CULTURAL
MOBILIZATION

Cultural consciousness-raising and national movements in Europe and the world

19-21 September 2018

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International conference
Singelkerk & Universiteitsbibliotheek
Amsterdam

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MOBILIZATION

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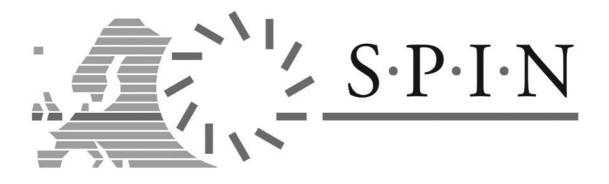International conference

Amsterdam, 19-21 September 2018

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SPIN
Study Platform on Interlocking Nationalisms

SPIN aims to chart the cultural and historical root system of European nationalisms and to bring into focus those intellectual networks which carried and disseminated the emerging ideals of cultural nationalism in the Romantic period and in the long nineteenth century (1770-1914). SPIN was established in 2008 as a collaborative enterprise between the University of Amsterdam and the Huizinga Institute (Netherlands Research Institute and Graduate School for Cultural History). It was initially funded by the Spinoza Prize which in 2008 was awarded to SPIN director Joep Leerssen, Professor of European Studies at the University of Amsterdam.

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NISE
Nationale Bewegingen en Intermediaire Structuren in Europa

NISE is an international platform of heritage and research institutions and academics, for transnational and comparative research into the history of national and regional movements in Europe. It was founded in 2008 by the ADVN (Archives and Research Centre for Flemish Nationalism) in Antwerp.

advn.be/nise

ASEN
Association for the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism

ASEN is an interdisciplinary student-led research association founded by research students and academics in 1990 at the London School of Economics & Political Science. ASEN seeks to fulfil two broad objectives: (1) To facilitate and maintain an interdisciplinary, global network of researchers, academics and other scholars interested in ethnicity and nationalism; and (2) To stimulate, produce, and diffuse world-class research on ethnicity and nationalism.

asen.ac.uk

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ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

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and the student volunteers of the Study Association for European Studies (SES) at the University of Amsterdam

PROGRAMME OVERVIEW

Wednesday 19 September – University Library & Singelkerk

11.30-12.30   **Conference registration** (Singelkerk)

12.30-12.45   **Welcome Speech** (Singelkerk – Kerkzaal)

12.45-13.45   **Keynote 1: John Hutchinson – 'The Herderian Explosion'** (Singelkerk – Kerkzaal)

13.45-14.15   Coffee (transfer to University Library, coffee in Foyer Doelenzaal)

14.15-15.45   Sessions 1

Session 1.1 (panel) – *The Construction of National Identities at World's Fairs and International Exhibitions, 1851-1940*

University Library – Doelenzaal
Chair: Milou van Hout

1. Eric Storm – The use of heritage in the construction of national pavilions at World Fairs on both sides of the Atlantic, 1851-1937

2. Jorge Villaverde – Knocking on Modernity's door: The Bi-national Exhibitions in the Edwardian Era

3. Sven Schuster – "America's Third Civilization": Nationalizing Colombia's Pre-Hispanic past at the International Expositions of 1892-1893

Session 1.2 – *Trans-European Cross Currents I*

University Library – Belle van Zuylenzaal
Chair: Josip Kesic

4. Heinrich Matthee – Cultural production, subjectivities and political mobilization: Irish and Afrikaner nationalists in the early 20th century

5. Bob van der Linden – The making of the Sikh 'Nation': Cultivation of culture and identity politics

6. Herman Lebovics – Building a monument to Pied Noir culture in Marseilles or Showing France's place among the vernacular cultures of the Mediterranean?

Session 1.3 – *Art and Identity*

University Library – Potgieterzaal
Chair: Marjet Brolsma

7. Bálint Varga – Commemorating an ethnic past in a multiethnic country: The Millennial celebrations in Hungary, 1896

8. Yolanda Rodríguez Pérez – 'A work of this description the nation certainly needed': Charles Dibdin's and George Henry Lewes' literary histories and Spain

9. Daniele Conversi – From the 'propagande par le fait' to the aestheticization of politics. Anarchist and futurist views of national cultural regeneration, 1880-1915

Session 1.4 – *Old and New Media*

University Library – Vondelzaal
Chair: Jan Rock

10. Nevena Daković – Cultural nationalism in the TV Series: Serbia 2012-2017 from medieval glory to the great wars

11. Vassili Rivron – The technical premises for national sentiment: Scientific, educational and social logics of radio volunteering (Brazil, 1923-1932)

12. Jan Rock – Mobilizing philological technologies: Willem de Vreese's Flemish nationalism between narrative and database

15.45-16.00   Coffee (University Library – Foyer Doelenzaal)

16.00-18.00   Sessions 2

Session 2.1 (panel) – *Imag(e)ing Nationalism: Nationalist Aesthetics and Transcultural Flows*

University Library – Doelenzaal
Chair: Athena Leoussi

13. Katsura Koishi – Creating "characteristics of Germany" in Felix Mendelssohn's compositions

Overview

14. Yoshiko Okamoto – From Japonism to Turanism: Images of Japan in Typhoon (1924)

15. Ikuko Wada – Ray skins and Japanese swords: Reception of imported material before the emergence of a symbol of national aesthetics

16. Jennifer Coates – Swords, samurai, and soft power: Japanese cinema as post-war national movement

Session 2.2 – *Cultural Articulations*

University Library – Belle van Zuylenzaal
Chair: Yolanda Rodríguez Pérez

17. Francesca Zantedeschi – An aborted nation: The case of Occitan in the 19th century

18. Anna Bohlin – The novel reconsidered: Emotions and anti-realism in mid-19th-century Scandinavian literature

19. Leyre Arrieta Alberdi – Symbols, music and nations: The Basque Anthem in the construction of Basque nation

20. Josip Kesic – Folklore, fascism and foreigners: Neo-españoladas in post-Franco Spain

Session 2.3 (panel) – *The Cultural and Political Mobilization of Scandinavism*

University Library – Potgieterzaal
Chair: Simon Halink

21. Kim Simonsen – The cultivation of Scandinavism. The Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries

22. Rasmus Glenthøj – Scandinavism: Historiography and narratives

23. Morten Nordhagen Ottosen – The cultural aspect of dynastic Scandinavism in 19th-century Scandinavia

24. Tim van Gerven – The Age of Discord is over: The trickle-down effect of Scandinavism in the arts

Thursday 20 September – Singelkerk

9.30-10.30 **Keynote 2: Nicola Miller – 'Nations as Knowledge Communities'** (Singelkerk – Kerkzaal)

10.30-11.00 Coffee (Singelkerk)

11.00-13.00 Sessions 3

Session 3.1 (panel) – *Art and the Formation of National Identities*

Singelkerk – Kerkzaal
Chair: Tymen Peverelli

25. Sally Schlosser Schmidt – Correspondences on art and politics

26. Sine Krogh – A Danish, German or Polish artist? Elisabeth Jerichau Baumann (1819-1881) and her transnational position in Denmark

27. Thor J. Mednick – A national heritage in two easy steps: Art, sovereignty, and the repatriation of Northern Slesvig

Session 3.2 (panel) – *Indigeneity, Ethnopolitics and Cultural Mobilization in the Arctic*

Singelkerk – Kerkenraadskamer
Chair: Benedikte Brincker

28. Heidi Sinevaara-Niskanen – When gender matters: Politics of human resources in the Arctic

29. Marjo Lindroth – Imaginary resources: Envisioning potential and lack in Greenland

30. Benedikte Brincker – Exploring human resources in remote areas: Paving the way for indigenous entrepreneurship in Eastern Greenland

Session 3.3 – *Education*

Singelkerk – Bibliotheek
Chair: Jan Rock

31. Clarence Glad – Cultural mobilization within the Danish kingdom (1814-1864): Educational powerbrokers and the unexpected consequences of the "cultivation of culture"

32. Dragi Gjorgiev – Educational and cultural mobilization under Ottoman domination: The case of Church School Communities in Macedonia (19th century)

33. Jack Dyce Folkeoplysning: Enlightenment through popular adult learning: The Danish path of cultural mobilization

34. Zsuzsanna Varga – Educating the nationalities: Women's education in the Habsburg Hungary in the 19th century

13.00-14.00   Lunch (Singelkerk)

14.00-15.00   **Keynote 3: Anne Marie Thiesse – 'The European Union: A Missed Identity?'** (Singelkerk – Kerkzaal)

15.00-15.30   Coffee (Singelkerk)

15.30-17.30   Sessions 4

Session 4.1 – *Political Activism I*

Singelkerk – Kerkzaal
Chair: Alex Drace-Francis

35. Marios Hatzopoulos – From culture to politics and back again: The Movement for Greek Independence (1790s-1821)

36. Raul Cârstocea – Peasants into Fascists: A case of cultural mobilisation in interwar Romania

37. Lisa Koks – The mobilization of the *nègres blancs d'Amérique*: Shame and political symbolism as a legitimization for revolutionary violence in Québec (1963-1971)

Session 4.2 – *Trans-European Cross-Currents II*

Singelkerk – Kerkenraadskamer
Chair: Marleen Rensen

38. Naomi Fukuzawa – Is this world literature? Lafcadio Hearn, Pierre Loti, Ōgai Mori and Sōseki Natsume: The literary side of Japonism seen from the angle of 'eclectic hybridity'

39. Atsuko Ichijo – Kokugaku and an endogenous development of nationalism in pre-Meiji Japan

40. Mriganka Mukhopadhyay – Occult Calcutta: Transnational cultural dialogue between the West and the East in the context of Bengal Renaissance

41. Shazlin Hamzah – 'Nation Branding': Constructing a Malaysian brand through popular patriotic songs

Session 4.3 – *Transnational Movements*

Singelkerk – Bibliotheek
Chair: Guido Snel

42. Camille Creyghton – Political and cultural mobilization in Parisian exile, 1830-1848

43. Sándor Hites – National movements and monetary mobilization

44. Marco Pasi – Giuseppe Mazzini and Adam Mickiewicz in dialogue: Esoteric forms of romantic nationalism

45. Ivana Taranenková – Identity and the Other in the Central European national movements in the 19th century

19.00   Conference dinner – Restaurant Indrapura

Friday 21 September – University Library & Singelkerk

9.15-10.00	**Workshop: ERNiE's digital and analytical future** Presentation Geert Kessels and Pim van Bree (Singelkerk – Bibliotheek)
10.00-11.00	**Keynote 4: Ann Rigney – 'Memory and Mobilisation'** (Singelkerk – Kerkzaal)
11.00-11.15	Coffee (Singelkerk)
11.15-12.15	**Keynote 5: Adam Ewing – 'Against Universalism'** (Singelkerk – Kerkzaal)
12.15-13.30	Lunch (Singelkerk + transfer to University Library)

13.30-15.00   Sessions 5

Session 5.1 – *Choral Societies*

University Library – Doelenzaal
Chair: Andreas Stynen

46. Renée Vulto – Singing communities: Songs as mobilizing instruments in the performance of national identity (the northern Netherlands between 1775 and 1825)

47. Janneke Weijermars – Cultural agency and the Flemish-German Singing Alliance. Parallels and inconsistency in the romantic nationalist discourse

48. Carolin Mueller – Strategies of deconstructing borders toward social inclusion of migrants in Germany through music

Session 5.2 – *Gender*

University Library – Belle van Zuylenzaal
Chair: Matthijs Lok

49. Sophie van den Elzen – *Remembering antislavery as a national virtue: A paradoxical call to women*

50. Reetta Eiranen – *Relational masculine self-construction and nationalist activities: Linguist Herman Kellgren's personal nationalism in 19th-century Finland*

51. Sharon Crozier-De Rosa – *Irish nationalism as a defence of feminist militancy*

15.00-15.30   Coffee (in University Library)

15.30-17.30   Sessions 6

Session 6.1 – *Political Activism II*

University Library – Doelenzaal
Chair: Tim van Gerven

52. Matthijs Lok – National mobilization and Counter-Enlightened and Counter-Revolutionary activism

53. Nikola Tomašegović – Politics and literature of fin-de-siècle Yugoslavism: The Croatian Youth Movement (1895-1903)

54. Usman Ahmedani – "The services of the Turks": Bursalı Mehmed Tahir and the politics of Turkish character

55. Pedro Álvaro Hervalejo Sánchez – Culture and politics: Comparing Catalan and Basque nationalist youth movements (1931-1936)

Session 6.2 – *Urban Ambience*

University Library – Belle van Zuylenzaal
Chair: Jan Rock

56. Veronika Eszik – A symbolic area between rival nation-buildings: The "Hungarian Seaside"

57. Milou van Hout – In search of the nation at Fiume: Irredentism and the importance of place for the nation

58. Juozapas Paškauskas – Not just a work: National movement as leisure activity

59. Tymen Peverelli – Branding the hometown: Tourism, urban identity and nationalism in 19th-century Belgium and the Netherlands

Session 6.3– *Myths and Legends*

University Library – Potgieterzaal
Chair: Stefan Poland

60. Biljana Ristovska-Josifovska – The myth of Alexander the Great through the translations as part of cultural production and knowledge transfer in the 19th century

61. Kim Middel – *Íslenzkt þjóðerni*: Jón Aðils´ culture of Iceland and the road to the future

62. Simon Halink – Mythology and cultural mobilization: Towards a comparative perspective

63. Joana Duyster Borreda – 'Our legends are always matters of current affairs': Rossend Serra y Pagès and Catalan cultural nationalism (1880-1920)

17.30-17.45   Closing remarks

WELCOME SPEECH

Joep Leerssen (University of Amsterdam)

KEYNOTE LECTURE 1
The Herderian Explosion

John Hutchinson (London School of Economics)

The Herderian vision of a common humanity achieving progress through the competitive interaction of its constituent national peoples continues to reverberate. I shall examine how its diffusion worldwide from Europe was stimulated by the interplay of three apparently opposed processes, the first an outward movement of West European historicist thinkers and scholars, who sought to rediscover and record the most distant origins of peoples; the second the European global imperial expansion that by the late 19th century threatened to pulverise all other cultures; and the third a countervailing movement of resistance by anticolonial intellectuals.

