can clearly draw a parallel between a love potion and voodoo, and by extension between the stereotypes of the Madwoman and the Jezebel, who are both said to have made use of such measures. The European Madwoman has also been discussed as the binary opposite to the common literary stereotype "the Angel in the house," who also bears similarities to the Southern Belle (Honig 1988, 35).

As the title of article text suggests, I wish to discuss to which extent the Jezebel stereotype could correspond to the nineteenth-century Madwoman, at least within the two investigated novels. Bertha in *Jane Eyre* is narrated as a rich Creole woman who grew up in Spanish Town, Jamaica. She is deprived of a voice of her own until Jean Rhys's postcolonial novel *Wide Sargasso Sea* (1966) was published. Her narrative tells the story of Antoinette (later Bertha) prior to her arrival in England, and her slow progression into alleged madness.

In 1979 the scholars Susan Gilbert and Sandra Gubar published the text *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination* wherein they examine a relatively small canon of female white writers and how their depictions of female characters often correspond to either saints or monsters. They argue that the female writers resort to simplified characters for acceptance by a wide audience. Bertha—the Madwoman—becomes the ultimate example of a demonized female character—akin to how the Jezebel is the least positive female African American stereotype.

In 1985 the postcolonial scholar Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak wrote "Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism," which is a further rereading of Bertha that combines the character as rendered in both *Jane Eyre* and *Wide*

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nineteenth-century literature seem to agree that the Madwoman is a recurring stereotype always viewed from a male perspective, depicted as sexually provocative and self-abusing to balance out male fears about authority and control (Kromm 1994, 508).

5   For examples, consult the nineteenth-century travelogues by Harriet Martineau, *Retrospect of Western Travel* (1838), and Fanny Kemble's *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation in 1838–1839* (1864).

Sargasso Sea. She foregrounds England's imperial context, patriarchy, and colonialism, and concludes that Bertha is a product of an imperial discourse, which, I would argue, inextricably links the Madwoman to slavery, and, by extension, to the Jezebel.

To summarize, without much effort, one can distinguish dichotomies between the Belle/Angel in the house and the Jezebel/Madwoman, such as white versus whitish, asexual versus sexual, civil versus uncivil, and, not the least, unthreatening versus threatening. In a way these dichotomies seem to be present up until today. The sociologist Patricia Hill Collins states: "Afro-American women have been assigned the inferior half of several dualities, and this placement has been central to their continued domination" (2000, 20).

5   *The Planter's Northern Bride* and *Jane Eyre*

At first glance *The Planter's Northern Bride* (1854) and the English writer Charlotte Brontë's bestseller *Jane Eyre* (1847) seem to be two completely unconnected novels. *Jane Eyre* is considered a Victorian classic whereas the Anti-Tom novel might be mentioned in relation to Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* at best.

The main objective of Hentz's novel was to reject Stowe's claims on slavery as an immoral institution. She implies in her text that since Stowe described all the adverse sides of slavery, she would now reveal the other side of the coin, and portrays Southern plantation life as paternalistic and honourable, preferable to the alleged poverty and desolation of the bourgeois Northern society. Nevertheless, the novel seems to have a yet unexplored intertextual connection to *Jane Eyre*.

One can find strong similarities both in the plotline and in the characters of *Jane Eyre* within Hentz's novel. Both novels centre on a love story between a well-to-do bachelor (Mr. Moreland) or seemingly bachelor (Mr. Rochester), and an innocent, pious young woman with a humble background (Eulalia and Jane). Secondly, both novels incorporate a foreign ex-wife antagonist (Claudia) or seemingly ex-wife (Bertha) who threaten the foreshadowed and desired romantic union of the positively portrayed protagonists.

Both Claudia and Bertha seem to be rejected mainly because of their ethnicity, but they are also both referred to as Madwomen, which immediately points toward an intersection of gender and mental illness—the popular nineteenth-century diagnosis of hysteria.[6] Likewise, both male protagonists have one child

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6   Hysteria was a popular diagnosis during the nineteenth century. The word comes from the
    Greek *hystera*, which means womb. The Greeks believed that an unbalanced or sickly uterus

from a previous liaison, and in both cases the fathers have trouble bonding with these daughters (Effie and Adéle), since they remind them of their allegedly promiscuous mothers. Additionally, both female protagonists (Eulalia and Jane) become surrogate mothers to the bullied daughters, and encourage the fathers to let bygones be bygones.

Furthermore, both female antagonists eventually die in unnatural circumstances, which, in a melodramatic manner, ultimately allow the protagonists to pursue their romantic objectives undisturbed. Accordingly, there are crucial overlaps between these novels published only a couple of years apart on different sides of the Atlantic. *Jane Eyre* became a bestseller overnight in America, published under the male-sounding pseudonym Currer Bell. In reviews it was referred to as a naughty and provocative book (O'Brien 2010, 187). This fact would explain why Hentz chose to create light versions of the characters and events. Based on its immense popularity, it is not unrealistic to consider it a further intertext alongside *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Also, according to correspondence between Hentz and her publisher, she was actively searching for plotlines that would sell in great numbers. This is possibly because her French husband, an allegedly "jealous school master" (Bakker 1998, 3) named Nicholas Marcellus Hentz, had fallen ill in 1849: Hentz became the breadwinner of the family from that point onward and needed to publish one novel a year to pay for their living. Hentz asked her publisher if it could be profitable to write a novel that responded to Stowe's. Her publisher strongly advised her to compose such a text. O'Brien writes, "Stowe's book was an opportunity, beckoning for sales" (2010, 187), and he also states that "Hentz was unashamedly partial to wealth" (ibid., 188). Ironically, in the end the novel only sold well after Hentz's death from pneumonia in 1856 (Rindo [2009] 2014).

5.1 The Belle versus the Jezebel: An Intersectional Close Reading

The potentially most interesting woman in Hentz's narrative could be the Italian antagonist Claudia, the former Mrs. Moreland and a persona non grata who, in every respect, is described as Eulalia's opposite. As was argued by Christian (1980) and Carby (1987), the alleged Belle and the alleged Jezebel need to be analysed together to best grasp their discursive intertwinements. The narrator states that "evil passions had darkened and marred the brilliant face of the one [Claudia], while purity, goodness, truth, and love had imparted to the other an almost celestial charm [Eulalia]" (Hentz 1854, 363). It seems as if the author attempts to stretch the boundaries of binary positions, which

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was the cause of hysteria, which, therefore, was an illness only ascribed to women (Price Herndl 1995, 554).

leaves no reader oblivious as to whom the protagonist and antagonist of the narrative are.

Accordingly, the narrator describes that Eulalia is blonde, and Claudia has "raven black hair" and "black eyes that glanced carelessly and haughtily" (ibid., 315). Eulalia dresses and acts with great modesty whereas Claudia wears "black lace" (ibid., 315), "crimson velvet," and "glittering rings" (ibid., 363). Eulalia is full of "angelic sweetness" (ibid., 465) whereas Claudia's "every feature expressed scorn, hatred, and revenge" (ibid., 316). It is evident that, from a white nineteenth-century Southerner's perspective, we encounter a positive auto-image embodied by Eulalia, versus the hetero-image of the foreign-Other Claudia. If we retrace Jewells' (1993) definition of a Jezebel, Claudia corresponds entirely on a surface level by wearing "seductive" clothing and jewellery, but the imagery of evil passions also seems to be rooted on a deeper symbolic level, which could be linked to her darker colour of skin.

Eulalia, on the contrary, convinces through her musical skills and "unselfish devotion," as was suggested Belle-like by Bagby (1885). Manuel Cuenca correspondingly writes: "Hentz regards this angel descended on the plantation as the only possible agent to regulate sectional and racial relations in America. When domestic virtues are threatened the whole national political body is on the verge of collapse" (1998, 89). Accordingly, Eulalia is a character linked to all values contained within the Cult—piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity. Mr. Moreland exclaims that Eulalia is "surrounded by a halo of music and prayer" (Hentz 1854, 61), and after giving birth she kept a "childlike, virgin innocence" (ibid., 422). Because of these descriptions, Cuenca (1998) reads Eulalia as a metaphor for the virgin-mother. Accordingly, Eulalia's male child instantly becomes the idol of its father while Claudia's daughter Effie is described as difficult and impolite, since she has the "passionate and willful temper of her mother" (Hentz 1854, 377).

Based on the descriptions provided by the narrator, one can see that piety, submissiveness, and whiteness are clustered categories of idealized womanhood that cannot be entirely separated from one another within this context. Eulalia is not only depicted as blonde and white but also as angelically sweet and pure, whereas Claudia's darker complexion is mirrored in her daring style of clothes, allegedly nasty manners, lack of dignity, and taste in jewellery. Therefore, although ethnicity is the foregrounded category of identity within Claudia, one can also observe how connotations of morality and domesticity are deeply intertwined with whiteness, and, accordingly, unattainable to her. This could serve as an example of intracategorical analysing where one "interrogates the boundary-making and boundary-defining process itself" (McCall 2005, 1773).

Shortly after Eulalia and Mr. Moreland's wedding, Claudia visits Eulalia unannounced to see her daughter Effie, who, against Claudia's wishes, still resides with Mr. Moreland. She explains to Eulalia, "I thought I married a lover! He turned into my master, my tyrant! He wanted me to cringe to his will, like the slaves in the kitchen, and I spurned his authority! I defied his power! He expected me to obey him!" (Hentz 1854, 366). She goes on by referring to her roots: "because my mother was a foreigner, they accused her of all that was evil, and forbid me to associate with her. But I can tell you, the spirit of the Italian is resilient, and will not be held down" (ibid., 366). Mr. Moreland also refers to Claudia and her family as "itinerant minstrels, wandering through the American cities, leading a kind of wild, gipsy life" (ibid., 372). The quote reveals the racist disposition of the Southerners in their community, and a hierarchy of ethnicities where Italian descent does not seem to be desirable.[7] However, instead of feeling intimidated by the expectations of her surroundings, Claudia feels empowered by an Italian nationalist discourse that allows her to transcend the need to fit into "Southern womanhood." Consequently, this illustrates how ethnicity and submissiveness were intertwined and enabled Southern womanhood, whereas, within Claudia's discourse, submissiveness does not seem to have mattered much, which in turn communicates that womanhood ought not be interpreted as universal.

Eulalia, allegedly filled with celestial charm, does not sympathize with Claudia's need for independence and answers, "the woman who has forfeited her position as a wife and mother is excluded from the social privileges she has wantonly abused. She may be an object of charity, pity, kindness; but of friendship and esteem, never!" (ibid., 364). Evidently, this quote is a telling example of how the ideology of the Cult was reproduced. Eulalia asserts a hierarchy that deems Claudia unworthy of respect.

From an imagological perspective, we can also observe how the auto-image of the Belle is celebrated and becomes a norm at the cost of marginal femininities—a self-serving dynamic (Chew 2006, 183). To the scholar Caroline Field Levander (1998, 85) Claudia becomes the real heroine of the narrative—the one woman who dares to challenge the Cult. As a consequence, she is cast out and resides on an unknown abandoned plantation far into the wilderness until she falls severely ill and dies as an alleged Madwoman. Entzminger correspondingly argues that "women who refused to submit to society's strict and rigid roles [...] were somehow doomed to madness and evil as logic outcomes" (2002, 7).

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7   It has been argued that Italian women within Gothic novels are often portrayed as "haughty, vindictive, and deceitful" (Radcliffe 1998, 7) in order to serve as the English heroine's antagonist. This might explain why Hentz chose to make Claudia Italian.

5.2   *The Transatlantic Connections*

As in *Jane Eyre*, where Bertha's laugh can be heard at night and items move or disappear, there is a Gothic atmosphere that haunts Mr. Moreland's plantation, since no one knows where Claudia is or when she might appear. Similar to Bertha, Claudia presents a threat to the romantic liaison between the two protagonists of the novel. In *Jane Eyre* it seems to be mainly a legal and moral issue that causes Jane to leave Thornfield Hall, whereas in *The Planter's Northern Bride* it is Claudia's sexuality that poses a danger to the relationship between Eulalia and Mr. Moreland, which becomes evident through Eulalia's focalization: "it was exquisitely painful to her to think that Moreland had ever loved such a being" (Hentz 1854, 372).

Not only are both Bertha and Claudia described as having black hair, mixed descent, seductive ways, and mental issues, they are also both the rejected wives of respected men who subsequently want to marry devout Christians after apparently having been seduced against their better judgements. In terms of power, both Bertha and Claudia brought money into the relationships that then became the property of their husbands. Both women also left their original homes to be with their spouses—both acts could be seen as a loss of power, since both their wealth and social connections decreased at the time of marriage. Mr. Moreland recollects his past with Claudia and says that "he blames himself so much for having slighted the warnings of experience, and yielding to the impulse of passion" (ibid., 462). Interestingly, Mr. Rochester offers a similar comment about Bertha, "I was dazzled, stimulated: my senses were excited; and being ignorant, raw, and inexperienced, I thought I loved her" (Brontë [1847] 2008, 352).

Ironically, it seems as if both Mr. Moreland and Mr. Rochester see their second marriages as acts of moral purification. They both feel that their first wives have stained them. In fact, that same exoticness that initially attracted them begins to disgust them, arguably, since their wives did not correspond to the normative female ideals they were used to. Bertha and Claudia are thus blamed for having beguiled their husbands into marrying them; just like Jezebels allegedly seduced plantation owners and other married men to engage in sexual relationships with them.

Once they were married, Mr. Moreland claims that Claudia showed her true colours and he feels as if "he had been a victim of an evil spirit, who, assuming the form of a beautiful woman, had ensnared his heart, and was seeking the destruction of his soul" (Hentz 1854, 375). Once again, Claudia is portrayed as a Jezebel who allegedly tempted, or even resorted to voodoo rituals to make Mr. Moreland marry her.[8] This statement challenges a common misconception,

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8   Voodoo imagery clearly links Claudia to Antoinette (later Bertha), the protagonist in *Wide Sargasso Sea*, who has a love potion made.

namely, that women within the planter society were overly passive (Welter 1966, 151). Yet this does not illustrate passivity but rather that their "power" seemed to be limited and inextricably linked to their sexuality—gendered.

In Hentz's novel slavery is a part of everyday life, whereas in Brontë's text slavery seems to be an omnipresent moral burden embodied and articulated through Bertha. The protagonists can easily be rid of both the Jezebel and the Madwoman, which points toward an alignment in terms of power over an enslaved person as well as over an unwanted woman. As the gentlemen consider the marriages to be over, both attempt to conceal their pasts and erase the memories of their spouses, arguably as a way of escaping guilt. Hence, Mr. Rochester hides his wife in the attic while Mr. Moreland bans Claudia from their village.

The women subsequently lose individual identity through their isolation and maltreatment, and eventually turn into passive objects of contempt. By turning the antagonists into Madwomen, the responsibility of the failed marriages can successfully be transferred onto the women, and removed from the husbands, who were apparent victims of "Claudia the leopardess" (Hentz 1854, 365) and "Bertha the tigress" (Brontë [1847] 2008, 245).

Animalistic imagery connects Bertha and Claudia, and by extension, the stereotypes of Madwoman and Jezebel. Mr. Rochester describes Bertha, "on all fours, it snatched and growled like some strange wild animal" (ibid., 461). Similarly, as Claudia argues with Eulalia "she recoiled from her, as if she were a serpent or a demon" (Hentz 1854, 365), and she is said to be "walking backwards and forwards, with the fierce grace of a leopardess" (ibid.). One can even find an almost identical description of Bertha when Jane calls her "a figure running backwards and forwards" (Brontë [1847] 2008, 254). On one occasion Bertha is also referred to as a grovelling clothed hyena. Significantly, the animals used are all carnivore species that can be found on the African continent and, therefore, hint at the women's mixed descent as well as their allegedly dangerous nature. Bertha is even referred to as an "it," which deprives her even more of a human identity and instead supports her transformation into an animal or Madwoman. The examples show that a certain derogative imagery surrounds both stereotypes, which creates a reflexive connection where one seems to mirror the other.

6   Conclusion

In summary, this article has illustrated how one could perform an intersectional close reading while deconstructing stereotypes. I applied Leslie McCall's intracategorical perspective as well as Ann-Dorte Christensen's and Sune Qvotrup Jensen's implications for an intersectional close reading.

With the categories of gender and ethnicity as my starting point, the outcome points toward intertwinements of various subdivisions of these categories. For instance, it was shown that traits such as piety, submissiveness, purity, and domesticity are inextricably linked to whiteness within the analysed characters. This insight does not only reveal structures of gendered power hierarchies but also how one could revive and work with Barbara Welter's analytical framework of "the cult of true womanhood" (1966) in a productive way.

Furthermore, several similarities between the plantation novel *The Planters' Northern Bride* and *Jane Eyre* were highlighted. The overlaps were discussed both in terms of corresponding characters, themes, and plot development. The Jezebel could be interpreted as the Madwoman of the plantation by showing how both stereotypes are represented similarly through animalistic imagery, characteristics, and appearance—all connected to madness—and by extension the gendered condition of hysteria. Both Bertha the Madwoman and Claudia the Jezebel are portrayed as if their own allegedly uncontrollable sexualities caused their downfalls, whereas I have argued that intersections of ethnicity and gender, supported by (pseudo)science, ultimately enabled their exclusion from the societies depicted in the novels.

However, it is the similarities and not the differences between the antagonists and protagonists that make them threatening within the narratives, since a racist ideology rests upon the idea that there are inherent differences between races. Without the differences, racism could not be justified. In turn, biological determinism masks the fact that racial categories are historically and culturally constructed. For example, Claudia comes from Italy but is genuinely described as a mulatta, whereas Bertha is of Creole descent. Both women could probably pass as English women, which make them intimidatory to the female protagonists who, in self-defence, create differences between them to uphold a racial hierarchy where they themselves are privileged. Finally, the Madwomen seem to reside on fictive plantations as well as in attics, and Jezebels could also be found in nineteenth-century England.

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Images of Bosniac Women in Contemporary Antiwar Films: An Intersectional Analysis of Victim Feminism in *Grbavica* and *In the Land of Blood and Honey*

Ivana Drmić

Abstract

Visual representations of sexual violence in the Bosnian War in Jasmila Žbanić's *Grbavica* (2006) and Angelina Jolie's *In the Land of Blood and Honey* (2011) reveal different dimensions of victim feminism. Both directors sought to raise awareness of the issue of wartime rape and to direct viewers' attention to the pain of the distant Other. An intersectional analysis of the two productions (one domestic and one US-based) helps convey the impact of national and gender stereotyping both on self-representations and on representations of Otherness. Moreover, the analysis of a cinematic response to the Western gaze encourages rethinking prevalent images of the so-called Balkans.

Keywords

feminism – othering – Bosnia – Balkans – film

> Hollywood has been mining Balkan stories for ages, without knowing where the Balkans are exactly, who lives there and how.
>
> DUŠAN MAKAVEJEV (IORDANOVA 2006, xvi)

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The wars in the former Yugoslavia have inspired filmmakers and "resulted in an incredibly large body of film productions" (Mazaj 2008, 9), and the Bosnian War (1992–1995) in particular has become the subject of numerous domestic

and international films. After the breakup of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the multiethnic state of Bosnia and Herzegovina underwent a brutal conflict. Its capital, Sarajevo, became a symbol for resistance, and received substantial international media attention as journalists reported from the besieged city on a daily basis.[1] However, "while the role of journalism in constructing for the West a perception [of] the Balkans […] is certainly significant, it was film that created in the West a sustained perception about this Balkan crisis […]" (Mazaj 2008, 1).

This article focuses on the representation of sexual violence against women in the Bosnian War, both in Hollywood and in domestic film productions of Bosnia. With regard to self-representation and Otherness, the comparison highlights the different perceptions regarding the Balkans[2] as a region through the example of Bosniac women (Bosnian Muslims[3]). The films discussed in this article, *Grbavica, The Land of my Dreams* (2006), the first feature film by Bosnian filmmaker Jasmila Žbanić, and *In the Land of Blood and Honey* (2011), Angelina Jolie's debut as a film director, both tell the story of sexual violence

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1   The capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo, was under siege for 1,425 days (April 5, 1992 to February 29, 1996). International news media regularly reported onsite. The multiethnic and multiconfessional character of Sarajevo stands as a symbol for diversity and resistance. The importance of symbolic Sarajevo in movies is stressed by Dina Iordanova: "[…] I keep returning to the bitter irony that Sarajevo and its inhabitants came under the spotlight of international film-making because of martyrdom and the predicament through which they had to live. Had the Sarajevo siege and massacres not occurred, the city would still be perceived as semi-oriental and almost none of its inhabitants would be known beyond the borders of their land-locked republic" (2001, 237).

2   The term "Balkan Peninsula" was used by the German geographer August Zeuner, whereas Theobald Fischer, also a German geographer, proposed the term *Südosteuropa* for the peninsula (Živančević-Sekeruš 2007, 104). As the region partly belonged to the Ottoman Empire, the majority of Western travellers regarded the region as the antitype of the enlightened West at that time (Hammond 2004, xii). The label "Balkan" rose to international attention with the breakup of Yugoslavia and the following wars in the 1990s, as it was described as the "Balkan" crisis. Bosnia is strongly associated with the "Balkans" label.

3   There is a distinction between the terms "Bosniac" and "Bosnian." Bosnian (*Bosanac* or fem. *Bosanka*) refers to the geographic area of Bosnia (without Herzegovina) and describes a person from Bosnia regardless of his or her religious or ethnic background (see Helms 2013, 35). In 1993 Bosniac intellectuals and politicians decided on the term "Bosniac" (*Bošnjak* or fem. *Bošnjakinja*) to recognize Bosnian Muslims as a nation (see Richter and Gavrić 2010). The term Bosniac has replaced the term Muslim, which has been used since the 1963 Yugoslav Constitution, and which referred in its preamble to "Serbs, Croats, and Muslims," implying that Slavic-speaking Muslims in Bosnia are a nation (see Malcolm 1994, 198) rather than a religious group. In Yugoslavia since 1968 a distinction has been made between the capitalized "Musliman," which referred to a member of a nation, and the lowercased "musliman," which referred to a religious believer (ibid., 199).

against Bosniac women as it happened in the Bosnian War in the 1990s. The films were successful at international film festivals,[4] and the Hollywood production especially evoked a controversial public debate on war crimes and female victimhood in Bosnia. Both had an impact on Bosnian society and participated in what can be described as a national narrative of victimhood. The analysis of each film's aesthetic and approach to the topic in light of Naomi Wolf's theory of victim feminism and Maria Todorova's concept of Balkanism reveals how the female protagonists are victimized and othered. In order to understand the entanglement of Balkanism and victim feminism necessitates an intersectional imagological approach. Identity categories such as gender, sexuality, class, and religion should be examined in combination.

The intention of both directors was to raise awareness of the prevalence of rape and sexual violence against women during the Bosnian War. I aim to provide a discussion in this article of how "visual representation of suffering poses increasing challenges to the ethics of witnessing" (Jelača 2016). As both films focus on Bosniac women as victims, the question arises if the directors' intentions to point out the issue of sexual violence against women and break the taboo of silence strengthens victimhood instead of agency? To elucidate further, I turn to Naomi Wolf, who in the early nineties posited the distinction between power feminism and victim feminism. According to Wolf, victim feminism

> [...] casts women as sexually pure and mystically nurturing, and stresses the evil done to these "good" women as a way to petition for their rights. The other which I call "power feminism," sees women as human beings—sexual, individual, no better or worse than their male counterparts—and lays claim to equality simply because women are entitled to it.
>   WOLF 1993, XVII

Under this aspect, I will take a close look at the way the filmmakers portray their female protagonists as they claim to show women in possession of agency, but instead they stress "the evil done to these 'good' women as a way to petition for their rights" (ibid.). Based on Wolf's thesis, the "sexually pure" (ibid.) female signifies the traumatic event. As a result, Jolie and Žbanić unintentionally support a narrative that portrays Bosniac women as passive actors lacking in agency. Furthermore, the films reveal how gender intersects with ethnicity and nationality in postwar Bosnia since, in both of the aforementioned films, it

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4   Such as the Sarajevo Film Festival, the Berlinale, and the Golden Globe Awards.

is the Bosniac female who is victimized and the Serbian male who is the perpetrator. Although *In the Land of Blood and Honey* and *Grbavica* utilize a similar frame, they produce divergent representations of Bosniac women, Bosnia, and ultimately the Balkans.

The distinction between the domestic and Hollywood portrayals reveals stereotypes about the Balkans. On the one hand, there is a Hollywood actress and director giving the victim a voice (cf. Jolie and Žbanić 2012) and with regard to Jolie's activism supposably with the intention of contributing to the peace process in the region, and on the other hand there is Sarajevo-born director Jasmila Žbanić, who suffered under the siege and reflected on postwar Bosnia in a film she produced with a small production company, while remaining cognizant of Western perceptions and also responding to them. Žbanić's film is set twelve years after the Bosnian War and focuses on a mother–daughter relationship, their everyday life in a war-torn society, and the daughter's realization that she is the outcome of a violent rape. Jolie on the other hand depicts a romantic story between a Serbian man and a Bosniac woman who meet again in a detainee camp where he is the commander and she is the detainee. Both films focus on an educated urban, secular, liberal Muslim woman (Bosniac) who lives in Sarajevo. Still they tend to represent Bosnia as a semi-oriental "Other" by depicting it as backward in its response to war crimes. The label "Balkans" has been revived since the breakup of Yugoslavia and the subsequent wars, and the region has been characterized as a "powderkeg, the spirit of never-ending disagreement, the dark side of Europe" (Živančević-Sekeruš 2007, 105), and Bosnia, as a former member of Yugoslavia and a geographic part of the Balkan Peninsula, is often directly indicated by such a label. According to Maria Todorova, who developed the thesis of Balkanism on the basis of Said's concept of Orientalism, the Balkans are the Other within Europe and are associated with negative primitive images (cf. Todorova 2009, 20). Therefore, the female Bosniac victims in *Grbavica* and *In the Land of Blood and Honey* both arguably represent the distant "Other."

