

# **INTERNATIONAL NETWORK FOR THE THEORY OF HISTORY**

## **3<sup>rd</sup> Annual Conference**

### **Place and Displacement: The Spacing of History**

#### **ABSTRACTS**

*Please note that the abstracts have been arranged according to the alphabetic order of the surnames of the participants. When available, the general abstracts for the panels are found at the end of the folder.*

## **Existential history and the presence of the past**

*Jonas Ahlskog*

‘Presence’ is arguably the most discussed notion in contemporary philosophy of history. Through this notion philosophers have attempted to understand the ways in which the past is literally part of our present. Recent work by Eelco Runia and Frank Ankersmit among others has created a multifaceted and fiery debate about the historian’s relation to the past. This debate is intimately connected to a growing dissatisfaction with the dominance of postmodernism and poststructuralism in the philosophy of history. According to presence theory, the singular focus on narratives, representation and creation of meaning in postmodern philosophy of history has led to a neglect of the historian’s relation to the object of her study; namely, the past itself. In contrast, presence theory argues for a more real, experiential, direct, material and affective relation to the past. In Runia’s words, by appealing to the concept of presence they want to investigate ‘the living on of the past in the here and now.’(2014, 91)

In this paper, I will place R. G. Collingwood’s philosophy of history in dialogue with the contemporary discussion about the presence of the past. As of yet, Collingwood has not featured in these discussions in any significant way. This neglect is unjustified in light of the fact that Collingwood considered the idea of a living past to be the ‘first principle of a philosophy of history.’(2013, 97). My main aim in paper is to assess some of the central ideas of contemporary presence theory from a Collingwoodian perspective. First, I will argue that Collingwood’s idea of history delivers a potent critique of the implicit and explicit psychologistic underpinnings of contemporary presence theory. Second, I will show that presence theory addresses an important issue that was also one of Collingwood’s primary concerns: namely, how does the past condition and move the present in ways that we are not aware of? Presence theory is right to focus on this issue, but I will show that their theoretical presuppositions will prohibit any deeper understanding of the relation between the practice of history and the ways in which the past conditions our present understanding. In conclusion, I will argue that Collingwood’s idea of history as a form of self-knowledge opens up an existential dimension of historical understanding hitherto overlooked by presence theory.

## “Remembering the Past for an AlterNative Future”

Hökūlani K. Aikau

Associate Professor

University of Utah

In 2010, the state of Hawai‘i awarded Kāko‘o ‘Ōiwi, a Native Hawaiian non-profit organization, a thirty-eight year lease that would allow them to begin the process of restoring wetland taro farming on the 300 acre parcel located in the district of Ko‘olaupoko, on the windward side of O‘ahu island. Staff members at the site describe this project as being a “game changer” for addressing larger issues of food security and mitigating the impacts of climate change. In Hawai‘i, where approximately 80% of food is shipped onto the islands, there is growing awareness of and concern for Hawai‘i’s dependence on imported food for survival. Through taro farming and growing organic vegetables, Kāko‘o ‘Ōiwi hopes to transform the food landscape on O‘ahu. Additionally, Kāko‘o ‘Ōiwi executive director asserts that the traditional wetland taro farming – wetland taro farming channels water from fresh water springs and streams that originate at the base of the nearby mountains through the taro pond system and then back to the streams before entering Kāne‘ohe Bay – could be critically important in mitigating the impacts of severe weather events due to global climate change. Drawing upon ethnographic field notes, survey data, interviews with staff and community members, and archival documents that trace changes in land use from the 1880s through the present, this presentation offers a case study of how Kāko‘o ‘Ōiwi intentionally draws upon Native Hawaiian culture and history to frame this contemporary project. Indeed, our findings suggest that when staff members describe this place and their work in Indigenous ways, volunteers and other stakeholders report an increase in their understanding of how Hawaiian knowledge and culture are central to mitigating food insecurity and climate change. While these findings are a success story of how one community has mobilized historical narratives, family stories, and Indigenous practices to reclaim a place and a Native Hawaiian food system. I also argue that these narratives rely upon a selective telling of the past that elides histories of displacement and removal perpetrated by the collusion between settler colonial and Native elites. Thus, while I applaud the efforts to restore the knowledge and practice of taro farming in this area and at sites across Hawai‘i, I assert that by leaving out the unflattering elements of the past, we foreclose the possibility for critical analysis of how the twined forces of capitalism, colonialism and heteropatriarchy contributed to the dispossession and removal of Native Hawaiians from their land and that these forces are still at play today. Further, if we are going to appropriately prepare for an alterNative future, we

must account for the entirety of our pasts, address them in the present before moving into the future.

Short Bio:

**Hōkūlani K. Aikau** (Kanaka ʻŌiwi) is an associate professor in the Division of Gender Studies and the Division of Ethnic Studies at the University of Utah. Dr. Aikau is the author of *A Chosen People, A Promised Land: Mormonism and Race in Hawaiʻi* (University of Minnesota Press, 2012). Her next ethnographic project, *Hoa ʻāina: Restoring People, Places and Practices*, funded in part by UH Sea Grant, is in collaboration with Kākoʻo ʻŌiwi, a Native Hawaiian non-profit working to restore wetland taro farming on the windward coast of Oʻahu.

## **The Canon of/in History**

**Jaume Aurell**

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The notion of canon has traditionally been applied to the fields of Scripture studies, literature, and art history. These disciplines have considered this concept as a useful instrument for definition, classification, and categorization of the most representative literary and artistic works. This notion was first used in Jewish and Christian traditions for establishing the set of works inspired directly by God which constitute the core of the Bible. Thus, the notion of “literary canon” and “art canon” began referring to the works of fiction, poetry, drama, music, art, sculpture, and architecture generally perceived as being of major merit and influence through the time.

Beyond these traditional uses, the notion of canon has barely been used as a conceptual tool for historical and historiographical purposes. Yet, this lack of interest for the notion of canon among historians appears to be a contradiction, if one has assumed the postmodern assumption of the “historical texts as literary artifacts.” This paper aims to explore the possibility of employing and applying the notion of canon to classify the works of history which deserve to be taken as a model for the discipline. It also tries to delineate the epistemic, ethic, and esthetic values that the historical works included in this eventual canon should attain.

In addition to the evident theoretical-historiographical interest of the exploration of the eventual application of the canon to history, this paper has also a practical objective: if we are able to establish what are the key features which guarantee the canon of historical texts, then we can obtain a list of some master historiographical pieces that should form part of the basic readings and training of the future historians. In the end, dealing with the notion of “historical canon” may allow us to establish some connections to other key concepts that deserve more historiographical attention, such as the notions of the tradition, the classic, and the durability.

## Rethinking the notion of context in biographical writing

Alexandre de Sá Avelar

Federal University of Uberlândia (Brazil)

### Abstract:

One of the issues most sensitive to the debate surrounding the biography is one that involves the delimitations of the historical context in which our characters are inscribed. Context, in a broad sense, is the space in which the limits and possibilities of individual action are instituted. Context is also the antidote to anachronism, this temporal disarticulation, considered by many to be the greatest sin of the historian.

This presentation will try to demonstrate the possibilities and pertinence of other interpretations about the notion of context that can broaden our horizons of reflection on individual trajectories, order of time and ethical challenges of writing history.

The necessary construction of frames of space-time reference, by the researcher, can neither be thought nor as a normative system that defines the possibilities of action of the characters and nor as a surface that is being shaped precisely by these authors. It seems to me, increasingly, that this dichotomy is fragile. Perhaps our contexts have much more to do with a priori projections, as Takashi Shogimen argues, which establish the very possibility of research.

The notion of "advent-event", taken from Claude Romano, can be an important instrument for overcoming this fragility. The fundamental idea that seems timely is the destabilizing character of the event that generates future unforeseen events. The advent-event is a challenge to the normative force of contexts. And this ability to generate future is what makes it understandable. Thus, according to Romano, an event can be understood less by the world that precedes it than by the one that makes it appear. The event is thus anarchic in the sense that it has no a priori that define its meanings and produce their occurrence.

In the end, I intend to offer a critique of a certain "contextual illusion" (in an analogy to the concept of "biographical illusion" of Pierre Bourdieu). This ambition lies in the hope that a life, in its complexity and fragments, can be restored by the biographer as long as he surrounds himself with all possible references, of all the documents that can finally inform us about his characters. This sense of control of subjects and of time inevitably becomes entangled in the perception that events can be situated in contextual webs that give intelligibility, intentionality, and rationality to the actions of individuals. These units of meaning remain a recurring topos in the elaboration of historical biographies, but, as Romano suggested, we could think of narrative strategies renewed from the idea that the actions of an

individual function as events that generate contexts that, in the end, can explain it. Therefore, no longer seek the explanatory logic from the causes of an action event, but from its consequences. The future, perhaps, explaining the past.

## THE SCHEMATISM OF THE IMAGINATION AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

EGON BAUWELINCK

One of Kant's most fruitful concepts for 20th century cultural philosophy was the "schema". The schema of a concept allows us to imagine and recognize examples of this concept. In contrast to the definition of a concept, the schema pertains to spatio-temporal determinations which make up the intuitive core of a concept. The potential of the schema for revolutionizing our understanding of the role of space and time in demarcating concepts was not realised by Kant himself. He restricted the issue to the application of the categories (causality, ...) to sensible phenomena, and barely mentioned the schemata of empirical concepts such as those used by historians.

This paper first briefly sketches the story of how the issue of the schemata of empirical concepts came to the forefront in the early twentieth century. Secondly, I discuss some consequences of the transposition of the schema to historiography, using examples drawn from the work of Michel Foucault. Firstly, the notion of schema allowed Foucault to carve out an intermediary level of study between the history of concepts and social history. E.g. between the history of the concept of madness, and the stories of mad people throughout history, lies the history of the way in which madness was imagined or intuited. Secondly, the schema transforms the role of examples in historiography. They are no longer mere illustrations or "cases". They become indispensable for representing the spatio-temporal outlines of how a concept was imagined in a particular place and moment. Finally, historiography becomes both an exercise in judgment (selecting and grouping examples) and an exercise in the art of description (describing the spatio-temporal contours of concepts), not dissimilar from art history or indeed "archaeology".



*Lars Behrisch (Utrecht): Time, Space, and Decision-making. The Case of Early Modern Statistics*

In modern and present societies, (quantitative) data and statistics determine the way in which we perceive the world and how we act in many respects. They are particularly important for decision-making, especially in political and economic contexts, not least because statistics are closely connected with the expectation, that the future and prospect developments are (at least to a certain degree) calculable and predictable. Hereby, they form a fundamental resource for planning and other forms of (allegedly) rational prospective acting and decision-making. This specific mode to orientate current actions and decision-making by producing prospective spaces of time appeared, from the perspective of the people of 18<sup>th</sup> century, as a fundamental transformation of the way to perceive (social) reality. And for a certain time, this remained, more or less, a fascinating possibility, whose potentials (not least for political decision-making) had yet to be discovered in the first place. Yet, this process was not limited to the level of theoretical (philosophical) thinking and speculation. Rather, it went along with practical experiences following the fact that, especially after the Seven Years' War, the compilation of statistical data and its evaluation successively became a part of social and political practices und corresponding forms of (practical) knowledge. The talk will discuss these developments as well as its consequences on the way how the temporality (and, in connection with this, the spatial structures) of societies and states were perceived and how, thereby, the possibilities and conditions for social and political decision-making changed between Early Modernity and 19<sup>th</sup> century.

## **Cinema and History: Rethinking and extending links through Historiophoty**

Gilda Bevilacqua University of Buenos Aires

### **Abstract**

In current historiographical practices, the relationship between cinema and history is approached in a way in which not all cinematographic fictions related to the past are capable of constructing and expressing valid discourses for historical knowledge. The notion of “historical film” (Rosenstone, 1997) has mainly given place to works on fictions considered to be valid representations for being consistent with the content provided by academic historiography, that is, characterized by “the existence of a concrete referent extracted from an extra-cinematographic knowledge called History” (Monterde, Selva y Solà, 2001). But our understanding in this case is that if the contribution of cinema to our knowledge of the past is subordinated to being only an audiovisual representation of interpretations of historiography and/or a primary source about its time of production (Ferro, 2000; Sorlin, 1985), we could therefore omit the study of films that, even outside of the instituted representation canons, would provide us with non-negligible considerations for research and the construction of relevant meanings and concerns about events in the past. Following Hayden White in “Historiography and Historiophoty”, we understand that the reason behind these possible omissions would largely lie in the fact that historians “are inclined to treat the imagistic evidence as if it were at best a complement of verbal evidence, rather than as a supplement, which is to say, a discourse in its own right and one capable of telling us things about its referents that are both different from what can be told in verbal discourse and also of a kind that can only be told by means of visual images”.

Thus, taking White's proposals, our work will conceive films in their diverse relation modalities with the historical discipline as *discourses in their own right*. We shall rethink the notion of historical film, to later develop the notion of historiophoty, “the representation of history and our thought about it in visual images and filmic discourse”, understood as an alternative way to conceive and analyze cinematographic depictions about the past, given that it enables to inquire into films not subjected to canonic definitions of “historical film” and that can be valid “in their own right” to build historical knowledge about the events represented.

We will work on these problems through a formal and narrative analysis of one specific case, the film *Mein Führer: The Truly Truest Truth About Adolf Hitler* (Dani Levy, 2007), which

tells the story of Adolf Grünbaum, a famous Jewish actor imprisoned at the Nazi concentration camp in Sachsenhausen, who is later transferred with his family, to the *Reich* Chancellery in order to help a weak and sickly *Führer* to give a speech that boosts the German people's morale in January 1945. We will try to demonstrate how this "non-historical" film, by departing from a satiric-ironic form, builds meanings that elicit relevant contributions to the knowledge of the events whose representations revisits, such as Nazism and the Holocaust. For this, we will use Hayden White's notions of "historiophoty" and "emplotment" as theoretic and methodological tools, as well as Linda Hutcheon's "intertextuality" and "historiographic metafiction" (2003).

**Humans and other-than-humans making history: instabilities of the body and temporality between the Ashaninka of Peruvian Amazonia.**

AUTHOR: Guilherme Bianchi<sup>1</sup>

In the historical institution of the form of knowledge that challenged the authority of the Christendom, established since the Roman Empire, the Cartesian "I" replaced the deified universalist vision without, however, overcoming its primary intentions: that of producing, following Descartes', a true knowledge beyond time and space. That knowledge was/is also intended to be "universal" and "objective", just like the equivalent medieval view of "God's eyes". In order to support its claim to universality, it was necessary to establish a solid division between the physicality of the body and the substantiality of the soul, because the physicality (understood as a limit for the transcendental knowledge) needed to be overcome by the universal substantiality of the spirit (Grosfoguel, 2016).

The multiple variations of Amerindian narratives seem to reverse this modern operation. Their ways of knowing the world do not seem to be tied to the notion of the body as a limit of the "universal knowledge", because the body can almost always, in certain situations, surpass and adjust to different levels of reality. The first implication of this epistemological inversion is that it rearranges the semiotic function of body and soul in affirming trans-substantially of both. When the Ashaninka people of the Peruvian Amazon seek to explain why many of their *guerreros* fought alongside with the left-armed guerrillas in the recent Internal Armed Conflict in Peru (and therefore usually against Ashaninka communities), they usually say that the ashaninkas body was no longer the same previously body, the new body would have been transformed into

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a red demon (*kityoncari kamaari*) causing them to see his family and his friends as enemies (Barletti, 2014). The sensible perception of the world changes if the body changes (Viveiros de Castro, 2012). After the end of the conflict (or, at least, the Peruvian State established end), with the need to reintroduce ancient "demonized" ashaninkas into the villages, a work of reconciliation and reincorporation thus meant the production of a mutation in the way the community perceived and interpreted the body of those ashaninkas.

Based in fieldwork, interviews and in bibliographical research, I will try to support the idea that the modern ontological dualism is neither sufficient nor useful to describe internal dimensions and domains of non-Western pasts. Nothing could be stranger than a paradigmatic division between body and spirit (division that ultimately animates the general modern separation between nature and culture), to cosmologies that so often manifest the existence of a universe populated with human and non-human agents with intentions and their own perceptual dispositions. Plants, animals, objects, the dead, are all endowed with own subjectivities, and establish with human and non-human bodies a series of personal relationships: friendship, exchange, revenge, hostility, seduction. This is the case when the Ashaninka of the Peruvian Amazon say that the human body can be "demonize" and become something other-than-human in certain circumstances. What all these things mean to historical thinking today?

Texts as bundles of times

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This paper will discuss the idea of multiple times by exploring concrete (historical) *texts* as “bundles of times” – in and out of sync. As its empirical starting point, the paper will take a specific type of medieval wooden architecture, namely the so-called Norwegian stave churches (*stavkirker*). These unique buildings were, and are, almost exclusively found in remote parts of Norway, where they now are considered preservation-worthy national monuments and symbols. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, these originally local churches underwent processes of both musealization and nationalization, which transformed them – discursively and materially – into modern objects of knowledge and the monuments they are today. An important part of this transformational work were *textual practices*, including the circulation of a plethora of scholarly and popular texts regarding these buildings, in more or less public spheres inside and outside of Norway. For the 19<sup>th</sup> century actors and text producers, *time* was of course an important topic: Based on the new, modern understanding of time and history emerging in 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe, they formed and presented textually a certain conception of not only medieval time, but also a national future and, not least, history itself.

What will be argued in this paper, however, is that texts are bearers of “more times” than (re)presented time. On the basis of a small selection of 19<sup>th</sup> century publications that in different ways concern the medieval wooden architecture, it will be argued that texts – as communicative events and as instances of cultural practices – can be seen both as tools of synchronization *and* as producers of non-synchronicity – when understood as texts in the course of time.

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### **A Place for Humanity in Posthumanity**

*Abstract for the 3<sup>rd</sup> INTH network conference 'Place and Displacement: The Spacing of History,' Stockholm, August 20-22, 2018*

There are two parallel discourses on humanity and the human being today. On the one hand, against the backdrop of a general disillusionment about a notion of a universal humanity that previously has been considered as a unitary subject of a historical process, the humanities and social sciences typically debate a socio-politically divided humanity. On the other, there is an emerging biological-existential understanding of a universal humanity and the human under a threat of extinction, typical of scientific discourses on technological and ecological prospects. From climate science and a rapidly expanding transdisciplinary literature on the Anthropocene to debates on human enhancement, transhumanism, biotechnology and artificial intelligence, we witness an ongoing redefinition of the human, arising out of a prospect of bringing about other-than-human beings or leaving behind human limitations while heading towards a posthuman future.

Connecting to the umbrella theme of the conference, I wish to address the spatial aspect of the emerging scientific understanding of (post)humanity as measured against the spatial aspect of a socio-politically divided humanity. On the largest scale, the politics of spatial in- and exclusion makes sense on the (often explicitly repudiated and contested) background assumption of humanity “taking place” within and as history, with its largest spatial environment as the “globe.” But what about the prospect of posthumanity? In scientific debates, humanity and the human under existential threat is increasingly considered as one life form among other life forms in a posthuman era. But if humanity is

not an internally divided central subject of a historical process, then what is it? Is it a subcategory of a larger subject, prone to mechanisms of in- and exclusion? Should we conceive of human life as increasingly becoming displaced within a larger scheme of “planetary” life? And, is the spatial environment of such humanity “planetary” as opposed to “global” in the first place (as it features in recent debates)? Or is it even wider given the technological prospect that is not bound to “planetary” life? Finally, and most importantly, can this emerging understanding of humanity be considered as intersecting with humanity as we know it in Western modernity? Can this intersection be more than an automatic projection of standard humanities criticism over a not-yet-understood new universalism of scientific discourse? Or do we need to say goodbye to the idea of history with its socio-politically divided (but ideally “global”) humanity as soon as a full-fledged conceptualization of posthumanity takes root?