The first group, imbued with a polycentric conception of human origins, were often critical of European religious and political establishments. Through cultural societies they gave rise to new disciplines of archaeology, philology, folklore and comparative religion in the attempt to resurrect vanished cultures and to claim status for their nations as heirs of 'founding' civilisations (of Greece, Egypt, Persia, and the India). Their 'discoveries' enabled by imperial expansion, were capable of giving justification to European empires which competed to present themselves as protectors of the world's cultural patrimony. At the same time, colonial administrations undermined native traditions by introducing secularising liberal ideologies, educational establishments and stimulating the rise of mobile urban middle

classes. However, it was a section of the 'westernised' indigenous intellectuals used the discoveries by European scholars of native 'golden age' cultures to combat Imperial notions of 'Eastern' decadence and to chart new directions for their 'emerging' nation'.

This presentation will focus on the novel syncretisation deriving from this interplay in three settings, Egypt, Cambodia, and Afghanistan.

Particular attention will be placed on the agency of interstitial figures, (ethnic or religious minorities, religious reformists, and diaspora figures), the impact of historical and archaeological discoveries, notably the battles over the ownership of both the professions of knowledge and their discoveries. These themselves contributed to the formation national consciousness, though one that existed in rivalry with older traditional myths and narratives.

SESSION 1.1 (PANEL)

The Construction of National Identities at World's Fairs and International Exhibitions, 1851-1940

Chair: Milou van Hout

This panel aims to study the construction of national identities as a global learning process by analysing the representation of national identities at world's fairs. The need to present oneself convincingly on the global stage induced officials, architects and entrepreneurs around the world to squeeze existing social or local practices and traditions into rather generic nationalist moulds. This approach enables us to overcome the methodological nationalism that still dominates most case- studies on the construction of national identities.

World's fairs arose at the time when nationalism began to broaden its reach and were exponents of a new mass culture. At the first Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations in 1851 all participating countries had their own section in London's Crystal Palace to show their contribution to human progress. However, it was difficult to be distinctive with machines, inventions and fine arts, which look quite similar everywhere. Therefore, at the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1867 each participating country was invited to also erect a pavilion in a characteristic national style to exhibit its own 'authentic' culture. These national pavilions became an integral part of subsequent international exhibitions.

World's fairs were held on all continents, visited by millions of people, received extensive coverage in the international press and had myriad national and regional offshoots. Accordingly, they became – among many other things – the main global stage to represent national identities. This situation continued until 1940, after which their functions were largely replaced by trade fairs, theme parks, and new visual media.

World's fairs were not a neutral and passive medium. Countries that wanted to be taken seriously on the international stage – even if they were dynastic states, heterogeneous empires, or colonies – were compelled to present their pavilions according to the nation-state model.

Characteristic architectural forms and a national artistic heritage had to be defined or invented, and the same happened with crafts, traditional costumes, music, dance, dishes and beverages. Since national pavilions were juxtaposed in the same section of the exhibition grounds they had to compete with each other to attract attention. This provided a strong incentive to construct pavilions that were distinguishable, recognisable and attractive, while intensifying the search at home for those building blocks that would highlight the nation's 'unique' identity.

1   Eric Storm (Leiden University)

The use of heritage in the construction of National Pavilions at early 20th-century World Fairs

In this paper I will analyse a large number of national pavilions in a regionalist architectural style (also known as Heimatarchitektur of National Romanticism) at various international exhibitions during the first decades of the twentieth century. Architectural regionalism arose around the turn of the century and became a major trend until the late 1930s. Because of its emphasis on territorially embedded traditions, it was frequently used for the design of national and regional pavilions. I will devise a typology for examining the various ways in which cultural (and natural) heritage was used to design a national pavilion in this architectural style. I will also show that countries showed a strong preference for the option that best enabled them to stand out among their neighbours. In the paper I will primarily compare pavilions from European and (Latin-)American countries, but I will also discuss a few colonial pavilions.

2   Jorge Villaverde (Sorbonne Nouvelle – Paris 3)

Knocking on Modernity's door
The Bi-national Exhibitions in the Edwardian Era

Several bi-national exhibitions staged in the Edwardian London became the first contemporary campaigns of public diplomacy. The emergence of exhibitions as a medium, the rise of mass consumption and mass media as well as the increased differentiation of leisure practices produced an environment where some developing countries used the setup of bi-national exhibitions to sell their country in the capital of the leading world power. The governments of these countries sought to renegotiate their national image abroad by displaying both their cultural idiosyncrasy and economic development in order to find foreign investments, forge political alliances and improve their country's outside perception.

3   Sven Schuster

"America's Third Civilization"
Nationalizing Colombia's Pre-Hispanic past at the International Expositions of 1892-1893

SESSION 1.2

Trans-European Cross-Currents I

Chair: Josip Kesic

4   Heinrich Matthee (University of Amsterdam)

**Cultural production, subjectivities and political mobilization
Irish and Afrikaner nationalists in the early 20th century**

This paper analyzes the interactions between culture and knowledge producers and social and political mobilization. It does so by exploring and comparing two cases, namely that of Irish and Afrikaner thinkers and artists in largely British-dominated political orders in Ireland and South Africa during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

The comparative analysis identifies similarities, dissimilarities and communication between Afrikaner and Irish actors by exploring certain themes: thinkers and poets within a language movement, the role of secret and overt societies, and ideas related to labour, religion, regionalism, republicanism and opposition to British imperialism.

The analytical framework used is primarily based on the work of Chantal Mouffe, Doug McAdam and Eric Wolf. Cultural production and mobilization are located in the context of discursive struggles and subjectivities among Irish and Afrikaner populations. The paper delineates the ways in which these subjectivities and cultural meaning-making interacted with political forces during key events, namely elections, debates about Home Rule, and World War I.

The paper concludes that culture and knowledge producers co-shaped broader cultural subjectivities, which were supported by various social associations and cultural infrastructure. All of these played an often similar role in the struggles for cultural hegemony and co-shaped the political opportunity structure in Ireland and South Africa.

In both cases, cultural nationalism were also recast by the dynamics and processes of distinctive economic and political orders. Moreover, different factors played a role in perspectives on and the conditions of contingent political opportunity structures. These factors included specific historical path-dependencies, key events of disequilibrium, the relative power of and responses by adversaries, learning experiences through failures, and communication between key Afrikaner and Irish nationalists.

5 Bob van der Linden

The making of the Sikh 'Nation'
Cultivation of culture and identity politics

While in pre-colonial times, Sikh identities often overlapped with those of other communities, mainly Hindus and Muslims, 'Sikhism' was defined during the Singh Sabha Reformation (c. 1880-1920) as a distinct modern tradition. In the context of a fast changing Punjabi society under British colonial rule, this paper argues how elitist Sikhs standardized doctrine, conduct and ritual; wrote historical works and novels; mapped pilgrimage sites and canonized their art and music traditions. Through these processes of cultivation of culture, Sikhs not only increasingly positioned themselves in relation to other communities and the colonial state but simultaneously came to express nationalist ideas, which to a degree followed existing pre-colonial Punjabi 'patriotic' attachments to land and political institutions. In addition, Sikh identity politics to a great extent emerged through global networks. Accordingly, the paper discusses the intellectual and political interactions between Punjabi Sikhs and European Orientalist scholars as well as Sikhs in diaspora.

6   Herman Lebovics (Stony Brook University)

**Building a monument to *Pied Noir* culture in Marseilles
Or Showing France's place among the vernacular cultures of the
Mediterranean?**

After France signed the treaty of peace with the FLN in 1962,
approximately a million pieds noirs of more or less European heritage left
Algeria to find refuge in France. They spoke French, were French citizens.
Many of them settled in the Midi.

Most integrated, more or less, into metropolitan life in the years following.
But the loss of a way of life and the sense of some of them that the Mère-
Patrie was forgetting their special legacy as well as their contributions to
the making of La Plus Grande France moved some of them to join
organizations of *rapatriés.* These performed numerous functions including
the sociability and support of the *Landsmannschaft* groups found all over
Europe. But some of the associations in their new/old homeland also
organized to represent in the greater society the collective interests, as
they understood them, of the repatriated Algerian settlers. In the 1970s
and 1980s the major societies of *rapatriés* undertook a campaign to
establish a monument and cultural center in Marseilles to their heritage.
This movement gained the support both of local and Paris governmental
leaders.

At the same time, a different understanding of France's historic connection
to the southern shore of the Mediterranean was being proposed. This
interest wanted to build, not a monument to a disappearing imperial
subculture, but rather a museum that displayed vernacular cultures of
European France's longtime cultural connections those the indigenous
cultures of North Africa, as well as other parts of Europe.

This paper will discuss the intense and consequence-rich contestation
played out in Marseilles of the two visions of France's place in the world of
the Mediterranean. Which cultural mobilization succeeded? How and Why?
What did the outcome mean for the various claims of French national
identity?

SESSION 1.3

Art and Identity

Chair: Marjet Brolsma

7   Bálint Varga (Hungarian Academy of Sciences)

Commemorating an ethnic past in a multiethnic country
The Millennial Celebrations in Hungary, 1896

In the late 19th century, Magyar tribes entered the territory what became to be known later as Hungary. A millennium later, this comfortably dim event was commemorated in multiethnic and multi-religious Hungary as the foundation of the Hungarian state and Magyar nation. These large-scale celebrations were intended to convey a homogenous message, celebrating liberal Magyar nationalism which governed fin-de-siècle Hungary. Critics of this doctrine, non-Magyar nationalist elite groups, conservative Catholics and social democrats found themselves humiliated by the Magyar nationalist-liberal reading of the past and offered their own interpretations of history. However, their chances to represent these ideas in the public space were quite limited. The paper will analyze these different readings of the past and their potential representations and will argue for the accidental efficiency of the Millennial celebrations.

8   Yolanda Rodríguez Pérez (University of Amsterdam)

'A work of this description the nation certainly needed'
Charles Dibdin's and George Henry Lewes' literary histories and Spain

In the nineteenth century, the consolidation of the discipline of literary history was instrumental in the forging of narratives of nationhood and national canons. Due to the systematical role the national past came to play, the construction of the different literary pasts underwent a fundamental

change. In this context, the idea of a Golden Age played an essential role in the construction of English (and Dutch) national literary histories and canons, and in both cases this Golden Age coincided with a past shared with the Spanish, as an enemy and as a source of inspiration. In this paper I shall focus on two English authors of literary histories writing on Spain. Charles Dibdins'*A Complete History of the English Stage, Introduced by a Comparative and Comprehensive Review of the (...) the Spanish (...) and Other Theatres*, published at the watershed of the 18th and 19th century (1800), and George Henry Lewes' *The Spanish Drama: Lope de Vega and Calderon* (1846). These two knowledge and culture producers were not two examples of ivory tower scholarship, but two multifaceted authors who were also dramatists and actors at some point in their careers. Dibdin was as well one of the most popular composers of sea-songs of his time and Lewes became a highly valued literary critic. When writing their literary histories, they are not only engaged - in different degrees- in the formulation of national identities, but they are also aware of the importance of their task for their fellow countrymen.

Through the comparison with Spanish materials and what was supposed to be 'Spanishness', they attempt to show their readers what is inherent and superior to English drama or why a proper imitation of Spanish works could be useful for the own English stage. In this way, Dibdin and Lewes attempt to mobilize their reading public in the appreciation of the own national drama and in their awareness of other European traditions.

9   Daniele Conversi

From the 'propagande par le fait' to the aestheticization of politics Anarchist and futurist views of national cultural regeneration, 1880-1915

SESSION 1.4

Old and New Media

Chair: Jan Rock

10   Nevena Daković (University of Belgrade)

Cultural nationalism in TV series: Serbia 2012-2017
From medieval glory to the great wars

The aim of this paper is to analyse the work of the cultural nationalism –
both preceding and following the political nationalism– in the narratives of
the TV series produced by and broadcasted on Serbian state television after
2012. The series like *Nemanjici* (2017), *Serbia and the Great War* (*Srbija i
veliki rat*, 2016) and *Ravna Gora* (2013) belong to the newly defined – by
the Serbian Ministry of Culture and Information – category of the projects
of national importance and value. RTS (Radio Television of Serbia) – being
the public broadcast service and state controlled cultural producer – acts as
powerful, effective and "main conduit between 'elites' and 'masses'",
mobilising the constituency/audience for the political aims. The TV
narratives dealing with national identity, reshaping and raising of the
national consciousness founded upon national past (history and memory),
therefore, successfully meet the demands of the contemporary political
context.

The titles of the period when SNS (Srpska Napredna Stranka) came to
power (2012) sustain the two facetted national identity underpinned by
the mixture of populism, nationalism and Europeanism proclaimed by the
government. The two facets are identified as:

a) the firm ethnic Serbian identity built: through the revival of the medieval
history and Byzantine culture; after the unique and glorious role of Serbia
in the Great War; or by offering counter history (national) to the official
(Yugoslav) history of WW2.

b) Serbian as one of the "nested European identities" is portrayed in the stories told in the new genre formats that match the European TV standards. TV series *Nemanjici* is advertised as Serbian *Game of Thrones*; interplay of historical facts, mystery and magic under the cloak of epic fantasy. The documentary series about Great War narrativises the national history with the emphasis placed on its being inseparable from European history. Although it might never become EU member Serbia has always been European state, loyal to European values and ready to sacrifice for the European/EU cause.