1   *In the Land of Blood and Honey*

Hollywood actor and activist Angelina Jolie stated that her motivation to make *In the Land of Blood and Honey* was to give the victim a voice; in an interview with the Bosnian film director Jasmila Žbanić at the Berlinale Film Festival, Jolie emphasized that she felt encouraged to make the film after a woman told her about a traumatic experience in a detainee camp during the war in Bosnia and that she thought that her story should not be forgotten (cf. Jolie

and Žbanić 2012, min. 00:03:52–00:04:40). Significantly she made the film in both an English and a Bosnian version. For an authentic and realistic representation, she chose actors from Serbia, Bosnia, and Croatia, most of whom experienced the war as children and contributed to finalizing the film script. Jolie has stated in several interviews that her interest in making a movie on sexual violence against women originated from her involvement in numerous humanitarian projects as a Goodwill Ambassador for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Bosnia.[5] Apparently to film particularly the Bosnian War came from her frustration with the lack of intervention (cf. ibid., min. 00:01:58–00:02:02), either through diplomacy or military action (as a last resort) to stop the war. By increasing awareness of wartime events in Bosnia, Jolie hopes that people who see the movie will relate to other conflict zones and say: "Please international community, please somebody stop this, please come in, please do something" (ibid., min. 00:15:20–00:15:25). Therefore, *In the Land of Blood and Honey* can be regarded as an attempt to provide victims some form of justice. This gesture once again shows the power imbalance between the empowered Hollywood actress seeking justice from the privileged position of giving the victim a voice and the victimized Bosniac woman, who stands for a war-torn country, destruction, and mass rape, represented as unable to speak up for herself. Jolie continuously simplified the conflict and underlined that her main characters Ajla (Zana Marjanović) and Danijel (Goran Kostić) are "a couple […] being symbolic of the war […]. In the beginning, there is unity and then there is the past and the history comes and haunts and leads you and tells you this is how you should be and it guides you and pushes you" (ibid., min. 00:12:12–00:12:29). This is not only a simplification of the causes of the conflict but implies the negative notion of the Balkans as politically instable and ethnically divided, where people act based on ancient hatred, which is one of the most common hetero-images of the region.

Regarding the representation of Bosniac women and victimhood, Jolie's film evoked controversial reactions after a rumour had spread that the film was about a love affair between a Bosniac (Muslim) woman and her Serbian (Christian Orthodox) rapist.[6] The public debate shows how sensitive and

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5 Angelina Jolie is the cofounder of the Preventing Sexual Violence in Conflict Initiative. She continues her struggle against sexual war crimes; recently, for example, she issued a plea in the *Washington Post*, along with the former foreign minister of Germany Heiko Maas, demanding more action against sexual war crimes. The plea was issued shortly in advance of the UN Security Council meeting. For further information, see Jolie and Maas (2019).

6 The rumour was about a love between a Serbian rapist and his Muslim victim although the "eight sentence synopsis by Ms. Jolie, obtained by The Independent, does not mention rape but says the young characters Lejla and Danijel are separated by the war, and meet

taboo the issue of sexual violence against women in postwar Bosnian society
still is. The intersection of the ethnicity and gender of the main protagonists
dominated the discussion since critical attention was mainly focused on a
Bosniac woman being raped by a Serb, and the woman subsequently falling in
love with her rapist. The loudest critique came from Bakira Hasečić, the head
of the Association of Women Victims of War (orig. Udruženje "Žena Žrtva
Rata," žžʀ), who criticized Jolie for offending female rape victims (Beaumont
2010). As a result, Jolie temporarily lost the filming permit given by the Bosnian
Federal Cultural Ministry, and had to relocate the shooting to Hungary. The
"depiction of sexuality and sexual relationship [sic] under detention in war"
(Močnik 2016, 26) particularly contributed to this controversy. Then again, not
all victims and ɴɢᴏs supported Hasečić, as she monopolized "the discussion
of Bosnia's raped" (Beaumont 2010). Yet the film controversy broke a "long-
existing taboo against criticizing war victims' organisations and their influ-
ence in Bosnian society" (ibid.). Above all, the dispute reveals the dimension
of victim feminism and illustrates how the self-advocacy of the main protago-
nist Ajla challenged the "moral purity" and "innocence" (Helms 2013, 11) of the
female Bosniac victim. It shows how victim feminism is "judgmental of other
women's sexuality and appearance [...]" (Wolf 1993, 137) and "obsessed with
purity [...]" (ibid.). Moreover, the discussion "casts women *themselves* as good
and attacks men *themselves* as wrong" (ibid.) by portraying Bosniac women as
good and Serbian men as evil.

   The discussion about the film in Bosnia reveals the starkly gendered ethno-
national perspective that is prevalent in representations of the war. The story
of *In the Land of Blood and Honey* is set almost completely around a detention
camp during the Bosnian War. Almost all males in the film are Serbs while all
the females are detainees and Bosniacs. The victim–villain structure depicted
in the movie oversimplifies issues of both gender and ethnicity. As a result, the
film strengthens the image of the Bosniac female victim and the male Serbian
aggressor. Yet Jolie gives the audience two main protagonists who although
they represent the victim–villain narrative as Ajla is the Bosniac female victim
and Danijel is the perpetrator, at the same time challenge these images. On the
one hand there is Ajla, who already caused a public debate on having agency
and sexuality as a Bosniac female victim; on the other hand there is Danijel,
who instead of representing the Balkan hetero-image of a strong, patriotic,
and aggressive male, stands for a man full of doubts, emotions, and empathy.

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   again later, under changed circumstances. Danijel is a prison camp commander and Lejla an
   inmate. 'Danijel tries to find the best solution that would be acceptable for all. The question
   is if such a solution exists at all'" (Zimonjić Perić 2010).

Nevertheless, the film did not contribute much to the peace process in the region, as Serbs felt unfairly depicted due to their representation as villains, whereas Bosniacs were represented as victims (CBS News 2011). Moreover the narrative can be criticized on the ground that wartime rape also happened to Bosniac males, a fact that has hardly been taken into account in public discourse or any artistic depiction to date.[7] The problem, however, is that when one gender of an ethnic group is continuously victimized, the "collective guilt and innocence rigidly constructed in ethno-national terms" (Helms 2013, 24) leads to "collective disempowerment" (ibid., 10) and "denial of responsibility" (ibid., 11).

Furthermore, the reactions to *In the Land of Blood and Honey* point to the question of "who had the moral right to speak on behalf of women victims" (ibid., 23). The victims along with other members of Bosnian society quickly reacted either by taking offense or by seeing the movie favourably. The audience in favour of the screenplay perceived the film as a *true* story about the war instead of regarding it as a piece of fiction, whereas critics did not want to see such a narrative circulated, since it was Hollywood, an influential outsider from the West, trying to portray the Bosnian War. Although Jolie stressed that her film represented a fictional approach to the topic and should be regarded as an artistic expression, *In the Land of Blood and Honey* contains a political message. The fact that a famous Hollywood actress shot the film raised concerns about what kind of image she would transmit on Bosnia and the war. The public debate, in comparison to the one on *Grbavica*, which was evaluated positively among the Bosniac population and only criticized within the Serbian population in Republika Srpska,[8] reveals how sensitive Bosnian society is, when it comes to the Western perception of the Bosnian War.

Hollywood's portrayal of Bosnia in *In the Land of Blood and Honey* is simplified from the very beginning. The introductory lines of the film picture prewar Bosnia as a utopian vision of multicultural harmony: "Before the war, the republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina was part of one of the most ethnically diverse countries in Europe. Muslim, Serbs, and Croats lived together in harmony" (Jolie 2012, min. 00:00:00–00:00:30). The violent and complex dismantling of Yugoslavia is simplified here. The introductory sentence implies a diverse and unified prewar society in Bosnia. Although multiculturalism and multiconfessionalism was and still is characteristic of Bosnia, which has been religiously

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7   For more information on the wartime rape of men, see Garaca Djurdjevic (2017).
8   Republika Srpska was a self-proclaimed state by Bosnian Serbs on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992. It became under the Dayton Peace Agreement (December 14, 1995) one of two entities within Bosnia and Herzegovina: the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republika Srpska. For more information see OSCE (1995).

diverse throughout its existence, it is a convenient way of interpreting the breakup of Yugoslavia. *In the Land of Blood and Honey* is indicative of typical Hollywood storytelling in which war always comes abruptly, and in which the main protagonists usually belong to different ethnic groups and find themselves on different sides of the war, similar to the plot of *Romeo and Juliet* or *West Side Story*. Moreover, Jolie simplifies the film by dividing it into prewar and wartime periods, the former being dealt with in the very first minutes (Jolie 2012, min. 00:04:42–00:04:42). Both periods stand in contrast to each other in terms of colour, architecture, and the use of music. The beginning of the film is very colourful, the weather is pleasant, the apartment of the main character is cosy, as evoked by warm colours, whereas the rest of the film is gloomy and gray. The same effect is achieved with the architectural setting, where prewar Sarajevo is shown with a lack of religious and socialist buildings, as well as the missing oriental bazaar Baščaršija in the heart of the city. In the beginning the viewer is confronted with lots of cafes, whereas the rest of the film shows rather gray socialist buildings.

Jolie also marks ethnicity by her choice of music. While the Serbs listen to Turbofolk music,[9] the Bosniac people listen to Yugoslav rock music from the 1980s. Accordingly, Serbian soldiers are accompanied by Serbian Turbofolk music as they get drunk and harass women. Jolie depicts Turbofolk culture in a very explicit way when she characterizes the Serbs. In a scene in the detainee camp in which a soldier and some imprisoned women listen to a radio report on the Srebrenica massacre, in which 8,000 Bosniac men were killed by Serbian paramilitary forces, the Serbian soldier switches to a different radio station that plays Turbofolk music.

Even though Bosniac women play a significant role in Jolie's movie, the narrative focuses on the individual fate of the main protagonist Ajla. The other Bosniac women remain in the background. The heroine Ajla stands out because, unlike most other women in the camp, she is portrayed as very attractive. The other women represent the traditional Bosniac victim, elderly rural women wearing headscarves, which used to be a common image in news

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9   Turbofolk music is associated with Serbian paramilitary structures and nationalism, machoism, mafia, corruption, primitivism, chauvinism, war, seduction, and sexism. It originated at the beginning of the nineties in the Milošević era in Serbia and was used as a propaganda instrument to motivate Serbian soldiers in fight. Today it is part of the mainstream music in the countries of the former Yugoslavia. It can be described as folk music with elements of popular music and beats. The genre is associated with primitivism and nationalism as the gender roles represented therein are conservative: potent heterosexual men and sexily dressed female singers. In stark contrast to turbofolk is the new wave music scene (electro, punk, and new wave) of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. For further information see Vogel (2017, 11–13, 50, 57–58).

media. Non-Bosnian women, presumably from the other warring side, are for instance shown enjoying the sight of an old Bosniac woman being humiliated and forced to do a striptease for them, and are otherwise depicted sparingly and in the background. The protagonist Ajla evokes empathy through her beautiful appearance. Even in the camp she wears a clean yellow sweater. As a comparison, Žbanić represents her heroine Esma as a woman who does not stand out with attractiveness and whose clothes are far from fashionable.

The victim–villain structure is embodied through Ajla and Danijel. Ajla's relationship to the commander, who turns out to be her former date Danijel, presents her as a self-confident woman who has choices and whose actions are based on her own will. He saves her from rape and she lives under his protection in the camp separated from the other women. The dynamics of their relationship are characterized through an overlap of love, lust, and consensual sex. Toward the end of the film, during Danijel's internal struggle with the expectations of his surroundings and his dominant father Nebojša (Rade Šerbedžija), as well as the ongoing war, his desire for Ajla turns into possessiveness, aggression, and even violence. However, in the end, Danijel opposes his patriarchal father and lets Ajla flee from the camp. She joins a self-armed Bosniac group and returns to Danijel to the camp to presumably get information on Serbian military positions. Danijel is not able to fully protect her, as his father uses his absence to confront Ajla and leaves her with a soldier who rapes her. After a massive explosion in a church, where Serbian military commanders had been holding a meeting, among them Danijel's father, Danijel accuses Ajla of betraying him when returning to the camp. Overall, it can be said that Ajla and Danijel stand out from the represented ethnotypes of Serbs and Bosniacs, which are depicted in a rather traditional and straightforward fashion. Unlike other Balkan men in the film, Danijel consistently shows a sensitive side to his masculinity. The director evokes sympathy for the perpetrator Danijel and the victim Ajla and wants the viewer to believe that this relationship could have been possible without war. Nevertheless the depiction of a "Romeo and Juliet" love relationship between him as a Serbian man and her as a Bosniac woman simplifies the conflict and does not do justice to the complexity of the war: "To those who are sure that right is on one side, oppression and injustice on the other [...] what matters is precisely who is killed and by whom" (Sontag 2003, 10). In the end, it is Danijel who beats and eventually shoots Ajla to death. The missing happy ending may seem surprising for a Hollywood film although it leaves the viewer with a feeling of sorrow and empathy for the victim, who was desired and beautiful, and killed only for belonging to the wrong ethnicity. Danijel confesses his murder and hands himself over to the hands of the UN peacekeepers admitting that

he is a war criminal. His surrender can be read as Serbia taking responsibility for the war crimes, as it should, which again can be read as Hollywood doing justice to Bosnia.

2   Grbavica

Grbavica, The Land of my Dreams (2006) is a Bosnian-Croatian-German-Austrian feature film coproduced by the companies coop99, noirfilm, Jadran film, and Deblokada, the latter of which belongs to the Bosnian director Jasmila Žbanić herself. The film was therefore a domestic production and the director's film debut. The film deals with the human consequences of sexual violence in the aftermath of the Bosnian War. Žbanić pointed out in an interview that she found out about mass rape in 1992 (cf. Žbanić 2007). She intended to make a movie since the topic is still taboo in Bosnian society,[10] and deliberately chose to make a fictional film because she believed that a "documentary would not have this deepness like a fiction film has" (ibid., min. 00:00:00–00:00:18). The reason Žbanić pictures the Bosniac single mother Esma (Mirjana Karanović) and her twelve-year-old daughter Sara (Luna Mijović) in the aftermath of the trauma was her interest in the lives of raped women in Bosnia today. Unlike the ambivalent reactions within Bosnian society to *In the Land of Blood and Honey*, the film was perceived as "one of the most productive ethical and political treatments of traumatic events and experiences in the context of (post-)war Bosnia" (Husanović 2009, 104). Like Jolie, the filmmaker follows the narrative of collective female victimhood, as Helms points out:

> Muslim women rape victims, along with the women survivors of Srebrenica, had become a major symbol of the suffering of the Bosniac people and the cause of a multiethnic Bosnia and Herzegovina. [...] Both mass rape and the sex-selective killings of ethnic cleansing were made to stand for the brutality of the enemy, the drama of Bosnia's plight, and the suffering of the Bosniac nation. The film [*Grbavica*] thus immediately took its place in the familiar narrative of national innocence and victimhood.
> HELMS 2013, 3

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10   Wartime rape has become a topic in Bosnian society only recently. The interactive play "Yellow Boots" by the Bosnian director Anes Osmić, which premiered on December 8, 2018 at the Sarajevo War Theater, and an exhibition called *Breaking Free* (April 8–14, 2019), which showed images of children born as a result of rape, both aimed to address the stigma of wartime rape. For further information see Lakić (2019a, 2019b).

Grbavica shows the suffering of female Bosniacs very effectively as the viewer gains a deep insight into the everyday life of the protagonist. The missing artistic depictions of male victims and non-Bosniac victims in the film clearly emphasizes Bosniac female victimhood.

The feature film had international success and was awarded the Golden Bear at the 2006 Berlinale. This made Jasmila Žbanić the third woman in the history of the Berlinale and the first female filmmaker in twenty-nine years to receive the winning award (Egetenmeier 2018). The fact that only three years later the Peruvian female film director Claudia Llosa won a Golden Bear for a movie that thematized sexual assault of women in the Peruvian Civil War in the 1980s shows the great significance the jury attaches to the issue of wartime rape. Žbanić used her acceptance speech to make a political statement on war crimes in Bosnia:

> Thank you [...] for being so liberal to invite such a small film from a small country with a small budget. [...] I just want to use this opportunity to remind us all that war in Bosnia was over some thirteen years ago and that war criminals Radovan Karadžić and Ratko Mladić still live in Europe freely. They are not captured for organizing rape of 20,000 women in Bosnia, killing 100,000 people, and expelling from their houses one million. This is still Europe and nobody is interested to capture them. In my opinion it just grows bigger and bigger. I hope this will change at least your viewing on Bosnia and I hope this bear will not be disappointed when he sees Bosnia.[11]
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> ŽBANIĆ 2006, 1:02:49–1:08:35

With this statement, the filmmaker continues to victimize Bosnia and its women as well as to blame the "West" for being complicit in the failure to prosecute the crimes that occurred during the war. Žbanić acknowledges the superiority of the West, which is symbolized by the awarded bear, and by doing so, with this narrative she reduces the agency of the Bosniac people, as it seems they have to seek for protection and justice from the West.

Bosnia's Otherness and the choice of the main female character show that both Jolie and Žbanić had an educated urban audience in mind for their films. Ajla in *In the Land of Blood and Honey* and Esma in *Grbavica* both come from an urban space, namely the city of Sarajevo, and are well educated. Žbanić explained her choice in an interview with the argument that, although she

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11   My transcription of the audio acceptance speech at the Berlinale.

is aware of the fact that most rape victims came from rural areas in Bosnia, she deliberately chose a main protagonist from the city, with whom "we"— meaning the audience—can identify with and feel empathy for. She needed a well-educated character who did not lack agency and who had the freedom of choice in her own life (cf. Žbanić 2007, 00:03:19–00:04:35). Jolie achieved the same effect by picking an urban artistic woman from Sarajevo as her main female character.

Right from the beginning of *Grbavica* Žbanić represents the opposed images of femininity and masculinity in today's Bosnian society. Collective female victimhood, underlined by passivity and sorrowful singing, is demonstrated in the opening scene. Throughout the film, the visual depiction of the past and present, of ethnic and gender contrasts, is marked with music. The story begins with a melancholic traditional Islamic song *ilahija*, "Birth," when the audience is introduced to Esma, who is sitting with female Bosniacs in a women's centre at the floor listening with closed eyes to a female voice singing the sentimental song. The camera wanders for several minutes between the female bodies, showing details of their faces with closed eyes, their hands, and their feet. The sudden interruption by an impulsive Turbofolk[12] song in a nightclub, where Esma asks for work, contrasts with the poetic and sorrowful singing in group therapy. Underlined by the music, the audience is confronted with the male Balkan stereotype. The prevalence of domineering, intoxicated males, such as Esma's new boss, also contributes to the creation of an "overall context where female subjects are depoliticized by being reduced to simplified archetypes devoid of complexity so as to reproduce dominant patriarchal regimes and norms" (Husanović 2009, 106).

The filmmaker skilfully depicts the Bosnian postwar and postsocialist society in which Esma is stigmatized. The plot develops around the mother's desperate search for money and Sara's discovery of her mother's lies. In order to attend a school trip, she needs two hundred Bosnian mark or a certificate that her father died as a so-called *shaheed*, a Bosniac war hero. Esma, who hides from her daughter that she was conceived by rape, tries to get the money with part-time jobs and asks colleagues and family members if they can help her out.

Against Žbanić's argument that her heroine Esma has agency due to her education and urban surroundings, I claim that she is in fact lacking in agency. The first impression of Esma is that of a psychologically traumatized woman in a safe space (a women's centre). In the second scene, in which Esma is

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12   Original Serbian song title: "Nije ovo moja noć" (This is not my night) by Singer Saša Matić.

surrounded by chauvinistic drunk males, she seems out of place. The job search in the nightclub emphasizes her marginalization. Esma's body language and her short dialogue with the nightclub's owner, in which she only passively answers questions and even denies having a child, give the impression of female passivity. This impression is further strengthened, when Esma, having been isolated by family members, meets an apparently rich aunt dressed in a fur coat who refuses to help her. Esma is unable to stand up for herself and reacts passively by lowering her head and feeling ashamed to ask for help. Moreover, she is pictured living an isolated life, and attending group therapy with the sole aim of receiving money for her participation. The fact that she is a biologist only strengthens the image of victimhood. Her encounter with another man, Pelda (Leon Lučev), who is also an academic and works for the bar's owner, emphasizes the dismal economic possibilities in a postwar and postsocialist country such as Bosnia. Together they symbolize the human consequences of war. The film illustrates how Bosniacs who experienced the war have become a lost generation and how this war is affecting the next one, which is embodied in Esma's daughter Sara.

The daughter–mother relationship is haunted by the mother's trauma of being raped. Esma tries to be a caring mother, but her inability to speak to her daughter is repeatedly apparent. While fooling around with Sara, the trauma of rape recurs and Esma aggressively pushes Sara away, denying her love. While Žbanić's intention is to emphasize Esma's agency, the film in fact ends up portraying her lack of agency; in fact, she effectively demonstrates Esma's inability to express herself or to stand up for herself. From an intersectional perspective, *Grbavica* illustrates how Esma is discriminated against as a woman, as a rape victim, and as a single working mother without the financial or educational perspective of building a realistic future in the Bosnian society. In fact, the stigmatization is also shown through Sara, Esma's twelve-year-old daughter. Sara is stigmatized at school, and in her desperation to find out what truth her mother is hiding, she perpetuates the cycle of violence when she breaks the silence by confronting her mother with a gun in order to find out the truth. The violent act of pointing a gun at her mother grants her the power to confront her. Whereas Esma stands for victim feminism, her daughter, taking on the position of power feminism, refuses to remain a victim out of desperation; Sara has some kind of self-advocacy and takes the gun as a last resort to find out the truth—that she was conceived through rape—at the climax of the film.

Once Sara pushes Esma to tell her the truth, Esma herself is empowered in a new way: she finally finds her voice. Here the narrative turns toward a hopeful future, as Esma opens up in group therapy in the women's centre and speaks

about her trauma and about giving birth to Sara in detail. The film ends with Esma bringing Sara to the school bus, which means she can ultimately attend the school trip. The love between mother and daughter is expressed through Esma's body language, crying in relief, and waving at Sara. At the same time Sara, who is already on the bus, waves back. The camera focuses on Sara, who is shown singing with her classmates and for the first time joining her peer group, as they all sing the song "Sarajevo ljubavi moja"[13] by Kemal Monteno, a nostalgic song from prewar Sarajevo. The song is dedicated to the city of Sarajevo, from a time when unity in society was presumed. As the film started with sorrowful traditional *ilahija* singing and aggressive Turbofolk music, the song at the end of the film underscores the idea of a hopeful future for mother and daughter.

Žbanić addresses and questions the typical Western images of the Bosnian Other. She does this by evoking stereotypical Balkan representations of femininity, masculinity, and the economically weak society. The filmmaker filmed in devastated areas on purpose since Bosnia was, in the 1990s, often in the media and was represented mainly with images of destruction and war. Furthermore, she pointed out that she deliberately filmed in winter to underline the war narrative. It strengthens the effect of othering Bosnia, still being closely associated with a war that destroyed it. The second powerful image was the patriarchal society and the stereotypical Balkan male, who acts in an aggressive and dominant manner, while the women are shown as emotional and vulnerable.

3   Conclusion

The comparison of *Grbavica* and *In the Land of Blood and Honey* shows that sexual assault against women in the Bosnian War and the resulting trauma can be negotiated in very different ways. Although both films deal with the same subject, they use a different visual language, time span, narrative, and style of storytelling. Apart from the time span and visual effects that reveal a different film aesthetic, the narrative structure allows a different view into the characters' life. Whereas in Jolie's film the pain of the distant Other is illustrated through the brutal act of mass rape in war, Žbanić's film abstains from directly showing combat and violence. She brings the audience closer to the healing process of the traumatic experience of sexual assault by showing the everyday

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13   Original Bosnian title. My translation: "Sarajevo, my love."

life of her main protagonist Esma in postwar Sarajevo. The power of *Grbavica* lies in its skillful representation of a traumatized postwar society.

To conclude, both films address the issue of sexual violence against women in the Bosnian War revealing that the representation of victims is challenging as one has to regard gender, ethnicity, religion, and class. Dijana Jelača asks "how can we visually frame suffering in ethical ways that avoid the pitfalls of over-saturation, simplistic objectification, or fetishization of pain or pity" (Jelača 2016). *Grbavica* succeeded in representing pain and trauma without fetishizing it, because the viewers see the aftermath of the war with deeper insight as they follow closely the development of the mother–daughter relationship haunted by trauma. On the other hand, Jolie's film achieves a sensationalist effect by showing explicit violent scenes that do not contribute to the peace process in Bosnia and serve the hetero-image of the Balkans as a region. Nevertheless, *In the Land of Blood and Honey*, although representing female victimhood, challenged the traditional auto-image of raped women for Bosnians by giving Ajla agency and sexuality.

However, Jolie's film ultimately presents a disempowering image of the Bosniac female, despite its well-intended choices. Although Jolie's intention to make such a movie may sound noble, especially in light of her choice to work with a mixed cast from all former warring groups, the film was mostly rejected within Serbia. Her second aim, which was to reach an international audience who will call for intervention in future conflicts, seems rather naive. Susan Sontag suggests in *Regarding the Pain of Others* (2003) that, unfortunately, the act of looking at someone's pain will not lead to intervention and aid as a consequence.

Moreover, taking everything into account, the narrative structures in both films contain the victim–villain pattern that intersects gender, ethnicity, and class. It is still the Bosniac woman who was raped and suffers, unable to find a voice. *In the Land of Blood and Honey* gives the victim a voice, whereas in *Grbavica* Esma cannot stand up for herself and is violently forced by her daughter to speak up. Therefore, *In the Land of Blood and Honey* and *Grbavica* both unintentionally continue to victimize Bosniac women as they both fail to deviate from the stereotypical ethnic and gender images of Balkan social positions.