As the abundance of questions indicate, the aim of the talk is not to give firm answers. My aim is rather to problematize a pressing concern worthy of a far wider debate within the theory and philosophy of history.



Historiographical operations move from social places the value of which, for historiography, is often underestimated. With Michel de Certeau, we can consider the *lieu social* of the historical research as the 'not-said' or the 'repressed' in the epistemological and linguistic approaches to the theory of history. Preserving the idea of the social place relevance when relating to the past, we could consider the condition of displacement as a place that is empty. At the same time, we can recognize a positive value to displacement as an empty place, if we assume Lucian Hölscher's definition of *Lehrstellen der Geschichte* as spots from where it is possible to discover new meanings for connections of past events and, insofar, spots that let us keep the past open.

In the complex reality of global mobility, migrants and refugees experience a singular status, different from that of an exile or a nomad. With 'Bare Life' (*mera vita*), Agamben names those existences deprived of political identities, social protection, and immediately exposed to power and violence. This kind of deprivation fits displaced people and, furthermore, could be associated to the problematic state of their memory. In brief, the old place of memory is lost and the new is not yet found. Due to the traumatic effects of past violence and the uncertainty of the future, displaced people experience a fragmented temporality, which threatens their identities.

My point is that the peculiar dislocation of identity and the problematic state of the memory of displaced people can be seen as an empty place, which produces a relation with the past, which might be interesting for the debate on historical representation. Since migrants' texts on their own past are missing, critical documentary strategies, which try to negotiate a meaning for dislocated experiences, are more appropriate than Eurocentric narrative on recent history of displaced people. The latest reifies their social marginality, while the former give voice to their unique temporal experience and its reflexive expression. In order to describe the past from the point of view of injured identities, I will

consider two case studies, presented in T.J. Demos' book *The Migrant Image* (2013): Essay Films by Otolith Group (2003-2009) and the exhibition *Out of Beirut* (2006).

For instance, in the Essay Films by the OG, archival material from Sagar's family in India, which document the country past, is assembled with futuristic scenes of space travel. The historical representation threatens the linearity and progressive course of time, and «energizes what the group terms past-potential futures, it means bygone dreams of a possible reality that may never *yet* come to pass» (Demos 2013, 58). The line of distinction between the two dimensions of time tends to be overcome and, more interestingly, the images of the future descend from past unrealized solidarity projects. Such a point of view fosters a critical detachment from the continuous present described by scholars, such as Hartog and Gumbrecht. Since the empty place of displaced people introduces an original perspective on historical time in our society, migrant injured identities can be considered an avant-garde generated by the contradictions of the globalisation era.

*Dagmar Borchers (Bremen): Freedom means, that you have to decide. The Temporality of Decision-making in Selected Narratives of Existentialism*

Abstract: The thesis, that we live in societies of decision-making (“Entscheidungs-gesellschaften”), as the sociologist Uwe Schimank has put it, is a controversial topic in scientific and public debates. Most of us have the impression that the multitude of decisions we ought to make are not only an expression of individual freedom (of choice) and a premise of an autonomous conduct of life, but that they are or at least can be a burden as well. A reason for this is that most decisions we have to make are ‘complex decisions’. Their complexity has at least three aspects: (i) a deficit of information on the factual level, (ii) a potential for conflict on a social level; and (iii) the impression that we have to make relevant decisions under pressure of time and therefore without having enough time for sound reasoning. But such a perception describes the underlying problem only in a very superficial way. Rather, the temporality of decision-making can be reflected upon from a deeper philosophical perspective, in particular in the context of Existentialism. Existentialism can be understood as a profound philosophical theory of decision-making. Following the central assumption, that the existence is prior to the

essence and that, because of this, there is no core essence of human beings as such, which we can discover, but rather that human beings (in a radical sense) are, what they make out of their life, the concepts of projection (“*Entwurf*”) and decision(-making) as well as freedom and responsibility become fundamental categories of human existence.

Therefore, pure existence is in itself factuality (*Faktizität*) as well as optionality, and the existence is in every moment the outcome of our prior decisions. In existentialist thinking, decision-making therefore is characterized by a specific temporality: In its project (*Entwurf*), it comprises the future, and, at the same time, it is confronted with its own past. Based on these general considerations, the talk will on the one hand argue for the thesis, that Existentialism can provide an essential contribution to the problem of decision- making from a philosophical point of view. On the other hand, it will attempt to trace the subtle structures of temporality of decision-making in the works of Martin Heidegger, Jean- Paul Sarte and Thomas Nagel und will show their relevance for an interdisciplinary and historically orientated discussion of the complexities of decision-making.

**Geoffrey Bowker (UCIrvine): Information Time**

Ubiquitous computing is profoundly altering our sense of time. Computer clocks run ever faster - the fastest now do  $2.5 \times 10^{15}$  floatingpoint operations per second: a new kind of temporal ordering which has become central to business and to science. The fastest networks are too slow for NYSE traders - businesses have moved closer to Wall Street in order to capitalize on femto-second advantages. But this is not just a story of speed. We now have regular access to fleeting utterances of our own that would have been consigned to oblivion a century ago. Also, data monoliths such as Facebook and Google build profiles of us which change in real time. In this paper, I examine the ways in which information processing is affecting our apperception of time at all scales of temporality.

Taras Boyko (University of Tartu, Estonia)

History Wars in the Era of Post-Truth: 'Russian world' vs. national master narratives in the former Soviet countries

History always was (and probably will continue to be) an important and very influential political and cultural multipurpose power tool. However it is during the current era of the overwhelming 24/7 media coverage and massive presence of past in all its forms in various widely open to everyone didactics oriented programs (starting from history lessons in school to educational TV shows and non-fiction bestsellers on the book stores shelves or kindles) it is proven to be even more useful and stronger than ever before. As result, international (geo)politics in the regions which traditionally had been rather susceptible to historical revisionism and remapping of the borderlands turned historical narratives into "holy" cornerstones of the argumentation.

One of such regions seems to be the frontier of Eastern Europe and Russia. Historically the region is extremely "explosive" even on its own, but with the intentional spark thrown into the picture with the purpose to create some smoke, the real fire might also start. The current paper intends to explore the boundaries (in a wide sense of this term) and motifs of the history wars between Russia(n master narrative) and its neighboring former Soviet countries with their own, almost always contradicting to the imperial center, views on and interpretations of the "common past" and current state of affairs. The main focus will be on the cases of Ukraine & three Baltic states, i.e. Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and the "mechanics" of shaping of the spaces of history and memory within the nationalist oriented agendas as well as the historians role (as both creators-legitimizers of the historical narratives and its consumers) in this big and as it seems very dangerous in its outcomes (post)history game.

**Place and Displacement: The Spacing of History. 3rd INTH network Conference, 20.08.2018 – 22.08.2018 Stockholm, in: H-Soz-Kult**

**Brauer, Daniel** : History and Collective Identity in a Globalized World

ABSTRACT

Within the framework of the ongoing globalization process, an erosion and simultaneously redefinition of collective identities takes place in the context of which individuals traditionally reflectively understand the meaning of their own lives. The voluntary or involuntary belonging to certain social or national institutions is defined by criteria that go from the place of birth to the partisan taking of position in front of certain values with which the subjects identify themselves. Although these criteria of ascription can be a source of conflicts insofar as they are not only established from the perspective of the first person, but also by institutional parameters and also from the perspective of the others. But in all these cases, identities are established in the context of stories about a past that individuals consider their own.

This paper explores the way in which a series of new forms of historical writing - ranging from microhistory to global history, or such as contemporary history, women's history or ecohistory - have transformed the paradigms of the Rankean historiographic canon and they question official histories and the manipulation of collective memory, particularly since the Nation-State Axis has ceased to be the central issue of historical reconstructions and a source of legitimation of societies' past, at least from an ethnocentric perspective. At the same time, it tries to answer the question about the role of historiography in the discussion about the possible modes of a post-national identity in a new historical-global context.

## **Experimental variations: Reflections on Primo Levi's *The Truce***

Pedro Caldas (UNIRIO, Brazil)

This paper discusses narrative based on a reading of *The truce* by Primo Levi. Published in 1963, *The truce* brings to the forefront two disquieting issues. By examining them, I seek to contribute to the study of witness narratives and their ability to cope with issues linked to the representation of limit-events.

The first issue regards temporality: on the one hand, since *The truce* narrates Levi's return to his home in Turin, after being freed from the Auschwitz concentration camp, it is also an account of his reencounter with his own humanity; on the other, in its final pages, Levi admits his anguish in realizing that the evil of Auschwitz will remain with him forever.

What changes, then? How can one tell a story that is not built upon an essential change, but, instead, recounts possibly random episodes? Here, I propose the concept of a narrative structured on "experimental variations" around the truce-experience. This view is based on one of the most striking descriptions of Levi's book, the boy child Hurbinek, in whose name he witnesses that "experimental variations" can be grasped as an alternative to the above-mentioned impasse between expressive episodes and their relative inability to produce any significant change in the historical meaning of the Holocaust.

Yet, the temporal issue – which is already clear in the book's title, *The truce* – can only be satisfactorily developed if we can also understand it in its spatial sense, and this is the second issue. After all, the book's lighter stories – some of them having even a touch of humor – take place during Levi's voyage in foreign lands, above all in Soviet territories. His much awaited return to Italy is experienced with anguish, which leads to a reflection on the meaning of the word *home*. It is enough to recall that, in Levi's dream, which depicts his mother's home, he ends up finding himself at the concentration camp. A

possibility in terms of grasping this impasse is to think that disillusionment with one's family setting means the impossibility of domesticating, or assimilating, the meaning of one's journey, i.e., of the passing of time.



## **Elisa Cárdenas - Historical experience and territorial defense in an indigenous Mexican community: Mezcala**

Mezcala de la Asunción, Jalisco, is an indigenous community settled on the bank of the Chapala Lake, the biggest in Mexico. Since the arrival of Spanish armies and up to this date, the community has faced constant pressure over its territory. In the defense of its vital spaces, collective memory over historical facts has repeatedly played a fundamental role. Thus, Mezcala is differentiated from other Mexican communities; the community of Mezcala has orally transmitted, from one generation to another, narrations about their past of struggle and defense of the land and natural resources. This practice of continuous transmission of historical experience contributes to the reinforcement of the Mezcala identity, and has proven to be efficient in different critical junctions in the face of external threats.

Since the XIX century and the Mexican independence from the Spanish Crown, the historical experience of Mezcala came into tension with some of the central processes of the national construction, in terms of political construction as well as historical memory. On one hand, the community was a protagonist, alongside other bank communities, of a central episode of the independence war in the region, which durably marked the historical memory of its members: between 1812 and 1816 a group of insurgents grew strong in the small lacustrine island located in front of the community, and resisted the siege of the troops faithful to the king of Spain, concluding the episode with a victory. This gave them a singular place in the eyes of the governments that considered the defense of the island as heroic. However, the community faced, as many other indigenous Mexican communities the pressures on their identity and land that the national project wielded upon them since its first years.

In other works, I have been interested in the tensions between the historiographical discourse, the memory of the indigenous community of Mezcala and the governmental policies of forgetfulness. In this case I will focus on the spatial production and its relationship with historical experience in a context of resistance to dispossession in recent times. Thus, this paper, along with the interest in the close link between historical experience and defense of the territory in a long-term perspective, will also be interested in the relationship between historical experience and social production of space.

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### **Global History and globalwashing: an ashamed Eurocentrism?**

The term greenwashing was coined by Jay Westervelt in a 1986 essay regarding the hotel industry's practice of placing placards in each room promoting reuse of towels to save the environment. This term is used since then to describe products and policies which spend more time advertising that operates with consideration for the environment than operating in this way. The aim of this contribution is to ask if historians whose declare to do Global History are doing something we could call actually global or if some of them are just promoting the reuse of their towels. As it is not political correct a self-declaration as Eurocentrism supporter, some historians can just use the label Global History to sell some mainstream Eurocentric historical narrative in a global packing. This research uses Digital Humanities methods to create semantic networks and a temporal network of the whole corpus of the *Journal of Global History* (all editions from 2006 to 2018). All these editions are digitized and treated by a historian bot. These semantic networks, composed by the most used words in each edition and the edges and nodes among them will be tracked in a temporal network to formulate hypotheses on the transformation of the meaning of Global History through these 13 years. This corpus will be also analyzed under the idea of levels of global meaning: the research on global sources, the narration of global events, the citation of global historiography and the presentation of global conceptions of history. This analysis will propose how global each edition is and if some of them could be considered as an example of globalwashing.

## HISTORICAL EMBODIMENT – Place and Displacement

INTH Conference Stockholm 2018

David Carr

### ABSTRACT:

Phenomenologists like Husserl and Merleau-Ponty have taught us to distinguish between objective space and lived space. Similar distinctions are made in enactive theories of perception. Lived space is the space of perception and action, of embodiment, orientation and habitation. Its dimensions are not interchangeable, like those of objective space. They are left and right, up and down, back and front, near and far, big and small. This is the practical space of activity and passivity. It is our theater of operations. We get access to it by exchanging the third-person point of view for the first-person perspective. But the first-person need not be singular. It is not just *I* who live in space, but also *we*. The I-subject inhabits space by virtue of its embodiment. To lived space corresponds the lived body. Is the we-subject likewise embodied, and if so, how? These questions have been much discussed recently in phenomenology and enactive cognitive science.

This is the question I want to address in my paper. If it makes sense to speak of a social or we-embodiment, this would be relevant to history. Such embodiment would allow us to think of the spatial embeddedness of communities in their environments in a new way. If expanded to include a discussion of experienced time as well as experienced space, it would permit us to view past actions, attitudes and events in terms of their social emplacement and displacement. It would make possible an account of the territoriality and rootedness of ethnic and political entities from a first-person (plural) point of view. Concepts like homeland and alien could be treated not just in terms of objective properties and relations, but in terms of the experiences and expressions of belonging, membership and participation. In discussing these matters I shall be drawing on the

literature of phenomenology, sociology and collective memory. Among historians, Pierre Nora's evocation of places of memory, which harks back to Halbwachs on collective memory, and Huyssen's idea of urban palimpsests, will be examined for their implications for the understanding of social space and historical embodiment.

## The Place of Catastrophe

Jonathon Catlin – Ph.D. Candidate, History, Princeton University

My research undertakes a critical conceptual history of the concept of “catastrophe” in modern thought, drawing jointly upon the Marxian philosophy of history of the Frankfurt School of critical theory and the *Begriffsgeschichte* of Reinhart Koselleck. Stemming from the Greek for “downturn” or “overturning,” catastrophe denotes destructive events that come to function as indexes of and points of rupture in historical time. Beyond merely destructive *disasters*, catastrophes often come to function like critical genealogies of the present, revealing the weaknesses of the contemporary historical order and opening up conceptual space for counter-hegemonic alternatives to be imagined and enacted. The conceptual history of catastrophe traces the term back to Aristotle, for whom catastrophe indicated a *narrative* turning point in a drama, a denouement or moment of revelation. Departing from this basis in narrative, catastrophes are always products of political, social, and historical contestation, explaining why some events such as 9/11 retain enduring iconic and evental status while others of much greater human cost are long ignored or forgotten. Modern history and thought abound with catastrophes after which certain realms of social experience or even life itself can no longer go on after before: poetry and metaphysics after Auschwitz (Adorno), sovereignty after 9/11 (Žižek and Butler), nuclear threats after Chernobyl and Fukushima. Returning to the Lisbon earthquake of 1755, which some have figured as the inaugural catastrophe of modern thought and a major catalyst of the Enlightenment (Susan Neiman), I aim to explore the extent to which pivotal catastrophes remain rooted to where they took place. What is the significance of catastrophes remembered by a place name, as opposed to association with a date or historical figure? Addressing this question requires us to critically analyze the *politics of catastrophe*, how certain events become designated catastrophes by both the political left and right in order to elicit a certain response: to justify a state of alarm, a response to the present “crisis,” or declare a “state of emergency” (Benjamin, Agamben). If catastrophes lay bare fault lines in the social-political order, to what extent is the revealed “truth” associated with events like Hiroshima or the 2015 Paris attacks bound to

where they took place? How does this necessarily political designation of a place as a catastrophic site both open up and close down alternative narratives about that place, and thus enable or preclude certain political possibilities? By what authority do some catastrophes become “owned” by various actors through memorialization? The diverse afterlives of catastrophes in collective memory far beyond where they took place attests to the multidirectional nature of catastrophe in our time and the importance of historical narrative in constituting what counts as a catastrophe in the first place.

Discourses of disciplinarity and the refunctioning of school history textbook in England, 2010-2017

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**Abstract:**

Since 2010, a series of educational reforms have unfolded in England aiming, according to their advocates, to restore rigour to education and to drive-up educational standards. In school history, these reforms were presented by their advocates as presaging a return to robust academic subject discipline and narrative history, and as prioritizing “knowledge and scholarship over... generic skills” (Gibb, 2012)

The voices of academic historians were frequently heard in these debates. Prominent ‘celebrity historians’ were invited to contribute to the process of reforming school history (e.g. Schama, 2010). Leading academic historians intervened in the process: some to critique the government’s history curriculum proposals in content terms, in terms of the understandings of the discipline and in terms of the policy narrative that the reforms expressed (e.g. Evangs, 2011); and others to defend the emphasis on factual knowledge and national narrative that the reforms advocated (**Buchanan and Hurst, 2013**). The reforms were implemented from 2014 and resulted in significant curriculum revision and in the publication of new textbooks that aim to support this new ‘knowledge turn’.

This paper will contextualise these developments in the wider history of the evolution of the English National Curriculum in the period 1991-2013, in debates about ‘powerful knowledge’ (Young, 2007) and knowledge ‘recontextualization’ (Bernstein, 2000) in the philosophy of education and in the context of models of history as an academic discipline developed in universities (QAA, 2014). The understandings of discipline and disciplinarity that these reforms embody will then be explored through a critical in-depth analysis, using qualitative and quantitative content analysis, of a prominent series of textbooks published to deliver the new ‘knowledge-rich’ curriculum (Peal, 2017). The paper will explore the questions:

- a) What model of the academic discipline of history is expressed through these textbooks?
- b) What relationship between school history and academic history do the books construct?



**A context of requirement: space, time and the etiquette of letter-writing, a case study of the Council for Aboriginal Rights (Australia) 1951-1961.**

**Jennifer Clark Adelaide University**

CAR was the first nationally-focused organisation intent on improving the civil liberties of Aborigines in Australia during the 1950s and 60s. Its significance rests in its political advocacy rather than its interest in welfare, and how it envisioned a national approach as the most effective way to initiate genuine change. Shirley Andrews was its Honorary Secretary for roughly the first 10 years of its existence and largely shaped its direction through her tireless commitment to its records.

This paper uses a series of over 2300 letters sent between Shirley Andrews and an array of correspondents to explore the nature and impact of etiquette in managing and manipulating the space and time of letter writing. The paper explores the correspondence not so much for its content, although that certainly forms part of the picture, but also for how it was shaped by conventions and expectations around managing time, that is, the time it took to write, receive and act on the content of letters, and space, that is, the shaping of the letter to address the geographic distances it travelled when posted. I want to argue that letters, and specifically in this case the letters of political activism, were not randomly constructed, but rather space and time were significant historical agents in their formation. They shaped what could be said, when and how. They were partly also responsible for what could not be said. What did that mean and how significant is that in how we construct history? The idea of 'waiting' as an act of negotiating time is also explored.