11   Vassili Rivron (CERREV/UNICAEN)

The technical premises for national sentiment
Scientific, educational and social logics of radio volunteering (Brazil, 1923-1932)

*The technical premises for national sentiment: Scientific, educational and social logics of radio volunteering (Brazil, 1923-1932)*From 1923 to 1932, a group of major Brazilian intellectuals braved the ban on using radio techniques, then under state monopoly, to promote and practice popular education. To understand such a movement of civic disobedience — which will become part of the myth of origin of broadcasting in Brazil —, we must focus on analyzing the reconversion of the anthropologist Edgard Roquette-Pinto to popular education through new communication technologies, and the crystallization of several groups defending a national science and education policy. The very prestigious Roquette-Pinto, that leaded the Radio Sociedade do Rio de Janeiro, had previously demonstrated, by the most legitimate sciences, that the Brazilian mestizo (a national race that was considered to be emerging) was not racially degenerated, but only sick, thus curable by hygiene and education. By building a radio broadcasting station, animated by the greatest figures of the Brazilian scientific and artistic world, who broadcast the most legitimate cultural contents by air, Roquette-Pinto and his allies hoped to make up at the lowest cost for the deficiencies of a still limited network of schools and to promote healthy behaviors and awaken patriotic feeling.

During the same period, another kind of radioamateur practice — as illegal as the first mentioned —, was developed and deserves also to be better understood : young people initially fascinated by the technique, and then a little later, by the modern worldliness to which could give access the new world of radio, gradually made the project of a broadcasting which would be entertaining. From the competition between these two groups with very contrasting social compositions, will die the revolutionary projects which animated the first radio experiments worldwide, to leave place in Brazil to a broadcasting financed by the advertising industry, but framed by an imperative of "educating through entertainment". This new configuration then gave birth and valorized economically and symbolically the national emblems of a Brazilian industrialized popular culture : Brazilian popular music (samba) and radio fiction (before telenovela).

The analysis of sociability around these two kinds of civic disobedience of radio volunteering shows how the advertising broadcasting that we know up to our day is an arbitrary configuration that is stabilized in particular power relations. On the one hand this configuration determines the genesis of conditions of a national communication network which will serve as a support for the creation of a sense of national belonging and the valorization of a new cultural production as an emblem of nationality. On the other hand, these broadcasting stations were the first concretization of a social network, at nation scale, that would become, during the 1930s, the actor of the very first national cultural and educational policy in Brazil.

12 Jan Rock (University of Amsterdam)

Mobilizing philological technologies
Willem de Vreese's Flemish nationalism between narrative and database

To illustrate the 19th-century tension between nationalist philology and philological historicism on one side and cultural mobilization on the other, I will present an interpretation of Willem De Vreese's (1869-1938) philological 'technologies' and their mobilizing capacities in Flemish nationalism. Cases are the Royal Academy for Flemish Language and Literature in Ghent (1886), co-founded by De Vreese, and the *Bibliotheca*

Neerlandica Manuscripta (1902), a philological card file system conceived by him. He initiated both institutions with the emancipation of Flemish culture from the Belgian state in mind (and he was indeed one of the Flemish proclaiming independency from Belgium during World War I). In the course of time, however, philological specialization and professionalization, as well as the database's information culture characteristics, made both institutions unsuited for direct political involvement.

SESSION 2.1 (PANEL)

Imag(e)ing Nationalism
Nationalist Aesthetics and Transcultural Flows

Chair: Athena Leoussi

Around the world and across many eras, political movements have used aesthetics to raise cultural consciousness in the service of nationalism. This panel considers cultural productions understood as nationally marked in light of the transnational flows that led to their production. Popular and material cultural products considered particular to one nation often draw from transnational roots. The historical development of many cultural products clashes with an understanding of national culture as 'pure' and yet these same products are often referenced in arguments for this perceived purity. This wide-ranging panel teases out the complicated process whereby a transnational cultural aesthetic becomes emblematic of national cultural production, imagined as free from outside influence.

Germany has been understood as a model of the use of aesthetics in the formation of national identity, particularly in the field of musicology. Beginning with a study of the role of Felix Mendelssohn in crafting compositions hailed as emblematic of German 'national characteristics,' we examine a nationalist music culture created by a musician from the very ethnic group the nation would later reject. The importance of music to national ideology is also evident in the influence of Japonism on Hungarian opera, where imagined Japanese aesthetics were used to articulate the position of Hungary as a culturally productive nation on the world stage in the early 20th century. These imagined Japanese aesthetics are also present in the Japanese sword, *nihonto*, central to the samurai image that became symbolic in Japanese nationalist movements. As the same Japanese swords were designed using imported materials from South and South East Asia in the Edo period, *nihonto* is exemplary of the transnational flows underpinning nationalist aesthetics. Swords and samurai reappear in

Japan's national cinema in the 20th century, where post-war American influence creates a similar process of transcultural appropriation. The international success of Japanese cinema from 1951 ushered in a new phase of cultural production for the nation, which would become the 'soft power' we know today.

13   Katsura Koishi (Kwansei Gakuin Universityà)

Creating "characteristics of Germany" in Felix Mendelssohn's compositions

In June 1840, the 400th Gutenberg festival was held in a number of German cities. In Leipzig, the prosperous home of the print industry, shows, lectures, performances and fireworks were held over a lavish three day period. The city Music Director at that time was Felix Mendelssohn, who wrote the "Lobgesang" symphony for this festival. It premiered at St. Thomas Church in Leipzig to an estimated 500 people or more. "Lobgesang" was written in its original form for this day, as a symphony plus chorus (Cantata). The whole symphony was based on the Psalm "Everything that has breath, praise the Lord." (Psalm 150-6)

At the 400th Gutenberg festival in Leipzig 1840, a great number of people sang Bach's cantata "Ein feste Burg" in the central square. This cantata is quoted in the climax of Mendelssohn's "Lobgesang." On the one hand, Mendelssohn has come to be credited for featuring Bach's works, which had been forgotten by the 19th century, at this performance. On the other hand, this laid the foundation for German nationalist music aesthetics. Yet as this musical aesthetic focused on "characteristics of Germany" became central to nationalist German discourse and ideology, Mendelssohn's own Jewish roots became obscured. This paper explores this tension between Mendelssohn's life and the symbolic values attributed to his work, to understand how cultural producers can become key figures in nationalist ideologies despite non-conforming personal histories.

14   Yoshiko Okamoto (University of Tokyo)

From Japonism to Turanism: Images of Japan in *Typhoon* (1924)

This paper deals with the cultural relationship between Hungary and Japan, focusing on an opera titled Typhoon (1924). This opera was based on a drama of the same title, written by Hungarian playwright Lengyel Menyhért (1880-1974). The original drama is a tragedy depicting a Japanese man who committed murder, and his subsequent guilty conscience, and it was performed all over the world. The opera was composed by Hungarian composer Tivadar Szántó (1877-1934) and premiered in Mannheim in 1924, where it was sung in German.

Although the literary and musical images of Japan include several misunderstandings and ambiguity, it seems that the multi-layered philosophical background such as Japonism, Yellow Peril, and Turanism influenced the creation of the opera, in view of the fact that many books and articles about Japan were already published at that time, illustrating Japanese culture. Analyzing this opera and contemporary discourses allows us to understand the images of Japan prevalent in Hungary from the turn-of-the-century to the interwar period, as well as the "peripheral" situation of Hungary and emerging modernized Japan in the context of western music history. In this way, imagined Japanese aesthetics were used to articulate the position of Hungary as a culturally productive nation on the world stage in the early 20th century.

15   Ikuko Wada (Okayama University)

Ray skins and Japanese swords
Reception of imported material before the emergence of a symbol of national aesthetics

This paper addresses the history of ray skins as functionally and aesthetically important material for *nihontō,* or the Japanese sword. These unique swords are often considered as a symbol of *samurai* spirit according to nationalist views in modern Japan. However, these swords were not

produced only from domestic materials in the era when *samurai* existed. In the Edo period (1603-1868), ray skins imported from South and Southeast Asia were widely used for the handles of the swords. High quality skins were highly valued and the Dutch East India Company exported ray skins for the Japanese markets from its factories in Siam and India while competing with Chinese merchants. In 1876 under the Meiji government, carrying swords on the street was banned, except for those in a few limited occupations such as police and military positions. This decision was part of a process of abolishing the feudal class system, and so brought about great changes in the social significance of the swords, costing many craftsmen their jobs.

Focusing on ray skins can shed light on a conduit between Tokugawa Japan and its neighboring trade partners and the discontinuation of tradition, hidden behind this classic symbol of Japanese nationalism. Analyzing contemporary descriptions in historical sources will show controversial views about the aesthetics of *nihontō* between early modern and modern Japan, that challenge a simplistic understanding of the sword as a symbol of nationalist consciousness raising.

16   Jennifer Coates (Kyoto University)

Swords, samurai, and soft power
Japanese cinema as post-war national movement

Japanese cinema came to the attention of the world in 1951, when Kurosawa Akira's *Rashōmon* won the Golden Lion at the 12th Venice Film Festival. Film festivals have long been associated with the exhibition of national aesthetics. *Rashōmon* presented a skilful depiction of Japanese characteristics and concerns, set in the distant past, using the period costumes of the samurai class, and drawing from classical Japanese literature for its source material.

Kurosawa's win began a period of international recognition for Japanese cinema, culminating in the mass export of Japanese popular media we know today. Yet 1951 was not only Japan's first international film festival success; it also marked the year a Japanese film was awarded a top prize at

an Italian film festival only six years after Japan and Italy's defeat in World War II. The film was also a product of Allied, particularly American, intervention and censorship. In this sense, this classic of Japanese cinema was a transcultural product, created by Japanese filmmakers and American censorship personnel, and viewed by audiences belonging to or visiting post-war Italy.

Rashōmon not only displays the visual aesthetics of imagined 'traditional' Japan to great effect, but weaves a complicated story about the subjectivity of truth and memory. Aesthetic motifs associated with the Japanese nation encase a universal theme, as truth and memory were particularly salient issues in the immediate aftermath of WWII for both defeated and victor nations. This paper argues for *Rashōmon* as the first example of the kind of media content we now recognize as central to Japan's soft power movement: aesthetically 'Japanese' and thematically generic. The film and its reception can be seen as an early example of this contemporary national, if not explicitly nationalist, movement.

SESSION 2.2
Cultural Articulations

Chair: Yolanda Rodríguez Pérez

17   Francesca Zantedeschi

An aborted nation
The case of Occitan in the 19th century

In order for a nation to come into being, it needs certain defining elements with which to identify itself and be identified. In the nineteenth century, Occitans seemingly had all those pre-requisites that one might assume to be necessary to accompany their transformation into a nation, namely: a territory, a long history, a glorious literary tradition, and the most important element of all, a language. The first steps towards the Occitan revival were not very different from those taken by other national movements. By the mid-nineteenth century, as elsewhere in Europe, Occitans too began to "rediscover" their national past and literature (the Albigensians crusade, the Troubadour language and literature, and so on).

However, in spite of all these elements, Occitans failed at becoming a nation. In this paper, I will analyse the reasons for this failure, focusing principally on the relevance of the language issue for national purposes. There will be two levels of analysis:

1) the first – the "internal" one – will deal exclusively with Occitan matters, and emphasize the importance of fundamental issues in the process of defining and standardizing a language, but also in the mechanisms for the identification and legitimation of a nation.
2) the second – the "external" one – will be about the national (or French) context. Indeed, the Occitan ambitions clashed against those of France itself, which, in the context of the trauma of its 1870 debacle in the French-Prussian War, and the establishment of the Third Republic, had undertaken a course of accelerated (re)nationalization.

In order to substantiate my arguments, I will compare and contrast the Occitan case with its Catalan counterpart. During the early years of their respective revivals, both movements relied on common elements in search of the medieval illustrations of their culture, mainly their language. However, towards the end of the nineteenth century, whereas Occitans persisted with cultural demands, Catalans began to transform theirs into political claims to independence against the Spanish throne.

At a more general, theoretical, level, this paper aims to explain the fundamental role played by intellectual and cultural elites in the process of nation-building, in the case in point, during the initial phase of the process of national identification. In fact, intellectual and cultural elites were mainly responsible, in close concert with the political elite of the nation, for defining what a nation and its constituent elements are, as well as what distinguishes it from other nations. This paper also aims to analyse the nexus between cultural and political nationalism, in order to show how the lack of support of political elites to cultural and knowledge producers (and vice versa) can result in the failure of the cultural consciousness-raising and, consequently, the abortion of a potential nation.

18   Anna Bohlin (Uppsala University/Stockholm University)

The Novel Reconsidered: Emotions and anti-realism in mid-19th-century Scandinavian literature

The 19th-century novel was a powerful means of social and political mobilization. In the Nordic countries, the indigenous novel and the burgeoning literary market from the 1830s onwards, connected elites and common people, formerly belonging to different reading circuits. The emotional response to the nation evoked by literature contributed to the development of nationalisms as mass movements. Benedict Anderson famously showed the importance of the realistic novel and its new idea of simultaneity for creating a national consciousness. However, emotions in literature were conveyed through decidedly non- realistic aesthetic elements, often in tense relation to the realistic tenet. The significance of melodramatic literature has been acknowledged, and in this paper, I will further develop that research in relation to mid-nineteenth-century

Scandinavian novels by Swedish Fredrika Bremer and C.J.L. Almqvist, Finnish Zacharias Topelius, and Norwegian Hanna Winsnes. As Christian Liberals, some of them envisioned the future nation in relation to the eternal city of Revelations, which activated an allegorical mode and the temporality of Christian salvation history in the midst of a realistic plot. Furthermore, gothic elements are ubiquitous, not in the least in connection to folklore material – collections of folklore set off in the same period, and the novel partly functions as a re-mediation of oral traditions. The novel form and nationalist temporalities have to be reconsidered. The aim of this paper is thus to investigate how nationalist emotions were constructed through different aesthetic forms in mid-nineteenth-century Scandinavian novels.