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Imagology Intermedial: Beyond the Literary Text

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National Images in Visual Narratives: The (Re)Presentation of National Characters in the Flemish Comic Series *Suske en Wiske*

Christine Hermann

Abstract

In visual narratives such as comics, national *images* are actually depicted. While Franco-Belgian comics have been the subject of detailed studies regarding the national stereotypes they convey, Flemish comics have been largely ignored. This article focuses on three albums of the Flemish comic series *Suske en Wiske*, in which the heroes travel to a fictitious Eastern Bloc country, Japan, and China. It will examine how both hetero-images and auto-image are presented (visually, textually, and as part of the plot), and how comic characters may combine contradictory ethnotypes. As it will turn out, in the early album (1945) ethnotypes are perpetuated, whereas in later ones (1984, 2008) they are rather undermined.

Keywords

The comic strip, as a visual medium, by definition produces images. The drawings or cartoons rely on simplification, and thus often resort to stereotypes in order to make the characters easily recognizable and to evoke common associations as images address the reader more directly than text. Many scholars actually consider stereotyping as inevitable in comic art: "the stereotype is a fact of life in the comics medium [...], an inescapable ingredient in most cartoons" (Eisner 2008, 11). In comics, "national images" are literally pictured. The comic, therefore, may seem especially prone to the dissemination of national stereotypes. As comics illustrate social discourse, both the transformation and the continuity of these stereotypes can be aptly studied using this medium

(Harbeck 2017, 257), and consequently, insights from comic analysis might prove useful for imagological research.

In a comic strip, national characters can be constructed both visually (setting, physical appearance, costume, physiognomy, and posture) and textually, through the narrator's voice in the block text, the kind of language used, and the manner of speaking (e.g. strong accent, faulty grammar). Based on Leerssen, who defines national character as a "temperamental or psychological predisposition motivating and explaining a specific behavioural profile" (2016, 17), it can also be part of the plot and determine the actantial roles assigned to foreign characters. As Leerssen (2000, 271, 275) points out, national characterization also takes shape in the polarity between Self and Other, in the interplay between an auto-image and a hetero-image. The relationship between Self and Other can be reflected in explicit statements about the Other made by the characters themselves or by the authorial voice in the block text. In a similar way, the auto-image can be either explicitly formulated in the statements of the heroes or the narrator's voice, be deduced from the contrast between protagonists and foreign characters, or referred to by means of allusions to national traditions or everyday life.

While Franco-Belgian comics (especially Hergé's *Tintin* series) have been the subject of numerous detailed studies regarding the national stereotypes they convey, Flemish comics (i.e. Belgian comics in the Dutch language) have been largely ignored by comics researchers. Whereas in the very first issues of *Tintin* (*Tintin au pays des Soviets*, 1929/1930; *Tintin au Congo*, 1931) national stereotypes are repeated and confirmed and the comic hero is clearly presented as a native of Brussels, in later comics (especially in *Le lotus bleu*, 1934/1935), a more nuanced image of China is drawn and Hergé starts to play with clichés. At the same time, the hero of the serial loses his "Belgishness" (cf. Baetens 2008, 115–119), for example due to the absence of Brussels as a recognizable setting and the removal of vernacular forms of French used in Belgium, thanks to which the comic could gain increased international popularity.

This article examines whether a similar development has taken place in Flemish comics, focusing on the most popular and longest running[1] Flemish comic series, namely *Suske en Wiske* (created in 1945 by Willy Vandersteen). It will investigate the use of national stereotypes in this series, considering the following questions: which hetero-images and which auto-images are conveyed, and by which techniques are they constructed? What is the relationship

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1   Four to five new albums are released per year, with more than 375 episodes published to date. The series is also popular in the Netherlands. In other countries, however, despite a substantial number of translations *Suske en Wiske* are considerably less well known.

between the Flemish "Self" (the Flemish heroes) and the foreign "Other" (members of other nations)? Are national stereotypes rather repeated and perpetuated, questioned and nuanced, or even subverted and undermined? Due to genre conventions, Suske and Wiske as the main heroes are always pictured as stronger, slimmer, and more valiant than others. Important areas of investigation beyond that are whether the various characters provide reciprocal help to each other and whether they have equal status. The analysis will take account of both visual and textual techniques of conveying hetero- and auto-images. In the following sections, these questions will be explored by focusing on the adventures of Suske and Wiske in an Eastern Bloc country and in the Far East.[2]

1   The *Suske en Wiske* Comics

Suske en Wiske is a humorous adventure comic in which two children travel to a wide variety of foreign countries. The comic series was created in 1945 by the Flemish comic artist Willy Vandersteen and continued successively by Paul Geerts (1974–2001), Marc Verhaegen (2001–2005), and afterward by a team led by Luc Morjaeu and Peter Van Gucht. It was first serialized in the Flemish daily *De Nieuwe Standaard.* From 1947 the comic appeared in the daily *De Standaard* before being published in album format by Standaard Uitgeverij. From 1948 to 1959, *Suske en Wiske* was also included in Hergé's weekly comic magazine *Kuifje* (the Dutch-language sister publication of the Franco-Belgian comic magazine *Tintin*). As *Kuifje* was targeted to a more bourgeois youth and Hergé did not appreciate the earthy humour and vernacular speech, the drawing style had to be adapted to his *ligne claire* style,[3] and the main characters had to be adapted as well and made less proletarian (cf. Standaard 2005, 9).

The main characters are a group of friends: the eponymous Suske and Wiske, her aunt Sidonia with whom they live, and their grown-up friends Lambik and Jerom. The young heroine Wiske (Flemish diminutive of Louise)

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2 These destinations were chosen as they seem most appropriate for comparing the way in which national images are presented to the reader over the course of the years. On the one hand, the first adventure is considered (in which the heroes—similar to Tintin's first adventure—travel to an Eastern Bloc country); on the other hand, the Far East (in fact, China and Japan), which forms the setting for several albums, thus offers an opportunity for a diachronic comparison across six decennia.

3 Hergé's *ligne claire* style features strong black lines and flat, saturated colours, without any hatching or shading, and combines cartoonish characters with realistic, detailed backgrounds.

is strong-headed, impulsive, and emotional. Suske (Flemish diminutive of Franciscus) is mostly calm, making him an emotional opposite to Wiske. The fact that the children do not live with their parents gives the authors more freedom for adventurous scenarios (cf. Welkom 1990, 7). They all live in Flanders, somewhere near Antwerp. It is there where most stories begin and end. As each episode is an adventure story, the plot follows the narrative structure identified by Vladimir Propp (²1988) for folktales: after starting from a harmonic situation, a problem occurs, and the heroes leave home to solve the problem. Venturing into dangerous places and/or foreign countries, they are tested and meet helpers and opponents—finally, after various adventures they succeed in solving the problem and return home.[4]

To what extent is this series specifically "Flemish" (apart from the fact that it is produced and published in Flanders)? Firstly, some of the episodes are entirely set in Flanders, with realistically drawn locations and buildings. Occasionally Suske and Wiske also time travel into the history of their own country, e.g. visiting the famous Flemish painters. Elements of Flemish folklore also form the starting point of some stories. Secondly, in the early years, the strip often contained allusions to contemporary politics, sometimes in the serialized newspaper version only.[5] With the Dutch market growing more important, the comic, however, was adapted to the Dutch audience (cf. e.g. Baetens 2005, 2008). Whereas in the early years, the characters spoke the Antwerp dialect, in the early 1960s they changed to standard Dutch (ABN, or Algemeen Beschaafd Nederlands), while maintaining some characteristic features of the Flemish variety of the Dutch language, such as the diminutive on -ke (as in the names of Suske and Wiske) as well as other Flemish expressions, and sporadically one can still find references to contemporary affairs (as e.g. the cloning debate, or seasonal traditions).

The stories combine adventure, elements of comedy, fantasy, and science fiction. Furthermore, the series was also intended to convey knowledge about foreign countries and cultures (cf. Standaard 2005, 89). The comic is very humorous but often carries a somewhat moralizing undertone. Vandersteen promoted Christian values such as altruism, friendship, justice, and fairness. In his last will, he stipulated that the characters and atmosphere of the comic must be preserved (meaning no excessive violence, no racism, no sex, no drugs, no tobacco). These values and norms contribute to constructing the auto-image, with the travel plot further stressing the opposition of Self and Other. Among the countries that they visit are—alongside various countries

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4 Cf. Screech (2005, 23) who identified Proppian structures in the *Adventures of Tintin*.

5 As Baetens (2005, 34) points out, Flemish comics in the period 1945–1960 typically engaged with topical social and political concerns, by contrast with French ones.

in Europe—Russia, North and South America, Africa, Australia, Nepal, Tibet, and India, as well as several countries in the Middle and Far East. Their first destination is, however, "Chokowakije."

2   Suske and Wiske in an Eastern Bloc Country

The first comic, entitled *Rikki en Wiske in Chokowakije*[6] and published between March and December 1945 in *De Nieuwe Standaard* (in 1946 it was released as an album), is set in a fictional country with seemingly Slavic features, apparently situated in the Eastern Bloc. The story reminds the (experienced) reader of *Tintin in the Land of the Soviets* (*Tintin au pays des Soviets*, 1929/1930) by Hergé, which had served as inspiration for Vandersteen. This first adventure of Tintin had a clear moral message: to present the Soviet Union as negatively as possible, with the Soviets oppressing the people and manipulating elections and commonly practicing torture. A similar worldview is professed in *Rikki en Wiske in Chokowakije*. The story centres on the rocket tank, a fictional superweapon. Unfortunately, the plans for the rocket tank are stolen by the Chokowakian secret service, so Rikki is sent as a spy to Chokowakije to recover them. This story of espionage must be contextualized within the historical period shortly after World War II in Flanders and the growing tensions between East and West which eventually led to the Cold War.

The name Chokowakije probably alludes to Czechoslovakia (however, the country has a common border with Belgium, invoking perhaps Germany, nevertheless it was probably deemed safer to choose a Slavic country). The capital is called Kroko, derived from Cracow (in the newspaper edition the name of the capital was Praak, but this was considered too obvious of a reference). Proper names carry Slavic endings, for example mevrouw Kletsmeierski (Mrs. Gossipmonger). The characters speak "Chokowakian," a fictional language with a certain resemblance to Slavic languages. Nouns and verbs carry endings such as -itska, -otchka, -osko, -owitz (e.g. "situatowitz," situation, "telegramski," telegram, etc.), laughter is transcribed as "hahanowitz," and hiccups becomes "hik hikkowitz." This "Chokowakian" recalls the fictional Syldavian language used by Hergé in *Le Sceptre d'Ottokar*.[7]

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6   The male protagonist in the first issue is called Rikki. Rikki was clearly inspired by Tintin and resembles him very much; from the next issue on he was replaced by Suske.

7   Tintin's adventure *Le sceptre d'Ottokar* (*King Ottokar's Sceptre*), published between August 1938 and August 1939, was intended by Hergé as a satirical criticism of the expansionist policies of Nazi Germany.

The country is initially introduced by means of a page from an encyclopaedia. The book in which Rikki reads about Chokowakije calls the country a "kopperatifski" regime, but the accompanying illustration of a gun-toting soldier evokes a military dictatorship (see Figure 17.1).

FIGURE 17.1
Presentation of Chokowakije according to encyclopaedia.
© 2019 STANDAARD UITGEVERIJ

Chokowakije is portrayed as a rogue state with a totalitarian political system; the secret police and intelligence service control everything. In the panels, the Chokowakians are most often pictured as soldiers in uniform. Apart from military installations (numerous military tanks, watchtowers with searchlights, airplanes throwing bombs), the country is backward. The absence of major buildings or natural landscapes evokes a dull, grim ambience. The worm's-eye view intensifies the menacing atmosphere by visual means (see Figure 17.2).

FIGURE 17.2   Menacing atmosphere in Chokowakije.
                © 2019 STANDAARD UITGEVERIJ

The threatening picture is, however, softened through humour: Similar to the stereotype of the *Good Soldier Švejk*, the average soldier does not behave very respectfully toward his superiors (see Figure 17.3).

FIGURE 17.3   The average soldier of Chokowakije.
© 2019 STANDAARD UITGEVERIJ

As the figure shows, the inscription on the wall reads, "Hang the sergeantowitz." The soldiers on duty are busy playing cards and determined to finish their game before starting to execute the alleged spies. Such a "go-slow" seems to be the only possible form of protest. Reijnen and Leerssen call the *Good Soldier Švejk* (a novel by Jaroslav Hašek, 1912) the "national hero symbolizing resilience, wit and surreptitious resistance of a subaltern and powerless nation" (2007, 137). That is exactly the way the Chokowakians are depicted. Their national character is presented as lazy and lacking any initiative; they are just oppressed subordinates waiting for orders (and, in fact, they do not have any other option). The only positive figure is a peasant, whom Wiske rescues from a wild bull and who shows gratitude and hospitality toward them. Furthermore, it is a bureaucratic system: the national emblem accordingly reads: "Meeroz stempelitz, minderoz werkitz"—the more rubber-stamping, the less working. The villain is not an individual person but rather the political regime itself and its military representatives, who are characterized as cowards, avoiding any danger for themselves. There are no strong individuals in the foreign nation. The Flemish heroes are in every respect superior, as is their home country, which they never tire of praising.

The auto-image is strongly marked as "Belgian"[8] (again similarly to *Tintin au pays des Soviets*) and is revealed by explicit statements: when the

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8   In this comic, the auto-image is still called "Belgian," not "Flemish."

Chokowakian president is trapped, he pleads: "Dear Belgians, you won't kill us, will you?"[9] Wiske replies: "Certainly not, the Belgians are not as bloodthirsty as that."[10] Rikki is constantly drawing comparisons with his home country where everything is better: "Concerning organization, you can learn a lot from us in Antwerp!"[11] Rikki and Wiske are convinced of the superiority of both their country and themselves. They appear ethnocentric and chauvinist, and are very happy to return to Belgium: "When we have passed the bridge, we are in our home country!,"[12] "Hooray, we are in Belgium, we are safe!"[13] Their words are, however, contradicted by the image, as in the next panel we see a brick fall on Wiske's head. On the last page, they ride toward Antwerp through a peaceful Flemish countryside with peasants happily waving to them (see Figure 17.4). This rustic idyll forms a sharp contrast to the dreary Chokowakia they left behind.

FIGURE 17.4   Auto-image: A peaceful Flemish countryside?
                © 2019 STANDAARD UITGEVERIJ

This comic stresses the differences; the Chokowakians are shown as having nothing in common with the Belgians. The comic relies on binaries, ascribing only negative characteristics to the Chokowakians and only positive ones to the Belgians. The opposition of Self/Other constitutes a clear-cut distinction between good and evil, reflecting a Europe divided by the Iron Curtain. Similarly to *Tintin au pays des Soviets*, the negative stereotypes of the (communist) Other are confirmed and presented as "fact," with the plot following

9   All translations are mine. Original quote: "Lieve Belgenowitz! Jullie gaan ons toch niet vermoordenski?" (n.p.).

10   "Welnee hoor! Zo bloeddorstig zijn de Belgen niet!" (n.p.).

11   "Voor wat de organisatie betreft kun je bij ons in Antwerpen nog een lesje komen nemen!" (n.p.).

12   "Als we de brug gepasseerd hebben zijn we in het vaderland!" (n.p.).

13   "Hoera! […] We zijn in België! We zijn veilig!" (n.p.).

Cold War ideology.[14] The comic most probably serves national self-ascertainment—trying to stabilize a sense of national identity by denigrating the Other. It has a propagandist function, similarly to the first *Tintin* issue. In the case of Hergé, however, this attitude changes when it comes to the depiction of another national peoples, namely the Chinese.

3 Suske and Wiske in the Far East

Whereas in *Tintin au pays des Soviets*, Hergé presents an entirely negative image of the Chinese as brutal torturers with long pigtails, a completely different picture is drawn in *Le lotus bleu* (serialized in 1934/1935, published as an album in 1936). This is thanks to Hergé's friendship with a Chinese art student and his subsequent meticulous research, resulting in mimetic-realistic drawings of the setting. In *Le lotus bleu*, Tintin and his Chinese friend jointly laugh at the stereotypes that Westerners harbour toward China, namely that all Chinese are cruel and fond of torturing others, that all women have bound feet, and that female babies are drowned in the river. This demonstrates a clear advancement with regard to the use of national stereotypes (from an uncritical repetition of traditional clichés to explicitly mocking them), and Hergé's satirical use of stereotypes has often been pointed out in research literature.[15] A closer look, however, reveals that it is only Tintin (the white European hero) who plays with the clichés cherished by his compatriots. He is the one who explains these prejudices to his friend and then they both laugh at them. The "Other" (the Chinese boy) does not get the opportunity to ponder the clichés from the Chinese perspective (he can only simply express his belief that all Europeans are evil, which Tintin denies). The white European explains the world and his superiority is once again underlined. At the same time another nation is presented as vicious, namely the Japanese. This negative national image is politically motivated (the comic was written during the Sino-Japanese war, when parts of China were occupied by Japan) and the Japanese Embassy in Brussels even entered a protest against the comic (Boudineau 1992, 27).

Apart from the depiction in early Tintin comics, the national image of the Chinese is, generally speaking, not too positive in the Western world. Schweiger (2007, 126–131) has listed a wide range of common stereotypes about China,

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14   Leroy has pointed out the "anti-communist bend of Cold-War Belgian comics" (2010, 16). That the East/West binary was so strong as early as in Vandersteen's comic from 1945, still on the eve of the Cold War, is probably due to the influence of Tintin's adventure in Russia (1929).

15   Cf. e.g. Boudineau (1992, 25).

TABLE 17.1   *Suske en Wiske* albums set in the Far East

Year[a]	Title	Author	Setting	Abbreviated hereafter as
1948	*De witte uil* (The white owl)	Vandersteen	China	*WU*
1957	*De stemmenrover* (The voice-robber)	Vandersteen	Japan	*SR*
1960	*De gouden cirkel* (The golden circle)	Vandersteen	China, Japan, other Asian countries	*GC*
1963	*De sissende sampan* (The hissing sampan)	Vandersteen	Hong Kong	*SS*
1984	*Het dreigende dinges* (The ominous thingy)	Geerts	Japan[b]	*DrD*
2008	*De dartele draak* (The cheerful dragon)	Van Gucht and Morjaeu	China	*DaD*

a   This is the year of the first (journal) publication; the album was published either in the same or the following year.

b   Strictly speaking, Japan is not the setting here, but the comic features Japanese characters as protagonists.

ranging from the polite Chinese, passing via treachery, greed, and absolutism to the "yellow peril," inhuman practices, and oppression, which also had an impact on the depiction of Chinese people in cartoons. According to the pictorial tradition (studied mainly with regard to the image of Asians featured in US comics), Chinese characters are usually depicted with a bright yellow skin colour,[16] slanting eyes, buckteeth, and a long queue (a braided pigtail, worn by Chinese men). They are dressed in a traditional costume, wearing either a coolie-garb with Chinese conical hats or richly embroidered gowns (cf. Kunka 2017; Song 2010).

As Suske and Wiske travel to the Far East (primarily to China and Japan) several times (see Table 17.1), it might be interesting to investigate whether (and if so, how) the national image of China and Japan varies over the course of time.

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16   The bright yellow colouring might be due to the printing technique of that time. As Kunka (2017, 278) points out, comics used a limited four-colour plate that did not allow for realistic gradations of skin colour. Thus the skin of European characters was kind of bright pink, whereas Asians were bright yellow.

3.1 *Suske and Wiske in China*

In both *WU* and *SS* Lambik gets kidnapped by Chinese gangsters. In *WU* Suske and Wiske follow him to China, in search of the "Hidden Empire" of the Long-Queues, who oppress the Short-Queue people. In *GC* the Flemish friends travel through six Asian countries in search of a special medicine. *SS* is set in Hong Kong (at that time a British Crown colony, now part of the People's Republic of China). Within this political context, another nationality comes into play, namely English/British: an agent of the British Intelligence Service is depicted as "very British" ("An umbrella and a bowler hat; that's precisely the calling card of an Englishman"[17]), complemented by a cup of tea and a formal business suit with tie. The British officials in Hong Kong prove to be very helpful; this remarkably positive image of the British might be related to the UK's application for *EEC* membership in 1963 (the year in which this comic was published), although the application was declined at that time. Hong Kong is depicted as an area of contrasts: enormous skyscrapers next to miserable huts, rickshaws and traffic jams, and a high level of absolute poverty in the slums where children are starving and the poor are opium addicts.

In these comics, all Chinese characters are portrayed with bright yellow skin, as slit-eyed and pigtailed, with their high cheekbones emphasized, most notably in *WU*, where all the Chinese depicted (except the princess) feature striking buckteeth. Even a mottled "Chinese cow" has slanting eyes, buckteeth, and yellow skin (Figure 17.5).
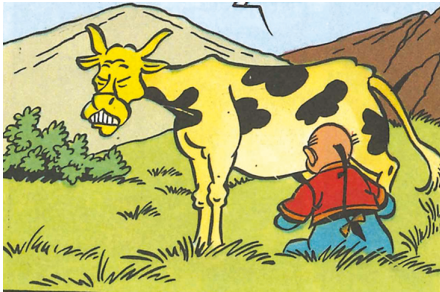
FIGURE 17.5
Exaggeration of clichés: The "Chinese" cow.
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Whereas the bright yellow skin of Chinese people is not unusual and conforms to the pictorial tradition, the yellow skin of a cow (combined with its Asian facial features) makes the mocking evident and undermines the cliché, as it is obvious that this cannot be true. The exaggeration functions as an ironical statement.

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17   "Een regenscherm en een bolhoed, precies het visitekaartje van een Engelsman" (*SS* 1963, 9).

Chinese characters are marked as foreign not only visually but also in their speech: in the first speech balloon in *wu*, only Chinese letters are depicted, with the second one also featuring a Dutch translation. Later on, however, the Chinese speak simply Dutch without any accent. In *ss* the transcribed Chinese words are followed by a translation (e.g. "Ch-eng chaw! Zet u!" (Sit down!), *ss* 1963, 29), using phonetical spelling for genuine Chinese words.[18] Apart from providing a *couleur locale* and marking the "foreignness" of a character, the Chinese language may also serve as comical element: when Lambik unintentionally smokes the "pipe of the fools" (*wu*), he grows a pigtail and speaks a kind of pseudo-Chinese, preceding each noun with "tsjing tsjang tsjoeng" or similar. Another humorous element is the frequent use of puns on names. Character names are made to sound "Chinese" and at the same time carry a meaning in Dutch or allude to real persons, such as the name "Sjam Foe-sjek" (*wu*) which sounds similar to "Chiang Kai-shek," the leader of the Republic of China between 1928 and 1975.[19] Sjam Foe-sjek is a double pun, as it also alludes to the Flemish dialect expression *sjamfoeter* (a good-for-nothing).

In the early comics, there are frequently clear-cut binaries among national characters, who conform to the opposing categories "good/bad," "collective/individual." In *wu* there are both good (Short-Queues) and bad people (Long-Queues) among the Chinese. At the end of the comic, the Long-Queues change to the good, caused by an external, miraculous intervention. A different approach is used to soften the negative image in *ss*: though Suske and Wiske are repeatedly attacked by Chinese gangsters, the instigator and principal villain turns out to be Krimson, the usual antagonist and supervillain of this comic series (who is of Flemish origin). In a similar vein, in *gc*, the Chinese villains work for a Western company. When they get rid of the foreign chief villain, they become friends. *wu*[20] features a high-ranking character (Princess Tsji Tsji) within the foreign nation who stands out as individual, who is active, smart, and takes the initiative, whereas the mass of the people act as group, and as passive followers. Her actions are an example of reciprocal help: Suske and Wiske help her to regain her throne and, vice versa, she is able to bail them out on several occasions. Crucially, however, even the outstanding individuals belong to their own "group" and act on their behalf.[21]

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18 Zuòxià = "sit down," according to the *Collins English to Chinese Dictionary*.

19 At the time of publication, a civil war raged in China between the nationalists under Chiang Kai-shek and the communists led by Mao Zedong. After their defeat, the nationalists retreated to Taiwan.

20 The same technique is used in the later comic *De dartele draak*.

21 Two further stories that take place in China (*De vlijtige vlinder*, The busy butterfly, 1975; *De klinkende klokken*, The ringing clock, 1992; both written by Geerts), are not included in this

The positive auto-image is most obvious in *WU*: Wiske is willing to sacrifice her life for the people, with the resigned sigh: "what can I do, either you are taught charity or you are not!"[22] Similarly, in *ss* Lambik is afraid but decides nevertheless to help, arguing: "I am a human being, after all."[23] His altruism provides a striking contrast to the cruel and either ruthless or helpless Chinese characters. But a more negative auto-image can also be found when in *WU* a police officer who is about to arrest Suske and Wiske suddenly notices that it is "Six o'clock! This is the end of my working hours! [...] How lucky I am to have noticed it just in time! Really, I had almost worked overtime!"[24] or when a dockworker puts down a heavy grain sack, saying: "I will first ask around whether there doesn't happen to be a strike right now!"[25] The Flemish auto-image conveyed by these statements is certainly not that of the workaholic.

Forty-five years later, Suske and Wiske once again travel to China: in *DaD* Suske and Wiske go to ancient China and rescue a poor village from a band of robbers. They search for the Holy Temple, accompanied by Jung Ding, the daughter of the village leader. The Chinese people are again pictured according to the traditional visual stereotype, and the first Chinese man whom the friends meet, mixes up "r-" and "l-" sounds: "Gegloet, o eelbiedwaaldige vleemdeling" (*DaD* 2008, str. 11;[26] approximately: Be gleeted, oh honoulable foleignel). Lambik answers in what he thinks to be the same manner of speaking, but his patronizing (albeit well-meant) assimilation is not appreciated by the Chinese man who feels offended: "De eelbiedwaaldige vleemdeling spot met mijn splaakgeblek" (*DaD* 2008, str. 12: the honoulable foleignel makes fun of my speech defect). The well-known cliché is used here as comical element, but at the same time it is presented as being true. As Leerssen has noticed, any ironic, half-mocking use is by the same token also half-serious, and thus "acknowledge[s] and reinforce[s] the currency of the prejudice [it] claims to transcend" (2000, 275).