This paper discusses letter writing from the point of view of agency, social convention and the interaction of space and time. I want to argue that Shirley Andrew's letters, and those of the people who wrote to her, were all situated within a context of requirement around space and time. What happened when these requirements were challenged or breached? What was the impact of compliance? If we take into account the requirements

of letter writing as both a means to negotiate time and space using a specific etiquette, what new history can we tell?

The paper seeks to acknowledge the mechanics of letter writing so as to include the negotiation of space and time as agents of change and stasis and, in turn, shed new light on the Council for Aboriginal Rights and political activism in Australia in the 1950s more broadly.

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**“Analytical philosophy of history at the time of the Anthropocene: does the advent of the Anthropocene spell the end of the distinction between the natural and the historical past?”**

Abstract: Analytical philosophy of history has traditionally been concerned with questions concerning the nature of historical method and the extent to which history enjoys some form of disciplinary autonomy from the natural sciences. Central to the claim for the methodological autonomy of history was a distinction between the natural and the historical past, and the view that while both science and history study the past, they study it in different ways because historians do not retrodict the actions of historical agents in the ways in which an astronomer retrodicts a solar eclipse: history is concerned with the norms which govern the conduct of agents, norms which might differ from time to time, rather than with natural laws which, by contrast, are assumed to be invariant. Traditionally the claim that history has a distinctive *explanandum* that is irreducible to that of natural science was rejected by advocates of methodological unity in the sciences such as Hempel, who claimed that all explanation appeals to laws and is at bottom nomological in nature. However, more recently, the distinction between the historical and the natural past has come under attack from a rather different angle. The advent of the Anthropocene, a geological period in which human kind has become a significant geological force capable of initiating irreversible environmental changes, has prompted claims that narratives of historical development should go well beyond the relatively recent human past and view human kind in the context of a deeper, longer-term, geological history. It is also claimed that the advent of the Anthropocene spells the end of the distinction between the historical and the natural past that was invoked to defend the disciplinary autonomy of history. Advocates of deeper historical narratives on a geological time scale claim that the distinction between the historical and the natural past is based on questionable anthropocentric assumptions, on a form of human exceptionalism which takes the human being out of the realm of nature.

This paper defends the distinction between the historical and the natural past by

challenging the claim that the historical past is indistinguishable from the human past. It argues that the historical past is not the human past, but the past studied by the methods of history. While the expression “human past” is often used as a shorthand to refer to the historical past, they are not the same: the defence of the disciplinary autonomy of history against Hempel’s claim for methodological unity in the sciences was based *not* on the claim that history studies the past deeds of human beings, *but* on the claim that historical inferences are different from the nomological inferences one finds in the inductive sciences and thus that history and science have distinctive explicanda. The distinction between these kinds of inferences is not made obsolete by the advent of the Anthropocene.

## The Moral Stakes of Historical Fiction

In the early years of the People's Republic of China, when historiography and the arts were being reformulated conceptually and institutionally, a controversy arose over the nature and proper role of historical fiction. It was claimed that the "artistic truths" of socialist historical fiction could serve as supplements to traditional historical fact, filling in the unwritten histories of nameless and forgotten members of the working class or putting a positive spin on their defeats and failures. But it was also acknowledged that the relationship between historiography and historical fiction could turn antagonistic, as when historical fiction inadvertently humanized a class enemy or made a misstep in historical territory that did not yet have an authorized interpretation. This paper attempts to account for and generalize beyond its limited historical and ideological context a particularly important aspect of these debates surrounding historical fiction: namely the ease with which epistemological issues gave way to moral issues, and the extent to which the debate about historical fiction converged with the concurrent debate about the fate of traditional moral values in post-revolutionary China. It was a convergence of some consequence as both debates would culminate in the text said to have initiated the Cultural Revolution, a harsh critique of a history play set in the Ming Dynasty. Drawing primarily on the essays in Hayden White's *The Practical Past* arguing for the importance of historical writing of practical (moral) use in the present and the moral philosophy outlined in Judith Butler's *Giving an Account of Oneself*, which grounds moral engagement with the other in the acknowledgement of our own inability to fully understand ourselves (or our own histories), I aim to demonstrate that historical fiction connects the present and the past in ways that make it uniquely conducive to moral insight, moral manipulation, and/or moral disruption.

Lennet Daigle

UC Santa Cruz

Gueneau de Mussy, Luis Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez

*Objet trouvé*. Historiography and *ready made*.

While it is true that the traditional self-sufficient paradigm of history, established at the beginning of the nineteenth century and perfected successfully for almost two hundred years, failed to overcome the crises of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first, it is also true and urgent to examine how the closure of Modernity increases the need for an honest critical exercise that evaluates the possibilities of continuing to write the past as history. Especially when this interrogation allows us to articulate –here the exercise begins to be unveiled– important debates about significant and diverse concepts such as history, writing, sovereignty, experience and eroticism. In this context, the possible implications of deliberately considering some recognized historiographical works as artifacts of writing that generate effects very similar to those produced by what the surrealist avant-garde called *Objet trouvé* will be discussed. It can also be noted that the effect produced by these literary artifacts is to open the question of what is history/historiography. In other words, the effect of these historiographical texts, its ready-made character, is to transform the understanding that the discipline has of historical representation and of itself. To develop this discussion –here the exercise continues– we worked with the following concepts: "sovereignty" and "inner experience" (G. Bataille); "Speech", "author" and "writing" (R. Barthes); "Differànce" (J. Derrida); "Middle voice" (E. Benveniste, H. White); "Marco" (F. Ankersmit) and erotohistoriography (E. Freeman)

Some of the questions I will attempt to answer are: What value and importance are we willing to confer to chance, intuition, ingenuity and pleasure within the "historiographical operation"? How prepared is the historical institution to assume all the theoretical, internal, political and daily sieges of the century of catastrophe (20th)? Are we in an epoch/time/space in which it can be assumed that it is imagination that would allow us to reach the real? What physical and sensual effects can the writing and reading of the past have in historiographic categories? Science and accuracy or boldness and automatism; method versus dreams and desires; chance or reason, what will our options be? Can one

compare the certainty of the self-sufficient paradigm of the writing of history, or the current reconstructive emphasis of post-narrativism, with the transformative effect of interacting with a ready-made or found object?

The exercise closes considering that writing –whatever its form– must be understood as a practice and, at the same time, as a didactics of everyday action.

Lars Deile

History and the third generation. Exploring a group and its special need for history

My startingpoint is a similar empiric evidence in three very different circumstances.

A recent dissertation (Lale Yilderim, FU Berlin), which surveyed the historical consciousness of schoolchildren in Cologne with a Turkish background found out that especially those of the third generation with a migrati- on-background (Migrationshintergrund) has a certain need to define an identity for themselves. And they use history very much to do so. Born in Germany but often faced with racial discrimination, cut off from traditi- ons in the countries where their grandparents had emigrated from, they live the life of pariahs, they experi- ence themselves as outsiders. And they try to stable this insecurity by the use of history especially. More than their parents and grandparents do.

The same urgency can be found among the so called ‚Dritte Generation Ost‘ (Third Generation East), an even institutionalised group of people with an origin in the GDR, who experienced the Fall of the Wall and the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe as children (<http://netzwerk.dritte-generation-ost.de>). Grown up and settled, they ask for their roots in the same but still another Germany. And they define themselves by this special experience. They also do so with a special need for history.

A third group has already been very well in focus of research: the third generation after the Shoah. This rese- arch has stressed the special situation of both grandchildren whose grandparents were either victims or of- fenders in Nazi-Germany.

These groups seem to have a similar and very special need for history, which I would like to analyse, to summarise and to take as a startingpoint to better specify the character of history in general. Studying these groups and their demands we might understand better, why people need history at all and also how these needs can be met in circumstances of historical learning in school.



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The future will to some degree always be uncertain. The view we have of this future, the present-future or our horizon of expectations, on the other hand is as much part of our everyday lives as our past. It forms the subject of movies, tv-series, scientific research, newspaper articles, (comic-)books, etc. It is this present-future that guides us today in our actions as it is the only future that is present today. But is there a common theme that links all these different visions on the future together? If we look at the wide spectrum of narratives about this future there seems to be one common denominator. All of them in one way or another hint at the end of human existence as we know it. This can be depicted as the end of life in general or the end of life on earth (for example by ecological or cosmological disasters or by a violent encounter with a different lifeform) but can also be narrated as the 'invention' of a step in our evolution (by human enhancement, or by artificial intelligence). This will lead to what we call an existential time, where existential not just refers to the '*angst*' for one's own demise, but the fear of the end of our way of being as human beings (our Dasein).

This existential time is beginning to have its influence on many different domains. We see changes in politics, institutions, science, .... but it seems to have no impact on the way we deal with our past. This paper argues that the changing horizon of expectations and the introduction of an existential time has a profound impact on the way we engage with the past. We will investigate the different justifications for why we engage with the past. Why do we remember, commemorate and write historiography and do these justifications hold up when we take into account the present-future as depicted above. What could or should be the role of the past if we take the present-future at face value. Do we write history to remember the dead? To change the future? Does this present-future change our ethical or moral responsibility towards our past/present and future?

## Collective Identity and Public History. On the way to a new "homeland history"

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### Abstract

Between the majestic towering academic peaks of visual history, the spatial turn or public history lies the vast, flat land of the everyday self-assignment of the "simple people" in space and time. The magic word is again "Identity". All of Europe is full of it. If all the debates and large-scale projects in the humanities of the past 30 years are to make sense, then they must prove themselves in social practice. What is their public offer at a time when hardly anything is as it once was?

I will take an exemplary look at the Saxonian province in Germany, which has recently caused so much political concern (AfD). Theory becomes historical practice and observes itself.

My argumentation as a conclusion is aimed at this insight: Historical education in all possible forms, institutional framings, formal or informal, only proves its worth if it is not intended to remain an academic enterprise, as the Public Historians centrally intend it to do, outside of protected spaces, even in the public domain. However, this public space is not only and not dominantly located in the staked-off area of felt slippers, as it used to be in the Goethehaus in Weimar, but literally everywhere, also on side paths or even wooden paths. Not only in museums, memorials, sacred halls, but also in the knowledge of the comprehensive history of our world, the bread we eat, the beach where we bathe, the people we greet. In all this, practical public history education is evident and we actors must broaden our horizons in several ways.

The central theoretical points of reference are Maurice Halbwachs, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel and Jörn Rüsen. Goethe's theory of *aperçu* plays a special and central role at the end of my argument.

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### **“Naturalist and Empiricist Theory of History: Diamond, Neurath and von Mises”**

Abstract: This paper compares Jared Diamond’s theory of historiography to the naturalist and empiricist view on historiography held by Otto Neurath and Richard von Mises. I claim that von Mises’ and Neurath’s empiricist position cannot support some of the stronger counterfactual claims that Diamond has defended through his comparative approach. Against Diamond’s own rhetoric, I claim that a natural scientific viewpoint on historiography does not warrant Diamond’s strong claims.

Von Mises and Neurath belonged to the logical empiricist philosophy influential in the 1930s and 1940s, and so argued for a unity of science and an empiricist conception of scientific inquiry, including historiography. While Carl Hempel’s covering law model of historical explanation is the most well-known contribution to theory of history from this movement, Neurath’s and von Mises’s writings on historiography are equally interesting. I distinguish three elements of interest from Neurath’s *Empirische Soziologie* and von Mises’s *Kleines Lehrbuch des Positivismus*. First, both argue that there is no epistemological distinction between the natural sciences and historiography, since historical events can be and are subjected to the same research practices as any other natural phenomenon. Second, they compare historiography to other scientific practices that lack experimental operations, such as astronomy and geology. Third, they argue that, given the lack of experimental practices in historiography, the scope of predictions in the social realm is extremely limited. Since historians cannot control the complete set of conditions that determine historical events through experimentation, they will never attain any predictive capacity that is comparable to some parts of physics. The social, political, demographical and environmental conditions for historical events operate on each other in a complex loop. If one of the conditions is changed, it is impossible to predict the effect on the whole. Unlike Hempel’s famous model, both concluded that an empiricist approach to history will always have a scope limited to a specific society or subset of people at a specific point in time.

Similar to von Mises and Neurath, Diamond has repeatedly emphasized the need for continuity between the natural sciences and historiography. He also uses examples of 'natural experiments' from geology and astronomy to argue that the lack of an experimental practice in historiography offers no problems to apply a scientific method to history. However, Diamond never discusses the limitations of 'natural experiments' in the social realm. Unlike Neurath and von Mises, Diamond seems unaware of the impossibility to isolate through 'natural experiments' all relevant conditions for the production of regular human behaviour. As an example, I use Diamond's discussion of China's isolation in *Guns, Germs and Steel*. Diamond can offer no empirical evidence for the counterfactual claim that China, given different political conditions, would have expanded. Since a change in the political conditions can also shift the demographical and environmental conditions in unforeseen ways, there is no empirical way to defend such a counterfactual. This unpredictability applies in principle to most of the counterfactual claims that Diamond makes in his work.

*Becoming Good Forefathers: The Anticipatory History of UNESCO World Heritage*

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The UNESCO World Heritage List is one of the best-known instruments in the preservation of historical and natural sites all over the world. It was established by the World Heritage Convention (1972), which was based on a wish to protect sites from otherwise impending disappearance. This urge to preserve sites that we ‘inherited’ from the past seems simple enough, and the popularity and easy adaptation of the world heritage concept certainly suggests that it is consistent with or a reaction to other cultural ideas about our past, present and future. My research aims to examine some of these ideas that underpin the world heritage concept. In this paper, I will explore an argumentation about the value of world heritage through the lens of its fundamentally threatened status. First, I will give a short overview of the history of world heritage, which I will begin in the interwar period in Geneva and Paris. In doing so, I will trace the development of the idea of international cooperation in the protection of a selection of sites and objects against changing concepts of danger. Secondly, I will consider the concept of ‘outstanding universal value’ that was created by the world heritage convention to analyse its understanding of ‘universal’, which appears to be both spatial or geographical and temporal. Thirdly, taking into account this ‘temporal universalism’, I will further analyse how UNESCO constructs a specific temporality in which the past is stewarded in the present for the benefit of the future. To do so, I borrow concepts and theories from speculative memory and anticipatory history, who both centralize the future as a starting point to think about our past and present.<sup>1</sup> In using these concepts, I hope to analyse the world heritage discourse both in terms of our responsibility to future generations (how we want to leave these places for future generations) and a threatening future (what we expect might happen to them if we don’t act in certain ways now). Fourthly, I will examine the UNESCO-concept of ‘loss’ in this temporal structure. What

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<sup>1</sup> Stef Craps, ‘Climate Change and the Art of Anticipatory Memory’, *Parallax* 23, no. 4 (2 October 2017): 479–92; Caitlin DeSilvey, ‘Making Sense of Transience: An Anticipatory History’, *Cultural Geographies* 19, no. 1 (2012): 31–54; Caitlin DeSilvey, Simon Naylor, and Colin Sackett, eds., *Anticipatory History* (Axminster: Uniformbooks, 2011); Mark Currie, *About Time: Narrative Fiction and the Philosophy of Time* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

exactly is lost to ‘the future’ and ‘mankind’ when a single heritage site is destroyed? I will explore the concept of ‘endangerment’ to distinguish between individual threats and destructions and ‘endangerment’ as a status.<sup>2</sup> I will then draw on ideas about extinction, biodiversity and biocultural diversity to examine catastrophic thinking as an important influence for the urgency of the loss of cultural manifestations.

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<sup>2</sup> Fernando Vidal and Nélia Dias, ‘The Endangerment Sensibility’, in *Endangerment, Biodiversity and Culture*, ed. Fernando Vidal and Nélia Dias (Routledge, 2015).

Ewa Domanska

## Historical Theory and the Forensic Turn

I argue that the forensic turn in the contemporary humanities has contributed to the shift towards a more ontological and empirical approach to the pasts and realities it seeks to study. The forensic turn in historical theory manifests itself in the shift from the testimonial paradigm to the paradigm of material evidence, i.e., privileging the state's necropolitical practices concerning the remains and artifacts over testimonies gathered from living human witnesses. In considering the forensic turn, I emphasize the forensic truth--an attempt to dominate the understanding of truth by a particular "research program" called, broadly speaking, forensics. The lexicon of forensics, however, offers a prescriptive rather than neutral set of descriptive concepts. It thus constructs a distorted vision of science as fully reliable and objective as well as of dystopian image of the reality ruled by the force of law. Thus, it is worth asking whether the forensic turn in historical theory signalizes a (re-)turn to a scientific history or a need for a forensic history?

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## **Border crossings, refugees and and the “war on terror”: Michael Winterbottom’s “state of exception” films.**

Mark Donnelly

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This paper examines Michael Winterbottom’s use of film to intervene in public discussion of contemporary historico-political issues. Winterbottom’s work consistently returns to themes around war, displacement, refugees, border crossings and the power of media organisations to shape public discourse about these subjects. His thematic preoccupations are particularly visible in three films that deal with the consequences of the US-led coalition attacks on Afghanistan and Iraq from 2001 onwards: *In This World* (2002), *The Road to Guantánamo* (2006) and *A Mighty Heart* (2007). None of these films narrate the high politics, military strategy or grand ideological rhetoric that constituted what came to be called the “war on terror”. Instead they work more like contemporary micro histories, detailing the ‘banal, crushing experience’ of living in what Agamben terms a ‘state of exception’, where laws are suspended under the guise of security measures to combat global terrorism. As Bruce Bennett argues, these films ‘make visible bodies and audible voices that have been absent from, obliterated by, or indeed terrorised and abjected by, dominant accounts’ of the recent US-led coalition attacks on Afghanistan and Iraq.

Unlike academic historians, filmmakers such as Winterbottom are not subject to protocols which insist that they should wait until an event has been safely “pastified” before narrating it from an appropriately “historical” perspective. Moreover, whereas most historians ignore Hayden White’s advice that the goal of historical representation should be to ‘create perplexity in the face of the real’, filmmakers commonly challenge and disrupt the conventional strategies of their own mode of representation in order to achieve political or ideological effect. As this reading of his work will elaborate, Winterbottom’s films continually point towards their own uncertain textual status.

Although Winterbottom’s subsequent film, *The Shock Doctrine* (2009), can be read as a counter-genealogy of modern capitalism into which the other films fit, none of



*In This World, The Road to Guantánamo* or *A Mighty Heart* complies with the generic conventions of “the-past-as-history”. But as writers like Todd May, Saul Newman, Andrew Koch and Mark Bevir have argued, it would be inconsistent (even self-refuting) for anyone engaged in non-hierarchical and anti-representationalist political projects to insist that one semantic system was *the* correct discourse for invoking the past; particularly semantic systems which seek to produce the kind of interpretive closures that emancipatory political work aims to disturb and disrupt. Activists of many types have found inventive ways to use the past in the present in support of specific causes. This paper will argue that Michael Winterbottom’s ‘state of exception’ film trilogy exemplifies a form of past-talk that disrupts dominant ways of naming and narrating the human costs and territorial effects of what global media organizations refer to as the “war on terror”.