19   Leyre Arrieta Alberdi (University of Deusto)

Symbols, music and nations
The Basque Anthem in the construction of Basque nation

This contribution aims to explain the power of symbols as tools of communication and transmission of collective identity through the Basque case, the symbols created by the founder of Basque nationalism, Sabino Arana, in the XIX century. Focus will be particularly placed on one of these "national" symbols, the anthem, since it is an emblem that has never reached a minimum consensus, even among nationalist ranks themselves.

The first section of this contribution looks at the properties that make symbols become effective communication tools. The second section addresses the symbols created by Arana. And the third section focuses on the Basque anthem or anthems. Finally, I will draw brief conclusions about the role of the anthem in the transmission of the feeling of belonging to a Basque collectivity.

20 Josip Kesic (University of Amsterdam)

Folklore, fascism and foreigners
Neo-españoladas **in post-Franco Spain**

The political transition from dictatorship to democracy after Franco's death in 1975 has prompted the urgency to redefine Spain's national identity. This paper focuses on a specific form of cultural production in post-Franco Spain I call *neo-españoladas*: representations of 'typical Spanishness' that include various traditional motifs such as the flamenco and Gypsies. In such cultural production, the memory of the prominent anti-fascist poet and playwright Federico Garcia Lorca has often played an inspirational role. Not only state institutions and intellectuals, but also prominent artists from the fields of cinema, flamenco and theatre have used Lorca's work in often state sponsored adaptions. To illustrate this process, this paper concentrates mainly on the paradigmatic case of the influential film maker Carlos Saura. The argument of this paper is that neo-españoladas are ambivalent negotiations of the country's cultural heritage in that they, one the one hand, distance themselves from both Fascist and foreign versions of Spanishness. Yet, on the other hand, they re-enact and celebrate a similar type stereotypical Spanishness. Regarding the relationship between culture and politics, this paper's implications are twofold. First, national stereotypes show greater continuity than political and aesthetic tastes. Second, conservative cultural nationalism can be employed in progressive political nationalism.

SESSION 2.3 (PANEL)

The Cultural and Political Mobilization of Scandinavism

Chair: Simon Halink

21   Kim Simonsen

The cultivation of Scandinavism. The Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries

22   Rasmus Glenthøj

Scandinavism: Historiography and narratives

23   Morten Nordhagen Ottosen

The cultural aspect of dynastic Scandinavism in 19th-century Scandinavia

24   Tim van Gerven

The Age of Discord is over
The trickle-down effect of Scandinavism in the arts

Frederik Christian Lund's painting *The Dutch fleet under Admiral Opdam passing the Sound on October 29, 1658 during the Swedish war* (1872) on a superficial look appears to celebrate a historical Danish victory over the Scandinavian neighbour. In this paper I will argue, however, that Lund's painting ties into a contemporary debate on Denmark's military rearmament and in this context supports the case for the proposed fortification of Copenhagen. The successfully endured siege of the capital in 1658-1660 is presented as a historical precedent proving the viability of this strategy. As such, the painting depicts as much a historical scene as a hypothetical future scenario, making the depicted Swedish soldiers stand-ins for the hypothetical future enemy. In this way, the painting simultaneously exemplifies the historical vision of Scandinavism, which presents the war-ridden past as an 'Age of Discord': an aberration from the 'natural' harmonious coexistence between the Scandinavian nations. In fictional and artistic appropriations of this past, inter-Scandinavian hostility is played down or moulded into a narrative of reconciliation. Lund's painting presents one way in which this creative retelling of the past could be carried out and illustrates the comprehensive impact of Scandinavism on cultural production in the nineteenth century.

KEYNOTE LECTURE 2

Nations as Knowledge Communities

Nicola Miller

SESSION 3.1 (PANEL)
Art and the Formation of National Identities

Chair: Tymen Peverelli

The research project represented at this panel investigates the important but under-explored relationship between visual art and the formation of a plurality of national identities in nineteenth- century Denmark, and presents a more nuanced picture of their historical development and present- day ramifications. It challenges the established narrative of one singular Danish national and cultural identity and demonstrates the decisive part played by the visuality of art in the formation of various and competing national identities. The nineteenth century saw significant political changes take place in Denmark, such as the establishment of a constitutional monarchy, the cultural ascendancy of the bourgeoisie, and the shift, in leading intellectual circles, from a cosmopolitical outlook to a more insular, national mindset. Contesting the assumption that artworks and reproduced images merely reflected political and national agendas, we show that artworks played an active and influential role in the formation of often competing national ideas. The project maps the sociocultural and political zones of conflict present in the art world of the nineteenth century in order to examine when, how and why the national liberal narrative became dominant. At the heart of these conflicts was the growing political battle over a new iconography, in which the beech tree, for instance, was claimed by the national liberals and the oak tree emerged as a double-metaphor, standing at once for the monarch and the rebellious, German-speaking parts of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. Thus the broken stump of an oak, a seemingly innocent pictorial device found in paintings of the time, could suddenly represent the political programme of dismantling the monarchy and integrating Schleswig in Denmark. Other zones of conflict arose where Scandinavian and German artists exchanged inspiration and influence or in the increasing importance of birthplace

and the struggle between nationalism and patriotism. This project thus seeks to provide a much needed rethinking of artworks' visuality in relation to constructions of national identity. It uncovers new relations between art, politics and identity constructs, and thus both complements and complicates current and past interpretations of art in the fields of history, theory of nationalism and art history.

25   Sally Schlosser Schmidt

Correspondences on art and politics

26   Sine Krogh

A Danish, German or Polish Artist?
Elisabeth Jerichau Baumann (1819-1881) and her transnational position in Denmark

27   Thor J. Mednick

A national heritage in two easy steps
Art, sovereignty, and the repatriation of Northern Slesvig

SESSION 3.2 (PANEL)

Indigeniety, Ethnopolitics and Cultural Mobilization in the Arctic

Chair: Benedikte Brincker

The present panel is motivated by the rise in cultural mobilization and ethnopolitics among indigenous peoples in the Arctic region. This rise is spurred on by climate change, debates on sustainability and geopolitics – issues that place the Arctic region in the centre of the world and on top of the international political agenda. The panel brings together scholars from different disciplinary backgrounds to discuss indigeneity in the European part of the Arctic Region. Hence, our special focus is on the Sami people in Finland, in Sweden and in Norway and the Inuit people in Greenland which is linked to Europe by virtue of it being an autonomous part of the Realm of Denmark.

The panel engages with a topic that is profoundly transnational and one that spans and challenges national borders and boundaries. The rise in the mobilization of indigenous peoples in the Arctic has been supported by a general increase in the legal and political recognition of indigenous peoples nationally, regionally and internationally. Indigenous peoples in the Arctic region have mobilised culturally and organised politically both at the local level and the national level and by claiming a voice and a seat in international organizations such as the Arctic Council and the United Nations.

Mobilization, whether culturally or politically, begs the question of membership and belonging. What does it mean to be an indigenous people? How is membership attributed and who gets to set the "criteria" for membership? Who has the right to grant membership? Finally, can one be a member of an indigenous people without being recognised as such? These questions tap into current theoretical debates within social and political science. They invite us to critically explore the notion of indigeneity and

engage with its social construction. This has to be seen in the context of the critique launched by Rogers Brubaker and Sinisa Malesevic at scholars in the field of ethnicity and nationalism that they are prone to consider nationhood, ethnicity – and one may add indigeneity - as substantial entities in the world rather than discursive frames and institutional forms that are enacted to make sense of the world (Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups*, 2004; Malesevic, *Ethnicity in Time and Space*, 2010).

The above outlined questions also bring up the question and conditions of the modern state because they urge us to address issues that escape state legislation and pinpoint areas where state authority is being challenged by other forms of authority. The impression that state authority, and by the same token sovereign, is under pressure is further emphasised when taking global issues such as climate change, and governance and environmental politics in the age of the Anthropocene into account.

In recent years, international organizations and actors have taken a keen interest in the Arctic region – the area in the world which is the most exposed to and where the effects of climate change are the most visible. This has led to international calls for an alternative approach to statehood and sovereignty in the Arctic Region – one that paves the way for international governance of and authority in the region. In doing this, international collaboration is being advocated with the aim to ensure peace, justice and sustainability. However, to the indigenous peoples in the Arctic this is a thorn in the eye because instead of abandoning the colonial mind-set prevalent in politics dealing with remote and sparsely populated areas, it reiterates a neo-colonialist approach to the Arctic region and its indigenous peoples (Lindroth and Sinevaara-Niskanen, *Global Politics and the its Violent Care for Indigeneity*, 2018; Brincker in: *Visual Studies*, 2017; Sejersen, in: Sørensen/Eskjær, *Klima og mennesker*, 2014).

28   Heidi Sinevaara-Niskanen (University of Lapland)

When gender matters
Politics of human resources in the Arctic

29   Marjo Lindroth (University of Lapland)

Imaginary resources
Envisioning potential and lack in Greenland

30   Benedikte Brincker (Copenhagen Business School)

Exploring human resources in remote areas
Paving the way for indigenous entrepreneurship in Eastern Greenland

SESSION 3.3

Education

Chair: Jan Rock

31   Clarence E. Glad

Cultural mobilization within the Danish kingdom (1814-1864) Educational powerbrokers and the unexpected consequences of the "cultivation of culture"

Great political, demographic and cultural changes occurred in the Danish kingdom between the loss of Norway in 1814 and that of Schleswig-Holstein in 1864. During this time, greater tensions became evident between various language groups, which, together with rising national sentiments, had an impact on discussions about the significance of Old Norse texts and their instrumentalization in various contexts. As the 19th century unfolded, a reaction arose against Danish cultural dominance, and the question "Whose cultural heritage is this anyway?" became more pressing in the attempt by scholars to identify what common threads in Old Norse material united various Scandinavian and Germanic peoples and what set them apart.

Previous studies have identified the artistic and intellectual undercurrents of cultural nationalism as part of modernizing dynamics of 19th century Europe. This paper attempts to broaden the scope of such studies by asking how cultural nationalism exercised its agency for social or political mobilization by tracing the agency from cultural practices into politics. The paper focuses on an intriguing historical case of culturally motivated activism where cultural and knowledge producers functioned as a conduit between an educational elite and the royal court, on the one hand, and political activists and the common people, especially farmers, on the other. In this context, the "cultivation of culture" took place through the establishment of new scientific and literary societies, new journals and

editions of Old Norse texts, educational reforms and the pedagogical institutionalization of Old Norse language and literature.

The study and publication of Old Norse texts became ever more prominent in the public sphere as nationalism burgeoned and the 19th-century progressed. Gradually, they became the foundation of a new self-image for the inhabitants both of individual countries and of larger regions. This was mostly the consequence of the cultural and political instrumentalization of scholars' work on these sources; it was used propagandistically in public spaces to establish and proclaim national and/or regional identity. Attempts were made among the educated elite to mould an exclusive "Danish" cultural nationalism, particularly in contrast to those of Norwegian and German-speaking language groups. At the same time, a multilayered ethnic identity was alive among important segments of the various language groups, for example the Icelandic one. The contextualisation and utilisation of the same source material in various settings by intellectuals contributed to the demise of the Danish conglomerate empire.

Cultural consciousness-raising in defining identity in cultural terms through cultural activities and cultural research can indeed construct a nation's cultural identity. However, in the Danish kingdom, this consciousness-raising was subject to both centripetal and centrifugal forces, as the cultural instrumentalization which had the intended goal of shaping a collective identity relying on a shared common heritage led to various implementations contributing both to an exclusive cultural identity and a shared multi- layered identity. The "cultivation of culture" was thus a tension-ridden broadly-based social praxis with its own inner dynamics, social agency and mobilizing power which had unforeseen consequences.

The utilisation of Old Norse writings thus allowed for different nation-building agendas, not only the creation of national identity in the narrow sense but also the construction of identity applying over larger areas. Many had hoped that the effort of unearthing a common Old Norse heritage would lead to a greater unification among peoples in the North (Pan-Scandinavianism) but to the dismay and surprise of many it had the opposite effect as the unearthing of a shared past led to contentious appropriations of various components of the common heritage. This in turn

led to exclusionary policies which caused turmoil and wars and the shrinking of the Danish conglomorate kingdom after the Schlewig-Holsteinian wars in 1863-64.

32   Dragi Gjorgiev (Institute of National History, Skopje)

Educational and cultural mobilization under Ottoman domination
The case of Church School Communities in Macedonia (19ᵗʰ century)

Church school communities were special church-educational and cultural institutions of the Christian population in Macedonia during the Ottoman domination, which were organized in those places where there were no official church representatives. First, they functioned under the jurisdiction of the Ohrid Archbishopric, and after its abolition (1767), they entered the jurisdiction of the Constantinople Patriarchate. These institutions had a certain self-governing activity, which included regulating given church, educational, family, marital and hereditary disputes. Over time, the evermore economically powerful citizenship of Slavic provenance began the spiritual mobilization of the Slavic Christian population through these institutions against the influence of the Constantinople Patriarchate. On their initiative, churches were built in which schools were opened, where the classes were conducted in Slavic vernacular. During the 60s and 70s of the XIX century, when municipalities with a number of Slavic populations left the Constantinople Patriarchate and joined the Bulgarian Exarchate or the Union Movement, the church school communities acted as an organized ecclesiastical authority by collecting the church duties that were formerly in the Patriarchate's competence, took care of the maintenance of churches and monasteries, issued baptismal certificates, regulated marital and divorce disputes. Likewise, those communities set up priests in parishes, folk teachers and teachers, and even had jurisdictions within the Christian community for specific property lawsuits.