The posture of Jung Ding reflects another national stereotype: the Chinese girl always keeps her eyes cast down modestly and hides her hands in her

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analysis since they largely conform to Vandersteen's stereotypical depiction of Chinese characters. In these comics, the Flemish protagonists further reveal a rather dismissive attitude toward the Chinese characters, when repeatedly referring to them as "spleet-oogjes" (Chinks) or "rijstslikkers" (rice eaters).

22 "Wat wil je ook? Je bent in naastenliefde opgevoed of je bent het niet!" (*WU* 1948, 53).

23 "Ik ben toch een MENS" [emphasis in the original] (*ss* 1963, 45).

24 "Zes uur! Maar dan is mijn diensttijd om! [...] Wat een geluk dat ik dat nog nét zag! Ik zou waarachtig bijna overuren gemaakt hebben!" (*WU* 1948, 14).

25 "eens eerst gaan horen of er soms niet gestaakt wordt!" (*WU* 1948, 14).

26 This comic contains no page numbers, only the strokes are numbered.

sleeves. When noticing a potentially dangerous situation, however, she moves freely and vigorously to combat the threat. Once this has been done, she immediately returns to the modest posture of a humble, discrete Chinese woman (see Figures 17.6a and 17.6b).

FIGURE 17.6A
Between action and humility (str. 64).
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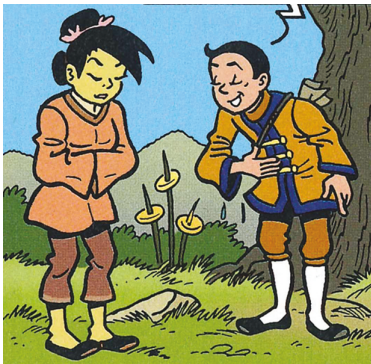
FIGURE 17.6B
Between action and humility (str. 65).
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Jung Ding thus combines the opposing clichés of the submissive, passive woman on the one hand *and* the active, fighting woman on the other. She, therefore, alternatively conforms to and contradicts the female national cliché.

The active role of Jung Ding and her selfless character emphasize more that which she has in common with Suske and Wiske than that which separates them. Their shared values are stressed and portrayed as more important than skin colour. Jung Ding saves Suske and Wiske repeatedly from death and, despite her humble appearance, matches them in bravery and altruism. While, however, it may at first appear that Flemish and Chinese characters are presented as equal, this is in fact not the case. Although the various cultural achievements of the Chinese people play a decisive role in the plot, they are

not presented as Chinese inventions. Instead, it seems as if the Flemish heroes had invented them: the list of ingredients for making gunpowder is dictated by Suske; acupuncture is invented by Wiske by chance; and the shadow play (by which they frighten and chase away the robbers) is also staged by Wiske. Thus practically no achievement (except kung fu and the art of rice cooking) is credited to Chinese culture; all inventions commonly perceived to be Chinese are initiated by the European heroes. The Flemish heroes appropriate the Chinese inventions as their own—and thus prove superior.

Whereas in *WU* stereotypes are repeated and clear-cut oppositions confirmed, and in *SS* all inhabitants of Hong Kong are presented as poor and helpless, in *DaD* one strong character fulfils in turn all the contradictory national clichés. While Jung Ding as individual is on a par with the Flemish heroes, the European heroes are clearly superior to the Chinese people, bringing all the Chinese inventions to them.

3.2 *Suske and Wiske in Japan*

The third case study is situated in Japan. The traditional national imagery comprises women in kimonos and gentle geisha's preparing tea but also high-tech electronics, commitment to one's company, and extreme industriousness. According to Littlewood (2007, 201), Japan is commonly seen as a nation of contrast, in which images of cherry blossoms and economic progress (accompanied by aggressive expansion) work in contradiction to each other.

Japan serves as the setting for two Vandersteen comics (*SR* and *GC*), as well as for one later album by Geerts (*DrD*).[27] In *SR* the Japanese astrologer Komikio robs Lambik's voice. In search of the missing voice, Suske and Wiske travel to Japan and arrive in the medieval kingdom of Princess Sholo-Fly. The narrator introduces the setting as: "Somewhere in Japan […], separated from civilization by fierce mountains."[28] This evaluative block text constructs a sharp contrast with the civilized world. In the same vein, stressing the differences to Western behaviour, the first panel of the Japanese protagonist, which shows the princess in the temple respectfully bowing in front of a statue, makes fun of her devoutness in a direct address to the reader: "Give it a try yourself, in whatever position … a statue made from stone does not speak!"[29]

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27 The short info-strip *Sony-San* (1986) set in the Sony factory, a special edition on the occasion of the twenty-five-year jubilee of Sony in the Netherlands, is not considered in this article.

28 "Ergens in Japan […] door woeste bergen van de beschaving gescheiden" (*SR* 1957, 5).

29 "Probeer het zelf maar in welke houding ook … Een stenen beeld praat niet!" (*SR* 1957, 5).

Characters are clear-cut in *SR*: the only villain is Japanese, namely the astrologer Komikio, whereas the princess (dressed in kimono, her black hair pinned up to a bun and fixed with two wooden sticks, with lemon-yellow skin and slit eyes) is always virtuous. She is good, but helpless, and constantly relies on the spirits of her ancestors (or the temple statue or her astrologer) for advice. Komikio's politeness is feigned, but his posture reveals his character: he walks with big steps and uses wide gestures, evoking aggressiveness, while the princess always keeps her arms near to her body in a submissive posture, representing a respectable Japanese woman.

Once again, the character names provide opportunities for word play: the name "Sholo-fly" evokes Madame Butterfly and, thereby, the cliché of the submissive Japanese woman. At the same time, it is a pun on "Solo," a well-known Belgian margarine brand. In the palace of the Princess, Lambik changes his name to "Lamoebikoe," thus adapting it to the Asian pronunciation habit of inserting a vowel between two adjacent consonants. Similarly, the names of Suske and Wiske are adapted to "Wisoeka" and "Soesoeko."

In all the comics set in Japan, the generous use of polite phrases strikes the reader. Especially the adjective "honorabele" (honourable) can be added to any noun (not only used for persons). Frequently, it is used ironically, to exaggerate and mock the proverbial politeness that Japanese people are said to practice. In *SR*, for instance, a fisherman comments that "the honourable drowned person […] is full of honourable water,"[30] while he is busy pumping an incredible amount of water out of Lambik after having saved him from drowning, and concludes: "If it were beer, I would think that he is an honourable Fleming!,"[31] consistent with the reputation of the Flemings for drinking large amounts of beer. In the more recent album *DrD* (1984), the Japanese villain uses the same polite expression when he speaks of the "honourable camera," the "honourable brain" (i.e. the computer), and even the "honourable rope"—his politeness is just a verbal formulation, used to make the readers laugh. The exaggerated deployment of stereotypes of politeness simultaneously affirms and undercuts the polite effect through irony.

In this recent album, the setting is different. Here it is not Suske and Wiske who visit a foreign country, but rather a Japanese girl, Miako, comes to Flanders. Her sister is very ill and the only way to heal her is to provide pictures from her favourite book *A Dog of Flanders*, which tells the story of Nello and his dog

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30   "de honorabele drenkeling […] zit vol honorabel water" (*SR* 1957, 16).
31   "Als het bier was, zou ik denken dat hij een honorabele Vlaming is!" (*SR* 1957, 16).

Patrasche in nineteenth-century Flanders.[32] She brings a robot-camera with her, which is able to take photographs from the past by first projecting them onsite. But Watanabe, an industrial spy paid for by her father's competitors, manages to steal all the pictures she has already taken. Suske and Wiske, together with Miako, use the time machine to travel back into Flanders' past, right into the period in which the story took place, so the camera can take pictures directly when the events occur. In the end, Nello and Patrasche die in front of Rubens's painting *The Descent of the Cross* in the cathedral of Antwerp. Through taking a picture of the dead friends, the camera fulfils its task and returns to the present, and Miako travels home to Japan.

Miako combines clichés of the old and of the new Japan: she is dressed in a kimono, is polite, humble, and at the same time active, self-assured and assertive, giving orders to the camera and possessing a considerable amount of IT knowledge. This combination of contradictory hetero-images is also reflected in Miako's house, where ikebana flower arrangements stand next to ultra-modern computer systems, linking tradition and technological progress (see Figure 17.7).
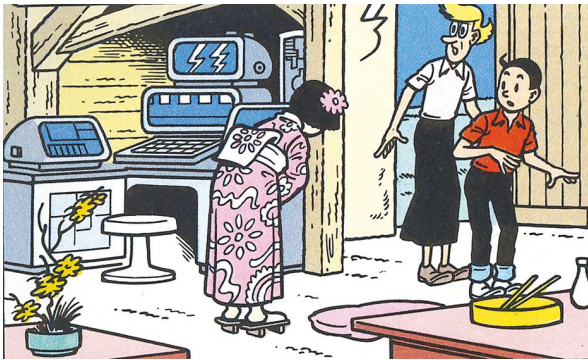
FIGURE 17.7   Opposing clichés of Japan: Tradition and
high-tech side by side.
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Clichés are both presented and deconstructed: they hold true (kimono, politeness) and are at the same time subverted (Miako is not at all as submissive

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32   The comic is based on *A Dog of Flanders*, a novel written by English author Marie Louise de la Ramée in 1872. The novel is extremely popular in Japan and South Korea (where it is considered a children's classic), and well known in the English-speaking countries as well. In Belgium, however, it is practically unknown. In 1975 it was adapted into an animated television series that aired on Japanese TV.

as she appears to be, Watanabe is not at all respectful). There is thus both a good and a bad Japanese character; but the bad one is able to change (out of his intrinsic motivation, not by force or magic, as in *wu*). When Watanabe attacks Miako, the camera protects the girl and Watanabe feels shame that an electronic device is more human than he is, begs her forgiveness, and they travel back to Japan as friends. Again, both the good and the bad characters are acting as members of a group (for Miako, family ties motivate her actions, while Watanabe is acting on behalf of his company). Miako as active traveller has an equal status to Suske and Wiske. Their shared common values such as loyalty, friendship, and altruism are seen to be more important than their differences, and thus unite the Flemish heroes with Miako. "Friendship and faithfulness will never die!"[33] Suske accordingly concludes in the last panel.

In this comic, the "image" per se becomes the topic. The protagonist in the main part of the comic is a camera, a high-tech device, invented and built in Japan. Electronic high-tech devices are certainly the kind of product most often associated with Japan. At the same time, the cliché of the constantly photographing Japanese tourists is evoked. Objects and events are only considered "real" if a photo has been taken to bring back home as evidence, so it is the "image" which makes the object or event "real." Though it is in no way intended as a treatise on picture theory,[34] the comic is all about images: the image of Flanders (including the famous paintings) as conveyed by the novel the comic refers to; the image of Japan (in the form of the photograph received from Japan at the end); and the images as seen through the eyes of the camera, the image-producing device par excellence.

What is most notable is that the auto-image is primarily constructed through foreign eyes: it is not their own auto-image (how the Flemish heroes see themselves) but an "imported" one (how the Japanese—presumably—see them, according to the image propagated via the novel). The Flemings are looked upon by foreigners who bring their image of the Flemish along with them, in order to take it home again, unchanged. The authentication process is reversed, the "reality" has to match the image (they need their expectations confirmed), and so at the same time both the cliché and the reality are proven

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33　　"Vriendschap en trouw sterven nooit!" (*DrD* 1984, str. 219—this comic contains no page numbers, only the strokes are numbered).

34　　Picture theory (*Bildtheorie* in German) is concerned with the nature of images and pictures. "Picture" is understood as the concrete form in which an image appears; according to Lambert Wiesing, a picture is characterized by its visibility (while images are not necessarily "visible").

true. The Japanese image of Flanders is reflected back to its source, and the scene in the cathedral is quite illuminating in this respect (see Figures 17.8a and 17.8b): the camera literally projects a stored image (of the characters from the novel) onto the cathedral of Antwerp; in other words, it projects the image it brought along onto the reality, and then takes its photograph, as proof of the preconceived (mental) image. This is perhaps indicative of how processes of national stereotyping work.

FIGURE 17.8A   The camera projecting a stored, fictional image
onto reality (str. 38).
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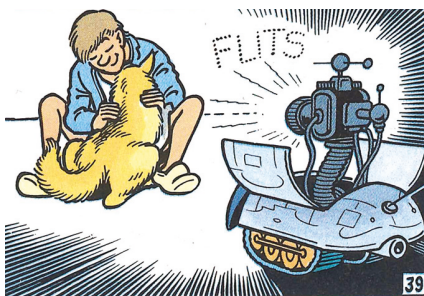
FIGURE 17.8B
The camera projecting a stored, fictional
image onto reality (str. 39).
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4   Conclusion

Whereas in the first issue of *Suske and Wiske*, stereotypes are uncritically repeated and perpetuated, in later issues they become more nuanced and are even undermined, without, however, being rejected completely. While a

certain amount of clichés are undoubtedly reproduced in all comics, *Suske en Wiske in Chokowakije* on the whole uncritically repeats, endorses, and perpetuates stereotypes, and a clear-cut Self/Other binary is aligned with that of good/evil. All the later comics are more nuanced, and the characters more ambivalent: the national images are shown as heterogeneous—there are good and bad persons among foreign nations (and most often the bad ones are finally converted to the good), and they become more active agents and helpers rather than passive victims or opponents. In the Vandersteen comics, however, the leadership clearly remains with the Flemish heroes. Stereotypes may even be subverted—confirmed *and* contradicted at the same time, when characters combine contradictory characteristics (traditional and innovative clichés coinciding in one character) or are shown to have more similarities than differences with one another. In stressing what people have in common rather than foregrounding their differences, the comic challenges the binary patterns of thoughts on which these clichés are based. While in the early comics, the auto-image is explicitly marked as Flemish (either seriously, as in *Suske en Wiske in Chokowakije*, or ironically as in *SR*), in the later ones (*DaD* and *DrD*), the "Flemish" identity gives way to universal human values.

The development in the use of stereotypes is obvious and similar to that observed in *Tintin* (from uncritically endorsing to questioning stereotypes), but it goes even a step further because in several (more recent) *Suske en Wiske* comics, foreign characters are depicted as being of equal status. Whether clichés are repeated, confirmed, nuanced, or deconstructed cannot, however, only be linked to the date of publication but relates even more significantly to the author. *DrD* (by Geerts) can be considered as the most advanced concerning the use of clichés[35] but was published as early as 1984. Van Gucht and Morjaeu in *DaD* (released in 2008), in contrast, despite the obvious ambivalence of the national characters, make the Flemish heroes again appear superior.

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35 This is true for his depiction of Japanese characters but not with regard to China, as the albums taking place in China mainly repeat the traditional stereotypes.

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#JeSuisAmatrice: Identity through a Landscape of Wounds; Toward a Geo-Imagology

Daniel Brandlechner

Abstract

Italy has experienced a high number of earthquakes. However, the identity of "the Italians" has not yet been defined by their "landscape of wounds." Referring to an earthquake in central Italy (Amatrice) in August 2016, the French satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo* published a controversial caricature of two wounded Italians standing alongside the "Lasagnes," a pile of bodies layered like the well-known Italian pasta dish. By analysing the caricature's text, intertext, and context, while drawing on imagology and geopoetics, this article aims to show how earthquakes are linked to Italian cultural stereotypes and national identity.

Keywords

geo-imagology – geopoetics – earthquake – catastrophe – *Charlie Hebdo*

Geographical knowledge has often been used to construct "the other," which is why geography can be regarded as a typical problem area of imagology. In the past five decades, studies have focused in particular on contrasting representations of the East and the West (cf. Beller 2007b), the Orient and the Occident (see also part 3 of this volume), the centres and the peripheries (Leerssen 2007), and the North and South (cf. Arndt 2007; Jakobsson 2009; Fjågesund 2014). A notable example of such a combination of geography and imagology is Franz Karl Stanzel's *National Character as Literary Stereotype* (1980), where these differences are traced back to the old climate hypothesis based on a similar depiction of people from the North and South. In addition, Edward Said's famous concept of *imaginative geography* ([1978] 2003, 49–73) provides a useful account of how geography interferes with cultural representation. More recently, Federico Italiano has shown in *Translation and Geography*

how cartographic knowledge is translated "not only across epochs, languages, and literary texts but also across media, in particular between the medium of writing and the medium of the map" (2016, 1). Finally, it is worth mentioning the anthology *Imagology Profiles: The Dynamics of National Imagery in Literature*, edited by the Lithuanian scholar Laura Laurušaitė: the third section "introduces the geo-imagological aspect and proposes theoretical links between imagology and literary topography" (2018a, 3).

Apart from cartography, however, previous studies in the field of imagology have paid little attention to other approaches arising from geography, the "knowledge of the earth." So far, there are no studies that have explicitly related stereotypes to the knowledge of geomorphology (e.g. plate tectonics) or hydrogeography (e.g. the distribution of water on earth), nor studies of human geography (e.g. mobility) that have questioned its connection to stereotypes and identity in a historical-critical way.[1]

This is very surprising given the ongoing debate on the Anthropocene since 2002, the year in which Paul Crutzen published his famous "Geology of Mankind in Nature" and confronted the ecocritically oriented humanities with questions related to geology. Such questions are raised primarily in the wake of events that are perceived as catastrophic and therefore promote and challenge identities, as well as stereotypes: they result in mass mobility, refugee flows, and a division of the population into an "us" versus "the others."

Consequently, I would like to focus on the aftermath of one of the most recent catastrophic earthquakes in the history of Italy, which took place in Amatrice in 2016. This article sets out to investigate how earthquakes are linked to Italian cultural stereotypes and national identity. With comparative imagology as a "working method" (Leerssen 2016, 19) and geopoetics as an "operative category" (Italiano 2016, 9), this article aims to show "a discursive logic and representational set of cultural and poetic conventions" (Leerssen 2016, 19). I understand geopoetics as "the result of a negotiation between a certain geographical imagination and the territorial, geographical discourse of a certain epoch" (Italiano 2016, 9). This will be achieved by extending geopoetics from literary texts (Italiano 2008) to non-literary texts, in order "to comprehend and to analyse the territorial, geographical and geo-ecological dimension […] and finally the aesthetically encoded relationship between man and Earth" (ibid., 5). This article considers a caricature published in the French satirical magazine

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1   In this way, Laura Laurušaitė's "Imagology as Image Geology" (2018b, 8) is more a metaphor than a geo-imagological approach.

Charlie Hebdo (entitled "Séisme à l'Italienne")[2] to address the question of how earthquakes relate to Italian cultural stereotypes and national identity.[3]

According to Joep Leerssen, imagological research needs to "establish a threefold procedure, which can be rubricated as intertextual, contextual, and textual" (2016, 20). The same approach is adopted in this article, in which the core analysis is organized into three parts: in the first section, earthquakes are examined in a broader sense and I discuss the relevance of the geological location of Italy and its connection to historically important earthquakes that occurred there, such as the 2009 L'Aquila earthquake. Since all seismic activity engraves itself into the landscape and leaves traces, the landscape itself becomes an intertext, composed of various preceding texts. This section provides a step toward developing an Italian cultural history of earthquakes. In the second section of this article, I examine the context in which the earthquake occurred, focusing in particular on Italy as a nation. Which auto-images or hetero-images are associated with Italy? Before outlining some paths toward a geo-imagology (section four) and drawing a conclusion (section five), in the third section I analyse the "text," which corresponds to a caricature published in *Charlie Hebdo* in the aftermath of the 2016 Amatrice earthquake. Soon after its publication, a transnational debate emerged, focusing on the use of national stereotypes. This contribution to disaster processing touched an open wound: is a caricature an adequate genre to negotiate the suffering of others?

1   Intertext: The Moving Wounds of Italy

According to plate tectonics, the surface of the earth is not solid but consists rather of tectonic plates floating on the lithosphere.[4] If two plates move toward or away from each other, this movement can lead to an earth tremor. Since Italy is located right on the boundary between the African and the Eurasian tectonic plate, it is susceptible to high seismic risk, which was first recognized in the 1970s. The historian Piero Bevilaqua (1996, 74) observed that 38 percent of all the 481 disastrous and very disastrous earthquakes in the Mediterranean

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2 Félix (2016), "Séisme à l'Italienne. Penne Sauce Tomate, Penne Gratinées, Lasagnes," *Charlie Hebdo* 1258 (August 31), 16.

3 Some of the ideas I discuss here can be found in my master's thesis (2018) where I focused on the concepts of geocriticism and geopoetics and the representation of earthquake events in different media. In this article, I would like to focus more sharply on imagology and geopoetics in order to outline a new perspective on imagology toward a geo-imagology.

4 For a more detailed explanation to understand plate tectonics and earthquakes see Grotzinger and Jordan ([7]2014).

region between 1501 and 1929 had hit Italy. It is now a well-known fact that some of these earthquakes created what Serenella Iovino aptly calls a "landscape of wounds" in *Ecocriticism and Italy* (2016, 84).

A variety of studies in the humanities have shown that catastrophic events, such as earthquakes, are based on the "construction, selection and distinction by an observer" (Nünning 2012, 66). Many contributions to disaster research highlight the mediality of catastrophes.[5] Thus, it is not surprising that some of them have also dealt with intermedial contexts: in addition to newspapers and other forms of periodical media, disaster research is increasingly taking literature,[6] film, and visual arts into account (see e.g. Horn 2014; Rigby 2015). Iovino, too, in her chapter on the Italian landscape of wounds, has not focused on the "material wounds" (2016, 84) that earthquakes inflict. As a scholar of material ecocriticism, she is naturally interested in "their repercussion on community life and narratives, and the creative ways of social self-representation they have enacted" (ibid., 86). In the aforementioned *Ecocriticism and Italy*, Iovino studies the earthquake in the Belice Valley (Sicily, 1968), in Irpinia (Campania, 1980), and L'Aquila (Abruzzo, 2009) by examining the catastrophes as the "indispensable narrative" (2016, 87) based on a broad range of artists using different media, including writers, poets, visual artists, and filmmakers, who "have tried to rebuild their places through a shared imagination that would give voice to those worlds apparently lost forever, filtering their silences, baring their wounds, and transforming these storied materialities into signs" (ibid., 86).

The city of L'Aquila is a good example of how earthquakes have shaped the Italian cultural identity. On April 6, 2009, a major earthquake struck the city in the central Apennines, which is only about an hour's drive away from Amatrice and was unfortunately largely destroyed. However, even a decade later, all the ruins are still present, and scaffolding, restricted zones, and cranes

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5 For example: Lauer and Unger's *Das Erdbeben von Lissabon und der Katastrophendiskurs im 18. Jahrhundert* (2008), Mihaela Gavrila's *L'onda anomala dei media* (2012), or *Catastrophe & Spectacle* (2018) by Jörg Dünne, Gesine Hindemith, and Judith Kasper.

6 No one has probably studied literary earthquakes more extensively than Raffaele Morabito (2011). In the same year as 'Fukushima', and two years after the devastating earthquake of L'Aquila in 2009, he published *Il gran tremore. Rappresentazioni letterarie dei terremoti*, a chronological anthology of literary representations of earthquakes, starting with Aristotle, and ending with Quasimodo, Pirandello, and Turoldo. In addition to canonical earthquake texts that were written in the aftermath of the great earthquake of Lisbon in 1755, which led to extensive discourses, especially in German- and French-speaking countries—from Voltaire, Rousseau, and Kant to Goethe and Kleist one may find a lot of Italian-centred texts as well as texts by (male) authors of world literature like Dumas, Twain, Gorkij, or Canetti.

dominate the cityscape. Although some renovation work has begun, the historic centre has not yet been revived, confirming Iovino's observation that "the major narrative about L'Aquila's earthquake is told by its rubble abandoned in the streets, the collapsing palaces suffocated by disproportionate, outrageously costly and rapidly rusting scaffolding" (ibid., 113). This wound has not gone unnoticed by the world of culture and there is a long list of writers and directors who have made artistic contributions in relation to the earthquake and its consequences. A recent example is the film *Loro 2* (2018). Almost ten years after the event, the Italian director Paolo Sorrentino used the earthquake in L'Aquila to construct it as a real catastrophe, as the turning point in the life and career of Silvio Berlusconi, the former prime minister of Italy. After several inconsequential political and human missteps, the earthquake marks a distinctive point in the life of the protagonist within this biographical film.

2　　　　Context: Images of Italy

Earthquakes are a recurring theme within Italian literature, film, and art, so one can say that the awareness of this specific disaster risk is very central to Italy's auto-image. Interestingly there is no evidence that the foreign image of "the Italians"—in terms of imagology: the *hetero-image*—is linked to high seismological risk. In this article, I deal with some of these geographically localizable images, and focus more precisely on the context of the *Charlie Hebdo* caricature which circulated in August 2016.

It is often the medium of literature that allows ethnotypes and stereotypes to be widely propagated, as Beller and Leerssen (2007) have shown in their critical survey *Imagology*. In his article on the "Italians" (2007a), Beller lists two dominant images of Italy, which are passed on through literature: (1) The first image goes back to eighteenth-century travel literature (cf. Beller 2007, 195–197). Foreigners from all over the world travelled to Italy in search of the remaining traces of antiquity. The best-known example is probably Goethe who travelled through Italy between 1786 and 1788. He documented this experience and later published a revised edition, his influential *Italian Journey*.[7]

7　Goethe in his *Italian Journey* noted on March 3, 1787, in Naples: "The earthquake [...] has unpredictable moods: one speaks here of earthquakes as of the wind and the weather, and in Thuringia of fire blazes." My translation. Original and complete quote: "Vom Erdbeben spürt man jetzt im untern Teile von Italien gar nichts, im obern ward neulich Rimini und naheliegende Orte beschädigt. Es hat wunderliche Launen, man spricht hier davon wie von Wind und Wetter und in Thüringen von Feuersbrünsten" (1913, 202).

(2) Beller (cf. 2007a, 198) associates Italy's second image with crime and criminal organizations, an image that has found its way to the public sphere through Verga's *Cavalleria rustica* (1880), Pirandello's *Novelle per un anno* (1922), and Lampedusa's *Il Gattopardo* (1958), as well as through their film adaptations.