**Pedro Afonso Cristóvão dos Santos and Thiago Lima Nicodemo**

*The problem of "eurocentrism" and the challenge of a Global Conceptual History of Latin American historical thinking*

This paper approaches the question posited especially by the history of historiography that takes into account peripheral traditions: how to consider non-Western representations of the past (as those of indigenous cultures of the Americas, Africa or Asia) in the light of a history of historiography, without establishing a hierarchy of knowledge that attributes to the European conception of history an "epistemic privilege", in the words of the Indian historian Sanjay Seth. By examining studies of historiography in different contexts, especially those elaborated on the basis of subaltern studies and postcolonial studies, it evaluates the problem of using an European conception of history and historiography as a basis for a global reflection. From Dipesh Chakrabarty's proposition to "provincialize" Europe, to interdisciplinary approaches such as the ethnographies of historicity (combining Anthropology, Theory of History and Memory Studies, among others), we aim to examine how assimilation of historical concepts may offer forms of dealing with the past that don't build on shared (and originally European) notions of time, history and historical representation. More specifically, our intention here is to think this problem from the eyes of the history of historiography, considering its recent attempts at "global" histories of historical thought and account.

Our starting point will be the assimilation, on Latin America, since the Nineteenth Century, of indigenous and popular accounts of historical origins, and how historians in the continent debate whether to accept these accounts as "factual", or simply as indices of the ("backwards", in their view) mentality of the people. The outlined history of historiography that emerged from this process of inclusion and exclusion is what today is in question, and we proposed that an historical examination of the Latin American case can be of use in this discussion (nevertheless keeping in mind that an "historicist" approach such as the one advanced here in itself guards specific conceptions of history and its representation).

Abstract for INTH conference: **“Place and Displacement: The Spacing of History”**

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9-1-2018

*In search of new narratives: Veteran return trips to former Yugoslavia.*

It is not uncommon for war veterans to return to places they have served at during their time in the army in order to process their experiences (eg. Fallon and Robinson 2016, Captain 2009). The last years, more and more Dutch veterans undertake return trips to former Yugoslavia, where the Dutch army has been present since the civil war in the early nineties. This mission included the failed attempt to protect the ‘safe-haven’ Srebrenica, resulting in murder of more than 8300 Muslim boys and men in July 1995. For obvious reasons, this genocide dominates the collective memory about the military mission to former Yugoslavia in the Netherlands, and has had a great impact on the veterans’ experiences after coming home from the mission. Consequently, many veterans relate their time in former Yugoslavia to feelings of shame, aversion, distrust, and powerlessness – even in cases when their personal memories are actually quite positive.

Research has indicated that assigning positive meaning to war experiences is key in a healthy processing of those war experiences (eg. Schok 2010). However, until now, the return trips undertaken by war veterans have neither been included in this research, nor been theorized as being part of processing war experiences. In this paper, I present the results of my study about Dutch veterans who returned to former Yugoslavia. With the help of a series of in-depth interviews with seventeen Dutch veterans, I investigate the motives to return to former Yugoslavia, as well as the reported effects of the return trips on the lives of veterans. I argue that by returning to the familiar places of their mission, veterans seek to complement the post-mission narrative with new stories and memories. The possibility of physically encountering those places herein places an important role, and seems to provide the veterans with a forceful counter narrative to the collective narrative existing in the Netherlands. By visiting tangible places of the past, deviant stories and positive memories can be established. Moreover, I claim that returning allows

for gaining deeper understanding of the conflict and the current tensions in the region, including the severe memory politics that take place. In doing so, I will theorize the way in which an encounter with personal places of a contested past is seen as means to create and enhance place-bound understanding.

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***Abstract:***

### **Henry Fielding’s “true history”: challenging history before Walter Scott**

This paper has the following ambition: to dispute the “familiar wisdom that history was little challenged by the novel before Walter Scott” (O’Brien, *Narratives of Enlightenment*). As a way of doing so, it discusses the theory of the novel articulated by the Eighteenth-century writer Henry Fielding. Instead of presenting works such as *Joseph Andrews* (1742) or *Tom Jones* (1749) as “novels” or “romances”, Fielding argues that they should be understood as “true history”. Claims such as these were not uncommon in the eighteenth-century. In fact, a notable feature of mid-eighteenth-century English novels is the regularity with which the word “history” is used as self-description, and not only in the titles. Prefaces abound with claims that what is being presented to the reader is a “true” or “authentic” history, based on “truth and nature”, a “faithful history of facts”, “without any trace of fiction”. Of course, these claims should be taken with a grain of salt. They were mostly a rhetorical device used by the rising Early Modern novel to gain discursive authority by mimicking an established and venerable genre. Nonetheless there was – I would like to argue – more to it than just that. What was distinctive about Henry Fielding is that he not only claimed to offer true histories but also produced a set of

theoretical arguments in defence of the historicity of the peculiar narrative form practiced by him and of its ethico-epistemic superiority to conventional history. The novel such as Fielding understands it is a form of “history” because it is based on “observation” and “experience” (i.e., on the intelligibility of life in general) and, according to classical *topoi*, aims at offering morally useful and pragmatic lessons. But it is also “*more worthy of the name of a history*” than conventional histories because it shapes experience not as particular characters in mere chronological succession but as universal types ordered in a coherent plot structure, which makes it a superior ethico-cognitive instrument. It is *res ficta* but it corresponds to the workings of universal human nature. To explore these eighteenth-century arguments – arguments that challenge current disciplinary and generic boundaries – might be an interesting way, alternative to a disciplinary and teleological approach, to access questions pertinent both to the history of historiography and the history of the Early Modern novel, questions regarding rhetoric, the limits of representation (of the true and the probable) and the ethical and epistemic parameters of historical and novelistic narratives.

## ABSTRACT

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### Before the Fascist Fantasy and the Catastrophes of the Past

What are the remains of the past – those things that do not succeed in becoming historical? They are not knowable to us, and they cannot be found or re-discovered. So the lost and failed are that which we do not know and cannot find. Hence, they are not the stories of the unknown lives some believe powerful enough to break the regimes of the present. Neither are they the unwritten histories of marginalised groups. Their histories will adjust the past in relation to the present so that our times look particularly sympathetic to their existence: they are allowed to have a history, the most precious and important part of any civil rights struggle. Each such story will only cement our positions further. Not much else will be accomplished but another museum exhibition and a new research area that has to be financed. And we all wait for the next history to save from the past and tell to the present with a tone of righteousness and indignation: “how could you not have known this before?!”

Hypothetically, what will we do when all histories have been told? All lives been saved from the past? Is an eternity of histories the only way to break the power regime of today? Or does this collecting of histories require a final fantasy, a utopian future, where all our hopes dwell? This are dangerous fantasies, related to the fascist fantasy of organic wholeness, complete recognition and, of course, revenge.

This paper focuses on the lack of desire in the work of historians, and builds on the works of Sande Cohen, Joan Copjec, Ewa Ziarek, and Slavoj Žižek, to answer the question how we avoid a perpetuation of the Fascist fantasy, being default to the human psyche, by identifying the part history, and historians, have in this perpetuation and its potential overcoming.

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### **The Reality We Must Face**

In this presentation I would like to dwell on an idea that Cora Diamond has called the “difficulty of reality” (p. 2). I will relate this idea to how we respond to descriptions about the past. Diamond's idea concerns our incapacity to see, understand, or describe, the reality of what we face. One could say that our experience is such that it, as it were, is “resistant to our thinking” (p. 2). It may be put as a difficulty in our moral life with others.

In different ways, I argue, we are incapable of facing that certain things have actually happened to people in their lives, in the sense that we do not respond to descriptions of people's experience (e.g. news, life-stories, narratives, documentaries) in a morally proper way. We describe, for example, news as “tragic” and turn page in the newspaper, as if it was aesthetics. A life-story, a documentary, or a history-book may be put as “interesting”, as if it was a matter of intellectual exercise or curiosity. A documentary can be put as “ideological rhetoric” says an ideology-critical scholar, as if description of experience was just another political question. Even if we read about real horrific conditions in human life, even if people may tell us their stories to our face, we might sometimes deflect such tellings anyway. We do not know what to make of the situation, the real situation of human misery or wickedness (Cf. Murdoch [1992], p. 93–95). Morally, psychologically, emotionally, we escape. We are not “there”. In contrast, the same person who deflects news, documentaries, or life-stories, to the extent described, may well cry over the sad fate of the mine-horse of Émile Zola's *Germinal*.

The “difficulty of reality” that I examine in this presentation is exactly our incapacity to regard, for example, descriptions of the past as real in terms of them concerning real



people's lives and experiences. Besides being a moral-psychological failure, then, the deflection I describe partly embarks on the idea that textual reality is confined to aesthetic criteria or affect (the idea that reality in text is a *style* of representation that gives a “reality effect”; Cf. Auerbach, Barthes, White). In other words, the “difficulty of reality”, deflection of reality, our moral failure to see people's realities, is, I contend, also an intellectual failure that our theoretical gaze brings in. Hayden White, for example, describes Primo Levi's book *If This is a Man* as having its value in being an “artistic treatment of a real event” (p. 149) in contrast to other survivor-witnesses who provide “a merely truthful account of an event” (p. 149). However, if I, like White, would understand/describe Levi's book *as* an “artistic treatment” in contrast to accounts of other survivor-witnesses, one might say that I am deflecting, both intellectually and morally, the very reality that Levi and the other witnesses describe in their books. For their accounts, the horrors in their lives that they tell us about, are, of course, not meant to be understood in terms of artfulness, or evaluated as matters of aesthetic taste. (Cf. Weil [1947], p. 70; Murdoch [1992], p. 93) I could not, without hurting the other witnesses, tell them that Levi's experience was more “artistic” than theirs, or even tell them that I think he writes his experiences in a more profound way than they do. If I say so, I would hurt them first of all as I actually *evaluate* their experiences in life. But also as I regard the quintessential thing in their accounts to be *aesthetic* entertainment, style, or wittiness. With this I mean that if our attitude to textual description is confined to aesthetics, we do not, occasionally, respond to Levi's (and the others') accounts with the attitude that such accounts actually concern the real life and experience of real people. This, I contend, is an intellectual and moral failure from our part, we do not take their reality seriously enough. In my presentation I will therefore expand on this intellectual and moral blindness.

Diamond, Cora, "The Difficulty of Reality and The Difficulty of Philosophy," *Partial Answers* 1:2 (2003), pp. 1–26.

Murdoch, Iris, *Metaphysics as a Guide to Morals* (London: Vintage, [1992] 2003). Weil, Simone, *Gravity and Grace*, transl. E. Crawford & M. van den Ruhr (London & New York:

Routledge & Kegan Paul, [1947] 2002).

White, Hayden, "Historical Fiction, Fictional History, and Historical Reality," *Rethinking History* 9:2/3 (2005), pp. 147–157.

Interrelation between politics of history, popular history and scientific history in Latvia

Edgar Engizers

Politics of history in Latvia in brief could be sorted in two branches – construction of national narratives through content of education programs, policy of commemoration (what includes days of remembrance, political statements, erection of monuments and giving street names containing historical narratives) and sponsoring of formation of some specific narratives from state budget like financing of particular projects besides national programs of spreading of public grants through contest frame.

Popular history is a form of historical narratives which is not only a form of expressions of historians, but also an effective form of identity and national building and thus it is influenced also by public demand and state (and also non state actors) policy.

Scientific approach to historical researches in Latvia is very narrow and always have been affected by lack of resources (both – human and financial). There is lack of competition on same topics and slow transition from post-soviet theoretical framework to (post)modern European approach. However, beside inner problems of slow transition towards application of European theoretical framework, which is solving by change of generations in active academic historical community, there is framework directed by political demand, based in outdated and romanticized understanding of past, and financing and editorial desires of medias for easy understandable narratives or strict politicized messages.

Report is dedicated to analyze interaction between governmental activities to “support” or actually to frame historical researches to conduct spreading of certain historical narratives, which are often used in outdated and simplified understanding of history as a science, especially speaking about its theoretical dimension, with media built and/or channeled narratives of popular history and with “real” academic historical researches, results of which often are weakly channeled to non-academic society. Often science of history is a hostage of political and public demand and desires and only low payed and unpopular rebellion of youngster generation of scholars is forcing to development of theoretical and philosophical dimensions of national history building. Latvia as a small country with a narrow historian commune is a battlefield between history and

propaganda, but challenges, which historians are meeting there, can be used to identify place of history in new, post post-soviet era in wider geographical and political sphere.

## **Staffan Ericson: The lecture room, 1962 (dark room, antennas, and synchronized space)**

The focal point of this paper is a spatial plan for integrating media technologies in Swedish schools in 1962. This year usually counts as the origin of the national school system, introducing its first curriculum for the education of “active citizens in the society of tomorrow”. Its section on “aims and guidelines” declares the need for a reevaluation of the notion of *Bildung*, directed “towards the future”, acknowledging the acceleration of social change, and the presence of the mass media.

As a follow-up, the Royal Board of Education published a set of guidelines for the spatial and infrastructural arrangement of Swedish classrooms: *The lecture room: design and equipment with regard to the use of audiovisual aids*. This paper will suggest that these plans go beyond supplying educational tools for some predetermined content: the lecture room may be understood as a “logistical media” (cf. Peters 2015); i.e. an ordering of space, time, and people, which displays the imagined conditions of social learning. More specifically, the example illustrates not only the “synchronizing” of modern, future-oriented time with the practices of learning (as in “progressive” pedagogics), but the spatial and technological practices engaged in this process.

The 1962 instructions got particularly detailed when it came to two measures, necessary for realizing the curricula’s aim and method: each lecture room should, first, be equipped for artificial darkening, and, second, provide real-time access to the ethereal networks of broadcasting. The paper relates the stakes of such measures to three academic works, also published during 1962: Marshall McLuhan’s *The Gutenberg Galaxy* (on the global village, and the shift between print and electronic culture), Raymond Williams’ *Communications* (on society’s base in processes of communication and learning), and Jürgen Habermas’ *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* (on the public sphere, as a realm for exercising citizenship). In brief, the proposed “audiovisual aids” seem directed at extending the human sensorium (beyond restrictions of place, time, and scale), and at synchronizing social experience through de-spatialized networks (connecting the school, the family home, the television public).

Temporal Modernity and the Origins of Historical Periodization in Japan. On the emergence of the period label “Early Modern” (*kinsei*)

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When it comes to the transformation of temporalities in the nineteenth century, historical narratives did for the cultural field what clocks and time zones did on the technological level: they synchronized local ways of relating to time with a globalizing time regime. This paper argues that the study of the narrative tools that were used to write history is just as crucial to further our understanding of temporalities as the study of the material technologies that underwrote the modern time regime.

In the case of Japan, intellectuals and later professional historians actively constructed links between the particularity of national history and a history of Europe that presented itself as universal. Enjoining the *genius loci* with the *Weltgeist* was not a straightforward task, however, as Japanese writers quickly noted that the likes of Hegel or Guizot relegated the history of Asian peoples to a place outside the sphere of progress. They had to find ways to insert and thereby assert themselves according to the rules of this new temporal discourse.

Part of this story is well known: Fukuzawa Yukichi's theory of civilization in the 1870s, the boom of civilizational histories (*bunmeishi*) in the 1880s, the mimetic demotion of Chinese and Korean history in the wake of Japanese imperialism after 1900. This paper focuses on one of its less-studied aspects: the historical tool of periodization – the demarcation of distinct but successive macro-periods – as an agent of synchronization.

It first sketches the background of the introduction of periodization schemes for European history to Japanese historiography before it goes on to explore the specific conjuncture around 1900 when historians wrapped untidy pasts into an all-encompassing trajectory leading up to the present.

Uchida Ginzō was the first to employ periods in the now familiar sense, i.e. as markers of eras integrated across various domains and endowed with unique characteristics. In his

pathbreaking study on the "Early Modern History of Japan" (*Nihon kinseishi*, 1903), he created a new and unique period marker that had not been available before to describe the history of either Japan or other places.

The paper analyzes the concrete narrative means through which Uchida and others set the Japanese experience in relation to world history. It argues that, in carving out an "Early Modern" space for a specifically Japanese experience, the periodization of Japanese history engendered an irresolvable tension that undermined the very synchronicity it was meant to guarantee and that haunts world historical narratives up to the present day.

## Daniel Fairbrother - Narrative sentences versus historical action-sentences

This paper offers an alternative to Arthur Danto's analysis of narrative sentences as the key to understanding history. Narrative sentences offer descriptions in terms of two time-separated events and are 'about' the earlier event. While Danto's sentences relate two actual events, here I argue that this obscures what it is that the retrospective description contained by a narrative sentence actually achieves.

My alternative is to conceive history as being about dynamic situations in the past which are characterised by variable ranges of possibilities for action. Narrative is just one way to convey historical situations in the absence of fully rich contemporaneous data. The reason narratives work is that they roll on a form of information which is already in one sense *proto-narrative*: the "what might happen next" our sense of which constitutes situational knowledge.

Narrative is not the only option. Here I prefer Timothy Williamson's naturalistic account of human knowledge of possibilities in complex situations to describe the relevant fundamental sort of information and our knowledge of it. Basing my account on a reading of the informational content of history, not its form, makes my account specific to human history. Yet, I leave it open that analogous versions are available for other areas (e.g. fiction, the historical sciences).

The main sections of the paper offer a detailed analysis of *historical action-sentences*. Historical action-sentences do two things. They follow Danto's philosophical method in offering the logic of a type of sentence to typify historical knowledge. They are not narrative sentences, however, because they do not relate two actual events. Instead, they relate *actual* action-events to a context of *possible* next actions. The significance of an action in a complex possibility-space is thus treated as the main informational basis of history.

This general theory lets us look back at Danto's narrative sentences and fill-in the gaps. For example, Danto never explains why he thinks narrative sentences are only 'about' the earlier event in any narrative-sentential pair of events. On my account, later



events – actual, but contingent – can shed light on earlier events in so far as they function as limited signals of the context of possibilities in which the earlier event took place.

The paper employs examples drawn from my broader project focussing on accounts of the transition from antiquity to feudalism. It closes by reflecting on the broader consequences of adopting “possibilism” as a fundamental theory in the philosophy of history. The origins of such a theory in the cultural geography of Paul Vidal de la Blache are taken to suggest a connection between the micro-historical concerns pursued at Oulu and the conference’s spatial theme.

## A Clean Place Unsettled. Speculative Philosophy of History and Indigenous Resurgence

### Real Fillion

Depending on which Indigenous language you appeal to, “Canada” as a place can mean “settlement” (Iroquoian) or “clean land” (Montagnais). Historiographically, the former has been privileged, but the various movements of Indigenous resurgence on “Turtle Island” (North America) suggest a reconsideration of the latter. This appeal to a resurgent sense of land as place *against* its colonial settlement challenges our sense of the use (and abuse) of history to describe the “state” of such places as “Canada.” As with my other contributions to INTH conferences, I would like to situate this reconsideration within the broader question of the speculative philosophy of history. Distinct from a substantive philosophy of history which would in some sense try to prescribe the course or the movement of history, a speculative philosophy of history seeks to interrogate how we should grasp history as a whole relating past, present, and future. What kind of speculative philosophy of history can best account for the reality of Indigenous resurgence within the re-constituting dynamics of migrating movement across the globe? Although imbued with a centrifugal emancipatory ethos, the classical speculative philosophies of history are nevertheless problematic in that they remain Euro-centric in conception. From Kant’s cosmopolitanism, to Hegel’s Idea of recognitive freedom, to Marx’s free development of each as the condition for the free development of all, these arguably “settler” philosophies of history can each be seen to justify the marginalization and displacement of indigenous populations. Taking stock of this, and in light of current critiques by Indigenous scholars, I would like to examine the distinct speculative philosophy of history discernable within the work of Gilles Deleuze (and Felix Guattari) with specific reference to how their emphasis on the notions of “becoming” and “event” might help better grasp the temporality of indigenous resurgence and assess its importance for thinking about the relation between place and history.