We will follow the development of these church school communities and the role they played in the spiritual and political mobilization of the Slavic Christian population in Macedonia in the area of the spiritual struggle against the domination of the Constantinople Patriarchate and in the area of the political struggle against the Ottoman domination.

33   Jack Dyce (Scottish United Reformed & Congregational College)

Folkeoplysning
Enlightenment through popular adult learning, the Danish path of cultural mobilization

A territorially diminished, culturally weak, undemocratic, industrially under-developed Denmark, mid-19th Century, transformed itself into the modern Nordic nation of now. Reform was rooted in a thorough, if non-programmatic, cultural transformation and mobilization of the Danish people, inspired by NFS Grundtvig and his followers. A charismatic polymath, preacher more than politician, he contributed more than any other to the shaping of Danish and Nordic values, institutions, and culture through a remarkably diverse breadth of developments – inspiring the creation of folk high schools, giving Danes a prophetic language for their thinking, encouraging the learning of the 'unlearned' for social democracy, affirming the wisdom of 'the people', appropriating politically the old Norse myths, and promoting a national narrative. What might be contemporary resonances? This Grundtvigianist contribution, viewed more critically and negatively, is alleged to have contributed now to Danish isolationism, right-wing populism, and resistance to multiculturalist approaches to social integration. Has Grundtvig's legacy become a spent or even regressive influence or may it have power and potential to mobilize action to respond to contemporary global challenges of hostile competing nationalisms, ecological threats, non-democratic systems and social and economic disparity?

34   Zsuzsanna Varga (University of Glasgow)

Educating the nationalities
Women's education in the Habsburg Hungary in the 19th century

My proposed paper intends to investigate women's education in Hungarian part of the Habsburg monarchy during the 19th century. While 19th century cultural consciousness-raising is often attributed to voluntarily formed,

single-issue civic institutions or to large-scale national institutions – museums and archives – associated with cultural memory construction, educational institutions with particular regard to women's educational institutions have played a relatively smaller role in the investigations of cultural consciousness raising. My proposed paper intends to survey the curriculum content of some educational institutions in 19th century Hungary that fell outside the official practices of education. The paper intends to present three case studies: the educational practices of the Lutheran girls' school in Pest-Buda in the early 19th century, which preceded other institutions of women's education by several decades and whose educational content truly reflected the German- Hungarian identity of the twin cities while the educational content of the Serbian Angelineum, active during the entire century, is used to reflect the awakening national consciousness of Austro-Serb families. These educational regimes will be contrasted with the nationally more homogeneous secondary educational institution established by Hermin Beniczky Veres, the founder of the first Hungarian secondary school for girls in 1869. Considering the presence and representation of Hungarian literature and history and contextualising it within the national curriculum of the girls' schools, I will argue that educational curricula truly reflect the multi-ethnic nature of the empire, while the increasing role of national literature demonstrates the changing cultural priorities and the strengthening of the national voice.

KEYNOTE LECTURE 3
The European Union: A Missed Identity?

Anne Marie Thiesse

SESSION 4.1

Political Activism I

Chair: Alex Drace-Francis

35   Marios Hatzopoulos (Panteion University/Hellenic Open University)

From culture to politics and back again
The Movement for Greek Independence (1790s–1821)

Conceived by intellectuals, financed by merchants but ultimately manned by peasants, the movement for Greek independence (1790s – 1821) is an instructive case of the extent to which a movement of consciousness-raising and cultural mobilisation yielded an independence war. Studying the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence (1821), historians have argued for the importance of a pervasive economic crisis in the Ottoman trade after 1815, hurting precisely those who championed the Greek nationalistic ideas, the petit-bourgeois commercial intermediaries and merchants. However, the vision of economic prosperity within an autonomous state or the harsh reality of the collapse of Ottoman trade in post- Napolenic Mediterranean cannot merely account for the fact that masses of Orthodox Greek-speakers, within and out of the Ottoman empire, had been envisaging a free Greece ruled by Greeks. In a period of four or five decades before the independence war, during the so-called Modern Greek Enlightenment, the revival of Greek names, the teaching of classics in local schools, the interest in the relics of antiquity and the polemics over the form of Greek language, had culminated in the rise of a politicised sense of Hellenic identity, which provided the cultural underpinning and the ideological backbone of the massive armed insurrection that eventually broke out on March 1821. In the Greek case, therefore, it seems that cultural activism gave meaning and direction to political nationalism.

Drawing on a variety of sources, this paper will seek to discuss the relationship of political and cultural nationalism in the light of the Greek historical experience seeking to understand how culturally triggered activism affected Modern Greek ideas on autonomy, unity and identity.

36   Raul Cârstocea (University of Flensburg)

Peasants into Fascists
A case of cultural mobilisation in interwar Romania

This paper sets out to answer one very important question, asked by the German historian Ernst Nolte, in reference to the prominence of fascism in interwar Romanian politics: "how could a certain kind of subtle cultural critique have become a vital political factor in Romania, at the edge of Europe?" (Nolte 1966: 462). Despite the limitations of Nolte's study, the question remains an important one to ask, not least because of the image of Romania as a backward periphery that it invokes. This is all the more important since the fascist project of cultural mobilisation was indeed to prove successful where the state one failed. In my presentation, I will address Nolte's question by drawing attention to three additional ones, which nuance his formulation and touch upon the diverse ways in which a case of cultural mobilisation was to prove not only salient but successful in mobilising a significant cross-class segment of the population, and in doing so shaped not only Romania's interwar history but arguably the history of Romanian nationalism ever since:

- What did this cultural critique consist of, and in what ways did it reflect and respond to ongoing debates about modernisation and development in modern Romania?
- How could such a cultural critique become a salient political factor for a group such as the peasantry, making up the overwhelming majority of Romania's population at the time (70%), that had proved quite nationally indifferent (e.g. Judson 2006: 66-70; Zahra 2010) to the much better developed and funded state-sponsored project of cultural homogenisation (see Livezeanu 1995)?
- To what extent did this critique embed an acute reflection both on the country's specific conditions and its peripheral position vis-à-vis

mainstream European culture, not least by questioning the country's positionality in a post-imperial space in ways that linked with anti-colonial discourse (see Cârstocea forthcoming)? How important were perceptions of this peripherality and backwardness to the architecture of what were fundamentally radical attempts to overcome it?

In line with interpretations of fascism that emphasise 'the primacy of culture' (Griffin), the present paper argues that, similarly in some respects to the Italian case, the fascist cultural mobilisation in interwar Romania claimed to represent a fulfilment or completion of the late 19th century state project of cultural nationalism. One of its most important components was the particular attention it dedicated to the so- called 'peasant question' – a euphemism describing the dire situation of the peasantry under a system accurately described by Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea (1910) as 'neo-serfdom' – while utterly ignoring the real-life 'practicalities' raised by this question. As a result of this process, 'the peasant' became an omnipresent trope in the discourse of 19th and early 20th century Romanian nationalism, while its exponents remained as peripheral to the elites' concerns as they themselves were to the elites in London, Berlin, or Paris, their constant points of reference. Out of the tension created by this unstable pattern of representation, suddenly rendered politically salient by universal suffrage after World War I, I argue that the interwar fascist cultural critique not only invoked the same conceptual 'peasant' for its own project of national cultural mobilisation, but actually sought to (and arguably succeeded) to mobilise its referents as the bodies behind a radical nationalist project that was this time turned decisively against a nationalising state. Furthermore, the legionary movement in interwar Romania pursued this project of cultural mobilisation not by creating its own institutions (for which it clearly lacked adequate resources), but rather by subverting and eventually hijacking the nationalising state institutions (from cultural centres established in the countryside to universities) established with the same purpose.

37 Lisa Koks (University of Amsterdam)

The mobilization of the *nègres blancs d'Amérique*
Shame and political symbolism as a legitimization for revolutionary
violence in Québec (1963-1971)

In this paper, I will outline an example of cultural mobilization outside of
Europe, namely the struggle for independence in Québec in the 1960s and
1970s. As my research shows, the Québécois struggle for independence
was based on and legitimized by a strong focus on Québécois culture and
how it was devalued by the British-Canadian government. This devaluation
of the Québécois culture led to a relatively strong support for the
independence struggle, as it evoked a feeling of shame in the Québécois
society. I argue that the cultural mobilization in Québec succeeded because
of this sense of collective shame, which mobilized the people and
legitimized the struggle. In that way, turning collective shame into pride
was the fundamental motivation for the struggle.

In 1963, a group of political activists founded the Front de Libération du
Québec (FLQ). The FLQ wanted independence for Québec and did not
hesitate to use any means necessary to obtain its goal. One of the founding
members and leaders of the FLQ, Pierre Vallières, wrote a groundbreaking
autobiography in 1967 in jail named *Nègres blancs d'Amérique* (from now
on: *White Niggers of America*). He declared that the Québécois were the
white niggers of America, a statement he supported by comparing the
Québécois movement to the African Americans' struggle for civil rights and
to political activists who fought for decolonizing French-African countries.
In this way, he victimized the Québécois on the one hand and on the other
hand positioned them as political activists.

In my paper which is based on extensive research, I analyze the meanings
and functions of the white nigger-metaphor by looking at the ways in which
it used different forms of identification to evoke collective shame. As a
starting point, I briefly explore the conflicting national symbols and
identities in British and in French Canada, using research on Canadian
national narratives and symbols. These conflicting national identities
culminated in the struggle in the 1960s and 1970s, which I further analyze

using theories about mobilization of social movements, focusing on identification with other victim groups and the role of emotions – mainly shame – in mobilizing the people. Finally, my claim that the white nigger-metaphor mobilized the Québécois people by evoking a feeling of collective shame is supported by showing how the white nigger-metaphor became part of the Québécois discourse in the 1960s and 1970s in newspapers, magazines, movies, poetry, and so on.

SESSION 4.2

Trans-European Cross-Currents II

Chair: Marleen Rensen

38   Naomi Charlotte Fukuzawa (UCL/SOAS)

Is this *World Literature*? Lafcadio Hearn, Pierre Loti, Ōgai Mori and Sōseki Natsume: The literary side of *Japonism* seen from the angle of 'Eclectic Hybridity'

Japan generally constitutes the exception to the rule in a binary division of the World in the 'West' and the 'East' or the 'North' and the 'South' since the beginning of Western Studies on Japan. The classic modernist writers of the Meiji-era, Mori Ōgai (1867 – 1922) and Natsume Sōseki (1867- 1916) have developed their epoch-making literature out of their physical and intellectual confrontation with Western Europe, notably Germany and England; not only in terms of arts and literature but also on the level of the political reality, as can be seen in their novellas 'The Dancing Girl' (1889) and 'The Tower of London' (1905). In turn, Pierre Loti (1850-1923), the international French military traveler of Oriental and European peripheries, wrote *Madame Chrysantheme* (1887), the first autofictional literary fantasy on Japan. His work widely inspired the Western imagination of the 'Far East' of first the French Romantic writers of Orientalism, but also of the Greek-Irish(- American) writer, French translator and journalist Lafcadio Hearn (1850-1904) before his coming to Japan in 1890. There, he wrote numerous essays on its pre-modern civilization and culture and the Anglophone anthology of Japanese ghost stories *Kwaidan* (1904). The global itinerary of production and dissemination of these novels, novellas, fairy tales and ghost stories represent an analogy to the selective importation of different tools of Western modernity in the Meiji-modernization from respectively England, France and Germany throughout the Meiji-era (1868-1912). They portray

the multicultural kaleidoscope of Meiji-Japan the way Japan globally emerged from a country threatened by imperialism to an imperialist power of its own, a process conceptualized as 'self-colonisation' by Yoichi Komori in *Posutokoroniaru* and *Soseki-ron*. Exoticisation of Japan and the auto-exotic internalization of an aestheticized self-image in the tradition of Romantic Orientalism yet distinct are at the heart of these literary-cultural constructions whose supernatural themes and styles reflect the enigmatic connotation of Japan's rapid entry into the global circle of modern nations. This eclectic character of Japan's modernization, based in the end mostly on the introduction of German / Prussian modernity, resonates with the hybridized Self-constitution as Other to the West, rooted in the reception of Western Enlightenment through the political thought of Fukuzawa Yukichi, as developed by the sociologist Rumi Sakamoto. Also in literary-cultural terms, modern Japan's internalisation of its aestheticized national image in Japonism in Fine Arts was analysed by Yumiko Iida and conforms to the pattern of the 'Comparative Adaptive' in East-Asia as defined by Sowon S. Park. The parallel between political and cultural transaction processes in the Western-style modernization of Japan invites to the experimentation with both the 'old' and 'new' concepts of world literature in the field of Comparative Literature (as shaped by David Damrosch, Franco Moretti, Pascale Casanova, Robert C. Young, Mads Rosendahl-Thomsen and Jakob Stougaard-Nielsen, among others).

39   Atsuko Ichijo (Kingston University London)

Kokugaku and an endogenous development of nationalism in pre-Meiji Japan

The paper examines *Kokugaku*, the nativist school of learning, which emerged in the eighteenth century in Tokugawa Japan as one of the first instances of cultural nationalism in Japan. The conventional theories of nationalism hold it that nationalism was originated in Europe and spread to the rest of the world as the expansion of Europe/the West intensified. However, *Kokugaku*, in which scholars including Motoori Norinaga sought to determine the essence and origin of Japanese-ness through examination of classical writings and poetry rose in Japan under Tokugawa Shogunate's

rule during the period in which the contact with the West was heavily restricted. It cannot be explained away with a diffusionist account of nationalism. The paper examines the background to the rise of *Kokugaku* by way of comparing it with the rise of Romanticism in Europe in order to identify shared factors and suggest that nationalism might have multiple origins.