Literature and film are key media for transmitting stereotypes and national attributions. The challenge is to understand the full meaning of a certain image, a certain gesture, and to trace them back in time. Besides literature and film, however, there are many other media through which stereotypes and national attributions circulate, probably the most popular being food. In "Rhétorique de l'image," Barthes presented a broad perspective on the knowledge transfer from one nation to another through food. He studied the term *Italianicity* ("italianité"), and pointed out that "it isn't Italy itself, but the condensed essence of everything that can possibly be considered as Italian, from spaghetti to painting" (1964, 49).[8] By reading a French advertisement placed by the French food manufacturer Panzani, Barthes unveils the French myth of Italy. Barthes asserts that in France everybody would recognize the Italianicity of the Panzani-image whereas "Italians would hardly be able to perceive the connotation of the term [Panzani], nor probably the Italianicity of tomatoes and pepper" (ibid., 41).[9] The image shows several packs of spaghetti, a can, tomatoes, onions, peppers, and mushrooms falling out of a half-opened shopping bag against a wine-red background. Barthes points out that in France stereotypes such as *freshness* are able to immediately reproduce the Italian reference, while in Italy, nobody would decipher the Italianicity of the advertisement.

Barthes's observation once again becomes relevant in times of intensifying globalization. In view of the considerations concerning Italians and Italianicity, one can conclude that the high seismic disaster risk—in contrast with the auto-image of Italy—does not play a dominant role in the hetero-image of Italy. Due to its proximity to other European countries, one might think that the Italian earthquake risk would also prevail in European hetero-images of Italy. Interestingly, earthquake risks are rather associated with more distant countries such as Japan or Mexico.[10] Giddens offers one of the most famous definitions of globalization, which he describes "as the intensification

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8   My translation. Original and complete quote: "italianité, ce n'est pas l'Italie, c'est l'essence condensée de tout ce qui peut être italien, des spaghetti à la peinture."

9   My translation. Original and complete quote: "les Italiens ne pourraient guère percevoir la connotation du nom propre, non plus probablement que l'italianité de la tomate et du poivron."

10   Arno Borst's (cf. 1981, 559) observation provides a possible explanation: since the early modern age, Europe has tried to exoticize the earthquake risk by localizing it either far

of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa" ([1990] 1996, 64). After the earthquake near the Japanese coastal city of Sendai on March 11, 2011, the question of nuclear energy was once again raised in Germany. This is a good example of how an event occurring many miles away shapes local happenings. Another good example emerged from the aftermath of the Amatrice earthquake in 2016. Many Italian restaurants around the world put the famous *Pasta all'Amatriciana* dish on their menu to help donate one euro per meal to the earthquake victims. Nevertheless, such specific local happenings that took place throughout the world have failed to shape Italy's national identity. This becomes even more interesting in the light of imagological research that has shown that national attributions often arise during "historical tipping points" (Leerssen 2016, 20)—and natural hazards, like earthquakes, can definitely represent such events. However, these local happenings around the world have not yet shaped Italy's image as a country with a high seismic risk.

3   Text: Earthquakes, Italian Style

This lack of awareness is best exemplified by the aftermath of the earthquake that shook large parts of central Italy on August 24, 2016. The earthquake, whose epicentre was located in the province of Rieti, close to the centuries-old city of Amatrice, reached level 6.0 on the Richter scale.[11] In Italy, earthquakes of this magnitude take place every five to ten years. The last one occurred in L'Aquila in 2009. If adequate precautions have not been taken, these earthquakes can be very destructive: as a result of the 2016 earthquake, almost all buildings collapsed, leaving the old town of Amatrice completely destroyed. Furthermore, about 300 people lost their lives due to the disaster. Therefore, the Istituto Nazionale di Geofisica e Vulcanologia (or INGV) classified the

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from Europe (Turkey, China, Jamaica, Japan, India, Peru) or far from Europe's centres (Carinthia, Sicily).

11   "On Richter's scale, two earthquakes at the same distance from a seismograph differ by one magnitude if the size of their ground motions differs by a factor of 10. The ground motion of an earthquake of magnitude 3, therefore, is 10 times that of an earthquake of magnitude 2. Similarly, a magnitude 6 earthquake produces ground motions that are 100 times greater than those of a magnitude 4 earthquake. The energy released as seismic waves increases even more with earthquake magnitude, by a factor of 33 for each Richter unit. A magnitude 8 earthquake releases 33×33 or 1000 times the energy of a magnitude 6 earthquake" (Grotzinger and Jordan [7]2014, 305).

earthquake as being destructive to very destructive (9–10) on the European macroseismic scale EMS-98, which measures the intensity of the damage. In contrast to the Richter scale, which does not have an upper limit, the European macroseismic scale EMS-98 only goes up to level 12.

The perception of catastrophes often oscillates between the local and the global. For example, natural disasters are, from a spatial point of view, local events. They affect only a small local area. Sometimes they cause destructive effects. Then, to restore order, the affected areas are dependent on official support, which is often accompanied by international attention. This process of transformation from the local to the global took place in the case of *Charlie Hebdo*. The French satirical magazine published a controversial caricature titled "Séisme a l'Italienne" on August 31, 2016, seven days after the catastrophic event. The caricature shows two wounded and bloodstained people, two *terremotati*. Interestingly, the Italian language has its own word for the social wounds caused by earthquakes. Used as a noun, *terremotato* refers to those people who have been injured by an earthquake or who are homeless and have to flee after an earthquake. The two *terremotati* of the caricature look to their left. There is a collapsed heap of rubble and corpses—blood and human extremities, mostly human feet, protruding from every level of the pile. The earthquake is illustrated as something terrible that kills and buries. It leaves behind its debris and grief and a certain sense of powerlessness, embodied by three figures in the caricature: the first figure (viewing left to right) does not speak, the mouth is shut; the second figure does not see, the eyes are closed; and the pile of rubble, representing the third figure, does not hear, as the buried bodies are incapable of hearing. The caricature does not differ much from the innumerable paintings of catastrophes that can be traced back to early modernity.[12] The scene can be interpreted as catastrophic in the sense that the figures are both spectators and victims of the catastrophe. As Hans Blumenberg puts it in *Shipwreck with Spectator*, spectators do not enjoy the sublimity of their object, the pile of rubble, but of their own self-consciousness (cf. [1979] 1997, 26). Thus, the use of a spectator is perhaps a fitting means of representing the disaster. But is a caricature an adequate genre to represent a disaster?

Comic theory defines a caricature as "the distorted presentation of a person, type, or action" (Ames 2017). The given caricature, however, does not declare this distortion on the visual level. In addition to the visual, the caricature makes use of written elements. Every figure is linked to a culinary dish, which is placed as an inscription above each of them (the first figure, "Penne Sauce Tomato,"

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12   The essays in Dünne et al. (2018) elucidate images of catastrophes.

the second, "Penne Gratinées," and the pile of bodies, "Lasagnes"). This is what Frahm would define as a "structural parody" (2002, 204).[13] Together with the title ("Séisme à l'Italienne"), the inscriptions written in French appear disparate and misleading: a typical catachresis. Are the Italians covered in blood? Or are they drenched in tomato sauce? What does the caricature actually mean? Similar questions are reflected in Luigi Pirandello's essay on *Humourism*, which was published in 1908—the same year the Messina earthquake took place:

> This decomposing, these digressions, these variations […] are precisely a necessary and unavoidable consequence of the disturbance and interruptions of the organizing movement of the images by active reflection, which provokes an association for counterarguments: the images, instead of being associated by similarity or contiguity, present themselves in contrast: each image, each group of images awakens and recalls the opposites, which naturally divide the spirit, which, restless, persists in finding or establishing the most unthinkable of relationships between them.
> [1908] 1986, 141[14]

Imagology can serve as a method for the analysis of *national topoi* ("Nationaltopoi"), a popular means of caricature (cf. Florack 2007, 159–160). "Séisme a l'Italienne" makes use of what Leerssen calls an *effet de typique:* "the characteristics presented as being meaningfully representative of the nation as a type" (2016, 17). As already described with reference to Barthes, Italian food can be considered such an *effet de typique*, which serves to represent the Italians as a type. Apart from that, it is also worth taking a look at the iconographic level of the caricature. The two earthquake victims are depicted with large ears, long red noses, and curly hair. The beard and breasts try to indicate that they represent a man and a woman. The man is illustrated as tall and lanky, and the woman as small and stumpy. They are barefoot and poorly dressed: white bloodstained undershirts and blue shorts. Is this because they were taken by surprise and had to flee quickly? Significantly, this depiction corresponds to the stereotypical representation of people from Southern countries. People from Italy and beyond have indeed criticized the caricature.

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13   My translation. Original quote: "*strukturelle Parodie*."

14   My translation. Original and complete quote: "Questa scompostezza, queste digressioni, queste variazioni […] sono appunto necessaria e inovviabile conseguenza del turbamento e delle interruzioni del movimento organatore delle immagini per opera della riflessione attiva, la quale suscita un'associazione per contrarii: le immagini cioè, anzichè associate per similazione o per contiguità, si presentano in contrasto: ogni immagine, ogni gruppo d'immagini desta e richiama le contrarie, che naturalmente dividono lo spirito, il quale, irrequieto, s'ostina a trovare o a stabilir tra loro le relazioni più impensate."

As already mentioned in the introduction to this article, geography is a typical problem area of imagology. Summarizing some of the most important aspects of Stanzel's seminal study on the influence of climate theory on the depiction of Southerners and Northerners, it is asserted that Southerners are often seen as "small, lively, lazy, and lustful, they have a nimble wit, strong imagination and are deceitful" whereas Northerners are seen as "free, slow, dull, [they] have a certain mechanical talent but lack a lively imagination" (1980, 110). Some of these attributions can also be visualized by the means of the figures discussed. The Italian writer Roberto Saviano (2016) recalled in a statement on the controversy which was disseminated via Facebook that many people read the caricature "as a manifestation of superiority or racism, or as the will to do evil."[15] Seen from Paris, where *Charlie Hebdo*'s office is located, Italy is located in the South. Can geographical awareness be a possible explanation for the reaction?

4   Toward a Geo-Imagology

The dispute over the caricature took place primarily via social media, a fact that leads to another observation related to imagology. Angelika Corbineau-Hoffmann points out: "Whether the Internet, through the increasing information density, fights such stereotypes or rather fortifies them, would be a current imagological question whose answer is still open" ([2000] ³2013, 188).[16] The internet is an immense storehouse of knowledge. In the case of national stereotypes, it provides easy access to knowledge. Today, a simple search on Google is enough to find out what clothes people in southern Italy wear or which dishes are typical of a certain region. One is no longer so dependent on stereotypes. Thus, in theory, the internet is able to fight them. In times of the spread of unverified, or "fake news," however, it has become very clear that the internet does not simply provide truths but calls for critical awareness in order to detect distortions and correct them.

This became very evident in the aftermath of the earthquake around Amatrice on August 24, 2016. The worldwide solidarity campaign circulated in

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15   My translation. Original and complete quote: "Però, quella prima macabra vignetta, non l'ho letta come una manifestazione di superiorità o di razzismo, o come la volontà di fare del male, ma come la constatazione di un dato di fatto: a fare danni non è stata la natura ma gli abusi edilizi, gli edifici pubblici costruiti senza rispettare i criteri antisismici e quelli solo apparentemente messi in sicurezza."

16   My translation. Original and complete quote: "Ob das Internet durch steigende Informationsdichte solche Stereotype bekämpft oder nicht vielmehr befestigt, wäre eine aktuelle imagologische Fragestellung, deren Antwort noch offen ist."

the digital media under the hashtag #JeSuisAmatrice, which would not have been possible without social media. Under the hashtag, images of the typical local dish circulated via Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram around the world. It is important to point out that the slogan refers to the expression *Je suis Charlie*, with which solidarity was expressed after the terrorist attack on the editorial staff of *Charlie Hebdo* on January 7, 2015. Immediately, #JeSuisCharlie became a symbol for the threatened public sphere and the democratic-legal order underpinning digital media (cf. Müller 2015). The slogan has since been reused in various contexts. In connection with proper names, it has been used to express international solidarity after political assassinations, such as after the death of Alberto Nisman ("Je suis Nisman"), of Gilles Cistac ("Je suis Cistac"), or of Boris Yefimovich Nemtsov ("Je suis Boris"). In connection with toponyms, the hashtag slogan was reused after terrorist attacks ("Je suis Paris"), massacres ("Je suis Orlando"), or after natural disasters. This was also the case after the earthquake around Amatrice. One week after the earthquake, however, the hashtag #JeSuisAmatrice marked the beginning of globally supported criticism of the Parisian satirical magazine. Following the publication of the caricature in *Charlie Hebdo*, users on Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram published numerous statements distancing themselves from both the caricature and the magazine. This separation was realized with the hashtag #JeSuisAmatrice that was now equated with: *Je ne suis pas Charlie Hebdo*. All of this suggests that the internet, and especially social media, is not fighting against stereotypes, as might appear at first glance, but rather strengthening and reinforcing them.

5   Conclusion

This article has sought to demonstrate how earthquakes are linked to Italian cultural stereotypes and national identity, thus taking a first step toward a geo-imagology. I have considered the example of the Parisian satirical magazine, *Charlie Hebdo*. The delinking of the caricature from its original context, the chronicle of a satirical magazine, and its publication in social media has shown what digital dissemination has to do with identity, attribution, and stereotypes. As Italy is a country with high earthquake risk, where major earthquakes occur every five to ten years, there are numerous disputes concerning this phenomenon within the Italian-speaking cultural landscape. In the first part of this article, I studied the phenomenon as a recurring problem that has created an intertextual landscape of wounds. Any new earthquake event in Italy releases the knowledge and fear of previous earthquakes, as was the case in 2016. In the second part, I compared the auto-image of the Italians with the hetero-image.

The perspective on the context allowed me to show that earthquakes are very much present in the auto-image of Italians but not at all in the hetero-image of Italy. In the concluding part, I focused on the caricature "Séisme à l'Italienne," used here as a text, to understand how the discrepancy between auto- and hetero-images of Italy has become one of the leading reasons for the controversy, where the caricature struck a raw nerve. These findings suggest that there is a need for new perspectives on imagology in order to develop alternative concepts to analyse catastrophes and disasters, and that a reflection on texts such as the *Charlie Hebdo* caricature can serve as a starting point.

This calls for support of research necessary to examine how the representation of catastrophes and disasters can be perceived as either positive or negative in the context of one's geopoetical knowledge. Take Japan, for example: current images of Japan underline the tectonic mobility of the country,[17] while Italy, paradoxically, remains immobile. Studies of this kind could also highlight the fact that the representation of the catastrophe in the arts could always be traced back to previous experiences, often taken from literature or film. As already mentioned in the introduction to this article, geographical knowledge has an enormous influence on the construction of "the other."

I conclude these reflections by turning to the question of the comparability of catastrophes and disasters, and to Walter Benjamin, the author of the following short paragraph, who was not present at the Lisbon earthquake that occurred almost 200 years before his death on September 26, 1940:

> One house after another collapses, one family after another perishes; the terror of the spreading fire and the terror of the water, the darkness and the plundering and the lamentation of the wounded and the lamentations of those who are in search of their relatives—to hear that and nothing but that would not be dear to anyone, and these are precisely the things that are more or less the same in every great natural disaster.
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> [1989] 1991, 220–221[18]

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17 Take Elfriede Jelinek's play *Kein Licht* (2011) or Yoko Tawada's novel *The Emissary* (2014) as an example.

18 My translation. Original and complete quote: "Ein Haus nach dem andern stürzt ein, eine Familie nach der andern kommt um; die Schrecken des um sich greifenden Feuers und die Schrecken des Wassers, die Dunkelheit und die Plünderungen und der Jammer der Verwundeten und die Klagen derer, die auf der Suche nach ihren Angehörigen sind—das zu hören und nichts als das, würde niemandem lieb sein, und gerade das sind ja auch die Dinge, die bei jeder großen Naturkatastrophe mehr oder weniger dieselben sind."

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Singing the Dutch: An Extended Imagological Approach to Constructions of "Dutchness" in Late Eighteenth-Century Political Songs

Renée Vulto

Abstract

Throughout history, songs have been considered effective instruments to strengthen the formation of collective identities. Eighteenth-century Dutch songwriters engaged with this idea in their striving for national unity. Political songs from that period employ several tropes, and the music often reinforces such images through musical imagery and intertextual references. Moreover, the imagined identities voiced in the songs might have become embodied identities through the performative act of singing. Therefore, for an investigation of the construction of collective identities in songs, the imagological approach can be expanded to musical imagery and take into account cognitive theories explaining the effects of singing.

Keywords

song culture – intertextuality – communities – national identity – politics

The agency attributed to songs[1] in many times and places throughout history builds on their affectiveness and their mobility across all layers of society. They have been seen as powerful tools in particular to achieve the formation of *collective identities*. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the use of national categories in literature was closely linked to a political

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1   Defining "song" is a complex venture and a definition will always be very much dependent on the specific time and context. Song is a multimodal genre that cannot be limited to literary or musical characteristics. Defining features of Dutch political songs around 1800 are: a simple text, a singable melody, and a textual and/or musical content that can be situated within a political ideology. Furthermore, the corpus consists of "popular songs" rather than what would be termed "art songs" (such as the Lied, cantata, or aria).

striving for national unity (Corbineau-Hoffmann 2013; Jensen 2016; Rutten and Van Kalmthout 2018), and the (literary) genre of song was considered a useful instrument to strengthen the formation of (national) identities (Hambridge 2015; van der Haven 2016). Songwriters engaged with this idea in their use of national categories in their work, which was closely linked to a political pursuit of national unity. The Netherlands were a culturally fragmented region in crisis in the years around 1800, and the call for a stable and unified nation was strong. In political songs from this period, the texts employ several *clichés* and *topoi*[2] associated with the Dutch nation, and the music often reinforces such nationalistic *images*[3] through musical imagery and intertextual[4] references.

As the editors point out in the introduction to this volume, music, especially songs, have consistently been a popular medium "for the expression and dissemination of nationalist ideals" (Leerssen 2014, 606). In the combination of text and music found in song, *stereotypes*[5] of the nation were emphasized to articulate a national identity. In this article, I will discuss how images of "Dutchness" can be recognized in the corpus of late eighteenth-century Dutch political songs. As the corpus consists of many songs, I will use a case study to illustrate my argument. The song "Vaderlandsliefde" (Love for the Fatherland), contains several common tropes of a "Dutch character"—freedom-loving, courageous, invincible—in concrete images such as: the fatherlandic soil, self-sacrificing heroes, and brave Batavians.[6] It also uses more implicit means to

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2   I follow Beller and Leerssen in the terminologies they propose in *Imagology* (2007). "Cliché" refers to the "specific attributes of a given national image" (Beller 2007d, 442), which "never describe reality but are mere forms of rhetorical argument" (Beller 2007a, 297). "Topos" is used to distinguish the "thought patterns that structure a given text" (Beller 2007d, 442).

3   The term "image" is used to refer to "the mental or discursive representation of a person, group, ethnicity or 'nation'" (Leerssen 2007a, 342).

4   In this context, I use "intertextuality" to refer to interconnections between (song) texts but also between melodies or (song) texts and melodies.

5   "A stereotype is a generalization about a group of people in which incidental characteristics are assigned to virtually all members of the group" (Beller 2007c, 429). "Stereotypes are fiction" (ibid., 430) underlying the literary construction of national characters.

6   The "mythical" Batavians were seen as virtuous, connected to nature, freedom-loving, invincible, and emancipated (cf. Haitsma Mulier 1996; Teitler 1998; van der Haven 2011). Since the sixteenth century, references to this ancient Germanic tribe—which inhabited the territory of the current Netherlands around the time of Christ—played an important role in the historical awareness and early modern historiography of the Dutch. In the Batavian myth, Batavians were presented as role models whose society values were a touchstone for contemporary society in historical, political, and moral regard (Haitsma Mulier 1996, 347). The story was often revived in situations of crisis and political turmoil, as in the eighteenth century when people searched for the moral reasons for the economic and cultural recession they were experiencing (ibid., 359). The thought was that if they could regain the virtuous and

evoke a shared national consciousness, such as allusions to the concept of time to self-referentially reactivate the historical courage of the Batavian ancestor in the eighteenth-century singer. Such tropes, images, and references are typical for Dutch political songs around 1800. Furthermore, "Vaderlandsliefde" is a *contrafact*,[7] which establishes an interesting relationship between text and music. The melody is no exact musical representation of the texts' content; rather—through some remarkable incongruities—the music emphasizes certain aspects in the text. Moreover, by referring to the love song "Mijn lief, zo schoon als 't morgenlicht" (My love, as beautiful as the morning light), the melody creates a strong parallel between personal love and patriotic love.

In my analysis of songs such as "Vaderlandsliefde," I extend the imagological approach, which has until now mainly been focused on (literary) texts, to an approach that factors in the interplay between text and music, taking into account both musical images and intertextual references emerging through contrafact, and analysing them in relation to the textual images. On the basis of such an analysis, I examine how an imagined Dutch national identity voiced in song might have become an embodied identity through the act of singing. "Vaderlandsliefde" was a Patriot song published at a moment—in 1792—in which the Patriots[8] were not welcome in a Netherlands that was ruled by a stadtholder[9] which they opposed. Hence, it could even be read as a resistance song, bringing together the scattered *imagined community* of Patriots in the space of the song: even if they were not singing together in a physical *embodied community*, the singers knew that others were singing the same song in other places (and/or moments). After the Batavian Revolt in 1795, it was possible to sing the song in public again, which (finally) enabled the Patriots to come together as a real and embodied community in a physical space.

Through the act of singing, images of collectivity and love for the fatherland, articulated in the texts of such songs, may have evoked corresponding feelings

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civic character traits of the Batavians, that would be the unifying element of the people that could remedy the decline (ibid.).

7   Contrafactum (a common practice at the time) is the method of writing a new text to an already existing melody (Grijp 1991, 23) and can be regarded as a form of intertextuality.

8   The Patriots were a democratically and republican-oriented political movement emerging in the Netherlands in the 1770s, opposing the Orangists who supported the reign of the stadtholder. To avoid confusion between "Patriot" and "patriotism" (national loyalty), I capitalize the former. The Patriots propagated their ideology as the only "true patriotism."

9   The stadtholder was the head of state during the last decades of the Dutch Republic (1747–1795). In 1747 this function had been declared hereditary. In 1751 Willem V became the stadtholder. The Patriots blamed him for the downfall of the Republic because of his indecisive government, close relationship to England, and absolutist status.

of collectivity in the singers. Therefore, I also consider cognitive theories that offer explanations for the bodily mechanisms behind the construction of communities to be relevant in understanding the crucial role of performance in the development of communities in songs and through singing. Songs thus provide us with important sources in the study of the cultural construction of national characters, both in history and today—not only because of the images they evoke with their text and music but also because of their inherently performative character. The imagological approach can therefore be expanded to musical imagery and seek dialogue with other disciplines in its investigation of the formation of collective national identities.

1   Singing Communities

Songs were not only a prominent part of the eighteenth-century Dutch literary landscape, songs were also a means of communication, and singing was an important part of everyday life (Veldhorst 2009; van der Poel, Grijp, and van Anrooij 2016) that happened on every possible occasion: at events and festivities, in societies of all kinds, at work and in the pub. Research on European political song cultures of that period has indicated that a key aspect of songs was to evoke feelings of collectivity and unity—especially in times of instability (Jensen 2020; Rigney 2014). Therefore, social identity or group identity is a central concept in the consideration of the role of songs in the construction of collective identities, such as a Dutch national identity. Singing is primarily a social activity, performed by groups of people, and singing together can lead to feelings of belonging to a particular group and may therefore contribute to the formation and maintenance of a social identity (van der Poel, Grijp, and van Anrooij 2016, 4). Such a collective identity can be approached as an imagined community, in the sense of Benedict Anderson's definition of the nation as an "imagined political community" (1983, 5–6). Anderson argued that the nation is always imagined because the members of the group—that a nation essentially is—will never get to know all the other members. As a counterpart of the imagined community, I propose the embodied community (cf. Rigney 2014), which can be seen as the physical substantiation of the imagined community and comes into existence as people start to act on the idea of the imagined community. An imagined community can thus consist of several embodied communities that exist separately from each other in different moments and spaces (but come together in the imagined community).

A similar idea can be recognized in the distinction between primary and secondary groups made by Ernst Klusen in his theory of singing (1989). In a

primary group all members know each other and act together (ibid., 162). This concept overlaps with the notion of the embodied community. Secondary groups consist of people who share an ideal or belief or are otherwise linked together, without necessarily being in each other's presence (ibid.), a concept similar to the imagined community. In primary groups, people sing songs together in each other's presence; in secondary groups they do sing the same songs, but not necessarily in the same moment and/or place. In the act of singing in such a secondary group, the singers are—even though they do not know or hear each other—connected through an awareness that somewhere and sometime others are singing the same songs. The *idea* of collectivity is thus crucial in the formation of groups (both primary and secondary). Political songs of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries offered a foundation for the articulation of such a collectivity in their text and music.

Early modern songwriters thus thought of songs as having identity-establishing effects that could create communities through evoking feelings of community (van der Haven 2016, 756). In the context of eighteenth-century affect discourses on sympathy and enthusiasm, and theories of the qualities and effects of music and verse of that time, just listening to a song, with for example a patriotic message, would already ignite feelings of love for the fatherland in the listener (ibid., 755). The Swiss philosopher Johann Georg Sulzer wrote about song in his *Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste*: "not the amusement of the ear, the admiration of the art [...]" is of importance for songs, but their "moving effect" (Sulzer [1771/1774] 2004, 2676).[10] Regarding literary song, he argues that by focusing on a specific "passionate feeling," the song can "permeate and occupy the entire soul" with this affect (ibid., 2658–2659).[11] Other influential philosophers and poets of the time such as Anthony Ashley Cooper (the third Earl of Shaftesbury), Charles Batteux, and Adam Smith published about the "infectiousness" of feelings in collective practices too.[12] It can therefore be assumed that songwriters at that time were convinced that when songs were sung collectively (in a primary group), the imagined community articulated in the song might become an embodied community through the act of singing that ignited feelings of community in the singers. Through such a process, communities could be created on a local (primary and embodied)

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10   "Denn hier kommt es nicht auf die Belustigung des Ohres an, nicht auf die Bewundrung der Kunst; nicht auf die Ueberraschung durch künstliche Harmonien und schweere Modulationen; sondern lediglich auf Rührung." All translations in this article are my own.