## A dialectic on display: Civilizational time and the 1851 Great Exhibition

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Paper prepared for Place and Displacement: The Spacing of History

Third INTH Network Conference - 20-22 August 2018, Stockholm

Dr. Stefan Fisher-Høyrem, University of Agder, Norway

Dr. Tom Crook, Oxford Brookes University, UK

### Abstract:

Scholars have long pointed to the emergence during the nineteenth century of what Peter Mandler has most recently called the 'civilizational perspective.' It was this perspective which allowed subjects and their associated cultures—domestic and colonial, subaltern and elite—to be situated on a single temporal-spatial continuum of progress and development, thus allowing for the ascription of historical qualities of relative “advance” and “backwardness,” “progress” and “regress.” This paper argues that the temporal dynamics of this civilizational perspective are best analysed not, as is commonly done, in terms of layers of time of different duration; but rather in terms of a temporal dialectic between two different *kinds* time, or *temporal series*. On the one hand, it was composed of an isochronal, abstract time: or crudely, time as an empty and homogenous continuum of (infinitely divisible) quantitative units that are independent of change. On the other, it was composed of time as process and becoming: or crudely, time as pure qualitative change. This dialectic, we argue, offers a more precise characterisation of the way Victorian civilization organised time and “spaced history”—albeit in ways that were intrinsically unstable. We develop this point further by examining the material organisation of this dialectic at the Great Exhibition of 1851, which in one space and one time (London, 1851) brought together artefacts from different spaces around the world, and from societies situated at different temporal-historical points on the civilizational continuum.

## Abstract

Kristina Fjelkestam: "Desiring the Past"

As to be seen in for instance the historical novel boom with best-selling authors such as Hilary Mantel, popular tv-series such as *Downton Abbey*, and various reenactment activities, the interest in a sensuously perceived past has grown explosively of late. I consider these different expressions as staging *a desire for the past*, and as such it is composed of a strive to compensate for the loss of what no longer exists – or of what might never even have existed. Desire as a driving force is not only sexually impinged, however. Thus I consider three other dimensions as equally or even more important in making up for a sensuously made past. These dimensions are of a *cognitive* and an *emotional* kind respectively, that is, including a strive not only for knowledge but also of an empathical relation to history. The desire for the past can also be of a *political* kind, driven by a strive for achieving social acknowledgement through, for instance, minority groups' demands of inclusion in history.

In my paper I will try to put my theoretical three-partite model of desire in dialogue with the empirical example of some recent Swedish representations of the eighteenth-century. In my preliminary findings I have discerned something I claim to be a politically eroticized picture of the century. In representations of the sexually transgressive libertine and the murderous scheme of the wild-eyed revolutionary, today's desire *for* the past suddenly takes the shape of the desire *of* the past. The sensuously perceived century thus turns into something similar to an erotic fantasy, though also charged with a strive for political recognition. In my initial examination of fictive representations it becomes obvious that the French revolution and the murder of Gustav III of Sweden make up for the sensationalist stuff we crave when desiring the past, and it consists of both sensuous delight and political emancipation.

## **Unfolding economic-historical temporalities: the implicit narrativity in economic statistics**

In the field of economics, models and explanations are often adorned with metaphors. Not seldom these refer to some kind of movement, or temporality. There are cycles, waves and pendulums, all with tacit notions of eternal recurrence. Such descriptions constitute a naturalisation of economic events. With this as our point of departure our paper offers a critique of the role of quantification in economic history. In particular, we are interested in how common economic statistics, used routinely by historians, may carry implicit narratives. For example, the construction of price indexes (like the CPI, the Consumer Price Index) are absolutely central to any measurement of inflation, productivity or growth. Not only to economists and financial journalists, but also by many historians, such numbers are treated as "hard data". However, in reality they result from the aggregation of attempts by statisticians to quantify the differences in quality between the products that has been available on the market at different points in time. For instance, the difference between the most recent iPhone and last year's model must be estimated as a quantitative difference in the level of utility, which is then to be calculated away in order to reach the "pure" difference in price. In the longer run, economic statistics are indeed based on the assumption that it would be possible to quantify, in utilitarian terms, the level of entertainment offered by a gladiator game in ancient Rome to that of a Netflix subscription today. In other words, any reference to inflation - including notions like "real wages" or "real growth" - will in the end rely on highly subjective estimates of utility. At the same time, the quantification of economic values in the present is always based on fictional accounts of what the future will hold. Thus, in both these ways, prevailing conceptions of historical progress will shape economic statistics in ways that do not only have immediate political consequences in the present. Any measure of economic development over time will rely on an implicit metaphysics, yet many historians make use of such measures without critical reflection. In our paper, we will try to unfold some of the consequences of this for historiography, and also ask whether we can imagine

alternative or speculative methods of indexing, that will present different narratives of economic history.

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## A Decolonial Feminist Witnessing of Death Worlds in "Migratory Times"

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The Institute of (Im)possible Subjects is a transnational feminist collective which created a project, "Migratory Times" bridging Asia and the Americas (i.e., Colombia, Denmark, South Korea, Panama, the Philippines, and the US) through South-North and South-South discussions, communities, and collaborations, surrounding migration and displacements. By examining artists' video works produced in "Migratory Times," questions this article answers: how do communities witness and remember death, social death, and resurrections, in narratives, visual culture, and organizing that responds to militarisms and migration? Therefore, this paper grapples with what Achilles Mbembe refers to as "death worlds" – the worlds that comprise of living death and dead living – where death comprises of the literal death and social relations of death. The methodology of this paper centralizes a decolonial feminist witnessing. Through a decolonial feminist witnessing, this paper examines a range of works, enactments, and activities of scholars, activists, and artists, in "Migratory Times": Jain Jin Kaisen's *The Woman, The Orphan, and the Tiger*, Dalida María Benfield's *Hotel / Panamá*, and RESBAK's "The Orphan." Bridged in "Migratory Times," the artists, scholars, and activists of appeal the multiple publics to witness death in militarized contexts where subjects of the present are produced through the events and subjects of the past: building of the Panama Canal, the School of Americas, from Marcos to Duterte, and the US-Korean War to the neoliberal economies of adoption. From witnessing a range of memories articulated through the specificity of geographical locations, where the works cut across time and space, the Americas and Asia, the artists resurrect memories of the comfort woman, the orphan, the sex worker, the migrant laborer, the soldier, the citizen, and the child, as figures who are seemingly distinct, but linked through the death worlds produced by militarisms. And what one finds through these raised figures of militarisms is how they are bounded to

resurrection and multiplicity. Their transnational nature enables the memories of such worlds to travel beyond their localized context and significations. Through witnessing the dead, the zombified, and dying, one finds articulations of new visions and enactments possible.



## *Dough and Bones:*

### **towards a conceptual genealogy of critique with a theologico-political twist**

It seems safe to say that critique and religion nurture a special kind of relationship. Even though we cannot be completely sure of how the latter feels about the former, religion surely must be one of critique's favorite objects. While proclaiming the completion of the criticism of religion in Germany, Karl Marx went even so far as to propose that such criticism is the "prerequisite of all criticism". The apparent end of this relationship thus simultaneously signified its renewal in the form of a historical and a philosophical task. If history, after the vanishing of the other-worldly truth, was to "establish the truth of this world", it was the duty of philosophy to prolong the unmasking of "the holy form of human estrangement" to its unholy forms. Despite being surrounded by a vale of tears, critique's future, unlike that of religion, seemed bright in 1844.

What has become of this peculiar couple, almost two centuries later? As for religion, it is far from having disappeared. On the contrary, Étienne Balibar remarks that we are witnessing not only a simple persistence of the religious phenomenon, but a "growing affirmation of collective identities of the religious sort", as well a "re-theologization of social conflicts". With regards to critique, its situation seems much bleaker. Some authors, like for example Bruno Latour, say that it has simply "run out of steam", while others, such as Edward Said, propose that instead of being secular and promoting secularity, it supports and advances hermetic systems and has even become religious itself.

In order to find a way out of this conundrum, numerous authors have taken up the reconceptualization, the re-secularization and even the re-foundation of critique. Unfortunately, it seems that little ground has thus been gained and that different critical enterprises remain dispersed and at times even heterogeneous, thus perpetuating critique's political ineffectiveness.

What is interesting in this state of affairs is that a considerable amount of these conceptual endeavors seems to be informed and sustained by two historical accounts of critique's birth and consequent existence, namely by the genealogy of Michel Foucault and the conceptual history of Reinhart Koselleck. Even though they undoubtedly shed

important light on its historicity, one is almost forced to ask to what extent the current disorientation of critique's historical self-consciousness is rooted precisely in these influential explanations? Can conceptual history fully grasp the specificity of the properly modern sense of critique without paying attention to its anti-governmental attitude noted by genealogy? Can genealogy successfully pinpoint its origins without recognizing the conceptual character of critique? Can any of them comprehensively portray the historical experience constitutive of critique's conceptualization and interpret its practical aims and effects without viewing them through a theologico-political lens?

In our contribution, we would like to propose that critique's present-day difficulties are in fact largely due to the incompleteness of these two historiographical approaches, yet that it is only by combining and complementing them that she can find her way out this historical impasse.

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## Against “intollerable Antichronismes”: John Selden and the historical research in Early Modern England

Bruno Galeano de Oliveira Gonçalves<sup>3</sup>

Looking at the history of anachronism is not only seeing a widespread and variously expressed cultural phenomenon, contained in a greater process of emergence of something like an historical conscience; it may also be looking for specific meanings and uses that the awareness of anachronism had. Anachronism is thus taken not as an almost univoque cultural or intellectual impression, but as a historical, political and probably controversial idea, which was made possible by concrete actors and practices. This may lead to a better understanding of the place anachronism had in historical knowledge and its political relevance during the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

Although concepts, ideas and notions are not limited to a single word, lexicon has something to reveal. In the English language, during the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, fully appearances of the word ‘anachronism’ can easily be found. The word is listed in *Glossographia* (1656) among other uncommon terms English had at that time and is also presented in *Ductor Historicus* (1698) as part of the technical vocabulary for the study of history. The definitions were: “an Error in Chronology, or an undue connexion of time” or “an Error or Mistake in the Computation of Time”. Both are similar and appear to make a single statement: ‘anachronism’ comes from a specific knowledge: Chronology. What this knowledge was and how the ‘computation of time’ was made are questions that demand further answers. But that is not all lexicon has to show. It also turns out that: 1) there are mentions of ‘anachronism’ prior to the mid 17<sup>th</sup> century – the cleric and theologian John Hales (1584-1656) used the word in 1617; 2) this word contained some writing variance – ‘antichronism’, ‘anachronicism’, ‘anachronitism’; 3) and it was

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<sup>3</sup> I am a PhD student in Social History program at the University of São Paulo (USP). My research aims to understand the conception of anachronism by the uses Chronology and Antiquarianism had in John Selden’s historical writing and to comprehend the political place of historical argument in Early Modern England.

attached to a group of related terms – ‘synchronism’, ‘metachronism’, ‘parachronism’, ‘prochronism’. Those things point to a more complex picture in which anachronism was not an isolated notion or some idea dissolved in general culture or into a major historical conscience. It occupied a specific place in language with co-related terms and this group of words was used not only in Chronology, but also in biblical Exegesis, Poetry, Antiquarianism and History.

One of the first mentions of anachronism was made by the lawyer and antiquary John Selden (1584-1654). In the notes he wrote for *Poly-olbion* (1612), a chorographical poem from Michael Drayton (1563-1631), Selden denounced the “intollerable Antichronismes” among the “incredible reports”, “brandish Impostures” and “palpable Fauxeties” he found in ancient texts. Anachronism, as it was later indicated in *Ductor Historicus*, was part of a methodological operation called synchronism. For Selden, this was “the best Touch-stone in this kind of Triall”. In trial were texts from which Selden sought to obtain some historical truth. One of his correspondents, the cleric and orientalist John Gregory (1607-1646), defined ‘synchronism’ in *De Aeris & Epochis* (1649) as “this connection of things” in which “an error committed herein is called Anachronism” and this error could be qualified as a ‘prochronism’ or a ‘metachronism’. This “connection of things” required financial and social resources: it demanded a circle of friends, access to libraries and archives and also led the scholar to document collection. Selden satisfied all those requirements and, moreover, he took part of a collective scholarly effort to emend ancient texts aiming to produce a history of Britain and its institutions full of political repercussion.

## Georg Gangl: The Scientific Revolution: The Emergence, Development and Justification of a Colligatory Concept

The Scientific Revolution is a pivotal concept in the history of science which has been brought back to the forefront of disciplinary discussion through Floris Cohen's *How Modern Science Came into the World. Four Civilizations, One 17th Century Breakthrough* (Cohen 2010). Cohen's 1000 pages magnum opus has been both heralded as the new standard work on the topic and criticized for what some have perceived as its cognitivist (or rationalist) leanings; while its comparative approach that discusses the Scientific Revolution not just in relation to developments Western Europe ("4 civilizations") has been met with unanimous approval. Phrased in the language of the epistemology of historiography, it would seem that in the debate on the work some epistemic values have been considered more crucial than others by Cohen's critics yet it is not entirely clear which and on what grounds.

While most theories in the philosophy of historiography generally and on epistemic values in particular submit themselves to the demand that they be empirically evaluated, not much actual empirical research focusing on real historiographical disputes has been done so far. Cohen's widely acclaimed and discussed book seems to be a good starting point for such a philosophical and microhistorical evaluation.

Recently, it has been argued persuasively that works of historiography are evaluated practically in the disciplinary debate on both epistemic and discursive levels. This paper takes this insight on and pays therefore special attention to both how Cohen understands the concept of the 'Scientific Revolution' in the discursive field and how it has been understood by preceding accounts. Through this perspective, it should become clearer which different *kinds* of epistemic values Cohen and his critics prioritize and to what extent colligatory concepts depend upon rational factors such as epistemic values or irrational influences of all sorts.

## **Temaca vive! Historical experience in a community in resistance: The case of Temacapulín, Jalisco.**

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Temacapulín, a small town located in Jalisco that, alongside two neighboring communities, has been threatened by the project of the construction of a dam, in the Western region of Mexico. Since twelve years ago, Temacapulín has remained in a constant resistance against state institutions who support the dam project, winning several legal processes and achieving, for the time being, the suspension of the construction.

This town traces its origins as a Spanish foundation in the XVI century in a frontier zone between sedentary and seminomadic peoples. The space in which the first resistance to the Spanish invasion in the XVI century was produced in this frontier zone; it was a resistance that lasted more than 40 years, whose emblematic leader was the ‘caxcán’ Tenamaxtle, and whose memory of combat remains in some of the threatened communities’ inhabitants.

Likewise, Temacapulín presents large centrifugal forces, with a tendency towards migration to the United States and Monterrey city since more than a century ago, which has been enhanced by the construction of the dam. On the other hand, the threat of the dam has strengthened bonds of identity for those who decided to stay and resist from the town, along with those who decided to move and that have developed deep links of solidarity amongst them, as well as between those who had migrated a long time ago, or even those born in other places as second or third generation migrants.

Since September 2017, a history writing workshop has been developed in Temacapulín. In this framework, the workshop is proposed, on one hand, as a way to recover living historical memory of the inhabitants and, on the other, as an instrument of strengthening of transgenerational bonds, thinking of the knowledge of their own history. The

workshop seeks to explore the different levels of historical memory in settlers of different ages and their relation with the constitution of a resistance space. This paper will present the reflections about the production of space and its relation with the historical experience of a town in resistance. In the experience of the living generations of inhabitants of Temacapulín and their struggle against the transterritorial interests around the dam project, is possible to trace the historical production of space in a small community in resistance in the 'Altos' region of western Mexico.

## **Dungeons and Salons: using Bakhtin's chronotope of encounter and *Fighting Fantasy Gamebooks* to examine how locative descriptions shape narratives of the French Revolution**

**Sam Griffiths & Alexander von Lünen**

This paper examines the extent to which Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of the chronotope, defined as the "intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature", is usefully applied to historical research.<sup>4</sup> The aim is to achieve a greater theoretical understanding of the role of architecture and the built environment in shaping historical events. Bakhtin comments that the "chronotope of encounter" extends to the novelistic representation of events governed by chance.<sup>5</sup> Descriptions of roads, buildings and rooms proliferate in this chronotope. For all its concern with specific material forms, however, Bakhtin's literary theory has never been satisfactorily accommodated to historical thought, with its empirically grounded sense of the material dimension of social life.

Yet Bakhtin's account of the chronotope, clearly implies, while equally it elides, a stage of historical understanding *anterior* to textual representation in which chronotopic descriptions engage with the materiality of the past. We propose that in historical research the chronotope implies less the dialogical (i.e. conversational) play of languages in fictional spaces so much as the play of historical spaces in language. These spaces are defined dialogically through the historian's discovery of narrative threads linking discrete, dis-located, events identified in archive sources.

To lend conceptual precision to this proposition it is necessary to veer off-piste methodologically. Noting how Bakhtin presents the castle of the gothic novel as a development of the encounter chronotope orientated towards an "alien" historical past,<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, ed. M. Holquist, trans C. Emerson and M. Holquist (Texas: UTP, 1981), 84.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 243-50.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 245-46.



we deploy network plot analyses of *Fighting Fantasy Gamebooks* from the early 1980s to demonstrate how locations and (game) events combine to shape the narrative and stylistic possibilities of the dungeon as a ludic chronotope, host to a diverse population of friends and foes.<sup>7</sup> Importantly, game-book narratives are non-linear. Players navigate dungeons sequentially by making successive route selections from a choice of numbered paragraphs. Dungeons provide an elementary example of an encounter chronotope in which narrative and stylistic possibilities are enabled but not determined by temporal-spatial figuration.

Finally, the analysis of gamebooks is brought to a chronotopical interpretation of various histories of the French Revolution including by Thomas Carlyle (1843) Simon Schama (1989) and Eric Hazan (2012). Streets, inns and private rooms are shown to be deployed dialogically in these texts to express contrasting material agencies in a manner that is not wholly metaphorical, serving, for example, to *locate* the profane transgression of social boundaries between classes and individuals caught up in unpredictable events. Unexpectedly then, Bakhtin's dialogic imagination leads the historian to reflect on the limits of linguistic-based approaches to the past and towards a greater understanding of what is required of language in giving expression to material reality.

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<sup>7</sup> Steve Jackson and Ian Livingstone, *The Fantasy Fighting Gamebook* series, 59 titles published by Puffin Books, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982 – 1995).

## Breaking with the Past: Emersonian Observations

### Serge Grigoriev

The idea of breaking with one's cultural past can have simultaneously positive and negative connotations. Negative connotations result from the fact that the resolution to leave one's past (or one's history) behind is more often than not a result of some negative pressure – be it personal, cultural, political, economic, etc. Disconnection from the past can produce a lasting intellectual and emotional trauma, and may often be experienced as an unequivocal loss. This sense of loss may be compounded further by the anxiety about the future, about beginning anew in a strange unfamiliar world. However, the orientation towards the future, implied in the notion of breaking with the past, can have redemptive, consoling, and even liberating overtones. Some people look forward to a new beginning. Our past, our history, our traditions can also be suffocating, oppressive as well as comforting or enabling.