40 Mriganka Mukhopadhyay (University of Amsterdam)

The occult Calcutta
Transnational cultural dialogue between the West and the East in the context of Bengal Renaissance

This paper will discuss the western esoteric and occult currents which became popular in colonial Calcutta—the former capital of British India—during the Bengal Renaissance. The western currents strongly influenced oriental spirituality and the interaction between the two different worlds of culture synthesized a new transnational fabric. This paper will make case studies of certain western esoteric currents like Mesmerism, Spiritualism and Theosophy and discuss that how they influenced the elite Bengali intellectuals of 19th century Calcutta who were known as *Bhadralok.* The transcultural encounters between oriental and occidental currents not only influenced the discourse on Neo-Hinduism but also created an impact on cultural nationalism Bengal at the turn of the 20th century. This was true in the case of the Theosophical Society which gained a large following among the western educated middle class of Calcutta and developed a nationalist political consciousness among them. The occultist organization provoked the Bengali elite to use their Hindu identity as a political tool. Under this circumstance, the Theosophical Society, on one hand, incorporated Calcutta in the global network of occultism and, on the other, mobilized the elite intelligentsia in favour of anti-colonial struggle and cultural nationalism. Considering the theme of the conference, this process of cultural mobilization and transnational socio-political and occult networks will be mapped out. In the course of this entire discussion, light will be thrown upon the mutual relationship of certain essential historical

categories such as "Bengal Renaissance", occultism" "orientalism" and "colonialism".

41 Shazlin Amir Hamzah (Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia)

'Nation branding'
Constructing a Malaysian brand through popular patriotic songs

Coined by Anholt, S. (2007), in 1996, nation branding refers to the way in which countries' reputations are positioned parallel to brand images of companies and products, both being equally important considerations in determining the development and prosperity of a particular country. Anholt eventually suggested changing the term to 'Competitive Identity' indicating the importance of packaging it together with the economic and socio-political aspects of a state. Increasingly, the concept is gaining traction as a significant approach used by scholars – including those outside the fields of advertising and marketing – when looking at contemporary efforts by states toward constructing a national identity. Despite this, nation branding remains a nebulous concept specifically when used in analysing postcolonial states. For postcolonial states such as Malaysia, concepts of state, nation and nation-state cannot be seen as equal, largely because the experience of independence for post-colonial states differ markedly from their Western counterparts. The conceptual definition of a 'state' is an entity with its own rule of law, territoriality and citizenship, whilst 'nation' is defined as an imagined community infused with its respective ideas and variations of 'nations-of-intent' (Shamsul A. B. and Sity Daud 2006). While Malaysia is indeed a thriving state that was established during the colonial era, it did not inherit a 'British proposal' of a nation when it was created. As this nation was never inherited, numerous efforts have been made by individuals as well as groups from within the Malay community – it being the largest proponent – to create their own nations-of-intent. One such structure was what came into being when Malaysia gained her independence, whereby the implementation of one of these 'authority-defined' nations was set by the government. This presentation describes how popular patriotic songs play a crucial role in the branding process of such a constructed national identity. Despite various periodic

contestations, patriotic songs are still mobilized as important vessels of nationalism. Serving as expressions of a national identity, patriotic songs are malleable and multivocal as they are capable of bringing together various segments of society regardless of ethnicity, class, religion, gender, geography and politics. In Malaysia, patriotic songs gradually burgeoned in the 1950s leading up to Malaysia's independence from British rule in 1957. Along this historical and socio-political path, salient ethnosymbols and narratives of the state's collective history were continuously embedded in patriotic songs such as *Sekapur Sireh Seulas Pinang* (1956), *Bahtera Merdeka* (1957), *Tanah Pusaka* (1964) and *Keronchong Kuala Lumpur* (1968). While arguably Malay-centric, these symbols continue to play important roles within the nation-building process in Malaysia. As asserted by Smith (2001), such symbols have the potential to express a vision of how a society is dependent on a primordial historical identity. This paper argues that repeated broadcasts of popular patriotic songs on the national radio station *Radio Malaya* during the 1950s and 1960s, served as a means through which the Malaysian nation was branded according to specific symbols and narratives centered on its citizens' collective identity.

SESSION 4.3

Transnational Movements

Chair: Guido Snel

42   Camille Creyghton (University of Amsterdam)

Political and cultural mobilization in Parisian exile, 1830-1848

From the first half of the 19th century onwards, Paris was a popular destination for political activists from different national backgrounds. With its reputation of being Europe's revolutionary capital, but also thanks to its prosperous cultural life, it attracted numerous Italian, German, Poles and other exiles, especially in the 1830s and 1840s. They could be liberals, democrats or socialists, but they in any case supported the national cause in their home countries. Life in the French capital enabled these exiles to meet each other, but also confronted them with the local intellectual community and other social groups, such as large communities of migrant workers.

This paper will study the ways in which Parisian exile informed the nationalist ideas of the intellectual émigrés. It discusses the ways in which exile – the experience of not being in one's own country and the new contacts and opportunities the host city could offer – informed nationalist and other political ideas and contributed to the cultural mobilization of emigrants. In order to do so, the paper will examine three venues where exiles gathered, each with their own kind of sociability and intended public: first the salon of Daniel Stern (pseudonym of Marie d'Agoult) that was frequented by numerous writers and artists, many of whom being exiles; second the Collège de France; and finally the Parisian "Deutscher Hilfsverein".

While a salon was a private venue, organized by a noble woman and frequented by a selected group of thinkers and artists, the Collège de

France was a public institution. It was a popular gathering place for exiles seeking to connect with Parisian cultural and intellectual life. From the early 1840s onwards, some of its courses turned into truly political rallies for both French and foreign liberals, democrats and nationalists. The "Deutscher Hilfsverein", thirdly, was an organization of relief for the thousands of German migrant workers in Paris, who often lived in very bad conditions. Although it in due course became more and more controlled by the Prussian government, it was an initiative of German intellectual exiles who initially used it as a channel for diffusing nationalist and other modern political ideas among their working-class compatriots. Hence, the three cases each shed light on different kinds of social contexts in which exile intellectuals could move and that offered them concrete occasions for cultural and political mobilization. This paper will be a first presentation of the results of the post-doc project I recently started on the transfer of ideas among émigré intellectuals in Paris, London and Brussels in the period 1815-1848.

43   Sándor Hites (Hungarian Academy of Sciences)

National movements and monetary mobilization

Throughout modernity, the social mobilizing force of money has erupted with conspicuous energy during financial manias and panics. From early examples (e.g. the Dutch Tulip Fever or the South Sea Bubble) to the present day, these events triggered immense social activity both entering and exiting financial markets. While these periods of turmoil affected investors mainly as *individuals* (calculating personal gain or loss), with the 18–19th century rise of *national currencies* another aspect of money's social force has been revealed, that is, its capacity to induce mobility with regard to *group identities*.

In a peculiar dynamic, the success of national movements depended on money (both in the form of material resources and symbolic self-representation) as much as the success of national currencies relied on a collective cultural self-consciousness (in the form of public credit) raised by national movements. National currencies strengthened nationalistic zeal while, in turn, their functioning relied on these very sentiments, i.e. the

public willingness to accept new means of payment as reliable and *their own*. In other words, while national currencies were able to mobilize the masses, the masses, in the first place, had to be mobilized (i.e. persuaded by propaganda and political or military power) to support, both imaginatively and in praxis, new, nationally devised monetary regimes.

The ultimate fragility of this dynamic (of imagining a national community based on imagined value) becomes especially clear when looking at revolutions being financed by issuing fiduciary currencies (i.e. paper money unbacked by precious metal). Accordingly, I will examine money's active mobilizing agency in national movements around 1776, 1789, and 1848. Topics will include:

- mass movements and monetary politics;
- the nation as a credit-community: political and monetary nationalisms;
- national vs. imperial currencies: declarations of independence as the clash of rival monetary systems, political authorities, and group identities;
- the epistemology, iconography and psychology of national currencies;
- the volatility of credit: collective political commitment and individual risk management;
- Romantic literati and monetary imagination.

44   Marco Pasi (University of Amsterdam)

Giuseppe Mazzini and Adam Mickiewicz in dialogue: Esoteric forms of romantic nationalism

Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-1872) and Adam Mickiewicz (1798-1855) are two of the most significant examples of cultural nationalism in 19th-century Europe. The former was mainly a political agitator (but also a sophisticated literary critic), the latter a poet, but they both put all their intellectual resources at the service of the national cause they had committed themselves to serve. They were men of action as well, but the influence they exerted was channelled mainly through their writings, be they literary or more explicitly political. The two also knew and influenced each other.

They were considered by many as national heroes during their lives and their personae were submitted to a complex process of iconisation and appropriation after their deaths. Monuments dedicated to them in many cities of their respective countries and even elsewhere speak to the symbolic role that establishments wanted them to play in the public sphere. However, one of the most intriguing aspects of their ideas is the fact that they were both significantly inspired and influenced by esoteric ideas. To some extent, their intellectual background had much in common: Joseph de Maistre's apocalyptic vision of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution, Lamennais's neo-Catholicism, Saint-Simon's romantic socialism. Recent research has shown that this conglomerate of ideas, partly inspired by 18th century illuminism (E. Swedenborg, L.-C. De Saint-Martin), was the original motor for the creation of new esoteric currents in the 19th century. It is therefore significant to find it at the roots of Mazzini's and Mickiewicz's forms of messianic nationalism. How it is possible that esotericism, often described as a "rejected knowledge", played such an important role for authors who achieved iconic status as national heroes? How does esoteric marginality interact with political, public appropriation in this case? I will address these issues in this paper, trying to bring some answers to the questions posed by them.

45   Ivana Taranenková (Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava)

Identity and the Other in the Central European national movements in the 19th century

The paper will explore national movements in nineteenth-century Central Europe with a particular emphasis on Czech, Slovak and Hungarian cultural and national self-identification processes of the period, focusing on their interstices and confrontations.

Despite a tendency to perceive Central European culture as a coherent entity, it is necessary to point out that we are dealing with a heterogeneous space, within which individual national and cultural identities evolved in dynamic configurations and in a variety of relationships with one another,

from affirmation through cooperation, emancipation and competition, to dominance and levelling out. All those dynamic relations didn´t formed just multi-ethnic coexistence in the Austrian Empire, and after 1867 in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but created also various kinds of cultural and political mobilisations and also alliances and animosities in this region. It also defined the every aspect of process, which created a cultural identity of particular ethnic groups and nations within it.

In their study "On the Semiotic Mechanism of Culture" J. M. Lotman and B. A. Uspenskij posit that as part of a process of self-identification, culture creates at a certain stage of development a particular model (order), which it subsequently applies to various contexts – social and historical, as well as others. However, the existence of a single cultural model within diverse configurations of relations with other cultural models can create visible spaces that resist apprehension and comprehension. The emergence of this kind of "otherness" subsequently manifested itself as something that could relativize this cultural model and the identity derived from it or, by contrast, be a mobilising and emancipating factor.

By showing several historical cases, with emphasis on Czech, Slovak and Hungarian context, my paper identifies and presents those points of dominance, confrontation and cooperation, but also dealing with "otherness" (cultural alterity), which in Central Europe resulted in the formation, affirmation, but also the questioning, of each of those national and cultural identities. To this day, it is this heterogeneity and ambivalence that represents a striking peculiarity of what we can call a "Central European" cultural identity.

WORKSHOP

ERNiE's digital and analytical future

Pim van Bree & Geert Kessels (Lab1100)

We will present the newly developed network analytical features of the ERNiE research environment. As a result of close collaboration between SPIN and LAB1100, ERNiE's technological infrastructure has been expanded with network analytical functionalities (for more information on this technology, see nodegoat.net). The new functionalities allow researchers to identify paths through heterogeneous datasets and to calculate the centrality of nodes within a network based on various measures.

For example: what do the following seemingly randomly selected nineteenth-century intellectuals have in common: Charles Lenormant, Vuk Karadžić, Prosper Mérimée, Jacob Grimm, and Ľudovít Štúr? They form the closest path between the Austrian count Heinrich Attems and the French politician Pierre-Auguste Vogin, based on a collection of 38,000 letters sent and received by 4,700 correspondents, as mapped by SPIN.

Another example: when we make a graph of all articles in ERNiE and use mentioned persons, themes, cities, cross references, etc. as relationships, we can find the most central articles based on their location in the network. This technique identifies the article on 'Germanic mythology' as a hub between various communities and shows the article on Nicolás Ormaechea Pellejero as the connection between the Basque community and Provençal and Finnish communities.

We will talk about the challenges associated with these methodologies and look forward to receive feedback on how these new techniques can be integrated into research practices.

KEYNOTE LECTURES 4 & 5

Memory and Mobilisation

Ann Rigney (Utrecht University)

Against Universalism

Adam Ewing

SESSION 5.1

Choral Societies

Chair: Andreas Stynen

46   Renée Vulto (Ghent University)

Singing communities
Songs as mobilizing instruments in the performance of national identity (the northern Netherlands between 1775 and 1825)

"The verses need to be strong!" – wrote the poet Jacobus Bellamy in 1785 in his *Vaderlandsche Gezangen* (Fatherlandic Songs). This song collection was supposed to be a "handbook for the nation," arousing and encouraging "the virtues that are necessary for the construction, maintenance and glory of society". Such a statement reflects the idea that songs could function as instruments collective identity formation. This idea was not new at the end of the 18th century, but Bellamy's *Vaderlandsche Gezangen* and many more of such politically inspired songs from the Low Countries around 1800 propagated a national consciousness and a modern idea of the nation that were only just developing. Moreover, the Low Countries were a culturally fragmented region, as, in the roughly forty years around 1800, its political organization changed no fewer than seven times, bringing about shifts in name, authority and territory. Songs mobilized people to engage with these developments. I argue that songs are a unique medium to voice and spread messages, not only because the combination of text and music could strengthen the message of a song, but also because collective singing could lead to an embodiment of the imagined communities evoked in the songs. Therefore, I assume that political songs played a crucial role in the development of a new national consciousness in the northern Netherlands during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. How songs as cultural productions could channel the idea of national community for political mobilization is demonstrated in a discussion of the *Marsch voor de Burger- Compagnie de Zwarte*

Knegten (1784) written by Bellamy and composed by Frederik Nieuwenhuysen.