11   "[...] es [das Lied] soll eine einzige leidenschaftliche Empfindung eine Zeitlang im Gemüt unterhalten und eben da durch dieselbe allmählich tiefer und tiefer einprägen, bis die ganze Seele völlig davon eingenommen und beherrschet wird."

12   See Cooper (1733); Batteux (1746); Smith (1759).

level, which in turn could be part of a larger imagined community on an over-arching (secondary, maybe even national) level. This attributed the songs with a valuable role in the construction of the Dutch national identity that song-writers (who often were politically engaged) were trying to propagate.

Contemporary support for these eighteenth-century ideas can be found in several present-day studies on cognitive mechanisms, which confirm the ideas about imagined and embodied collectivity as explained above. I will intro-duce three relevant mechanisms below and show how they reinforce the idea that through the performative act of singing an abstract imagined idea could become an embodied reality. The *mirror neuron system* (MNS) is a mechanism that makes a person's brain mirror the communicative signals sent by another person by creating a representation of that signal in the perceiver's brain (Molnar-Szakacs and Overy 2006, 235). In a musical experience, the MNS can stimulate the exchange of affect states between performers, and between per-formers and listeners. In the act of collective singing, singers (which are at the same time performer and listener) perceive the affect signals of the other sing-ers and representations of them are created in their own brains, while they are simultaneously senders of such signals. Consequently, these affect signals are perceived twice as intensely when sung in a group, as opposed to singing alone (because in that situation there is no co-performer whose affect signals can be perceived and mirrored).

Performed music is not only perceived auditory but also visually, as move-ment, or "motor acts." The MNS is relevant in this regard as it also engages the motor system and thus lets the perceiver's brain mirror the motor signals that are sent by co-performers (ibid., 236). This means that if singers see each other sing, they can very easily synchronize their movements and become a group moving as one—often, this even happens automatically. The model of *shared affective motion experience* (SAME) builds on this observation, and proposes that within the musical experience, which is a bodily experience, information about the physical and emotional states of the co-performer(s) is transmitted between the performers (Overy and Molnar-Szakacs 2009, 499). Thus, affect signals are connected to a bodily experience of collectivity (ibid.), and hence feelings of togetherness can be evoked. Interpreting collective singing as an experience in the sense of the SAME model offers another substantiation of the idea of song as an effective instrument to strengthen the formation of col-lective identities. A similar notion, focused on the bodily aspects of singing, can be recognized in the concept of *muscular bonding* (McNeill 1995, vi). Col-lective rhythmical movement, in combination with singing, creates a collec-tive affect state of solidarity within the group (ibid.); that is, it constructs an

emotional community that experiences feelings of togetherness in their bodies as well as in their minds.

The third cognitive mechanism I want to refer to is *affect attunement*, which is the mutual attunement of feelings into a shared affect state (Stern 1985, 142). To understand affect attunement, it is essential to think of the musical experience as evolving in time. The persons involved attune their feelings over the course of the event and thus engage in a continuous dialogical affect-relationship with one another. Within the act of collective singing, the singers (often unconsciously) attune to each other's expressions—for example, feelings of togetherness or love for the fatherland—and that way reinforce such feelings in the course of the experience of collective singing.

The above may remind one of a theory that does not refer to these cognitive mechanisms explicitly but which is certainly based on the same ideas. *Speech act theory* ascribes certain types of words with an illocutionary force; it sees them as "speech acts" (Searle 1969) or "performatives" (Austin 1962). This means that words expressing a certain action are a way of performing that action—"doing by saying." Applied to the case of songs, this would be "doing by singing," implying that when singers sing about being part of a certain community, they become in fact part of that community, and are thus also embodying that community. Moreover, the community they are singing about might be larger than the community physically present. Therefore, an imagined community is created through the speech acts of singing, extending the embodied community. If, in such a group situation, we see the concept of performative utterances in relation to the mechanism of the MNS, they complement each other. And connecting all the above to collective singing, it can be assumed that when a singer sings about being part of a certain community, the singer in fact becomes part of that community and therefore embodies it. If a singing collective sings about singing collectively, that reinforces the collectivity of their group, supporting the idea of song as a powerful medium in the creation of communities.

2   Vaderlandsliefde

I will now illustrate the concepts and mechanisms explained above with a case study of the song "Vaderlandsliefde,"[13] which provides a good example for an analysis of the construction of a national community through images

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13   For the full text and English translation, see appendix.

of Dutchness in the late eighteenth century. It was published by the poet duo Petronella Moens and Bernardus Bosch in their songbook *Liederen voor het Vaderland* (Songs for the Fatherland). The central theme of this eight-stanza song about patriotic love is the soil of the fatherland.[14] This soil ("grond") reoccurs as the final word of the penultimate line of each stanza and is therefore emphasized over and over again. The final line of the stanza then thematizes something that stood on or originated from this fatherlandic soil: the cradle, Freedom (as an allegorical personification), a blooming flower. The fatherlandic soil is depicted as the ground on which the Batavian ancestors of the Dutch people lived—it is the soil where patriotic heroes died for freedom, and on which the nation that the Patriots were born in was built.

In the text, there are many parallels drawn between nature and Patriot characteristics: the fame of the Batavians blooms as opulent as the buttercup; the voice of Freedom rustles as the wind blows over the soil; the green grass sprouts from the heroes' ashes; and flowers grow from the earth where heroes died. Nature is the igniting force behind the courage of the heroes—"natuur onstak der helden moed"—as is also shown in the cover image of the songbook (see Figure 19.1).

Figure 19.1 depicts a pastoral image, emphasizing the close connection to nature: a young woman rests under a tree, a shepherd's crook in hand, reading (maybe even singing) a song from a broadsheet. The scene can be interpreted as depicting a *locus amoenus* (an idealized place): it presents a peaceful image alluding to the peace that is to be restored and evoking nostalgia for a past in which things were better. Such evocations of a close connection to nature have been employed consistently throughout Western culture to remind one of the lost "good old days" (Leerssen 2007b, 407), and it is therefore not surprising that they can be encountered in the Patriot discourse.

What is more, the prominence of the concept of "nature" also makes sense in the light of the eighteenth-century educational discourse that strived to restore the values and morale of the good old days. Nature was seen as a source of moral guidance, opposed to "unnatural" human social arrangements, institutions, and practices, and unspoiled nature was often used as an example of common sense. The circularity of life and death is also in "Vaderlandsliefde" depicted as a natural phenomenon. The correct upbringing of children, for which nature set the example, to form them into good Patriots was an

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14   It is important to understand the concept "fatherland" in its specific historical and Dutch context. From the mid-eighteenth century onward, the notion of fatherland became more and more connected to an inclusively Dutch nation. In the Patriot discourse it was connected to the idea of sovereignty and became the highest political value (van Sas 2004, 150).

Liederen voor het Vaderland,

door

Petronella Moens en Bernardus Bosch.

Te Dordrecht by de Leeuw en Krap.
Te Bergen opZoom by van Riemsdyk en van Bronkhorst.
1792.

FIGURE 19.1   Cover image of *Liederen voor het Vaderland*, 1792.

important theme in Patriot discourse: children would grow up either the right or the wrong way, dependent on the quality of their education (ibid.). The underlying idea of "innocence of human nature" was central to the writings of influential philosophers such as Shaftesbury and Locke. In "Vaderlandsliefde" heroes may die in their fight for freedom, but new children—"Bato's heldenkroost"—are born and nurtured with "free milk" and love for freedom from their mother's breast. They are brought up to be true Patriots, willing to sacrifice

themselves for the fatherland, as their ancestors did. This image of mother and child can furthermore be interpreted as representing a generative and circular concept of love for the fatherland in the enlightened Patriot ideal of good education (van der Haven 2011, 258). The message here is that, even if people die for their fatherland, the true Patriot's honour is immortal—"onsterflijke eer gaf troost." Involving the family in the narrative also connected this small embodied community, to which people could relate, to the larger and more abstract imagined community of Dutch Patriots.

Throughout the entire song, references to the Batavians are dominantly present, emphasizing a shared national history. Moens and Bosch thus not only clearly portray themselves as Patriots—who had adopted this origin myth in service of their discourse constructing a historicized Dutch identity—they also create a transhistoric imagined community comprising the Patriots and their Batavian ancestors. Such an invention or adoption of a myth can be seen as founding act of a community's self-image (Beller 2007b, 373). The Patriot movement thus appropriated the Batavian character as a quality of the true Patriot. For example, in "Vaderlandsliefde," Batavian qualities are not only summed up but also personified in the (imagined) character of Bato, the progenitor of the Batavian people, emphasizing once again the historical perspective of the ideals of the Patriots. Another allegorical personification that is present in the song is Freedom. She is spoken of and called upon, as well as spoken to directly. Her presence is not surprising, as we know that freedom and independence were the supposed core ideals of the Batavians and therefore prominently present in the cultural expressions of the Patriots.[15]

But "Vaderlandsliefde" does not only evoke concrete images—such as the soil, freedom, heroes, mother, and child, Batavians—that are connected to an idea of Dutchness; it also plays with the concept of time (van der Haven 2016, 767–768). This is typical for the historical focus in the eighteenth-century search for a national identity. The narrative of the song is constantly shifting between past and present tense, creating a relationship between the time of the Batavians and the eighteenth-century present day. By equating the eighteenth-century Patriots to their Batavian ancestors, not only explicitly but also in this more implicit way, the song self-referentially reactivates the courage that was present in the Batavian ancestors of the Patriot singers (ibid.). This courage was believed to be historically and naturally present in the inhabitants of the Low Countries and singing about it bridged the gap in time, emphasizing

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15   See Grijzenhout (1989) for a study of how the Patriots incorporated their political ideology in their cultural expressions.

the transhistoric imagined community and turning bravery from a historical image into a real practice.

3   Singing of (Patriotic) Love

In addition to the images discussed above, it is likely that the authors of "Vaderlandsliefde" were convinced of the effective affective agency of song and singing. They were in any case part of the discourse that cultivated this idea. It is known that both authors were very much engaged with the ideal of a patriotic restoration through the education of the people (Jensen 2001, 76). The act of singing was an important practice in this, and several references to singing are made throughout the song. A collective "we" sings a song of praise that proclaims the loyalty and the courage of the heroes that "make the Netherlands great again." The voice of Freedom accompanies these heroes. And even if the "glory song of the bard" is silent and the song of the "chorus of maidens" drowns in the sounds of war,[16] the soil is guarded and the soul remains free. Such references clearly build on the unique nature of the genre of song. Song is ungraspable, it cannot be taken away, it cannot be silenced—and is therefore an ideal medium for the articulation of resistance and protest ideas.

Also, as van der Haven (2016) has pointed out, the use of the lyrical "we" is important in this context. It emphasizes the idea of collectivity, the presence of a group, and through singing this "we," the singer can identify with a national community that is connected through their ancestors and patriotic love for the native soil. I have argued earlier on the basis of mechanisms such as the MNS, SAME, muscular bonding, and affect attunement that when songs were sung in a group, such identification would become amplified by the bodily presence of other Patriots, all giving voice to the same message. By singing the words, and simultaneously hearing them being sung by others, feelings of collectivity will have become mirrored and attuned. This way, the patriotic love voiced in the song could have inspired a real embodied feeling of love for the fatherland in the singers.

That the song is a contrafact also supports the assumption that the authors of the song considered their work a means of propagation of the Patriot ideology. The text is intended to be sung to the melody of the love song "Mijn lief." As its title indicates, "Vaderlandsliefde" can be regarded as a love song too. However, I have shown that it is not so much about personal love but rather

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16   "Al zwijgt der Barden gloriezang" / "De stem der maagdenrei, Verdween in krijgsgeschrei."

about patriotic love. Yet, through the connotations it has to the love song "Mijn lief," a strong parallel is drawn between these two kinds of love. Interestingly, "Mijn lief," is actually a contrafact as well: to a melody mostly referred to as "Komt Orpheus, komt Amphion" (Come Orpheus, come Amphion), which was better known than "Mijn lief."[17] It is therefore remarkable that even though the melody that Moens and Bosch selected for their "Vaderlandsliefde" was most commonly known as "Komt Orpheus," they explicitly chose to refer to "Mijn lief" in the melodic indication. That this must have been a conscious and meaningful choice is implied by the existence of another song in *Liederen voor het Vaderland* that does signify "Komt Orpheus" as melody. This means that the songwriters knew this melody also under its more well-known indication but chose in the case of "Vaderlandsliefde" to explicitly refer to the song "Mijn lief." A possible explanation for this could be that when we look at the original texts of these two songs ("Mijn lief" and "Komt Orpheus"), it could be concluded that "Mijn lief" expresses stronger affection which could have been a reason for Moens and Bosch to choose this song to underline the affectionate message of "Vaderlandsliefde." Still, one should also be aware that while "Vaderlandsliefde" may seem and sound "lovely," its message glorifying the self-sacrifice of men fighting for their fatherland is quite militaristic. Political patriotism was strongly related to the bellicist discourse of the eighteenth century in which civic self-defence depended on the readiness of all citizens to fight (and die) as good Patriots (van der Haven 2011, 257).

   In any case, the melody (see appendix and Figure 19.2) supports the text in many ways. The general character of the music is pompous. It is set in quadruple time, but each phrase starts with an upbeat that places the emphasis on the second beat of each measure. This affirms the stately aspects of the song but also gives the melody a narrative quality that fits the tone of the text. The song's central theme of nature and its striking textual feature of the repetition of the rhyming words "soil" and "stood" ("grond" and "stond") is strongly emphasized by the musical setting. The last syllable of the penultimate line (on the word "soil") is stretched out over almost two bars, a striking contrast to the setting of the rest of the music in which the syllables generally correspond with the beats. Even more intensity is given to this moment by the end of the musical phrase which, after a climactic climb, reaches a long-stretched high tonic (G). As van der Haven has already noticed in his study of the song, the

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17   The Dutch Song Database (DSDb) indicates twelve contrafacts to "Kom Orpheus," compared to four contrafacts to "Mijn lief," in the timeframe 1780–1800. (See www.liederenbank.nl. A website maintained by the Meertens Institute for research and documentation of Dutch language and culture.)

upward movement of the melody in these bars creates an interesting contra-riety to the textual representation of the soil (van der Haven 2016, 765). This contrast is even more emphasized by the coinciding of the word "soil" with the long-stretched high note. Despite this substantive contradiction, the intended effect of the moment is clear: the melodic embellishment serves to emphasize the subject that "Vaderlandsliefde" wants its singer to love: the native soil. Sta-bility returns in the last melodic line, going back to the pattern of the other lines and ending the song neatly with a tonic on "stood." The steadfastness of the true Dutch Patriot who is loyal to his native soil is once again emphasized.

4   Intermedial Imagology: Music and Verse

The subject of this article takes us back to a time in which national phi-lologies emerged and cultural expressions were closely linked to national categories and political demands for national unity. My approach—study-ing images of national character, of Dutchness, as "discursive objects: narra-tive tropes and rhetorical formulae" (Leerssen 2016, 16)—fits the heightened interest in the field of imagology in contexts of "(re)emerging nationalism, populism, and xenophobia" as the editors of this volume point out in their introduction (Edtstadler, Folie, and Zocco 2022, 6). Furthermore, with its incorporation of cognitive theories, this research is an example of the "growing imagological interest in the integration of knowledge from other disciplines" (ibid., 9). My approach was encouraged by proposals like Leers-sen's in which he suggests that looking at "cognitive-psychological models of 'frames' and 'triggers'" can "deepen our understanding of ethnotyping and stereotyping" (2016, 24). And I am convinced that cognitive research can provide us with possible explanations for the bodily and community forming effects of a genre that was employed to create a national identity through tropes and images: song.

The case study has shown how certain imagery—the fatherlandic soil, nature, the Batavians, freedom, courage—was connected to an idea of "Dutchness," and how these images negotiated questions of identity through both verse and melody of political songs with the aim to construct a collec-tive Dutch national identity in the Netherlands around 1800. The example of "Vaderlandsliefde" is but one case in an extensive corpus of political songs in which we can discover several key tropes that contribute to the construction of national stereotypes. I have argued that songs can provide us with inter-esting sources in the study of the cultural construction and representation of national characters—not only because of the images they evoke with their text

and music but also especially because of their interwoven presence in society and its practices, and their prominent role during key moments in the manifestation of national sentiments. Looking at cognitive mechanisms that are at play during group singing provides an understanding of the agency that has been attributed to song, and supports the idea that songs functioned as significant actors in the development of a national consciousness in the Netherlands of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Appendix

Text of *Vaderlandsliefde* in *Liederen voor het Vaderland* (1792) by Petronella Moens and Bernardus Bosch, Dutch original and my English translation.

Elk dankbaar, elk gevoelig hart	Every grateful, every sensitive heart
Klopt voor zijn Vaderland,	Beats for its fatherland
Terwijl het dood en rampen tart,	As it defies death and disasters,
Als heldenwraak ontbrandt.	When the heroes' revenge bursts out.
Het moedig kroost der deugd	The brave children of virtue
Neemt deel in leed en vreugd,	Participate in sorrow and joy,
Het eert, het mint dien grond,	They honour, they love the soil,
Waar 't wanklend wiegje eerst stond.	Where the modest cradle first stood.
Nog zingen wij de trouw—den moed	We still sing of the loyalty—the courage
Van Bato's heldenkroost;	Of Bato's heroic offspring;
Dat Neêrlands glorie schittren doet,	That makes the Dutch glory shine,
Terwijl de naneef bloost.	As the offspring blushes.
Wij heffen 't loflied aan;	We strike up the glory song;
De grootsche lauerblaân	The grand laurel wreath
Vereeren nog dien grond,	Still honours that soil,
Waar de oude krijgsvaan stond.	On which the old banner of war stood.
Al zwijgt der Barden gloriezang,	Even if the glory song of the bard is mute,
Dit groenend lentegras	The greening grass of spring
Voedt wis den dood voor slaafschen dwang,	Feeds on death before slavery,
Het kiemt in heldenasch.	It grows on the heroes' ashes.
Ja, Helden! door wier vuist	Yes, Heroes! whose fists
De ketens zijn vergruist;	Shattered the chains;

Wij zeegnen nog dien grond,
Waar Vrijheids zetel stond.

Als hier de wind met stofjens speelt,
Dan ruischt een zachte stem;
Een stem, die Vrijheids boezem streelt,
Erkentnis geeft haar klem;
Dit stof—dat God beviel,
Omkleedt een vrije ziel;
Een held stierf op deez' grond,
Dáár—wáár dit bloemtjen stond.

Zo weeldig als de boterbloem
Haar malsche blaân ontvouwt;
Zo bloeide eens der Bataven roem—
Nooit snood verkocht voor goud;
Nooit foor gevloekt belang
Gewijd aan vreemden dwang;
Neen—heilig was die grond,
Waar 't stulpjen veilig stond.

O Vrijheid! vrijheid!—dierbre schat!
Gij woont in 't eikenwoud,
Aan geen bemuurde burg of stad—
Maar aan 's volks arm vertrouwd.
De stem der maagdenrei
Verdween in krijgsgeschrei;
Elk waakte voor dien grond,
Waar 't zoodenältaar stond.

Natuur ontstak der helden moed,
Elk streed voor Gade en kroost;
En stroomde eens 't vrij heldenbloed,
Onsterflijke eer gaf troost:
List bood geen zwijmelkelk;
Gezoogd met vrije melk,
Zwoer elk, wie 't recht verstond,
Zijn trouw aan Bato's grond.

We still bless that soil,
Where the Freedom's throne stood.

When the wind plays with the dust,
A soft voice rustles;
A voice, caressing the bosom of Freedom,
Wisdom strengthens her;
This soil—liked by God,
Dresses a free soul;
A hero died on this soil,
There—where this flower stood

As lushly as the buttercup
Unfolds her tender petals;
did once bloom the Batavian fame—
Never miserably sold for gold;
Never through wrongful interests
Dedicated to foreign coercion;
No—holy was that soil,
Where the home stood safely.

O Freedom! freedom!—precious treasure!
You live in the oak forest,
Not in a fortress or fortified city—
But entrusted to the people.
The voice of the maiden chorus
Disappeared in the noises of war;
Each guarded the soil,
Where the sod altar stood.

Nature ignited the heroes' courage,
Each fought for Wife and children;
And if the heroes blood was shed,
Immortal honour brought comfort:
Ruse offered no inebriation;
Brought up on free milk,
Everyone who knew right,
Pledged loyalty to Bato's soil.

Het wichtjen lachte op moeder schoot	The child laughed on its mothers lap
Den koenen vader aan,	toward the brave father,
Terwijl het poeslige armptjens bood,	as it stretched out its chubby arms,
En 't heldenhart deed slaan—	and made the heroes' hart beat faster—
Ja—'t zoog reeds vrijheidsmin	Yes—it already suckled love for freedom
Aan moeders boezem in;—	From the mothers breast;—
O Moed! bescherm dien grond,	O Courage! protect the soil,
Wáár eens uw heirvaan stond.	Where once your banner stood.

FIGURE 19.2   Melody of Mijn lief, zo schoon als 't morgenlicht / Komt Orpheus, komt
Amphion.

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"… the first singer, a born German": Notions of Nationality as a Field of Conflict in Operatic Music of the 1770s

Andrea Horz

Abstract

This article contributes to the European history of musical nationalism with regard to operatic debates in the eighteenth century. The investigation reveals that within operatic debates national categories were used for all levels of the multimedia genre of opera: music, text, composer, and actor. Moreover, the relationship between national character and national taste was a highly critical point: there was general agreement that only outstanding aesthetic abilities enable composers to go beyond their own particular national character. Only in this respect could aesthetic abilities stand above national taste, which was said to be shaped by national character.

Keywords

national character – national taste – musical nationalism – operatic debates – eighteenth century

1   Introduction

Music has been associated with national categories since time immemorial, and many facets related to imagology have been passed down since antiquity. As a cultural expression, music is closely linked to national character. One example of a popular paradigm is the practice established in antiquity of associating certain musical tonalities with nations. The Doric mode was the musical mode of the Dorians, one of the four major ethnic groups of classical Greece. It is said, at least in most sources, to possess a majestic character and was a fitting accompaniment to heroic poetry.[1]

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1   For the reception and a discussion of musical modes in the Renaissance, see Horz (2013).

The connection between music and nation is not limited to musical tonalities but can also affect other forms and correspondences: for instance, in later times national categories were associated with musical genres, particularly in connection with dances. *Bourrée*, for example, refers to a French dance tune. In the eighteenth century, the German[2] operatic discourse was dominated by national categories. In public debates, Italian operas were usually contrasted with French operas, which also prevailed the stage repertoire in German-speaking countries.

Likely due to the endeavour to establish a national theatre[3] in the German-speaking world, the musical characteristics linked with nations came into particular focus within Christoph Willibald Gluck's[4] operatic works in the 1770s. Equally present in all operatic genres, Gluck aimed at nothing less than a reform of the Italian as well as the French opera—a project that created enormous reverberations at the time: for the period from 1768 to 1782, eighteen articles on Gluck can be found in German-language journals and books (see Table 20.1). He was one of the most controversial opera composers of his time—a circumstance that may have been influenced by his and his supporters' professional use of journalistic organs. This enormous media publicity determined Gluck's image and place in operatic history in music research until recently. Only in the last few years has the picture of Gluck as a monolithically genius opera reformer changed (Jacobshagen 2018, 83–97).

The significant music-historical text corpus presented in Table 20.1 is permeated with "nationalisms."[5] This raises fundamental questions of imagology concerning the function of national categories within the German-speaking operatic discourse and how to "bring them to the surface" as well as "analyse them" (Beller 2007, 11–12). This article therefore contributes to the "comparative history of musical nationalism in Europe" (Leerssen 2014, 607) demanded by Leerssen.

The first part of this article reveals that within this text corpus national categories were used for all levels of the multimedia genre of opera: music, text, composer, and actor. The second part deals with the relationship between national character and the aesthetic category of taste, that is to say, national taste: the positive response to Gluck's operas in France led to a discussion on

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2   "German" includes all German-language discourses.