Distancing oneself from one's history, from one's past has often been discussed as a pre-condition for autonomy, for self-affirmation in Western philosophy. The transition to modernity itself has been often conceptualized in these terms: leaving behind the traditional orders of social existence, so as to forge one's destiny by exercising one's capacity to make free, responsible, rational choices. The loss of the past is usually acknowledged, here, as the price we need to pay for being able to choose our future. The sense that history can constitute a burden has been perhaps most famously voiced by Nietzsche, who advocated active forgetting (or active subversion) of history as a way to restore to oneself the capacity to act, to avoid being paralyzed by the weight of the historical consciousness. Recent thinkers as different (in certain ways) as Rorty and Habermas have presented a united front against the claims of history and tradition made by Gadamer and especially Heidegger: Habermas, in the name of our rational capacity to determine our destiny instead of remaining hostages to the past; Rorty, in the name of our right to dream up new utopias and new desires. What remains constant throughout is the implication that proper self-actualization requires at some point at least a partial break with the past.

The idea of self-reliance as requiring a kind of self-uprooting, in American philosophical tradition, has been most intriguingly developed by Emerson, who remained

invariably sensitive to the losses and risks involved in this kind of enterprise, and has struggled throughout his writings with the tensions and paradoxes it gives rise to. The aim of this paper is to provide a brief critical reconstruction of Emerson's treatment of the problem of breaking with the past in his *Essays* as well as in his *Philosophy of History* lectures. The exposition will focus on three consecutive questions: a) Why does self-reliance require a break with the past? b) How does one break with the past? Is a wholesale break with the past really possible? c) What does it mean to (eventually) find a place or a past of one's own?

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## **The Provenance of History**

### **Manuscripts and Origins in the Transnational Dudík Case 1851–1853**

While being an important category currently problematized within art history (Feigenbaum & Reist 2012), the meaning of provenance – the chronology of the ownership, custody or location of a historical object – and its related research practises, have more seldom been considered by scholars dealing with the history and philosophy of historiography. Consequently, my paper explores the emergence, meanings, and effects of modern provenance research within the contexts of nineteenth-century European historiography and its collections, by analysing one emblematic case: the transnational mapping of manuscripts – once looted by the Swedish elite during the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) – made by Moravian historian and Benedictine priest Beda Dudík (1815–1890) in Stockholm and Rome during the early 1850s. The results of these two research journeys were accounted for in the publications *Forschungen in Schweden für Mährens Geschichte* (1852) and *Iter Romanum* (1855).

Dudík's scholarship connects the central heart of Europe with both the north and the south, and thereby brings together different geographical, religious, institutional, and scientific contexts, making up a superb case to unravel. By analysing Dudík's work then, I will frame modern provenance research as a historically contingent practice, arguing that it arose as an effect of the nationalisation of knowledge and its collections that took

place in post-Napoleonic Europe, however, I will additionally show how it as a transnational practise came to nurture more than mere national narratives. For the main part of my talk, I will focus on Dudík's classification practices, and how these practices shaped the identity of the sources that he studied, in the setting of the historiographical institutions that he visited. This approach brings two different, but coherent, fields of research together. Firstly, history of historiography and humanities, where scholars increasingly have taken an interest in archive practises and space, and secondly, history of science and ideas where especially early modernists have paid attention to the instabilities or transformations of collectable objects, when being mobile, transnational, and cross-cultural. As I will show, research practices are traceable in the exact wordings of the archive language, firstly in the descriptions and the classifications of sources that Dudík made, together with the metaphors over historical research that he used. I will point out how Dudík firstly identified objects as being of a certain language and/or of a specific geographical/national origin, that sometimes conflicted with earlier, and/or institutional interpretations of the same. By highlighting provenance as the result of a research process, I will underscore its instability and ability to transform our perception of things. To conclude, as the modern historian strived to collect and control history, the transformable category provenance also took part in shaping historical knowledge itself, affecting the historical narratives possible to create, and should therefore be regarded as an essential category within the history and philosophy of historiography.

### **Biography**

Emma Hagström Molin is a visiting postdoctoral researcher at the chair for the history of science at Humboldt University in Berlin, and is associated with the department for history of science and ideas at Uppsala University, Sweden. She earned her PhD in history of ideas, and was a part of the research school for studies in cultural history at Stockholm University during her PhD-candidature. During the spring and summer of 2016, she was a visiting postdoctoral fellow in Department II (Daston) at the Max Planck Institute for the history of science in Berlin, and she was awarded the biannual postdoctoral scholarship of the Fondazione Famiglia Rausing the same year, in order to conduct research in Italy. Hagström Molin's current project focuses on the material

conditions for historical research during the nineteenth century through the lens of Moravian historian and Benedictine priest Beda Dudík's transnational and object-oriented research.

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**Place and displacement in post-war Germany: The influence of the organized displaced youth as mediators, conveyors and conservers of knowledge and memory**

Despite its significant value in shaping European post-war society, the research potential associated with the “German Youth of the East” (DJO) and the displaced youth has only recently become accessible. As one of the defining factors for the generation of German expellees and their descendants, the organization’s history offers unique perspectives on their integration process. Founded in 1951, the DJO developed extensive concepts in regard to integration, education, cultural and political endeavors, as well as international engagement. Reaching out to young sympathizers, the organization provided them with strategies to actively shape their lives in their host society. In doing so, the DJO not only fostered the acquisition of cultural, social, and economic capital among the displaced, but at the same time undertook significant efforts to preserve the heritage of the lost homeland.

Originally developed as a pool for knowledge transfer in connection with the emotional and material hardships of forced migration, the organization’s focus gradually shifted through the late 1960s. The DJO began to witness an enhanced consciousness about sociopolitical developments among its members, as a result of an increasing politicization and polarization of those who had already been socialized in the Federal Republic of Germany. This generational shift was not only exemplified by heterogeneous memories about the lost homeland, but particularly by the character of the debate about the legal entitlement regarding the former eastern territories in the framework of the new eastern policy, the discourse about the Nazi-past, and the reception of the displacement itself.

Since its fundamental reorientation and renaming in 1974, the “DJO – Deutsche Jugend

in Europa” („German Youth in Europe“) has been continuing its commitment in integration and migration work for refugees and the displaced on a pan-European scale. Over the course of its history, the organization’s internal decisions, negotiations, and directives have been vividly reflecting the ties and tensions between the parent generation’s values on the one hand and the search for autonomous identity and societal change among the displaced youth on the other. The research on their integration process promises to shed light on the intersection of social, generational, and memorial history within a generation that eminently influenced the reconstruction and peace process in post-war Europe.



## **Performance as psychotherapeutic history work: Melancholia and ‘the difficult work of remembering’ in Alexander Sokurov’s *Russian Ark***

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Focussing on Alexander Sokurov’s *Russian Ark* (2002) this paper argues for performance as existentialist-brokered psychotherapeutic history work. Shot in one continuous take in St. Petersburg’s Hermitage Museum, Sokurov’s film is organized as an extended therapeutic dialogue between the disembodied voice of the director, and a European traveller, identified as the nineteenth-century writer Astolphe de Custine (1790 - 1857). If Sokurov’s directorial authority stands him in good stead as analyst, Custine is a paradigmatically melancholic analysand, in keeping with Sokurov’s status as ‘probably the most melancholic filmmaker there is’ (de Baecque: 253). Their ninety-minute conversation has the potential - this paper suggests - to release the European analysand and, ultimately, the film’s audience, from melancholia’s grip; from the law ‘of the living [who] in turn repeat, without knowing, the struggles of the dead’ (Płonowska Ziarek: 67).

Paul Ricoeur has history’s violent effects in mind when he nominates ‘the notion of a lost object [which] finds direct application in the “losses” that affect power, territory, and populations that constitute the substance of a state’, as ‘the equivalent of the pathological [i.e. melancholic] situations with which psychoanalysis is concerned’ (Ricoeur: 78). For Russians, Custine’s need perpetually to berate Russia, in *Letters from Russia* (1843), triggers melancholia-inducing perceptions of rejection by the love-object (Europe). According to Sokurov, ‘if you read Custine, it becomes very clear that nothing has changed very much from when the diary of his journey in Russia was published.’ (Sokurov: 244). Europe appears in *Russian Ark* as the lost object with which Russia identifies, in melancholic terms. Custine’s predicament has been understood as the psychic displacement; the misdirected subconscious unburdening, onto the other, of early-life trauma in post-Revolutionary France (Merridale in Custine), a process Elisabeth Roudinesco terms ‘the melancholy of revolution’ (Roudinesco in Etkind, 2013: 199). The corollary of Sokurov’s casting of Europe - in the figure of Custine - as analysand, is to imply that European struggles to live, or get along, with history (in the Freudian sense of accommodating history), might benefit - like those of their Russian counterparts - from the sorts of transnational dialogues with history enabled by *Russian*

*Ark*'s 'talking cure'. These culminate in the 'dancing cure' of the mazurka at the film's apex.

Attention turns to the mazurka as co-disruptor of the violent cycle of history: how its unfolding in real, durational time; and reliance on *tempo rubato* ('stolen time'), for instance, support 'the difficult work of remembering against the compulsion to repeat' necessary for counteracting 'the disaster of melancholia' (Ricoeur: 71). The mazurka's psychotherapeutic possibilities are complemented by existentialist ones, this paper suggests. Bringing the European into a more fully realised encounter with the Russian other, the mazurka's existentialism generates the agency needed to break decisively with a certain kind of (otherwise apparently inevitable) historical destiny. As existentialism bases realization of the self in the recognition of, and by, the other (as, for instance, in the 'I-You' relationship) and psychoanalysis prioritises managing what it construes as the melancholic self's over-investment in identification with the other, the two positions might seem contradictory. Yet Sokurov's melancholia is tempered by his conviction that the Heideggerian woodcutter is central to Russian identity (Pezzella: 13). And Paul Roth has drawn on Roy Schafer to write persuasively of existentialist accommodations with psychoanalysis as the practice of history (Roth).

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## **Dissolving into history? Historicizing Modern Nation Building**

**Mark Hearn**

### **Abstract**

Martin L. Davies argues that history ‘...dominates the public mind; its hold over the social imagination is total.’ In *Historics* and a number of subsequent books and scholarly articles Davies has described how individuals and communities are ‘imprisoned by history’, an oppressive domination of the past that replicates the ‘same old same old’ in an already historicized world; an oppression reinforced by the works of historians. Following Nietzsche, Davies argues that ‘[t]he historicizing mentality would absorb everything...The fabric of experience would dissolve into history, the particular textures of ordinary days irretrievable without it.’ (pp.1, 4)

The inauguration of the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901 relied on history to provide legitimacy and national identity; the creation of a new nation seemed inconceivable without an investment in history that deeply infiltrated the construction of the present. John Quick and Robert Garran’s *Annotated Constitution of the Australian Commonwealth* observed how the fabric of the Constitution – and perhaps, as Davies suggests, experience itself – dissolved into history. Quick and Garran’s commentary, published in the same year as the federation of the Australian colonies drew the nation into being, described the Constitution as a document with roots that penetrated ‘deep into the past’; ‘there is hardly a phrase in it without a history’ (pp.vii-viii). The *Annotated Constitution* is one of several works published in the immediate post federation period that invoked history to legitimize nation building.

Do the narratives and ambitions of post federation Australian nation building justify Davies claims of an imprisoning historicism? Aleida Assman has argued that an historicizing mentality was vital for the requirements of the development of modern progress as it evolved from the nineteenth century, invoking the past in order not to perpetuate established patterns but to break with them, and thus create a dynamic future (pp.42-43). In *How History Works* Davies acknowledges that ‘[h]istoricization could be

defined as the quintessential experience of modernity' but argues the historicizing justifications of capitalism generate repeated patterns of inequality and environmental degeneration, anxiety and apprehension (p.33). Reference to the nuance and particularity of nation building at a crucial point of globalizing, turn of the century modernity helps to test Davies interpretation of modern experience.

Historians including Frank Ankersmit, Duncan Bell, Dipesh Chakrabarty, Richard Hawkins and Hayden White have reflected on the function of the 'temporal consciousness' of modern subjects as they mediate the past in relation to present needs and experience (Hawkins, pp.379-380). These historian's arguments provide a further basis for testing Davies claims, and assessing if historians interpretations are also imprisoned by historicism.

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ABSTRACT for “Place and Displacement: The Spacing of History”, 20-22 August 2018

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### **Literary Journals and the Entanglement of Histories**

This focus of this paper will be a particular form: the literary journal, or “little magazine”, in southern Africa in the mid-twentieth century. Far removed though this may seem from the theory of history, the journal form functions as a container for diverse constellations of historical narratives and temporal sensibilities. Both the words “journal” and “periodical” indicate a marking of time, yet contrary to the more general form of the newspaper, which in Benedict Anderson’s reading helped constitute the “empty, homogeneous time” of the nation, the literary journal has a far more restricted scope and can be actively shaped as an alternative to hegemonic temporalities. The dynamic of emplacement and displacement is in this regard key: being the product of dissenting intellectuals and writers, such journals established idiosyncratic networks, lineages and scales of value that scrambled the relationship between near and far in unpredictable ways. This paper will look mainly at some southern African journals in the 1960s and 1970s. Ranging from “purely” literary concerns to politically motivated journalism – under threat of state repression and censorship – each journal could be argued to establish its own distinct sense of historicity and temporal possibility, demonstrated perhaps most pointedly in their uses of discrete linguistic registers as both an aesthetic resource and boundary-markers delimiting specific communities of interest. Central methodological terms for the analysis will be that of complicity, entanglement and *histoire croisée*. What such notions of crossing or overlap enable is a manageable conception of “context”: it is the flashpoints of connection themselves (such as police clampdowns, or the fact that *The Classic* and *The New African* relied unknowingly on funds derived from the CIA) that

indicate where context becomes critical, but also the extent to which context is challenged or ignored.



## **Koselleck's multilayered theory of multiple times**

Juhan Hellerma, Phd candidate at the University of Tartu, Department of Philosophy

Recent discussions about time and temporality recognize Reinhart Koselleck primarily for his contribution in conceptualizing modernity as a specific constellation of past, present and future emergent during the period he called *Sattlezeit*. Koselleck's main thesis in this regard is that modernity brings about a dynamic and transformative understanding of time and history that stresses the future as the realm of unprecedented expectations. However, Koselleck also pursues another theory of time, that of layers of time, which examines the significance of what he calls structures of repetition. The latter embraces all phenomena that exhibit a certain permanency including geographical, social, political, and economic conditions that constitute the ground, as it were, for the occurrence of singular events. Most importantly, Koselleck is interested in the various temporal schemas inherent to these structures, for example their different duration and pace of change. According to Koselleck, since different structures have different measure of time, it is appropriate to talk about multiple times.

Remarkably, among Koselleck's commentators there is no clear understanding much less consensus as to how these two frameworks, modernity and layers of time, fit together. Some commentators neglect layers of time altogether and focus solely on Koselleck's account of modernity, others argue for the primacy of layers of time, still others accept both but are unsure how to place them together. In the proposed paper I argue for the latter position, except I aim to demonstrate distinct ways in which the two approaches intersect in Koselleck's works. However, these intersections are subject to ambiguity as Koselleck deploys the framework of layers of time in different ways, twisting and turning his perspective according to the issue at hand. This in turn results in seemingly contradictory observations as, for example, on the one hand he argues that layers of time necessitate the position that undermines the very possibility of distinct epochs in general and modernity in particular, and on the other hand he invokes layers of time to account for the accelerating pace of time that he considers one of characteristic traits of modernity. The core aim of the paper is thus to work through these different connections between the two frameworks by first disentangling them and then examining in detail the diverse ways in which they relate to one another.

**Dag Herbjørnsrud**

## **Beyond Eurocentrism and Tribal History: Towards Decolonization and Connected Histories**

In 1974, the sociologist Herminio Martins launched a new: “methodological nationalism.” He defined the concept as such:

*“In general, macro-sociological work has largely submitted to national pre-definitions of social realities: a kind of methodological nationalism – which does not necessarily go together with political nationalism on the part of the researcher – imposes itself in practice with national community as the terminal unit and boundary condition for the demarcation of problems and phenomena for social science.”*

In 2018, we are facing a larger challenge than a purely national framework. Instead of – or as an addition to – national values or perspectives, most studies and funding have a European or “Western” perspective as the natural condition. We might name this “methodological eurocentrism”, a centrism that also reflects itself in other larger-than-nation-isms.

Such non-global narratives have escalated in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, possibly as a reaction to economic globalization and a growing feeling of insecurity. As an example, the US College Board recently decided to test students only in history after AD 1450, by chance just before Europe started to gain militarily control over large parts of the world. Today, 77 per cent of all historical research in the UK and North America covers Europe and the US – which account for 17 percent of the world’s population – while only 8 per cent focuses on East and South Asia, home to half of humanity.

In his new self-critical preface to the 1991 edition of *The Rise of the West. A History of the Human Community* (1963), William H. McNeill describes his former scope and conception as “intellectual imperialism,” an expression of “the postwar imperial mood”, and a result of “residual Eurocentrism.” As today’s history discipline faces the effects of the #RhodesMustFall-campaign and scholarly calls for decolonizing medieval studies and

historical narratives – the revised perspectives of McNeill are as relevant as ever. Instead of framing the past based on today's nation states, or on myths about a fictitious “West” and “East”, we could rather implement narratives built on Sanjay Subrahmanyam's term of “connected histories”.

Such a change will not come easy. The different tribal narratives, based on “Western” or “Islamic” communities, are seductive as they create an “imagined community” (Benedict Anderson) which also historians trying to go beyond the national perspective is influenced by. The terminal unit of Europe creates an artificial community which hinders both historians and the public from investigating how Portugal is more connected with Brazil and Angola than with Finland.

Eurocentrism supports tribalism, as it easily can foster isolationist nationalist and religious identity politics. As an alternative, I will propose a global and comparative methodology based on the notions of context, connection, and comparison. We need to denationalize in order to reconnect to a past beyond national pre-definitions. We need to decolonize in order to connect to the world without “intellectual imperialism”. Hence, now is the time to rethink how we think and write about our past. Consequently, one also equips the public better for both the present and for the future.

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**Prophetic time and historical time: looking for alternative temporalities.**

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Abstract

Recent articles published in the last decade on theoretical aspects related to history are concerned with re-imagining the relationship between past and present in history. As Gabrielle Spiegel has pointed out in “The Future of the Past: History, Memory and the Ethical Imperatives of Writing History” (*Journal of the Philosophy of History* 8 (2014), 149-179), contemporary positions suggest that the past is not simply received by the present, but intermingled with it. Breaking with the modern paradigm of periodization, *postmodernisms of every kind try to blur the rigid distinction between past and present.*

At the core of Reinhart Koselleck’s work is an attempt to replace the idea of linear, homogeneous time with a more complex, heterogeneous, and multi-layered notion of temporality. His “horizon of expectation” is in fact one of the main tools for doing just that. Peter Burke in fact tries to show that the apocalyptic paradigm of the use of the future and the paradigm of the constructability of the future happen in very different contexts and times in the writing of history (“The History of the Future 1350-2000”, in: A. Brady and E. Butterworth, *The Uses of the Future in Early Modern Europe*, Routledge, New York, 2010, p. IX-XVIII). François Hartog, for his part, argues, that presentism is the regime of historicity of our times (*Régimes d’Historicité. Présentisme et expériences du temps*, Paris: Seuil, 2003). This kind of regime implies a new way of understanding time that is characterized by abandoning the historicity of the previous modernist regime’s *linear, causal and homogenous* conception of time.

I call “alternative temporalities,” (alternatives to modernity) those temporalities that imagine time and its passing in another way, i.e., anti-linear, cyclical and attuned to the persistence of the past in the unfolding of the present and future, and vice-versa.

Taking into account this theoretical context this paper asserts that prophetic time offers one of the most promising alternative temporalities, which helps us understand and

characterize historical time. Prophetic time is a kind of historical time that is made effective by means of a narrative. The performative character of a given word in the form of a historical narrative is at stake here. Prophetic time is born inside a narrative in which a certain interpretation of the present is related with the past, but fundamentally with a future destiny. That future destiny is not an imaginable, foreseeable or calculable, but rather a given one in the form of a promise throughout the course of history that speaks of an absolute future.