47   Janneke Weijermars (University of Groningen)

**Cultural agency and the Flemish-German Singing Alliance
Parallels and inconsistency in the romantic nationalist discourse**

The Flemish poet Prudens van Duyse (1804-1859) left more than 5,000 letters to and from writers, composers, philosophers, publishers and artists across Western Europe. Van Duyse is known as a Flemish nationalist and one of the fathers of the Flemish Movement. It is therefore interesting that, as far as we know now, in the letters there is a discrepancy between the ideals of the Flemish Movement and the actual cultural experience of the correspondents. In simple terms, we could say that the romantic-nationalistic discourse is more a means for the correspondents to express themselves (in their literary work) than a deep political conviction.

On one hand, a letter can be used as a tool to shape one's own reputation or that of someone else. On the other hand, a letter can also bear witness to personal emotions and sensitivities. Did Van Duyse and his correspondents use the romantic-nationalistic discourse simply because it was 'fashionable'; or were they truly convinced of a deeper relationship between language, culture and the state? I will investigate this by analysing correspondence about the 'Vlaemsch-Duitsch Zangverbond' ('Flemish-German Singing Alliance'), an international exchange program of choirs from Flanders and the Rhineland in the 1840's, which expressed a growing Pan-Germanist (and German-Flemish) nationalist solidarity. Van Duyse was the initiator in collaboration with Johan Michiel Dautzenberg, the brothers Van Maldeghem and of course the German organisers.

The correspondence of the Singing Alliance's organisers has never been investigated. These letters will be analysed, not in relation to the practical aspects of the organisation, but to investigate the cultural and political motives behind it. To what extent were the organisers making a political statement? Did the motives of the Flemish align with those of the Rhinelanders? How was the relationship between Flanders and the Rhineland

depicted and do these representations in the Flemish and German letters correspond? Through these questions, I hope to understand the balance between personal, cultural and political aspects of the singing alliance and its role in crafting or expressing a Pan-Germanic collective identity.

48   Carolin Mueller (The Ohio State University)

Strategies of deconstructing borders toward social inclusion of migrants in Germany through music

While, after a recent influx of refugees fleeing to Europe in hope of safety and security, numerous images of travel and flight circulate globally, the story of how "integration" of ethnically diverse actors is understood, practiced, and organized in European host societies, where national identities are highly contested, often remains untold. This presentation brings to attention the contributions of music in arts-based projects for democratic community building with migrants in Europe to fill this gap.

My paper draws on my 2017 ethnographic study of the musician collective "Banda Internationale" in Dresden, Germany. Since 2013 the city has developed into a center for artistic pro-immigration projects and protest. The band utilizes their music to create meaningful and welcoming spaces for interactions between newcomers and the local population by engaging in the cross-lingual and cross-cultural production of music. Findings from my study show how music, thus, has become the band's passageway for navigating the challenges and struggles of democratic social and cultural inclusion in an area where the "immigration debate" is heated.

I renew scholarly focus on the influence of music by showing how the "sounds of integration" in local communities point to strategies that have pertinent implications for programmatic decisions for democratic community engagement and access on the European level. Furthermore, my presentation draws attention to the challenges that refugee musicians face when finding themselves at the center of nationalist discourse in Germany.

SESSION 5.2

Gender

Chair: Matthijs Lok

49   Sophie van den Elzen (Utrecht University)

Remembering antislavery as a national virtue
A paradoxical call to women

Appealing to national pride was a favoured strategy for the wide variety of social movements seeking support in nineteenth-century Europe. Yet how can this mobilization strategy be reconciled with the often transnational character of these movements? And what can this apparent paradox tell us about the ways in which these nineteenth-century movements energized each other through shared cultural practices? In my paper, I will draw on my PhD research to investigate how social movements harvested the energy of cultural nationalism for their own ends. I will focus on the claims of antislavery sentiment as a national value in French, German and English women's publications agitating for social causes, including women's rights. Antislavery efforts in continental Europe had an overwhelmingly international character, but were often paradoxically claimed as a national virtue. In a 1843 issue of *Le Siècle*, for example, Alexis de Tocqueville wrote:

This sentiment, disinterested and yet impassioned with the love of men, which all at once made Europe hear the cries of slaves--who propagated it, directed it, illuminated it? We were the ones. [...] The English are doing nothing at the moment but applying our principles in their colonies. They are acting in accordance with what we still have the right to call the French sentiment. Are they to be more French than ourselves?

Women's publications appealing to their readers by nationally claiming antislavery relied on their readers' complex sentimental investment in both patriotism and the widely shared conception of antislavery as a crucially

female, international effort. By examining their representation of the relation between national identity and antislavery sentiment in the context of the densely networked reality of nineteenth-century activism, my paper hopes to contribute to our understanding of how nineteenth-century social movements expediently imagined common cause, even if this resulted in paradoxical claims.

50   Reetta Eiranen (University of Tampere)

Relational masculine self-construction and nationalist activities Linguist Herman Kellgren's personal nationalism in 19th-century Finland

Studying personal nationalism – how nationalism was experienced, felt and interpreted by individuals – offers insight into motivations driving the concrete nationalist activities. In the ideal of the 19th-century bourgeoisie culture, the man was to 'make himself' and prove his worth with his own actions. In this setting, the nationalist engagement could offer a sense of belonging and purpose. The paper discusses how self-construction and social relations intertwined with nationalist activities. The self is understood as relational; constructed in different social surroundings, relationships and roles.

Linguist Herman Kellgren (1822–1856) was a key figure of Finnish nationalist networks in the 1840–1850s, when the cultural nationalism gradually began to transform into political ideas.

Kellgren interpreted his existence through nationalism. He had adopted Hegelian philosophy,which related to his conception of his task in the history of the nation and its present developmental stage. His generation was to civilize the people and, through cultivation of cultural nationalism, awaken it to the national consciousness. Only after this, the political objective, freedom, could be achieved.

Kellgren's personal relationships and contacts were important for his choices and activities.

While in the university, he and his fellow students produced publications whose aim was to propagate the nationalist ideas. He was active in the Finnish Literature Society and, later on with his brother-in-law, a co-owner of nationalist inclined publishing business. While travelling in Europe, Kellgren received somewhat radical influences. He was in Paris in February 1848 and admired the Revolution. Related themes were subsequently treated in the newspaper he co-owned. Kellgren's close, emotional friendship with his best friend was crucial in the construction of their ideal masculinity. Together they had to educate themselves in order to fulfill their nationalist task as the future leaders of the movement. Another important influence was 'the national philosopher' J. V. Snellman, who with nationalist aims steered Kellgren's career to linguistics and especially to Sanskrit. However, their relationship was strained. Kellgren engaged with nationalism deeply personally. His own selfhood and manhood were at stake in his activities. He wanted to prove himself in his emotional relationships and social network, which, in turn, were crucial in supporting and enabling his endeavours.

51   Sharon Crozier-De Rosa (University of Wollongong)

Irish nationalism as a defence of feminist militancy

In1914, at the onset of the Great War, English militant suffragists, through the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), abandoned their violent feminist campaign in favour of supporting the war effort. Prior to this decision, British anti-suffragists had watched the actions of the WSPU with a great deal of trepidation. Through exercising militancy, British suffragettes seemed to be affecting a transformation of the emotional regimes which guided men's participation in violent activities. They were guilty of challenging the gendered nature of honour codes that declared that the violent sphere was no place for a woman. British anti- suffragists expressed relief at the abandonment of feminist militancy. Across the Irish Sea, Irish militant feminists reacted differently. Members of the Irish Women's Franchise League (IWFL) expressed bitter disappointment that, while they were continuing the fight, their British counterparts had halted their attack on the gendered nature of honour codes. To them, the decision

to abandon militancy revealed that British feminists' recourse to violent activism was merely a matter of contingency. It was a temporary state of affairs. To Irish feminist nationalists, women's violent activism represented no such transitory phenomenon. Rather, Irish militant feminists claimed that that they shared a heritage of equality in politics and in arms with Irish men. British colonisation had imposed upon them 'civilising' notions of separate spheres which had eroded the Irish woman warrior's sense of herself. In this paper, I examine how Irish women used an understanding of their nationalist identity to construct a warrior legacy that they shared with their nationalist manhood. I look at how Irish nationalist women drew on stories of ancient Irish equality to champion the recreation of a permanent national context in which men and women could engage equally in the public worlds of politics and war. I also analyse how British militants viewed the relationship between female violence and British and Irish nationalism.

SESSION 6.1

Political Activism II

Chair: Tim van Gerven

52   Matthijs Lok (University of Amsterdam)

National mobilisation and Counter-Enlightened and Counter-Revolutionary activism

Over the last decades, much research has been done on the development of national thought in the Enlightenment and the Revolution. The national mobilisation of the French and other Revolutionaries has been much studied. In my paper, I will by contrast examine the use and appropration of national ideas by the self-proclaimed enemies of the Enlightenment and the Revolutionary legacy, the '*antiphilosophes*' of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. To what extent did the transnational Counter - Enlightenment mobilise national sentiment as part of their apocalyptic struggle with the supposedly arrogant and atheist prophets of 'age of reason'. It is my intention to discuss several authors, self-proclaimed *antiphilosophes* as well anti- revolutionairies from different countries, for instance the South Netherlandish *antiphilosophe* publicist François-Xavier de Feller (1735-1802).

53   Nikola Tomašegović (University of Zagreb)

Politics and Literature of *Fin de Siècle* Yugoslavism
The Croatian Youth Movement (1895-1903)

The aim of this paper is to explore the Yugoslav ideology of the *fin de siècle* Croatian Youth Movement, most importantly its political and literary articulations and their mutual entanglements. While ideologically continuing the Yugoslavism espoused by Franjo Rački and Josip Juraj

Strossmayer, the Youth Movement, being a part of the broader modernist movement in Croatia and Europe in general, employed this conception in a manner which signaled a radical break from the earlier political *praxis* of the Croatian elites. As its ranks were made mostly of Croatian students studying abroad, mainly in Prague and Vienna, they drew heavy influences from social and political movements in the Austrian half of the Monarchy, such as the Czech Progressive Movement, Masaryk's political realism, socialism etc. This, alongside changed political circumstances in Croatia proper in which the reign of Count Khuen Héderváry symbolized national oppression using the *divide et impera* methods to eliminate the threat of Serbo-Croat unity, inevitably led to the modification of the Yugoslav ideology mainly in its political operationalization. Offering a comprehensive critique of traditional Croatian politics which relied on notions of historical state rights, prominent members of the Youth Movement emphasized natural rights and democratic mass politics. This was followed by a struggle on the literary field as well. The broader modernist movement fought for artistic freedom against institutionally established romanticism and realism. Although this movement was stylistically and ideologically diverse, one of the aims of this paper will be to identify how Yugoslav ideology as espoused by the Croatian Youth Movement was employed and propagated in *fin de siècle* modernist literary works, such as *The Slavic Legends* (Slavenske legende) by Vladimir Nazor. By exploring this entanglement of the political and the literary, we can attempt to characterize *fin de siècle* Yugoslavism according to its relationship with its ideological predeccesors, its present social and political context and its future political and cultural goals.

54   Usman Ahmedani (University of Amsterdam)

"The Services of the Turks"
Bursalı Mehmed Tahir and the politics of Turkish Character

This paper looks at the biographer Bursalı Mehmed Tahir's 1896 book on "The Services of the Turks to the Sciences and Arts" *(Türklerin Ulum ve Fünuna Hizmetler)* to examine how changing notions of Turkishness both reflected and shaped the political agendas of Turkists at the turn

of the century. Mehmed Tahir's book argued that European scholarship had erred in attributing the works of Muslim scholars to Arabs simply because they were written in Arabic. In fact, he argued, many prominent Muslim philosophers and scientists lauded as Arabs or Persians should in fact be regarded as Turks, as they had lived under Turkish control and benefited from the patronage of Turkish rulers.

While it was the first book to be dedicated to this subject, Mehmed Tahir's preoccupation with the political ramifications of national identity was not unusual for its time. As Alper Yalçınkaya has noted, by the 1880s science in the Ottoman Empire "could not be discussed without an open reference to identity." (A. Yalçınkaya, *Learned Patriots*, 2014). Ottoman-Turkish intellectuals increasingly resorted to history to define and defend a distinctive Turkish culture, paralleling in many respects the development of romantic nationalism in other parts of Europe. This nationalist turn can in many respects be attributed to the enthusiastic reception of European studies on Turkic linguistics and history. However, Mehmed Tahir's concept of Turkishness does not correspond in any consistent way to any of the most common markers of nationhood circulating in Europe at this time, such as language, customs or race. Nor is his pride in Turkish identity construed in opposition to religion. This marks out Mehmed Tahir's approach from, say, the focus on the pre-Islamic, Central Asian roots of the Turkic peoples in the work of the French orientalist Leon Cahun, whose book *Introduction à l'Histoire de l'Asie* was published in the same year as Mehmed Tahir's book. So in what terms did Mehmed Tahir argue for the 'Turkishness' of his historical subjects, and what forms of knowledge and intellectual traditions did he draw upon?