3   For more information on the efforts to establish a national theatre, see Fischer-Lichte (²1999, 107–115).

4   Christoph Willibald (Ritter von) Gluck (1714–1787) was a prominent composer of the Habsburg court at Vienna.

5   For examples, see the following analysis in this text.

TABLE 20.1   Gluck reviews in German-speaking areas (1768–1782)

	Year	Author	Title	Published in/by	Operas
1.	1768	Sonnenfels	*Briefe über die wienerische Schaubühne*	Vienna: Kurtzböck	*Alceste*
2.	1768	Anonymous	"Wien"	*Unterhaltungen* 5: 452–457	*Alceste*
3.	1768	[Hiller]	"Über die zu Wien aufgeführte Oper Alceste"	*Wöchentliche Nachrichten* 3: 127–137	*Alceste*
4.	1769	[Hiller]	"Piramo e Tisbe"	*Wöchentliche Nachrichten* 3, appendix, 135–139; 143–157	*Alceste*
5.	1769	[Nicolai]	"Briefe über die wienerische Schaubühne"	*Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* 10, no. 2: 28–32	*Alceste*
6.	1771	[Agricola]	"Alceste, Tragedia messa in Musica"	*Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* 14: 3–27*	*Alceste*
7.	1775	Riedel	*Ueber die Musik des Ritters Christoph von Gluck*	Vienna: Trattner	*Iphigenie en Aulide*
8.	1776	La Harpe	"Schreiben aus Paris über das Gluckische Singspiel Iphigenia in Aulis"	*Der Deutsche Merkur* 1: 260–264*	*Iphigenie en Aulide*
9.	1777	[Neefe]	"Paride ed Elena. Dramma per musica"	*Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, Suppl., nos. 13–24, pt. 1, 481–486*	*Paride ed Elena*
10.	1778a	Forkel	"Ueber die Musik des Ritters Christoph von Gluck"	*Musikalisch-kritische Bibliothek* 1: 53–273	*Iphigenie en Aulide*
11.	1778b	Forkel	"Le Souper des Enthousiastes"	*Musikalisch-kritische Bibliothek* 2: 365–369	*Alceste*
12.	1778	Anonymous	"Ausländische Nachrichten"	*Olla Potrida* 1: 177–180	*Armide*
13.	1779	Anonymous	"Paris. L'Enéide, Opera François"	*Musikalisch-kritische Bibliothek* 3: 309–311	*Armide*

TABLE 20.1   Gluck reviews in German-speaking areas (1768–1782) *(cont.)*

	Year	Author	Title	Published in/by	Operas
14.	1779	Anonymous	"Musikalische Neuigkeiten"	*Musikalisch-kritische Bibliothek* 3: 340–342	*Iphigénie en Tauride*
15.	1779	Anonymous, ed.	"Ueber die Tonkunst"	*Olla Potrida* 2: 222–242	*Alceste*
16.	1780	Rothauge	"Des Herrn Quintanus Rothauge zweiter Brief"	*Chronologen* 6: 202–216	*Armide*
17.	1780	Sander	"Fortsetzung der Briefe an Herrn Professor B***"	*Neueste Mannigfaltigkeiten* 4: 113–122	*Alceste*
18.	1782	Sonnenfels	"Nach der zweiten Vorstellung der Iphigenia in Tauris"	*Deutsches Museum* 7: 400–416	*Iphigénie en Tauride, Alceste*
19.	1782	Reichardt	"Gluck und Lulli"	*Musicalisches Kunstmagazin* 1: 91	*Alceste*

Note: * = [Agricola] 1771, La Harpe 1776, and [Neefe] 1777 all reprinted in Forkel 1778a (entry 10).

how it could be possible for a foreigner to influence and shape the taste of another nation. This investigation demonstrates that there was general agreement on the point that only outstanding aesthetic abilities enable composers to go so far beyond their own particular national character. In this respect, aesthetic abilities can stand above national taste, which was said to be shaped by national character. However, the constitution of aesthetic mastery and whether Gluck possessed these abilities were matters of dispute among critics of that time. In principle, the present analysis therefore aims to examine the relationship between national character, national taste, and aesthetics.

2   The National Dimension of Opera

With the attempt to establish a national theatre in the German-speaking world, such as in Hamburg (1767–1768), Vienna (1776), Mannheim (1779), Berlin (1786), or Munich (1789), the question of nationality was very popular in the theatre and also the music theatre field particularly in terms of institution and repertoire (Fischer-Lichte [2]1999, 112). But how were national categories linked

to the multimedia art form of the opera? And when was something considered to be "German opera"? In fact, the contemporary reviews (see Table 20.1) indicate that critics chose different reference points between nationality and opera. Musical texture was a central category, but they also referred to operatic language as well as the nationality of the actors and the composer.

With *Alceste*,[6] Gluck presented his vision for a reformed Italian opera. In the course of the discussion, the characteristic stylistic features of Italian opera came under criticism, especially the singular embellishment of aria melodies through extensive melismatic-virtuoso[7] passages. As a central Italian musical trait, this vocal art was generally negatively connoted. In rejecting it, both the advocates and the opponents of Gluck called it a specific national opera image. With the opera *Alceste*, Gluck sought to revise Italian opera: the discussion of this work focused on the stylistic features which were typical of Italian opera but at the same time perceived as problematic.[8] The aforementioned vocal ornamentation of the arias through melismatic-virtuoso passages was one of the central criticisms of Italian opera practice. It was negatively connoted, especially in the context of the "Gluck debate," because it was perceived as inappropriate to the text and the plot. Through the consistent rejection of these musical characteristics in the media, specific national opera images were manifested.

Gluck's advocate, Joseph von Sonnenfels[9]—who was responsible for creating a positive image of Gluck in German-speaking journals—described the Italian virtuoso singing as "Gurgeley" ("gagging") and attributed the allegedly weak effect of the music to this vocal skill, that which is associated with a certain group of singers: the castrati. In contrast, he saw Gluck's merit as having come from the deletion of these passages from his arias. Sonnenfels considered *Alceste* to be an amazing triumph because Gluck had eliminated these negative characteristics of Italian opera.

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6   The libretto of Gluck's Italian opera *Alceste* was written by Ranieri de' Calzabigi. The premiere took place in 1767 at the Burgtheater in Vienna. In 1769 Gluck published the score and added a preface by Calzabigi, which set out their ideals for operatic reform. They demand, among other things, no long melismas but rather a predominantly syllabic text setting, no da capo arias because of the repetition of the texts, a blurring of the distinction between recitative and aria, and simpler melodies, etc.

7   Melismatic means many notes per syllable.

8   See footnote 6.

9   Joseph Freiherr von Sonnenfels (1732–1817) was one of the most influential personalities of the Enlightenment in Austria. Among other things, he fought for a reform of the Burgtheater in Vienna.

> I am in the land of miracles. A serious singspiel without castrati / —a music without virtuous passages / or what I would prefer to call "gagging" [Gurgeley]—a poem without floridity and squiggle—with this triple miracle work, the theatre *nächst der Burg* has been reopened. I would like to add a fourth, and it may not be the smallest: the first [female] singer is a born German.
>
> SONNENFELS 1768, 17[10]

The multiple pejorative connotations of the virtuoso Italian vocal style are unmistakable in this passage. It is a skill that was previously highly regarded: the famous singers, especially the castrati, received a fair amount of money for it.[11]

Other German critics did not respond positively to Gluck's *Alceste*. They did, however, all agree with Gluck's opinion on the shortcomings of Italian opera. Johann Friedrich Agricola[12] and his anonymous colleague regarded *Alceste* dispassionately, making observations such as: Italian opera stood for "floridity," "squiggle against the affect of aria," for "crooked modulation and bumpy rhythms." "All fire of expression" was extinguished over the "lamest and most empty passages," which resembled a "chicken shriek" ([Agricola] 1771, 12).[13]

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10 My translation. Original quote (German): "Ich befinde mich in dem Lande der Wunderwerke. Ein ernsthaftes Singspiel ohne Kastraten / —eine Musik ohne Solfezieren / oder wie ich es lieber nennen möchte, Gurgeley—ein wälsches Gedicht ohne Schwulst und Fliterwitz—mit diesem dreifachen Wunderwerke ist die Schaubühne nächst der Burg wieder eröffnet worden. Noch wohl ein viertes habe ich Lust hinzuzusetzen, und es ist vielleicht nicht eben das kleinste: die erste Sängerinn eine gebohrne Deutsche." And further below: "Wenn wir zu unseren Zeiten von den erstaunlichen Wirkungen der Tonkunst nicht eben diese Begriffe haben; so kömmt es daher, daß unsere Empfindungen, wie unsere Leiber zu Weichlingen ausgeartet; daß uns Wäschland mit seinen entmannten Sängern auch seine kraftlose Musik aufgedrucken, und daß wir, aufrichtig zu reden, nur eine Musik für das Ohr, keine für das Herz haben" (Sonnenfels 1768, 35).

11 Pars pro toto the situation in London: Jacobshagen (2009, 48).

12 Johann Friedrich Agricola (1720–1774) was a German musician, composer, critic, and writer on music. He was appointed as court composer and conductor of the royal orchestra to Frederick the Great in Berlin.

13 My translation. Original and complete quote (German): "Wie viel Arien haben wir nicht, zumal von manchem der itzigen italienischen Nationalcomponisten, gehöret und gesehen, wo bey dem stolzesten und feurigsten Inhalte der Arie, eine so große Menge der lahmesten und leerhaftesten Passagien hingeworfen sind, daß alles Feuer des Ausdrucks darüber verlischt. Und wenn sie vollends so schief und lahm moduliret, und so höckerig rythmisieret sind—Ach freylich, alsdenn ist viel dawider zu sagen: so wie auch dawider, wenn sie aus der Eigenschaft der menschlichen Stimme ausgehen, und sich in eine Nachahmung des Hünergeschreyes verwandeln, wie die itzt in Wälschland so beliebten Cornette thun. Nun dergleichen, von der letztern Art, findet man doch in der Oper unsers m.V. nicht. Das sey ihm zum Ruhme gesagt." The Italian vocal style was not

Was this an intervention for French opera? At this point it is necessary to take into account the specific situation within the German-speaking realm because, after all, this is not about the defence of their own national operatic style. This differs from the French dispute over the Italian practice because French opera was considered boring and simple. "Gluck's manner"—an anonymous critic wrote—"should be quite original, and express the true nature with noble simplicity, and make a good connection between the muddled Italian music and the boring simple French" (Anonymous 1768, 454).[14]

Specifically, in this judgement, a special issue is noticeable: within the German public around 1770, national images of operas manifested themselves in musical characteristics. In this context, the national terms Italian or French stood for certain musical practices that had been singled out and laden with similarly negative connotations.

But what was Gluck's *Alceste*? Was *Alceste* regarded a German opera by the contemporary critics? Gluck's eclectic method of composition could indeed be classified as German, because in the article "Über die Tonkunst," published in *Olla potrida* in 1779, for example, the German national compositional style is described as follows:

> German music has borrowed the most from foreigners. It differs only in the diligent work, the regular execution of the musical form, and in the depth it executes in harmony. […] The creation of good taste in music is a work of the Germans. They have repaired the Italian and French styles of music, and above all given the first such handsome form, as not even any Italian ever had been able to give it. Even Italian music, as we now find it in the works of the greatest German composers, is German in origin.
>
> ANONYMOUS 1779, "*Über Die Tonkunst*," 239[15]

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under criticism for the first time: objections to the artfully virtuoso singing came mainly in the dispute over French opera—one of the most famous disputes in the 1750s was the so-called *Querelle des Bouffons* (Cook [2]2001).

14   My translation. Original quote (German): "Glucks Manier soll ganz original seyn, und die wahre Natur mit edler Einfalt ausdrücken, und zwischen der krausen wälschen Musik und der langweiligen einfachen französischen ein glückliches Mittel treffen."

15   My translation. Original quote (German): "Die deutsche Musik hat das meiste von den Ausländern entlehnt. Sie unterscheidet sich nur durch die fleißige Arbeit, regelmäßige Ausführung der Sätze, und durch die Tiefsinnigkeit, die sie in der Harmonie anwendet. … Die Herstellung des guten Geschmacks in der Musik ist ein Werk der Deutschen. Sie haben die italienischen und französischen Musikarten ausgebessert, und vornehmlich der ersten so ansehnliche Gestalt gegeben, wie selbst kein Italiener jemals ihr zu geben vermögend gewesen. Selbst die italienische Musik, so wie wir sie jetzt in den Werken der größten deutschen Komponisten finden, ist deutscher Abkunft."

Gluck's compositional style had exactly the qualities that would make him—according to this classification—German.

But this article is by no means linked to a specific German musical texture in Gluck's compositions. Sonnenfels did not refer to Gluck's *Alceste* as a German opera either, despite the essential intervention in the Italian aria design and the use of other characteristic features of Italian opera. Gluck's German opponents were even less inclined to acknowledge his work as "German." Johann Adam Hiller, for example, describes the result as "made in the French mould, worked in Italian tastes" (1768, 156).[16] Another critic argued against Sonnenfels, and particularly against a classification as "German," claiming that the opera was Italian because it was not sung in German.

> [...] the disguised Frenchman, who wonders why the first singer of the opera *Alceste* was a German, must have been very surprised that the words to this opera are not German. So far the Italian language has been favoured within vocal music only for the comfort of singing or, as the author likes to express it, because of virtuous passages and gaggling. Since all these things (which the author is glad to hear) are kept away from the opera *Alceste*, there was not the slightest reason why this opera should have been in Italian. But if Herr von Gluck's composition is nothing but a refined declamation, it is yet another important intervention in the rights of our National Theatre to use it in a German city for an Italian tragedy.
>
> ANONYMOUS 1769, 31[17]

The reviewer vehemently rejects any attempt to describe a German opera written in Italian or musically designed as a refined declamation—the characteristic of French stage works—as representative of German national theatre.

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16   My translation. Original quote (German): "[...] nach französischem Leisten in italienischem Geschmacke verfertigtes Werk [...]."

17   My translation. Original quote (German): "... der verkappte Franzose, der sich wundert, daß in der Oper Alceste, die erste Sängerin eine Deutsche sey, hätte sich eben so sehr wundern sollen, daß die Worte zu dieser Oper nicht deutsch sind. Man hat bisher blos die italiänische Sprache der Bequemlichkeit des Gesangs halber, oder wie sich der Verfasser auszudrücken beliebt, des Solfezieren under Gurgeley wegen, bey der Vokalmusik den Vorzug gegeben, da nun aber alle diese Sachen (welches den Verfasser so herzlich freut) bey der Oper Alceste wegbleiben sollten, so war nicht die geringste Ursache übrig, warum diese Oper in italiänischer Sprache hätte seyn müssen. Sollte aber die Composition des Herrn von Gluck nichts als eine verfeinerte Deklamation seyn, so ist es ein abermaliger wichtiger Eingriff in die Rechte unsers Nationaltheaters, daß sie in einer deutschen Stadt an ein italiänisches Trauerspiel sollte verwendet werden."

Two other German reviews from this period show clearly how much importance was attached to the language of an opera. In 1773, two years after the critique of Gluck's *Alceste*, Wieland published an article on operas "bearing the name Alceste in the title" (1773, 34).[18] Gluck's *Alceste* is not among them because Wieland's article is only about operas which were written in German. Obviously, only the operatic language, not the musical style or the nationality of the composer, was considered crucial. Even for the already quoted anonymous author of "Ueber die Tonkunst," opera language has the sovereignty of interpretation: although Graun, Telemann, and Handel made great contributions to the opera in Germany—as the anonymous author declares—the text of their musical work is still Italian.[19] That is why only the opera *Alceste*, written by Wieland and set to music by Schweitzer, is regarded by him as the first German opera (Anonymous 1779, "*Über die Tonkunst*," 238). There was a consensus on the point that the national identity of the opera was determined by the language in which it was performed. Nonetheless, these debates reveal the fragility and uncertainty regarding the question of what makes opera, a multimedia genre, into a national form.

If we consider Sonnenfels's earlier emphasis on the fact that the leading female singer of *Alceste* in Vienna was a "born German,"[20] then this raises another possibility that runs counter to Sonnenfels's emphatic claim. Beyond defining a national musical texture, the language of the performance, or the national affiliation of the composer, the nationality of the actors and actresses could also determine the nationality of an opera. But obviously certain critics assigned the national identity of an opera to the language and, as a result, attributed interpretive authority to it.

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18   My translation. Original quote (German): "[...] welche den Namen Alceste im Titel führen."

19   "Hasse Graun, Telemann und Händel haben sich in dem gegenwärtigen Jahrhundert um die Oper in Deutschland sehr verdient gemacht; der Text zu ihrer Arbeit ist aber noch italienisch. Doch sind auch deutsche Opern zu Hamburg zwischen den Jahren 1730 und 1738 aufgeführt worden: mit diesem letztern Jahre hörten sie aber wieder auf, und nach dieser Zeit ist die vor einigen Jahren von Herrn Wieland verfertigte und von Herrn Schweizer in musikgesetzte Alceste die erste deutsche Oper gewesen, die auf deutschen Schaubühnen, nämlich zu Weimar, Gotha und Mannheim, aufgeführt worden ist" (Anonymous 1779, "Ueber die Tonkunst," 238).

20   The singer was Antonia Bernasconi (born Wagele) (1741–1803). She was a born German but was successfully trained as a singer by her Italian stepfather Andrea Bernasconi and is considered one of the most outstanding singers of the eighteenth century. Unlike others, she sang in comic as well as in serious operas.

3   National Character and National Taste

In the 1770s the national identity of the composer Gluck came into focus because Gluck, as a German composer, was celebrated by some German and French critics as the perfectionist of French opera. So the question has to be if a German composer can influence the national character and/or national taste of a country other than his or her own. This is a good opportunity to shed light on this subject from an imagological point of view.

In 1775, alongside Sonnenfels, another Viennese follower, Friedrich Justus Riedel,[21] joined Gluck in the German-speaking public. Riedel published a book that celebrated Gluck as a revolutionary of French national taste (Riedel 1775). This publication includes four French contributions in German translation on the Parisian performance of Gluck's opera *Iphigenie en Aulide*. They demonstrate the exceptional success of the German composer in France, which Riedel attributes to two aspects:

1.   The writings prove Gluck's success in front of his French audience, which immediately included him in the ranks of French operatic heroes. For all four authors, Gluck rates on the same level as the French national composers Lully and Rameau. Lully created the French opera, Rameau composed first and foremost outstanding ballets, and Gluck has all "talents united"—that is, the common tenor (Riedel 1775, 2–3, 28, 88–90). The French themselves regarded Gluck as a perfectionist of the French opera, resolving its previous shortcomings in the spirit of ancient tragedy.
2.   The acceptance of Gluck's music by the French public was critical to his success. All four authors vehemently emphasized the extraordinary impact that Gluck's music had on them, providing Riedel with evidence that the German Gluck had conquered the French stage and reformed French national taste.

It can therefore be deduced that the relationship between national character and national taste is based on the effect of music: music corresponding to national taste manifests itself in the effect it exerts on the national character, that is, on the members of a nation. Artists that obtain extraordinary popularity in a nation are then—like Gluck—included in the ranks of national heroes.

The considerations of the French authors also revolve around how a foreigner could influence French national taste to such an extent. The subsequent reflections provide deeper insights into the concept of national taste, because these aspects of aesthetic context concern the creative power of the artist and his or her relationship with national taste.

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21   Friedrich Justus Riedel (1742–1785) was a German writer and critic. He lived in Vienna from 1772 until his death.

The French author of the second letter of Riedel's collection extensively discusses the relationship between genius and national taste and argues against his apparently sceptical addressee for putting the work at the centre of judgement, regardless of nation and genre. He writes:

> I believe and have always believed that genius is one and the same, and that one can never dodge its vivid and profound impressions. The sun rules high above our heads, without distinction over all beings, and spreads its light over the whole horizon in one moment. It is in this way that true genius prevails over the whole world. Thousands of rays emanate from the centre of its focus, apt for all nations. Whichever country you are from, whatever climate you might always inhabit, you may only have eyes to see the light. One may only have one soul to feel the impressions of genius.
>
> RIEDEL 1775, 28[22]

According to this, genius is spread over nations just as the sun and has an impact above and beyond the climatic influence of the country, which is in his opinion responsible for national character[23] and national taste. In other words, for the French author, the aesthetic talent of a composer is above national taste and the only thing that should be judged in art. In this way, aesthetic judgement is linked with, but not limited to, national taste.

In his extensive critical reply to Riedel's writing, Johann Nikolaus Forkel is particularly concerned with the statement that Gluck is the "reformer of French national taste" and thus provides further insights into contemporary considerations for shaping national taste between taste and genius.

> Is it therefore possible that an entire nation could stubbornly oppose the guidance and powerful impulse of its nature and inward character? Is this otherwise persistent desire of nature so feeble and powerless that it

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22 My translation. Original quote (German): "Ich glaube und habe immer geglaubt, daß das Genie, Eines und dasselbe ist, und daß man nie seinen lebhaften und tiefen Eindrücken ausweichen kann. Hoch über unsern Häuptern herrscht die Sonne, ohne Unterschied über allen Wesen und breitet ihr Licht in einem Augenblicke über den ganzen Horizont aus. Auf eben diese Art herrschet das wahre Genie über die ganze Welt. Mitten von seinem Brennpunkte gehen tausende Strahlen aus, treffend für alle Nationen. Aus welchem Lande man seyn, welches Clima man immer bewohnen mag, so darf man nur Augen haben, um das Licht zu sehen; man darf nur eine Seele haben, um die Eindrücke des Genies zu empfinden."

23 For the relationship between climate and national character, see Neumann (2009, 27–31, 98–113).

has missed the true and only proper taste of its character, and would only
be pointed in the right direction by a foreigner centuries later?

FORKEL 1778A, 55–56[24]

Forkel's scepticism resonates in the rhetorical question of whether an entire
nation could be wrong for centuries about the "true and appropriate taste for
its character," in short, about national taste, and could be put on the right track
by a foreigner. Despite the documented extraordinary effect of Gluck's music
on French audiences and its integration into the history of French musical
heroes, Forkel questions Gluck's contribution in modifying French opera.

According to Forkel, it is possible for foreigners to influence the national taste
of a nation. Even before Gluck there were artists who met with the approval
of more than one nation. However, he insists that a change in national taste—
particularly one provoked by a foreigner—can only be achieved by extraor-
dinary means. As stated by Forkel, for this to happen, profound knowledge of
human nature and a feeling for the beauty of the arts and sciences are indis-
pensable attributes—in other words, the artist must not only have great genius
but also master the rules of art. Forkel justifies his vehement commitment to
the perfect mastery of the composition principles, which in his eyes is essential
for a reformer of national taste, as follows:

> The principles of these men were based so much on the attentive study
> of the nature of our hearts and our feelings for the beauty of the arts and
> science and abstracted with so much caution and acumen from many
> repeated experiences that there was no reason to object to them; that,
> notwithstanding their founded correctness, they were still of such a
> sublime nature that they could not be noticed by anyone, nor could they
> be put into practice with success.

FORKEL 1778A, 54[25]

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24 My translation. Original quote (German): "Sollte es also wohl möglich seyn, daß eine
ganze Nation der Anleitung und dem wirksamen Trieb ihrer Natur und innern Charakters
widerspenstig entgegen arbeiten könnte? Sollte dieser sonst unaufhaltsame Trieb ihrer
Natur so kraftlos und ohnmächtig gewesen seyn, daß sie den wahren und ihrem Charakter
einzig und allein angemessenen Geschmack verfehlt hätte, und nun erst nach Jahrhun-
derten von einem Ausländer hin auf den richtigen Punct gewiesen werden müßte?"

25 My translation. Original quote (German): "Die Grundsätze dieser Männer waren so
sehr auf aufmerksames Studium der Natur unsers Herzens und unserer Gefühle für das
Schöne der Künste und der Wissenschaft gegründet, und mit so viel Vorsicht und Scharf-
sinn von vielen wiederholten Erfahrungen abstrahiert, daß man mit Grund nichts wieder
sie einzuwenden wußte, als daß sie ihrer gegründeten Richtigkeit ungeachtet, doch noch
immer von einer so erhabenen Natur und Beschaffenheit waren, daß sie weder von jeder-
mann bemerkt, noch mit glücklichem Erfolg in Ausübung gebracht werden konnten."

In this way, Forkel stresses that both lovers of music and connoisseurs must be convinced of the quality of the composition. Forkel forcefully questions the authority of the French reviewers cited by Riedel, who, in his view, are not appropriate judges of the arts because they lack expertise. At various levels, he tries to prove the amateurism of their musical knowledge. Forkel expressly opposes the "genius argument" of the French critics, which Gluck applied to the established rules and theories, and demonstrates that Gluck's compositions are musically flawed.

Therefore, Forkel maintains that the exceptional qualities necessary to transpose national taste are not present in Gluck's work. Although lovers of Gluck's music may be touched and convinced, the connoisseur is not satisfied. For that reason, he finds it questionable whether Gluck's operas have influenced French national taste in a substantial way.

Even if national sounds are discernible within the debate about the best operatic music, the discussion on national taste in particular is closely linked to aesthetic considerations about the relationship between genius and craft. Beyond national boundaries, aesthetic aspects decide upon the acceptance of an opera.

4   Conclusion

What was the function of national categories within this German discourse about Gluck's operas? In the search for a German national theatre, which was particularly intense in the 1770s, public debates demonstrated that defining the opera genre within the context of national categories was not an easy task. Needless to say, this required a discussion on the decisive features of a German opera: actors, composers, musical texture, and language were offered as categories for "German."

The discussion on Gluck's French success prompted further considerations on the national designation of art: Can a foreigner shape national taste and in this way influence the national character of a nation? At this point contemporary aesthetic discussions are linked to the concept of nationality. National character and national taste are discernible in the intense effect music has on the inhabitants of a country; foreign composers, too, therefore had the opportunity to exert an extraordinary effect on a nation. According to a French critic, the genius of the artist stands above the respective nationally shaped tastes. Consequently, it appears that aesthetic categories hold more power than national characteristics. The fundamental impact of the aesthetic debates in the eighteenth century is now visible: the German critic Forkel insisted that in addition to genius, the mastery of artistic craftsmanship derived from

tradition is necessary—only then can the *Liebhaber* (lover), who is susceptible to the effect, as well as the *Könner* (expert), be convinced of a work of art—detached from national identity.

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Blurring Stereotypes: "Aus dem Leben eines Tonkünstlers" as a Medium of Italian Musical Character around 1800

Carolin Krahn

Abstract

How can music history help us understand the establishment of national character? This article discusses a prosaic text by Johann Friedrich Rochlitz as a medium for implementing stereotypical ideas of "the Italian" in German music historiography and, thereby, in public consciousness. It shows how particular musical qualities of the story's fictional protagonists are blurred with ideas of national character. Against this background, the predominant reception of the author Rochlitz in the realm of German music historiography can be reevaluated from a more transnational scholarly perspective. Key to this reassessment is investigation into the categories of fictional and musical characters with regard to notions of both "the German" and "the Italian."

Keywords

national character in music – image of Italian music – German music historiography – stereotypes in musical fiction – Johann Friedrich Rochlitz

How can music history help us understand the processes through which images of national character are established? In order to answer this question, I will analyse an otherwise little-known text from the vast body of music historiography written by one of Germany's leading music literati at the turn of the nineteenth century: Johann Friedrich Rochlitz (1769–1842) of Leipzig. My first goal is to depict the ways that notions of "the German" and "the Italian" are rhetorically shaped in regard to both the musical as well as the anthropological imagination, as found in a fictional anecdote in music-related German prose. By blurring stereotypes of both national categories, this story draws attention to how two well-travelled national characters, usually treated as dichotomies,

were paradoxically intertwined in music historiography of the era. Analysing this narrative casts light on the ways that character functions as a core category in imagological research on national thought from a musicological point of view. At the same time, this investigation allows for critical reflection on the problematic relationship of rhetorically shaped clichés as they were disseminated among readers of music-related texts.