*Anticipating Periodisation of the Future*

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Scholars of history have long been dividing up the past into different periods and ages. The future is, however, largely unexplored territory that has escaped more than minimal description and conceptualization by scholars. There is a general lack of detailed periodization and differentiation of the many ages that lie ahead of us. This is strange because both past and future are equally real and imagined, and the present contains traces of both deserving to be studied, analyzed and interpreted. The future might be said to be in a pre-discursive phase in which time is measured by generations, huge periods of time are subsumed under only the most general labels, and many human practices whose origins and histories can be followed by historians are intended to reach into the future for “as long as possible”. Although this deficiency may be down to a lack of scholarly attention the future has received, it could also be appreciated as the manifestation of the fact that the future, unlike the past, has not to the same extent been colonized by modernity. I will illustrate my discussion with some examples of fields in which understanding the future is, or should be, particularly significant, ranging from nuclear waste management to designing space messages to the conservation of world heritage.

## **Svetlana Alexievich's "Histories in Voices"**

Evgenia Ilieva

(Ithaca College, USA)

This paper explores Svetlana Alexievich's polyphonic approach to historical writing, highlighting the achievements and the limitations of her chosen form. Situated at the intersection between history, literature, and ethnography, Alexievich's work defies easy categorization. Her life's project, "Voices from Utopia," comprises a cycle of five books that took nearly three decades to complete. In all five texts the Nobel laureate employs the methods of oral history to create polyphonic reflections on some of the most cataclysmic events in Soviet history: the Great Patriotic War, the Soviet war in Afghanistan, the Chernobyl nuclear disaster, and the collapse of the USSR. Composed as a collage of human voices culled from hundreds of interviews with ordinary people, her books bear a certain resemblance to plays, with characters appearing on stage to deliver their monologues, often arranged in sharp counterpoint to one another. While their parts remain separate and distinct, the meticulous sequencing of individual testimonies allows them to interpellate and add meaning to each other so that together they contribute to a powerful, often deafening, chorus. Told as first-person narratives, the testimonies Alexievich compiles are far from being unmediated, verbatim transcripts of her interviews. Although her presence in the texts is intentionally minimal, reserved only for the short prefaces and epilogues that bookend her narratives and in which she lays out her views, it is clear that Alexievich assumes an active role in selecting, editing, and reordering testimonial fragments in order to steer the reader towards a certain understanding of the whole.

While Alexievich has been reticent to lay bare her process, in a recent talk she explained that she considers her interviewees' monologues as "living documents" rather than as "frozen canon." Since she keeps in touch with many of her interview subjects, as their interpretation of the past changes and evolves in light of the present, she edits their monologues to reflect this development in successive editions of her books. It is this aspect of her artistic process that has led some critics to accuse Alexievich of witness

tampering and to dismiss the historical value of her work. Because she collapses the distinction between history and fiction, dispenses with chronologies and contexts, and leaves out her own voice, other critics have charged that her books produce dangerous myths, not histories. By contrast, commentators who laud Alexievich's work view her central accomplishment as the recovery of individual experiences from myth and monumental history. My paper begins by considering some existing critiques of Alexievich's project; I proceed to reconstruct and critically examine the underlying assumptions about historical inquiry that structure her work, suggesting that the "unfinalizability" of her texts is one of the most valuable aspects of her interpretive approach; and I conclude with some observations about the broader ethical and political implications of Alexievich's work.



Third INTH Network Conference 20-22 August 2018, Stockholm, Sweden

“Place and displacement: The spacing of History”

**Exclusion-inclusion: the space of exile as one of the reconfiguration of identity. The case of German-speaking exile in Mexico**

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***Abstract***

The present work will center on the discussion regarding the German speaking exile in Mexico during the decades of 1930 and 1940 caused mainly by the rise of National Socialism. It will analyze the specific contents about the German culture and aesthetics that the magazine "Free Germany (*Freies Deutschland*)" gave itself a task of disseminating with a goal of creating references different to those of the National Socialists and their views, which were occupying the front pages of most newspapers of that time.

In this sense, the figure of the well-known writer Anna Seghers (1900-1983) will occupy a relevant place in the analysis. Likewise, and as her counterpart in many aspects, the figure of Alice Rühle-Gerstel (1894-1943) will also be taken into account. As a third figure, one that also reflects the concept of isolation in the time of rupture, the husband of Alice Rühle-Gerstel and well-known Socialist, Otto Rühle (1874-1943), will be approached and added to this peculiar (des) encounter. Another personality that will be considered in the analysis is that of Victor Serge (1890-1947), who together with Alice Rühle-Gerstel can be considered a socialist-humanist, that is, a critic of National Socialism, but also of prevailing Stalinism.

The latter seeks to demystify the concept of a 'homogeneous' German speaking exile in Mexico opposing the National Socialism. It seeks to represent it in its complexity, heterogeneity and, above all, to stress its importance as a fundamental axis that can allow

us to understand important aspects of the contemporary Mexican leftist movement it directly influenced. The aforementioned figures were chosen in representation and by no means in detriment of many others, relevant within the fields of arts, culture, education, or politics, not only Mexican but also European. The aim is also to present the way in which multidirectional memory functions and forges (self) representation in the territory of exile, at this “new shore”. What are the motivations to continue leading an active intellectual life despite the exile, the war, the rupture with the known world? What was the experience of the forced migration to Mexico in the time of the Total War, and in what way did the intellectual migration mark the patterns of the Mexican leftist movement or even the Latin American one?

## **Broadening the scope of conceptual history:**

### **The approach of “transfers” for a new articulation of space-time in history**

**Servanne Jollivet**

In his quest for theoretical renewal in the post-war times, Koselleck fundamentally reshaped the traditional field of “historical theory” (*Historik*) within the context of German historiography. A guiding thread throughout his work, Koselleck’s radicalization of the theory of history enabled historians to critically engage with the reflexive dimension of history which until then belonged to the realm of the philosophy of history. The objective was to initiate a systematic and critical reflection on the limits and latent assumptions of German historiography beginning with the concepts and categories, whose history was to be retraced. Along with Werner Conze and Otto Brunner, Koselleck undertook this task in the late 1960s through the colossal project of the dictionary of historical concepts, which became the breeding ground for a new historical field entirely devoted to “conceptual history” (*Begriffsgeschichte*). Shedding light on the different layers of time (*Zeitschichten*) – apart from the concepts – allowed Koselleck to distinguish multiple temporalities and later pursue the project of a Historical anthropology applied to a plurality of histories. Therefore, Koselleck decisively contributed in fundamentally rethinking the concept of history beyond any unified and overarching perspective. If for this reason his work is often considered as an origin of the recent “spatial turn” in history, it is however necessary to point to the relative absence of the notion of space in his project of conceptual history.

In this light, our aim will be to extend Koselleck’s approach from temporality to space and to bring these two approaches in dialogue. This project, we will argue, has been implemented by the approach of “transfers,” which fruitfully combines the study of both temporal and spatial reorderings without dissociating them. Furthermore, we will seek to assess the impact of broadening the scope of historical reflexivity to include space. At the same time, we will highlight the difficulties any theory of history, obliged to operate within a global perspective, is confronted with.

## **Helge Jordheim (UiO), Time-Space Synchronization: the Case of World Maps**

In dialogue with the general topic of this conference, this paper focuses on how representations of space are used to synchronize time, or to put it another way, it explores how homogenous space and homogenous time are co-produced by practices of synchronization in both texts and diagrams. My claim will be that in 17th- and 18th-century works of literature and scholarship, multiple times are related to each other, even synchronized, by distributing them across homogenous, or rather, homogenized space. I am primarily going to focus on three kinds of space: the space of the globe, the space of the page, and the space of fiction, overlapping in different ways. The starting point will be the German historian Johann Christoph Gatterer and his use maps and planiglobes in representing universal history, both in books and lectures, in contrast with the works one of the most prolific cartographers and printers in Gatterer's time, Johann Baptist Homann, and his *Atlas novus terrarium orbis*, or *Grosser Atlas ueber die ganze Welt*. Based on this case-study, the paper will try to come to some more general conclusion about the historicity of time-space synchronization.

**Rūta Kazlauskaitė (University of Helsinki)**

**Visual metaphorical models: How ocularcentrism shapes the presentation of conflictual past in school history education**

KNOWING IS SEEING is a conceptual metaphor that pervades the vocabulary of the Western intellectual tradition. This conceptual metaphor can be linked to multiple visual metaphors, which structure our thought about cognition and knowledge, the relation between the knower and the known, between reality and representation. Conceptual metaphor theory (CMT), originally initiated in the 1980s by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, provides ample linguistic evidence to demonstrate that there are connections between language and experiential action, and that embodied experience structures abstract conceptualization.

In this paper, I seek to problematize the role of vision-based and vision-generated metaphorical models of cognition in shaping how conflicting interpretations and experiences of a shared past are introduced in school history textbooks. A crucial feature of vision-based, ocularcentric metaphors in meta-theoretical orientations of school history textbooks is their distancing, static, and, paradoxically, disembodied effect. The aim is to discuss the persistence of visual metaphorical models in shaping ontological and epistemological orientations in school history education and their effects in how textbooks introduce the past that raises controversy.

In order to illustrate how an ocularcentric and disembodied model of cognition manifests in school history, I provide examples from contemporary Polish and Lithuanian school history textbooks. In particular, I discuss how a vision-based metaphorical model of cognition prevails in

- 1 · the way textbooks make sense of truth and objectivity (focus on veracity, accuracy, bias and subjectivity);
- 1 · the way textbooks instruct pupils to deal with divergent interpretations of the past (separation of pattern and process; seeking to determine which interpretation of the available ones is correct in order to reject the others, rather

than seeking to integrate conflicting accounts into a more encompassing explanation; focus on the facts and lack of engagement with divergent lived experiences);

- 1
  - a sharp dichotomy between fact and fiction;
  - the focus on political and military history of the state/nation and an exclusion of lived, experiential past from the textbook narratives;
  - the arrangement of narrative as a linear sequence of static states. The adherence to a disembodied, ocularcentric model of cognition in textbooks prepares one for a critical scrutiny of truth-claims in sources, but leaves pupils completely unprepared to make sense of divergent interpretations in relation to the lived process of experience out of which they emerged.

## **Displacement of the Early Modern in East Asian History**

**Youngmin Kim (Seoul National University)**

As of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, almost all aspects of East Asian traditional learning underwent a profound change, as Western learning questioned the assumptions upon which traditional humanities had been based. For one thing, the traditional forms of historical scholarship were replaced by newer forms of historiography which was originated from European thought.

At the first stage of the transformation, historians applied the notion of an unchanging traditional order to all East Asian countries. They typically divided the history of East Asia's past around mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, and asserted that "modern" East Asia began with the Western "impact." However, such Orientalist view was not able to go with burgeoning nationalistic sentiment in cultural life at that time. Many historians were drawn to nationalism because they regarded nationalism as a tool to effectively defend themselves against the West because it carried with it patriotic zeal. In the first half of 20th century, the Leninist version of Marxist historical materialism, among other things, was particularly attractive among East Asian historians because it explained social progress in a systematic fashion according to "universal" standards. They shared a scheme of periodization, that is, the Five stage view of history: primitive communism, slavery, feudalism, capitalism, and socialism."

However, they all knew that East Asia had never made the transition from feudalism to capitalism before the Western impact on East Asia. The challenge is how to reconcile two seemingly conflicting intellectual demands: First, to show that China, Japan, and/or Korea had never departed from the "universal" pattern of development of European society; second, to accept the irrefutable fact that they did not produce modernity on their own before the Western impact. Therefore, East Asian historians attempted to prove the existence of "early" modernity before the Western impact. What they mean by "early modern" is a transitional phase in the development from the feudal to the modern that paved the way for the emergence of the latter. The existence of early modern was crucial to the whole historiography because the dynamics of traditional East

Asian societies was bound up with the question of whether they had potential to move to capitalism.

This paper maps out East Asian historians' strategies of inserting the early modern stage and how they point in the direction of conduct that various political interests promote. This in turn serves as a foundation for the alternative approach that I will then develop. The crux of the assumption behind the alternative approach is that the combination of "global" (not "universal") history and national history are not only compatible but also desirable.



**Katherina Kinzel** (ERC Postdoctoral Researcher, Department of Philosophy, University of Vienna; katherina.kinzel@univie.ac.at)

**“Historical representation: Narratives, retrospect and relativism”**

Abstract: This paper discusses the problem of historical representation: What does it mean for a historical narrative to represent the past? What features of the narrative historical text, or of the relation between the text and past reality make the former into a representation of the latter? This problem is introduced on the basis of Arthur Danto’s “Analytical philosophy of history” (1965) and Hayden White’s “Metahistory” (1973). Although from different philosophical traditions (analytic and post-structuralist philosophy of history, respectively), Danto and White agree that historical narratives are at the same time “less” and “more” than complete descriptions of the past. However, they disagree about why this is the case. Ultimately, they have different ideas about what features of the historical narrative allow it to represent the past, and what the relation between the narrative and past reality consists in. On the basis of a comparative evaluation of Danto and White, this paper formulates three desiderata for a theory of historical representation. It then discusses pragmatic accounts of model representation in science – in particular as put forward by Bas van Fraassen and Mauricio Suarez – and shows how these approaches can be applied to history such as to fulfil the desiderata specified.

**Piotr Kowalewski** (Ph.D. candidate, Department of Philosophy, University of Silesia; [piotrkowalewski@hotmail.com](mailto:piotrkowalewski@hotmail.com))

**“After-match: Danto’s place in the new philosophy of history”**

Abstract: Arthur C. Danto became one of the most influential philosophers of the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. He achieved this status in the USA with his writing on aesthetics and his famous "End of Art" thesis. However, in Europe, he was and still remains known mostly for his early works on the theory of history, action, and knowledge.

It is a truism that ideas are creations of certain place and time, but one that is essential for any history of ideas about explanation. A constant reminder of this fact makes us conscious to see events and processes historically rather than in the scientific “view from nowhere”. My talk puts Danto’s analytical philosophy of history in this spectrum. This will be achieved by raising two questions.

1) Question of place: why it is that some ideas often find fertile ground in far away soil, rather in that one that gave a birth to them? In order to find the answer, I shall discuss the reception of Danto’s *Analytical Philosophy of History* (1965) in Germany (Jürgen Habermas) and Poland (Jerzy Topolski). It will start by trying to reconstruct the original aim that has pushed Danto toward philosophical reflection on history and suggest the possible goals for interpretations by Habermas and Topolski in continental Europe. This includes examining the relation between logical empiricism and historical materialism.

2) Question of time: why is it that some ideas are discovered or rediscovered after some years? This will be discussed within the problem of the actuality of Danto’s ideas for the contemporary discussion about the theory of history. To answer this question it will be necessary to target the current aims for the theory of history in the third millennium. In regard to Danto, I will discuss the most relevant ideas we can still find in his writings, including in this his influential views on art.

These two examples could be placed in the current discussion on whether the post-narrative philosophy of history could and should be analytical. I will try to challenge this

discussion with the claim that it is hard to talk any more about a unified theory of historiography and a question why it is not a good thing.

One of the foundational distinctions in historiography is that between description and interpretation. A pure description characterizes the state of affairs in the external world objectively without adding any contextual or value-laden elements. Most known philosophies of history appeal to descriptions when an account of facts or of other so called factual matter is given. By contrast, interpretation is thought to provide some kind of meaning or significance for the matter of external world. Interpretation makes the matter meaningful, when viewed in a specific light or from a particular point of view. A fact can be interpreted equally well in several ways.

In my talk, I argue that this is a false dichotomy and that there is nothing like a pure description. This is to say that there is no non-inferential description and knowledge. Instead, the dichotomy should be between old (inferential) and new(er) (inferential) descriptions. Both old and new inferential descriptions rely on different presuppositions, or perhaps on the presupposition of different times. The old inferential description appears descriptive of events and facts only because the language of it has been widely accepted and presuppositions thereby concealed.

The view is illustrated by concrete historiographical examples. While the Bolshevik revolution that happened in 1917 may seem like an obvious fact, this is only so, because of a certain convention has been accepted. Orlando Figes exemplifies in his book *Revolutionary Russia 1891-1991* (London: Pelican, 2014) how this revolution can be rationally understood in eight different ways.

That all description is inferential is important regarding the rationale of historiography. The approaches that presuppose that there is pure description tend to understand historiography as something like the causal linking of independent events and as the simple narration of events. I argue that historiography at its best is rational criticism, which ‘unmasks’ old descriptions and their presuppositions. Therefore, we should make a distinction between critical and conservative historiography in which the attitude to historical language functions as a demarcation criterion: the more a study of history focuses on the language used, deconstructing old and reconstructing new, the

more critical it is. Further, the less it does this and 'merely describes,' the more conservative the study is.

## **The Body in History: Subjects and Experience between Narrative and Genealogy**

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In *Giving an Account of Oneself*, Judith Butler argues that there cannot be a full narrativization of personal identity. With psychoanalysis and Foucault's take on subjectivity in mind, she claims that there cannot be a total recovery of our conditions of emergence as subjects. One of the key limits for that recovery is our embodiment: the body as a condition of being that we cannot fully own, that makes our attempt at self-narration always start *in media res*.

Although this book belongs to Butler's most recent work on ethics, the notion of a limit to narrativization for our embodied existence can be seen as an opportunity to rethink Hayden White's proposal of middle voice writing as a point of view on the challenges for the representation of the historical (specifically modernist) events of the last century. Is there a relationship between our always being *in media res* in our temporal existence and middle voice as a promising perspective on historical writing? To answer this question this paper will take an example of historical writing: feminist history and theory. Following Joan Scott's famous criticism of experience as evidence and her choice of a historicizing perspective of identity categories we will reflect on the relationship between subjects, their experience and the discourses and norms that enable and limit them.

Hayden White's perspective on narrativity will also play an important part in our reflections. How does narrative, as the preferred form of historical discourse since the nineteenth century, and genealogy, as the preferred form of identity categories critic since the twentieth century, relate to each other? Does the subject emerge as such only when some narrative coherence is given or imposed to it? Does genealogy work as a critical destruction or negotiation with the narratives that secure (to some extent) subject formation? Does the attack on a key concept of feminist theory and politics, i.e., gender, tell us something of the historical (theoretical and political) experience of the last century and the role of the Humanities in it? Was the body of the subject the critical discovery of the last century? How do our notions of the body and history relate or conflict with each

other? What does genealogy, in Foucault's terms, have to say about it? What, if anything, can a contemporary philosophy of history that underwent the narrativist debate say about it? Can we think together the critical perspective on narrativity that White's and Foucault's work have inherited to us, and Scott's and Butler's poststructuralist reflections on feminism and gender? Butler and Scott have also turned toward psychoanalysis as a powerful tool for thinking subjectivity: does their take on psychoanalysis allow us to think the body in history?