A Sufi sheikh and military officer who joined the Young Turk opposition as a political activist, Mehmed Tahir served in parliament following the 1908 Revolution. I will therefore also look at how Mehmed Tahir's own social profile shaped his writing, both in this book and other works, particularly his multi- volume encyclopedic bibliography "Ottoman Authors" *Osmanlı Muellifleri* (1914-23). Moreover, I want to situate Mehmed Tahir's work in a comparative context, seeing him as part of a wave of Turkish, Arab and Persian intellectuals who increasingly defined their respective national characters in opposition to one

another, each holding the other responsible for periods of historical corruption and decline.

55   Pedro Álvaro Hervalejo Sánchez

Culture and politics
Comparing Catalan and Basque nationalist youth movements (1931-1936)

Cultural and political nationalisms often form complex relationships which challenge the well-known analytical differentiation between both as different patterns of nationalism. In my paper I propose to address this issue by carrying out a comparative study of Catalan and Basque nationalist youth movements in the context of the 2nd Spanish Republic. I believe this comparative approach can be an interesting path towards identifying different types of interaction between politics and culture which may shed some light on some of the questions to be tackled at the SPIN conference. A special focus will be placed on the role of culture for political mobilisation and the dialogue between culture and politics during the process.

SESSION 6.2

Urban Ambience

Chair: Jan Rock

56 Veronika Eszik (Hungarian Academy of Sciences)

A symbolic area between rival nation-buildings: The "Hungarian Seaside"

Parallel to the Austro-Hungarian Settlement, the Hungaro-Croatian one (1868) also tried to define the co-living of different nations within one state. During the negotiations, the parties could not agree in the question regarding the city of Fiume (today Rijeka, Croatia). The legal status of the one and only maritime port of Hungary, extremely important for the Hungarian economic and national ambitions, remained uncertain until the end of the era. In these circumstances, the stakes of the symbolic politics grew enormously, as it was by means of cultural and knowledge production that the political elite tried to make the existence of the Hungarian Seaside accepted and familiar to every citizen – Hungarian by identity or not – of the Austro– Hungarian Monarchy. In the first part of my paper, I would like to display shortly the different areas of intensive symbol-making and central representation (belles-lettres, travel, scientific, popularising and juvenile literature, press, political discourse etc.) in order to emphasize the extent of the phenomenon. Secondly, I would like to detail one specific way of incorporating the sea: the establishment of the institutional Hungarian steamboating. The latter, as opposed to the traditional sailing, represented a modern way of possessing the seaside and controlling the sea. As a result, as I try to point it out in my conclusion, one of the main features of this cultural production was the linking between modernity and Hungarian character. The local (Italian and Croatian) rival nation- buildings gave different answers to this Hungarian challenge, but both had to react to the modernity represented by the newest possessor of the sea.

57   Milou van Hout (University of Amsterdam)

In search of the nation at Fiume
Irredentism and the importance of place for the nation

During the first half of the 20th century the city of Fiume (Rijeka) turned into a focal point of irredentism and into a myth for the Italian nation. This irredentism – the believe that part of the nation outside the state borders needed to be redeemed from foreign influence – was not only motivated by an aggressive nationalism or imperialist expansionism, but was also driven by a search of the Italian nation for a *paessaggio spirituale*. Key to the mythologization of Fiume was its annexation by the poet Gabriele D'Annunzio in 1919 and the appropriation of this irredentist episode in the fascist genealogy. By analyzing the increasing focus on Fiume within the irredentist discourse from the *Risorgimento*, through D'Annunzio's annexation, until fascism, this paper examines the underlying motivations of various generations of irredentists. It shows how irredentism was a way to (re)define the Italian nation, a process during which irredentist rhetoric of 19th century nationalists was constantly reused yet received renewed meaning in relation to new ideas about the identity of the nation. The attention for Fiume emphasized the borders and limits of the nation state yet stimulated to transcend these. As such, Fiume could turn into a *paessaggio spirituale*. Overall, this paper highlights the importance of borderlands for the development of the nation state during the second half of the 19th and first half of the 20th century.

58   Juozapas Paškauskas (Vilnius University/Lithuania Institute of History)

Not just a work
National movement as leisure activity

My paper will discuss the so-called Northwestern province of the Russian empire and its capital Vilnius in the late 19th century. First, I will discuss how modern society transformed conceptions of leisure and how Lithuanian, Polish and Jewish intellectuals started to perceive leisure as an

instrument not only creating an identity for the middle class, but also capable of reforming the everyday life of the lower and noble classes alike.

Secondly, I will discuss reading as one new culturally motivated form of leisure and argue how it became one of the cornerstones of the Lithuanian national movement. Considering the ban on the press in Latin letters, strong censorship and, in general, low literacy, I will highlight how, due to strong culturally motivated activism, reading became within a few decades one of the main leisure activities, allowing access to modern ideas (including nation building). In the light of these aspects, I will demonstrate that the Lithuanian national identity in the late Tsarist era was created not only by working but also during leisure time.

59   Tymen Peverelli (University of Amsterdam)

Branding the hometown
Tourism, urban identity and nationalism in 19th-century Belgium and the Netherlands

Although tourism history remains an unexplored field of research, it could offer important insights into several vexed questions in nationalism studies. Among them is the issue of how people reconciled various territorial (be it local, regional, national or cosmopolitan) identities. This paper focuses on the ways in which tourism stimulated the mobilization, dissemination and selective appropriation of national consciousness in urban communities. More specifically, it compares the activities of tourist promoters and place-promotion associations in several Belgian and Dutch towns during the 19th century. Through guidebooks, festivities and restoration activities they promoted the particular identity of their own towns. Most participants in the tourist industry metonymically represented provincial towns as important sights of national beauty and history, but their evocation of local patrimony did not correspond to older, centralized notions of the nation-state. Rather, tourist promoters asserted local distinctiveness and advocated geographical diversity. This perspective challenges us to rethink the role of tourism in the construction of national awareness, as the result of a complex process of negotiation of various territorial – particularly local – identities.

SESSION 6.3

Myths and Legends

Chair: Stefan Poland

60   Biljana Ristovska-Josifovska (Institute of National History, Skopje)

The myth of Alexander the Great through the translations as part of cultural production and knowledge transfer in the 19th century

In the process of consciousness-raising and national movements we recognize various manifestations, including the mythologization of historical figures, as a way of legitimizing and verifying national requirements. The celebration of well-known ancestors, embodied in national heroes and myths, represent an inseparable part of the process of national affirmation. For this purpose, on this occasion we take the character of Alexander the Great and his perception in the spirit of the revival processes of the 19th century in the Balkans and especially in Macedonia. In this sense, the work Alexandride is one of the most popular novels in the history of literature, translated in more than 200 languages (also in various Slavic languages). We analyze this work, that is, its versions and translations, with particular reference to the Macedonian version from the 19th century, as part of cultural production, in the context of the knowledge transfer in the 19th century, and as a specific expression of the national identity.

61   Kim P. Middel (University of Groningen)

Íslenzkt þjóðerni: **Jón Aðils' culture of Iceland and the road to the future**

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the cause of independence on Iceland was furthered, among other things, with the aid of historiography. It was the Icelandic historian Jón Jónsson Aðils who would shape Iceland´s history, and the nation with it, in his work *Icelandic Nationhood* – a work commissioned by the Icelandic authorities. However, writing from a context of dependency within the Danish realm left him little room for the display of political nationalism. Aðils had to find ways to constitute a national self-image that would appeal to a broad Icelandic audience and bring about the mobilisation of social forces that eventually would serve the political cause, without the down-right playing of a political card that would offend Danish authorities. Not only did he achieve in doing this, the cultural identity that he created and the cultural-political – in that order – nationalism that he channeled was there to last, up until the present day. The question is: how did he achieve this?

My paper aims to illustrate how Aðils succeeded in constructing the Icelandic nation by putting ideas stemming directly from Danish cultural nationalism to Icelandic use. I propose that using ideas of the famous Danish nationalist N.F.S. Grundtvig about national language, national spirit and nationhood enabled Aðils to elaborate on notions that had long been part of Iceland's identity; more importantly, they allowed him to effect a complete makeover of that self-image with the addition of the national trademark of culture. With the aid of Grundtvig Aðils constructed a history of Iceland that held future prospects of independence, whilst still honouring the ties with Denmark. By doing so, I argue that Aðils hitched onto an oral tradition of passing on history that was already in place in Icelandic society, as well as the tradition that Grundtvig had put in place in Denmark for teaching history through popular education. In this way he ensured that the intellectual and the popular would be bridged, the elite and the masses would be connected, and the positive reception and dissemination of his ideas in all layers of society was assured. The result would be a mobilisation of Icelandic society without precedent, and

ultimately the country´s independence – all of which happened in deference of the Danish authorities. Finally, I will discuss the consequence of this cultural focus as a decisive factor in the development of Icelandic self-awareness, thus aiming to contribute to the larger debate on the raising of cultural conscience.

62   Simon Halink (University of Iceland)

Mythology and cultural mobilization: Towards a comparative perspective

In this paper, I will explore manifold ways in which ancient mythologies have been mobilized in ideological settings, and refashioned as 'charters for social action' (Bronisław Malinowski). How have mythological narratives been employed to mobilize the masses? Point of departure of this comparative analysis will be the so-called *Hungarian Poems* by the Icelandic poet and activist Gísli Brynjúlfsson (1827-1888), who was fascinated by the wave of political revolutions changing the face of nineteenth-century Europe. Motivated by the idea that the Icelanders needed a revolution of their own, he fashioned his interpretation of the Hungarian Revolution (1848-9) in poetic images, taken from the Old Norse-Icelandic Edda. He linked the thunder god Thor to the historical figure of Attila the Hun: personification of the Hungarian nation. In his poems, the Russians are antagonized and equated with the 'evil' giants fought by Thor, with his supernatural hammer Mjölnir. In Gísli's mythological rendition of political events, this weapon becomes a symbol of revolution, and of the struggle between good and evil.

By fashioning the Hungarian Revolution in Old Norse imagery, Gísli sought to emphasize the kinship between Iceland and Hungary, and to import the revolutionary ideals of the Magyars to Iceland. Although this endeavour did not lead to an 'Icelandic Revolution', it has been suggested that Gísli's revolutionary verses contributed to the popularity of Jón Sigurðsson (1811-1879), leader of Iceland's national movement.

The objective of this paper is to transcend isolated case studies like this one, and to link this example of mythological mobilization to similar

examples from other national movements in Europe. A comparison of Gísli's *Hungarian Poems* on the one hand, and the role of the Olympian gods in Greek nationalism on the other, will deepen our understanding of the ideological instrumentalization of myth as a rhetorical tool and a 'narrative template' (James Wertsch). This comparative approach will enable us to propose a theoretical framework for the analysis of mythology as a cultural mobilizer.

63   Joana Duyster Borreda (University College Oxford)

'Our legends are always matters of current affairs'
Rossend Serra y Pagès and Catalan cultural nationalism (1880-1920)

Cultural nationalism has been mainly seen as the predecessor of political nationalism, concerned with the forming of a national cultural body instead of the political transformation of the state. My paper will examine an individual involved in cultural nationalism in Barcelona at the turn of the century: Rossend Serra y Pagès (1863-1929). He was a Catalan knowledge producer, a folklorist and teacher in Barcelona, and a scholar who had an extensive network of professional contacts in Europe and across the globe. However, he is not only an example of cultural consciousness-raising and culturally triggered activism, his work is also an illustration of how the political and cultural sphere were intertwined, cooperated and sometimes diverged from each other.

My case study touches on several aspects of the questions and issues posed by the conference call. Rossend Serra can be seen as a mediator between elite and masses and also as a reformer with his work as a teacher having a multiplying function for the urban population in Barcelona. As a teacher he transmitted the knowledge gained from his international visits abroad and his contacts with international scholars to the women he taught in the schools in Barcelona. His personal teaching notes and the homework of his students reveal how he mobilised many young women to research Catalan popular culture. Many of his students then became well-known folklorists and teachers themselves in the late 1920s.

Even though described as an 'apolitical intellectual' by a newspaper, his international network and teaching material reveal how cultural and knowledge producers as well as political activists were collaborating and how cultural nationalism had a political dimension of its own. In my paper, I would like to engage with this intersection between cultural and political nationalism and demonstrate how Serra used his work as a teacher and folklorist as well as his international networks for social and political mobilisation. It will thus examine his teaching materials and probe what ideas of nationhood were transmitted as well as analyse and present his vast correspondence with knowledge producers and political groups across Europe. This will shed light on the dynamics between political and cultural nationalism and reveal how, across Europe, knowledge producers in the nineteenth and early twentieth century were collaborating in transmitting different ideas of nationhood and nationalism.

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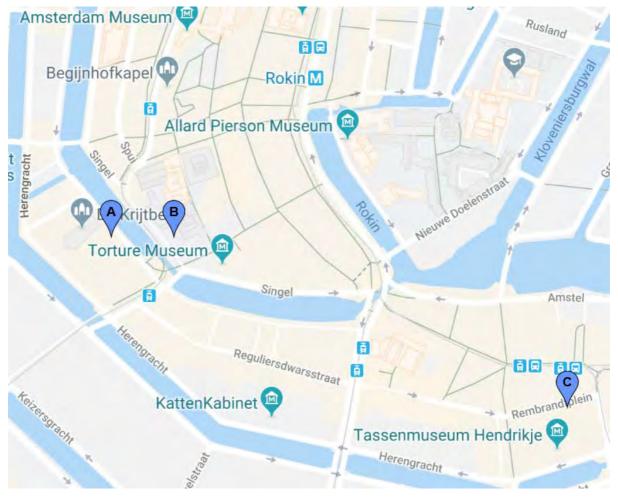
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