My argument is structured in three steps: first, I will provide a brief overview on the reception of the author Johann Friedrich Rochlitz as a key figure in discourse on German music. This synopsis will draw attention to relevant historiography as well as musicological scholarship, with the aim of broadening hitherto existing perspectives on Rochlitz toward a more transnational scholarly horizon. The genre of the musical anecdote will play a crucial role in the context of this discussion. Following up on this, I will provide a close reading of Rochlitz's prosaic fragment "Aus dem Leben eines Tonkünstlers," paying particular attention to aspects that reach beyond the German-speaking world. The text at stake, which was first published in 1802,[1] illustrates how the idea of nation becomes part of a sophisticated cross-cultural play with stereotypes in music historiography. As a consequence, my discussion highlights a facet of the author that has long been overlooked, not least because of the strong focus on the German-speaking realm that scholarship has traditionally maintained. Finally, I will bundle up the insights from these preceding steps in light of stereotype formation to discuss how the chosen text becomes a medium of anthropologically charged anecdotes to promote the stereotypical "Italian" in relation to music. In conclusion, my elaborations respond to the question of how Italian musical character emerged in music historiography at the dawn of the nineteenth century.

1 Taking Anecdotes Seriously: Rochlitz and Discourse on German Music

A Protestant theologian by training, Johann Friedrich Rochlitz remains best known for his role as editor in chief of the leading music journal in the German-speaking world around 1800, the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung.* He served as the main editor from its beginnings in 1798 until 1818 and was the author of many articles on leading composers as well as a broad range of

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1 The first edition of the text came out in 1802, whereas I base my argument on the updated version published in 1822. See Rochlitz (1822, 317–382). I have also discussed this source and some aspects highlighted here in earlier versions and in further contexts in my first book, see Krahn (2021, 156–207).

topics related to both musical taste and life at large.[2] Given such a richness of activities within German printed media around 1800, Rochlitz is usually considered one of the key authors in the decidedly German-oriented musical discourse of his time.[3]

In fact, most musical scholarship presents Rochlitz as a leading "German voice," a view reflected, for instance, in research published by Martin Staehelin (1977) and Ulrich Konrad (1995), who have explored the author's importance for the public image of Mozart, or Joseph Müller-Blattau's investigation of Rochlitz's influence on the reception of Bach (Müller-Blattau 1926). Indeed, this type of research stresses some relevant aspects of Rochlitz's work in the realm of composer-centred German music historiography. This does not necessarily mean, however, that the author himself, or the content of his writings, had an impact limited to the German-speaking world. In fact, Rochlitz—and, in part, the aforementioned scholarship[4]—have fed a great deal into the musical grand narrative of the hero as a key protagonist in music history, resulting in an emphatic "Heroengeschichtsschreibung," with Beethoven as its formative model.[5]

This topic has been critically assessed most recently by Melanie Unseld (2014, 134–136) in a monograph on the connection between biography and music history. In this book, Unseld highlights, among other aspects, the importance of the anecdote as a means of publicly shaping and staging the image of individual artists within music historiography in the Age of Enlightenment. She bases her argument primarily on Rochlitz and points to the effects of anecdotes idealizing Mozart and Beethoven (ibid., 135) as a central strategy in mythmaking. Yet, the powerful potential of the anecdote, which Unseld rightly discusses, is by no means limited to real-life musical protagonists such as "famous composers," who became subject to stylization and, sometimes, to outright invention. The idea of musical character also emerges independently of real persons and, within Rochlitz's musical prose, often in a rather abstract way. The following close reading of "Aus dem Leben eines Tonkünstlers" will demonstrate this by means of an example.

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2   For a first insight into Rochlitz's role in the media scene of Leipzig, see Ufer (2000, 128–132).

3   For an illustration of Rochlitz's "journalistic" work in the context of German bourgeois culture, see Seidel (2007).

4   In this regard, Joep Leerssen's plea for a comparative history that comprises a critical intellectual history of musical nationalism in Europe can only be reinforced. See Leerssen (2014, 607).

5   A nuanced discussion of this paradigm using the example of Beethoven reception is provided by Burnham (1995).

Before proceeding it should be noted that the manifestation of musical character through anecdotes plays an important role beyond the German-speaking realm alone. This needs to be kept in mind especially when investigating the relevance of national stereotypes to the emergence of German musical culture in the early nineteenth century. According to the musicologist Celia Applegate, the establishment of "Germanness" should be considered a process rather than a discrete historical event, since "the passage from folk to national stereotypes was underway but unstable and in flux, when German culture and Germanness were inventing themselves, consciously and not" (1998, 279). In the context of music, public discourse—including the use of anecdotes—was central to the circulation of national images. Here, Rochlitz elaborated an idea of German music, especially through notions of Italian music, in order to strengthen his idea of high-quality "Tonkunst" and often implicitly to support an image of German musical superiority. The overall tendency of such (conscious or unconscious) historiographical politics was to investigate established and admired strengths within Italian musical culture while downgrading contemporary Italian music and musicians,[6] as I have shown through various examples in my first monograph on the image of "musical Italy" in German-speaking historiography around 1800 (Krahn 2021). Like several of his fellow authors, Rochlitz viewed German music in contrast to music and musicians pejoratively judged as shallow, soft, or female, and, as a result, he by and large dismissed the contemporary "Welsh" (if not explicitly Italian) musical culture that was, at the time, conquering audiences throughout Europe.[7] This complex image was sketched out on multiple levels, comprising compositions, musicians, instruments, and musical infrastructures, and distributed via concert reviews and other music journalism, in novels, short stories, and anecdotes, as well as longer biographic sketches written or edited by Rochlitz and others.[8]

Against this background, the aforementioned scholarly focus on Rochlitz's authorship will be expanded in the following discussion by rereading his work in light of two closely connected aspects: for one, a few significant passages on the image of Italian music will serve to deepen our understanding of strategies used to establish a German national character in music historiography against a transnational background; secondly, the contribution to music

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6 Such ambiguity toward Italian culture resonates with the overall tendency noticeable in many nineteenth-century travel descriptions of Italians. Manfred Beller described this as an established "hetero-image of Italians"; see Beller (2007b, 197).

7 E.g. Hentschel (2006, chaps. 5.1.1–5.1.6).

8 Central to the momentum of this process, which needs to be considered against the broader context of contemporary Italian opera's popularity, was the rising success of Gioachino Rossini in Europe. See Krahn (2018).

historiography of a select anecdote, one that can easily be underestimated on account of its prattling style, will be reevaluated. Doing so will allow us to trace in more detail the ways that such texts subtly implement national character in readers' imaginations, and even how music-related prose may thus guide the musical experience of readers.

2   "Aus dem Leben eines Tonkünstlers" as Transnational Music Historiography

The fragment "Aus dem Leben eines Tonkünstlers" (From a Composer's Life), first published in 1802,[9] represents a particularly informative case study of how Rochlitz brings out ideas of German and Italian musical characters in his writing.

The text features four fictional letters by a German composer named Ludolph, who provides astute insights into his early musical socialization to his friend Anton. Ludolph's letters are full of stereotypical ideas of Italian music and musicians embedded into an intimate, domestic musical setting. These ideas are conveyed to the reader above all by means of two prototypical musical characters: a male Italian composer, Franzesco, and his daughter, the young Italian singer Laura. Remarks about anything Italian in these letters are consistently triggered by Ludolph's descriptions of his encounters with Franzesco. According to the story, Franzesco, who works at an unidentified German court, has brought with him his daughter, an ardent lover of chamber music. There, she befriends a princess, the daughter of her father's boss.

How are these characters portrayed in the text? While Laura at first represents a naive singer of simple Italian arias, her father Franzesco is summarily portrayed as a disreputable character, both when it comes to his physical appearance and to his persona. The following passage illustrates the degree to which Ludolph draws out his menacing temperament:

> Franzesco is [...] fiery, deep and cordial; but everything he expresses, without it escaping him, is so hard, so rigid, so oppressive—and likewise so compelling and so cooled off! I honour him, I am exceedingly fond of him and long for any friendly look he might share, and I am wonderfully glad when he presses my hand once: but I cannot shed my shyness toward him, nor can I fasten my heart to him. How tyrannically he recently

9   See the information on this in the table of contents in Rochlitz (1822, 423).

offended the good Laura with poisonous speech concerning a poor little mistake she had made! She remained silent and wanted to leave. The despot commanded with sparkling looks: Stay! And looked sideways for a long time [...]. I trembled, it made me inwardly convulse, I should have seized him by his stiff, raven-black, curly hair, and was unable to enter his house for a few days.

ROCHLITZ 1822, 372[10]

The "sparkling looks" seems to be a rather common motif used to depict the physical appearance of Italian musicians; an aspect that was likewise supposed to reflect the inner, natural self of choleric characters. Not only did Rochlitz make use of this, but also his friend, the German composer and writer Carl Maria von Weber, who spoke of Rossini sparkling with "witzig glühende Funken aus seinen Augen" (Stendhal and Wendt [1824] 2003, 384; English: "funny glowing sparks from his eyes," my translation). What such overarching descriptions of Italian musicians share is the parallel drawn between the musicians' inner feelings and external appearance. Moreover, the physical and psychological dimensions of the Italian musical characters are blurred in regard to both the fictional character within the story and the actual musical character it served to represent on a more abstract level. Rochlitz's design of the musical character Franzesco and his symbolic representation of Italian musical character in general is underscored by the fact that Franzesco is simply called "the Italian" at various points, and hence treated as a commonplace character.[11]

In addition to this emphasis on physicality, it seems noteworthy that Rochlitz's investigation of musical character is not limited to descriptions of

10   My translation. Original quote (German): "Franzesco ist [...] feurig, tief und herzlich; aber alles, was er äußert, ohne daß es ihm entwischt, ist so hart, so starr, so drückend—so zugleich anziehend und auskältend! Ich ehre ihn, ich bin überaus gern um ihn und geize nach jedem freundlichen Blick, und bin wunderfroh, wenn er mir etwa einmal die Hand drückt: doch aber kann ich die Scheu vor ihm nicht wegbringen und kein Herz zu ihm fassen. Wie tyrannisch fuhr er neulich mit giftiger Rede die gute Laura an, um eine armselige Kleinigkeit, worin sie es versehen hatte! Sie schwieg und wollte gehen. Der Despot befahl ihr mit funkelnden Blicken: Bleib! und schielte noch lange seitwärts [...]. Ich zitterte, es krampfte mich innerlich, ich hätt' ihn bey den starren, rabenschwarzen, kurzgekräuselten Haaren fassen mögen, und vermochte einige Tage nicht, sein Haus zu betreten."

11   While the fictional character Franzesco cannot be traced back to any particular composer, his image certainly resonates with a contemporary description of Rossini by Carl Maria von Weber, as I have shown in chapter 12.1 ("Sänger—Virtuosen—Komponisten—Publikum") of my first book (Krahn 2021). Such parallels, however, should not obscure the fact that they are often part of a more general, anthropologically charged polemic against Italian musicians during the rise of nationalism.

single individuals. Their depictions are further reinforced by his illustration of their relationships to one another, which likewise serve as metaphors for the tension between Italian and German music and related musical personnel. Against this background, it does not come as a surprise that the princess Laura befriends is a German girl. In fact, Rochlitz arranged the constellation of characters within the story in a way that ties the Italian and the German spheres closely to one another. This strategy enables him to invoke a whole set of German versus Italian antipodes that likewise depend on one another, with the characters in the story serving as their personification. Along these lines, the first aspect to emphasize is the close, almost sisterly relationship between the Italian and German girls. At the same time, their physical appearances and behaviours differ drastically: the German princess is tall and very serious, while the Italian girl is short, talkative, and particularly cheerful, at the same time that she shows traces of conceitedness:

> Franzesco didn't bother me. We heard the two friends leave—she will accompany the princess to the castle, said Franzesco. I stepped to the window. They came down into the garden. I only saw them from behind. The princess has a sisterly resemblance to Laura in her overall figure, only that the former is about two fingers taller. Laura seemed lively, the princess quiet and serious. Maybe she just wanted to cheer up her friend. She fiddled around her and chatted in a friendly manner in her direction. The Oberhofmeisterin, who followed at some distance, found early violets and handed them to the princess. The princess took them and stuck them to Laura's chest. It was a wonderful picture, as she, standing there quiet and smiling, her chest bent slightly forward, let her do it, and once the violets were in position, she gloated flirtatiously. The princess pulled her close then took her arm, and so they crossed the gothic bridge and passed out of my sight.
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> ROCHLITZ 1822, 364[12]

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12   My translation. Original quote (German): "Franzesco störte mich nicht. Wir hörten die beyden Freundinnen gehen—Sie wird die Prinzessin nach dem Schlosse begleiten, sagte Franzesco. Ich trat zum Fenster. Sie kamen hinab in den Garten. Ich sahe sie nur von hinten. Die Prinzessin hat eine schwesterliche Aehnlichkeit in der ganzen Gestalt mit Lauren, nur daß jene etwa zwey Finger breit höher aufgeschossen ist. Laura schien munter, die Prinzessin still und ernst. Vielleicht wollte jene die Freundin nur aufheitern. Sie tändelte um sie her und schwatzte freundlich auf sie zu. Die Oberhofmeisterin, die in einiger Entfernung folgte, fand frühe Veilchen, und reichte sie der Prinzessin. Diese nahm sie und steckte sie Lauren an die Brust. Es war ein herrliches Bild, als diese still und lächelnd, die Brust etwas vorgebeugt, dastand, jene schaffen ließ, und da die Veilchen

More than a short intermezzo in prose, this scene plays with the reader's visual associations through its sharp and rich illustration. To clarify the suggestive potential of this scene, which oscillates between text and visual imagination, a piece of fine art, yet to be produced when Rochlitz's text was published, comes to mind: the fairly well-known painting *Italia und Germania* (the original title was supposed to be *Sulamith und Maria*[13]) by the Nazarene artist Johann Overbeck, dated 1828. At first glance, the description of the girls by Rochlitz has much in common with the arrangement of the two female characters in Overbeck's illustration (see Figure 21.1). In his painting, Overbeck draws on the idea of sisterly affection between the allegorical characters Italia, on the left, and Germania, on the right:

FIGURE 21.1   Friedrich Overbeck, *Italia und Germania* (1828).

gepflanzt waren, sich schäkernd höher brüstete. Die Prinzessin zog sie an sich, dann nahm sie ihren Arm und so kamen sie über die gothische Brücke und waren mir aus den Augen."

13   More information on the genesis of the painting is available on the website of the Munich-based Pinakotheken: https://www.pinakothek.de/kunst/meisterwerk/friedrich-overbeck/italia-und-germania [July 12, 2021].

Yet, viewers taking a closer look at the nuances of Rochlitz's text and Overbeck's painting might discover many differences. Aside from the medieval town in the background, for instance, it is clear that the young, cheerful Italian girl in Rochlitz's text does not really match the tall and graceful character of the young female allegory of the *Repubblica Italia* in Overbeck's depiction.[14] In the painting, Italia is rather represented by a goddess-like type of a mother similar to a statue, and it is this difference that distinguishes it most from Rochlitz's narrative portrayal of the Italian girl.[15] In contrast to this later example of fine art, Rochlitz differentiates Italia and Germania in written form, while maintaining a certain imaginative ambiguity. On the one hand, it is possible to perceive the two girls as close; on the other hand, there is a clear distance that defines their relationship by means of both physical appearance and the varying behaviours sketched out in the story.

The relationship of the girls is rendered more complex by means of music. As Rochlitz's story continues, the two girls "exchange" repertoires: the German girl sings Italian vocal music, while her Italian friend suddenly begins to devote her time to German musical repertoire. On top of this, the two composers— that is, the German Ludolph, at the same time one of the authors of the correspondence, and Laura's father Franzesco—listen to the two girls and judge the pieces as well as their interpretation. What they listen to is an Italian romance and a ballade, the latter fulfilling all the clichés of "typical" German music with complicated harmony and few melodic passages:

> I [Ludolph] asked to hear that song. Then he fell silent, and we listened together. The preceding voice [i.e. that of the princess] performed an Italian romance, and Laura was subsequently asked by the princess to repeat one of her old ballads. She sang one—if I am not mistaken, from Herder's collection of folk songs. The effect of its gruesome words, the extremely simple melody consisting of only five notes, the bold harmony, which rejected any smooth transition, the excellent, restrained, and muted voice—I cannot describe this effect to you. I sat there in silence for a long time when the song was over.
> ROCHLITZ 1822, 363–364[16]

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14   See Skokan (2009, 60–87).

15   Another transnational perspective on the image (in the imagological sense) of a young, Italian girl is offered by Karin Andersson's article in this volume (part 4, chapter 15).

16   My translation. Original quote (German): "Ich wünschte jenen Gesang zu hören: da schwieg er und wir hörten. Die vorige Stimme [i.e. jene der Prinzessin] sang eine italienische Romanze, und Laura wurde hernach von der Prinzessin gebeten, ihr eine ihrer alten Balladen zu wiederholen. Sie sang eine—irr' ich nicht aus Herders Sammlung von Volksliedern. Die Wirkung der schauerlichen Worte, der höchst einfachen Melo-

At this point, it becomes obvious not only that two individual musical worlds are being contrasted with one another by means of the romance and the ballade but also that by referring to Herder's collection of folk songs, these two genres are embedded in a prominent national discourse of the time[17] (Rochlitz 1822, 377). This is fleshed out in a subsequent dialogue between the two composers, with Ludolph asking his Italian colleague how to develop a proper sense for the ballade in opposition to the canzonetta. Franzesco's answer, which promotes the idea of the "cool" north as opposed to the "pathetic" south, allegedly concealed in their respective literary-musical genres, is as follows:

> Study the ballad from the well-known collections of folk songs of the so-called raw, especially Nordic peoples. See how nowhere is the musical description spun out, nowhere is it quietly decorated, nowhere any pompous pathos, not to speak of any sudden switches to cold narratives or reflection, but how everything is life, a striving forward, action and unity. In the diction—what power without gaiety, what dignity without presumptuous verbiage! In the verse structure—what manifoldness, what euphony, what representational expression!
>
> ROCHLITZ 1822, 366[18]

Questions of musical style are thus attributed to climatic conditions from the north in contrast to the south, as well as to their respective populations. The direct connection between natural environment and musical texture, as propagated in this way, has a tradition that can be traced back to at least the middle of the eighteenth century: in the course of transferring climate-theoretical considerations to aesthetic observations, it already served Winckelmann in "explaining" certain peculiarities of civilizational groups, as Manfred

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die, die nur aus fünf Tönen bestand, der kühnen Harmonie, die geglättete Uebergänge verschmähete, der vortrefflichen, zurückgehaltenen und gedämpften Stimme—diese Wirkung kann ich Dir nicht beschreiben. Ich saß noch lange schweigend da, als das Lied zu Ende war."

17 It needs to be underscored that the ballade, especially at the start of the nineteenth century, cannot be considered a genuinely Italian genre. In this context, it rather serves as the German pendant to the Italian romance. For an overview of the genre's history, see Graf et al. (1994).

18 My translation. Original quote (German): "Studiren Sie die Ballade aus den bekannten Sammlungen der Volkslieder sogenannter roher, besonders nordischer Völker. Sehen Sie, wie da nirgends weit ausgesponnene, nirgends ruhig ausgepünktelte Schilderey, nirgends hochtrabendes Pathos, wol [sic] gar im Wechsel mit kalter Erzählung oder Reflexion, sondern wie alles Leben, Vorwärtsstreben, Handlung und Einheit ist. In der Diction—welche Kraft, ohne Schwulst, welche Würde, ohne anmaßliches Wortgepränge! im Versbau—welche Mannichfaltigkeit, welcher Wohlklang, welcher darstellende Ausdruck!"

Beller has shown in his reflections on the impact of climate theory in ima-
gological research.[19]

In contrast to the concentration of musical material found in the case of
the ballade, free of any redundancy, the style of the canzonetta as described
by Franzesco—and hence "the Italian" himself defining "the Italian style"—
comes across as funny, light, rich, and elegant:

> Get to know the canzonette of older Spaniards, and of older or newer
> Italians: such beautiful flirting almost without knowing with what, such
> graceful joking almost without knowing about what, such sweet sigh-
> ing almost without knowing why, how she captures just a single, fleet-
> ing moment of the secret, inner life of the soul, capturing it with sweet
> pleasure for a few minutes, and then lets it flutter calmly, like a beautiful
> butterfly, wherever it wants to go. Once you develop the sense for both
> genres in poetry, you also have the music for it in your soul: for I maintain
> that both are perceived and born at the same time as their music, and
> cannot be properly understood without it.
>
>   ROCHLITZ 1822, 366–367[20]

These are just a few select examples that provide insight into how elements
of musical character are articulated by means of archetypical musicians or
musical genres in a neglected portion of Rochlitz's historiography. What can
be drawn from this?

3   Implementing Italian Character in Musical Prose

To summarize my main observations up to this point, Rochlitz's story provides
a multifaceted example of how stereotypes are blurred. It is clear that Roch-
litz did not only blur fiction and nonfiction in his made-up letters "Aus dem
Leben eines Tonkünstlers," but also textual as well as musical genres, musical

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19   See Beller (2007a, 302).
20   My translation. Original quote (German): "Lernen Sie die Canzonette von ältern Spa-
      niern, und von ältern oder neuern Italienern kennen: dies schöne Tändeln, fast ohne daß
      man weiß, womit? dies anmuthige Scherzen, fast ohne daß man weiß, worüber? dies süße
      Erseufzen, fast ohne daß man weiß, warum? wie sie nur einen einzigen, flüchtigen Moment
      des geheimern, innigern Seelenlebens erfasset, ihn einige Minuten mit süßem Wohlgefallen
      festhält, und dann ihn mit Ruhe flattern läßt, wie einen schönen Schmetterling, wohin er
      will. Haben Sie nur erst den Sinn für beyde Gattungen in der Poesie, so haben Sie auch die
      Musik dafür in ihrer Seele: denn ich behaupte, beyde sind zugleich mit ihrer Musik emp-
      fangen und geboren, und können ohne dieselbe gar nicht ganz verstanden werden."

and anthropological categories, acoustic and visual components[21]—and even notions of "the German" and "the Italian," for instance by exchanging repertoires between the central musical characters in the story. This renders the nationally inspired musical characters at stake all the more powerful, since the processes of their manifestation can be traced on multiple levels. National doxa[22] are thus projected onto concrete yet abstract musical personalities possessing a noteworthy ambiguity: they represent musical personas within Rochlitz's story but also stand for national musical styles at large. The fact that this can be located on at least two levels—that is, physical appearance and human behaviour—renders the anthropologically charged musical images established in the course of the story even stronger.

Both narrators and protagonists take on clearly defined musical roles as composers and singers. They are part of the story and tell it simultaneously. Likewise, there is a predefined hierarchy in terms of who tells the story (the German composer) and who becomes the "object" of the same reflection (the Italian composer and the two young singers). The framework of a dialogue in four letters by Anton and Ludolph supports the suspenseful negotiation of two musical cultures as a rhetoric strategy, stressing differing musical forms, modes of making music, or just the very being of a musician as most vividly illustrated by the two singers.

Moreover, the tension between ideas of Italian versus German music is charged with many different contents that likewise serve as projection screens for stereotypical tropes. It involves the musical personnel by means of different professions, and calls on their physicality, their particular spirits, the tunes of their voices, the differentiation between men and women, adults and children, as well as professional frameworks, such as private music-making (chamber music among friends) or public performance (in the broader context of the court). Mapping all these elements as they are negotiated between the German and Italian spheres within the story, one is reminded that there is no such thing as "music history as such." Rather, music historiography as discussed above is informed by presumptions that are oftentimes difficult to

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21   The reference to cross-media allusions was fairly common in the early nineteenth-century literary reception of musical personalities. This topic was formerly discussed with regards to Rochlitz, too. For example, see Woyke (2010, 103).

22   In his keynote lecture at the conference New Perspectives on Imagology titled "Nationalism and National-Self-Images: Character into Ideology into Doxa" on April 3, 2018, Joep Leerssen underscored the importance of looking at doxa in order to understand the particular ideological developments leading to specific notions of national character over the centuries. See the podcast documenting the conference produced by Julia Grillmayr, especially from min. 00:12:05: https://soundcloud.com/user-213475004/new-perspective-on-imagology-the-podcast/s-OCrUE [December 19, 2021].

define *either* just as a reproduced stereotype lacking any musical reality *or* as something indeed rooted in the everyday musical life of the time. In fact, the possibility that both might apply at the same time makes such anecdotes all the more alluring. They bring about a complex, dense narrative of music history around 1800 that is easily underestimated as "light fiction for pleasure." With this in mind, it is above all the richness of various layers and prosaic illustrations that notably defined concepts of "the German" and "the Italian" in music and musicians. The entanglement of the two in this musical scene adds to Joep Leerssen's suggestion that "nationalism in nineteenth-century Europe emerges first and foremost transnationally as a 'cultivation of culture'" (2006, 620). Not least, exposing the reader to such a well-constructed narrative means spreading nationally informed musical characters that may influence future musical perception. In the context of personal musical experience, "rediscovering" one or the other element of so-called "Italianness"—or "Germanness," for that matter—as outlined in musical prose encourages a reader to link individual observations or biases to broader narratives that ultimately manifest musical nationalism, with the potential to turn musical stereotypes into a "self-fulfilling prophecy" (McGarty, Yzerbyt, and Spears 2002, 10). Being aware of this process means rethinking not only individual approaches to "Heroengeschichte" but also established traditions of dealing with music historiography through a profound reassessment of questions of musical character against overarching, transnationally embedded national images. One challenge in this will be to avoid rewriting just another story of nationalism on a global level as we map out circulating tropes and images in imagological investigations of music history.

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