## Theory of history in mainstream economics

The aim of my presentation is to establish some conceptual common ground between mainstream economics and theory of history. Mutual common ground between the policy elite of mainstream economics and mainstream economists are ardent students of the past and often claim that the policy relevance of their research consists in learning from history. What is the guiding perception of history in this enterprise? By its many critics mainstream economics is often depicted as making claims to generality and universal laws and in this trying, in an unwarranted way, to mimic the natural sciences. The thrust of this critique is that mainstream economics should abandon their theories because they have been falsified by history. But I argue that the epistemic practice of mainstream economics depend more on modelling than on propagation of general theories and universal laws. There are several interesting distinctions between theories and models that need to be developed in order to understand the implicit theory of history in mainstream economics better. The central argument of my presentation is that the dependence on modelling in mainstream economics is analogous to regarding history as exemplary. The topos of *historia magistra vitae* is regarded as premodern in the humanities. According to Reinhardt Koselleck the topos dissolved in the modern age. I would like to challenge to what extent this really is the case, and argue that it would be more accurate to say that topos migrated from the humanities but in actuality, in the circles of the politico-economic policy elite, is alive and perceived as highly relevant. If one accepts that economic modelling is analogous to the exemplary view of history, several questions arise. How is the example embedded in the modern world? What are its benefits and shortcomings? How should humanist scholars that over all perceive history differently react to it? Can the example-based view of history be falsified?

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### **3rd INTH Network Conference: “Place and Displacement: The Spacing of History”**

#### **Paper proposal: *Boundaries of Sisterhood - a comparative approach to US- and Latin American Hip-hop feminism***

**Susan Lindholm**

My paper engages in a comparative reading of anti-racist and feminist identities created by hip-hop activists or fans in the United States and Latin America in the context of social media. The United States is one of the centers of global power, which also means that it has become a global referent, not only for anti-racist and anti-oppression movements, but also for their (digital) dissemination through popular culture. Hip-hop feminism, a concept that emerged within the framework of hip-hop activism in the mid 1990s, is one of these glocal movements that today can be found in many regions outside of the US, among them Latin America. In both the US and different Latin American countries, hip-hop feminists, that is, artists and activists who identify themselves as Black or Latino, create oppositional identities that are based on narratives of resistance against racism, sexism, and forgetting repressed and violent pasts. However, the dominance of a brand of US-American hip-hop feminism can, in many cases, serve to render invisible the realities of women outside of the US, and thereby further enforce rather than abolish the historical oppression of their marginalized identities and historical narratives. Against such a background, my project engages in a comparative reading of anti-racist and feminist identities and narratives created by activists or fans in the US and Latin America. It traces these identities on social media by combining oral history interviews with netnography, a research methodology that adapts traditional ethnographic techniques to the study of social media.

**Susan Lindholm** has a PhD in History and History Didactics and works as a senior lecturer/associate professor at the Faculty of Education and Society, Malmö University, Sweden. Her research interests include cultural history, memory, and gender in connection to transnational and translocal othering processes. She has an M.A. in American Cultural History from Ludwig Maximilians Universität, Munich, Germany. In 2016 she defended her doctoral dissertation *Remembering Chile. An Entangled History of*

*Hip-hop in-between Sweden and Chile* at Malmö University, Sweden.

**History in everyday: a spatial understanding of Muslim settlement in Ponnani,  
Kerala.**

**Hakeem Luqman**

The early studies of Islam and Muslim community were based on the idea of ‘essence’ and its different expressions. These explorations of different expression of Islam were legitimized through the spatial categories of Muslim lives. These studies led to the categorization of a territorially bounded Islamic centre and its peripheries. Unlike the normative studies of historiography and anthropology which sought to explore the ‘core’ or the ‘essence’ of religious spaces and tracing this ‘continuity’ to the contemporary, this paper aspires to read diverse manifestation of space making by looking at the ‘break’ that was imagined and counter imagined by the people in their everydayness. Muslim spaces like mosque exist in a rigorously contested, often negotiated, and challenged spatiality of everyday life. This paper argues that histories of space making by Muslim communities have to be intersected with these complex parameters of its everydayness and has to be analyzed how these parameters formulate and reformulate this religiously embedded history and spatiality. Ponnani, a coastal town in southern India, is known as the land of mosque given to its spectral role in the development of Muslim communities in South India. Ponnani has around 40 mosque and shrines in its immediate vicinity. This paper will look at Ponnani and its formation as a Muslim settlement and its own trajectories in imagining and reimagining the history of Muslim community in South India. By understanding the categories of history and space in its everyday religious experience, this paper will try to critically engage with those categories and shares alternative thoughts to understand Muslim community and their own formation of space and history.

Key words: Muslim community, History, Space, Everyday life.

Ilkka Lähteenmaki: The Curious Case of Alexander I's speech in Porvoo - A case study of source usage in a historical debate

The aim of the study is to cast light on the different kind of roles that primary sources play in the practice of historiographical argumentation. This is done by looking into a historical debate of a single topic that spans over a century; namely the meaning of the Russian emperor Alexander I's speech in the Diet of Porvoo in 1809. The debate is theoretically interesting as a case study, because it embodies both Hayden White's view of historical interpretations as being determined by non-epistemological factors and Frank Ankersmit's idea of inert primary sources, which cannot yield answers in modern historiographical debates. According to Ankersmit, we no longer have texts, we have only interpretations of texts. His argument here being that so much historiography has been produced that historians cannot engage directly with the primary sources anymore. Instead, they have to take part in historiographical discussion of the topic.

In this "case study", the discursive context is the different interpretations of Alexander I's speech in Porvoo. Historiographical discussion here is not about the primary sources (the speech itself), but focuses on the different interpretations of that speech that have been presented.

The study thus focuses on the primary and secondary source usage in the historiographical debate in question. The interpretations ebb back and forth between two main lines of thought. In the first one, Alexander I promised Finland its own self-governance (and thus prefigured Finland's subsequent independence in 1917). While according to the second, he did not know what he was in fact talking about, and therefore, the speech could not possibly be understood as a founding moment of the state of Finland. The first phase begun in 1889, and ended in the "victory" of a pro-Finland national interpretation of the speech which then dominated the historiographical discussion until the 1960's. During the -60's young historians abandoned the pro-Finland national interpretation and presented more varied points of view. These newer views re-sparked the old debate and it is partially still going on.

During this time period spanning over a century, changes in the political climate and national ambitions seem to have mainly shaped the historical interpretations, which makes this an interesting case to explore.

## Archive, Affect and History in Feminist Transregional Activism

Cecilia Macón

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In recent years transregional feminism has made a strong use of social networks in order to organize its demands. As it was shown thorough the circulation of the hashtags #womenstrike2017 and #niunamenos, Latin American feminism has played a key role at integrating specific claims –femicide, free abortion, trafficking- with the constitution of such transregional activism. This paper deals with the role played by the transmission of affect (Brennan), not only in the circulation of the hashtags themselves, but also in the way such collective dialogue found its roots in the history of feminism, particularly in foundational correspondences, performances and works of art of early stages. It is well known that the organizers of #womenstrike chose March 8<sup>th</sup> – the International Women’s Day since 1911- as the date for global demonstrations and the strike. It was then throughout the flow of tweets that images of the history of the movement, famous quotes and past aesthetic representations that activists constituted an archive (Steedman) organized by randomness, tensions and contrasts. The local refigurations of such archives as ways of contacting the past and the specificity of new technologies devoted to constitute new rules for the public spheres are here at stake. As this paper intends to show, the political consequences of such counter-archives (Hirsch) go beyond the movement itself to show new ways of understanding emancipation permeated by the transmission of affect as contact zones between past and present (Stewart). Contacts, that embody the new logic demanded to feminist history (Scott)

This understanding of the way contemporary feminism comprises its heterodox archive in terms of collective memory is not without conflicts. On the contrary, contestation is central to the way every territory plays a role in the uses of such historical archives for the sake of activism. Thus, my main goal is to discuss how is that such contacts with the past –redefined by social networks- devoted to globally empower feminist activism results in conflicts due to the different role political affects play in each territory.

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“The sense of the past”: the importance of History in Lionel Trilling’s literary criticism.

In 2010, the famous French review *Annales* published an issue entitled “Literature’s Knowledge” (“Les savoirs de la littérature”), in which, instead of renewing the question about the fictional dimension of the historical discourse that stirred historians, since, at least, Hayden White published *Metahistory* in the 1970’s, asked its readers about the epistemological potential of literature and the historical dimension of the knowledge produced by a literary work. New as these questions might seem to the historical theorist, it was already posed by twentieth century literary theorists and critics such as Erich Auerbach, Mikhail Bakhtin, and Lionel Trilling. In a 1950 essay called “The sense of the past”, Trilling contends – against the position taken by literary theorists and critics, who took part in the movement known as *New Criticism* – that literature is related to history in three different if complementary senses. First of all, literature is historical, in his view, in the sense that it usually narrates, as the official history itself, “personal, national, and cosmological events.” Secondly, literature is historical because it inevitably relates to a literary tradition and, in doing so, it incorporates and modifies literary history. Finally, for Trilling, literature is related to history in the sense that “side by side with the formal elements of the work, and modifying these elements, there is the element of history, which, in any complete aesthetic analysis, must be taken into account.”

My presentation has a double goal. I intend both to analyze the contribution of Lionel Trilling’s argument in favor of the historicity of literature to the literary historian

and to track the historicity of his argument. I will, therefore, argue that Trilling's criticism to the New Critics' formalism is a reaction to a similar formalism he perceives in American national culture. In his most famous book, *Sincerity and Authenticity*, he writes that Americans might be characterized, in Hegel's phrase, by their "'disintegrated' or 'alienated' consciousness", which is defined by its "antagonism to 'the external power of society,' the wish to be free of imposed social circumstances." In other words, he continues, they wish to be free from the very grip of history. Though not mentioning it explicitly, Trilling is referring to a 19<sup>th</sup> century branch of the American literary history, which includes authors such as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Walt Whitman, and Henry Thoreau, that sees history mostly as a burden that impairs the individual creative energy and moral sense. Alternatively, authors like Nathaniel Hawthorne and Henry James believed that the sense of the past was not only the very foundation of both the individual's aesthetic sensibility and moral sense, but also the lens that mediates every person's perception of the world. I will argue that Trilling himself becomes part of this alternative branch of American literary history, when he approaches literature and history in his literary criticism.



## ***A Third Way: Intellectual History, Archaeology and Levels***

***Jamie Melrose***

Does intellectual history have less to tellingly tell than social history and its far profounder strata of data? Are we able to move beyond the binary of ‘shallow’ intellectual history versus ‘deep’ social history? Is the history of science a good guide in this respect?

As historians (supposedly) distance themselves from the angst-ridden decades of postmodernist introspection, the discipline of intellectual history is still much concerned with its explicative moxie, particularly in relation to more sociologically-inclined, data-strewn historical investigation. Intellectual historians are inclined to regular methodological check-ups; they tend to be ‘uncomfortable in the presence of “proper” historians’ (Whatmore, 2016: 9). It is suspected that social historians, and those that follow their precepts, operate on the right *level* of historical investigation.

Intellectual history’s attempts to move away from the perception that it is too internalist, too incognisant of that which externally motives and drives ideas and their application, is a familiar debate – see the impact of Cambridge School contextualism for example. In this paper I try to move beyond the ‘old’ internalist/externalist debate by suggesting a take on intellectual history which neither calls for it to go ‘deeper’, nor suggests it should be intensely comfortable with re-reading familiar canons of texts.

Using the analytic of Foucauldian archaeology, I discuss a third way. I propose a best of both worlds scenario: an approach to the history of knowledge which leans towards the active side of the internalist/externalist dialectic – the creative, involved dynamic of minds at work – and the structural side – the situatedness of activity in a common field of activity. This take on Foucauldian archaeology crosses over with a good deal of the history of science in its post-positivist guise. As history once taught the history of science, it is now possible to tease out the ways in which the history of science can teach history.

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### Narrative Tolerance as the Basic Structure of Cultural Tolerance

The investigation of narrative tolerance gains extra significance in view of developing modern information society in the present-day world. The modern information society is an open society. However, this circumstance makes it extremely vulnerable for manipulation of public consciousness, especially when it concerns the problematic issues of the past. Every careless word about the past can cause public outcry inside the country, provoke an inter-state conflict or cause the renewal of an old conflict that is exhausted in reality, but it still continues to exist in the historical space (so-called "wars of historical narratives").

Following Roth's idea of a plurality of pasts [Paul A. Roth, "The Pasts", *History and Theory* 51 (2012)], I formulate the notion of narrative tolerance as the basic structure of cultural tolerance. I attempt to deploy it as one of the most effective conceptual tools for working with historical information (especially in the conditions of modern hybrid wars). Narrative tolerance is a principle of conducting historical research and a kind of framework of historical writing simultaneously.

Considered as a principle, narrative tolerance is a strategy for conducting historical research which presupposes two imperative steps: first, the refusal to impose its own national historical narrative on other countries and, secondly, the gradual renunciation of the national narrative and the replacement of it with a regional narrative.

Considered *as a framework*, *narrative tolerance* is a kind of tactic or way of writing a historical narrative, which in principle allows at least two points of view on a particular sequence of historical events. It also presupposes avoiding following expressions: "old enemy", "endless enmity", "glorious victory," etc. in the practice of

historical writing, as they act as triggers to restore past conflicts, adjusting to hostility and militancy. While the modern world is extremely in need of a willingness to understand another, openness to dialogue and compromise, the spirit of solidarity.

Some difficulties arise when we try to define the limits of narrative tolerance. I believe that the key to solve them is rethinking the notion of objectivity. Under its rethinking I propose to understand the establishment of “conditions for the objectivity” of historical knowledge, similar to the “conditions of truth”. It means that there cannot be only one and generally accepted criterion of objectivity, as there is no only one and universally accepted criterion of truth. In determining the objectivity of a historical statement or a narrative in general, we must take into account a number of factors: the authenticity and/or truth of the statement; the cultural context of the statement or narrative (time, place, authorship, dominant basic beliefs in society); equal representation of opposing points of view regarding a particular historical event or situation.

Manipulating knowledge of the past and historical consciousness is a real threat to the future of the modern world. I am convinced that the modern narrative theory of historical knowledge possesses extraordinary methodological possibilities for successful resolution and prevention of protracted political and socio-cultural conflicts.

**Naïd Mubalegh**

**The fate of Arabo-Islamic philosophy and Eurocentrism: with a focus on the case of France**

To which extent is the fate of Arabo-Islamic philosophy symptomatic of Eurocentrism?

Taking as a point of departure the way Arabo-islamic philosophy is absent from educational and academic programs in France, I will question the reasons of this absence, given that the country is nowadays strongly tied to the Arabo-islamic world, where it acted as a colonial power. I will question the significance of this absence with respect to the importance of migration from North Africa to France.

«The Arabic Philosophy is without doubt an important fact in the history of the human spirit», wrote the French thinker Ernest Renan in 1852. Throughout the centuries, Arabic and Islamic science and philosophy has been important and honored in a European context: Dante placed Averrões, Avicenna, and Saladin in the same «Limbo» part as Plato and Aristotle.

In his book *Pourquoi lire les philosophes arabes* (Why read the Arabic Philosophers, 2015), Ali Benmakhlouf argues that we need to read and understand the Arabs in order to understand European thinking. We cannot understand European history without understanding the Arab contributions. Benmakhlouf stresses the importance of al-Kindî (800–873), al-Farâbî (812–950), Averroës (1126–1198) and the historian/polygloth Ibn Khaldûn (1332–1406).

But why is this heritage not made into something vital, something of importance, in the general presentations of European history today? Is it that Eurocentrism, and a belief that the past should fit or explain Europe of today (without the «new» immigrants/minorities), makes us miss a central part of European history? How is Eurocentrism, or the lack of insight/interest into the Arab mind, connected to colonial thinking? What can the consequences be when the minorities in Europe are being told, in practical terms regarding the general curriculum, that the thinking of Arabs is not worthy of consideration for today's Europe? I would like to present and discuss such questions at the conference.

Jakub Muchowski, PhD

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*Clumsy and embarrassing. Practices of vernacular history in non-sites of memory*

My talk recounts the outcomes of the research on the unprofessional historical practices relating to non-sites of memory (Lanzmann 1990) of genocide violence in Poland. The sites in question are unmarked burials of the victims of genocidal politics against Jews, Roma, Ukrainians, Belarussians, Russians, Poles and Germans in Eastern Europe in 1930's and 1940's. Perpetrators concealed their location and blurred the identity of victims not only to avoid responsibility for committed crimes but also to completely destroy the targeted group, including their sites of memory. The nowadays inhabitants of the area remain ambiguous towards the sites since they fully or partly replaced the group which was destroyed or removed by perpetrators, sometimes in more or less compassionate/hateful presence of their ancestors. These places have not been commemorated through monuments, gravestones, plaques, or have been commemorated, but "unsuccessfully" so. They have been misplaced, provided with wrong data, obliterated or intentionally destroyed, or are not visible as they have been obscured by other objects, overgrown with forest or clearings vegetation, are far from local roads and lack signs that would indicate their presence.

Residents living nearby undertook various cultural activities in reaction to these disturbing localizations. Among them are routines identified by the actors as historical practices. These include inquiries into historical knowledge, collecting, generating (making interviews) and analysing historical records (archival documents, photos, artefacts), establishing community archives, writing historical articles and books, cooperating with professional historians. In my research I focused on description of the circulation of these practices in memory culture generated by non-sites and identifying the functions, that are ascribed to them by the actors and local recipients: producing historical knowledge about non-sites; transforming local knowledge of non-sites into public knowledge (which is equivalent with its preservation and dissemination); bringing justice to the victims by identifying their names, the crimes committed on them and the

names of their perpetrators; domesticating the uncanny non-site with familiarizing powers of historical discourse, which provide a closure to difficult past (Bevernage 2013); taking the position of *Nestbeschmutzer*, the one that reveals the inglorious past of community. Finally I ask what professional historians, particularly in holocaust studies, genocide studies and memory studies, can learn from historical activists working on the ground whose practices too often were considered clumsy or embarrassing.

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Being contemporaneous *in* the West, or how to create boundaries

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In this paper, I will try to show that contemporaneity is a way of being “in” the present and that the “in” or place of contemporaneity is the “West”. In the wake of Casey and Ethington, I will argue that being contemporaneous “in” the West is an event “making place”, the counterpart of which – on a time/space scale – is the division of the globe into twenty-four time zones declaring Greenwich, England, the prime meridian for time (“clocking the Earth”).

Contemporaneity and the West are two sides of the same coin creating boundaries that separate those who are “non-contemporaneous” and belong to the “Rest”. These “non-contemporaneous” people are “strangers” in the negative meaning that Simmel proposes, i.e., the relation to them is a non-relation, because the boundaries established by the relation between the event (contemporaneity) and the place (the West) are founded on a normative basis. The very event that “made place” when Western people experienced it as contemporaneous at the end of nineteenth century created the boundaries between Westerners and the “others”. I embrace the idea that boundaries established by contemporaneity-the West cannot easily be overcome because they are normative laden. Therefore, when the norm changes, the boundaries change between contemporaneity-the West and the “others” (at one time, the “strangers” were on the other side of the Iron Curtain; today, they seem to belong to the Muslim World, etc.). I believe that addressing contemporaneity and the problem of denying coevalness from this point of view -an event making place- will help us to understand some of the challenges posited by some “types” of global migration and some land reclamation movements of “original people” (like the “Mapuches” in Argentina and Chile).

## **The past between representation and argumentation**

**Omar Murad (UNMdP-CONICET)**

Since the formation of history as a scientific practice in the nineteenth century, it has stayed entangled into the problems of representation, i.e., the questions that arises from different ways the several intents to link the gap between the representation and the represented. In the second half of the twentieth century, different theories have pointed out the narrative, constructivist and argumentative character of the historical writing (White, 1973; Foucault, 1966 and 1969; Barthes, 1966; Veyne, 1971; de Certeau, 1976). This implies to assume that language is not a mean to represent something outside of it, but an instrument that makes the conditions to present actions and events. However, more than fifty years later historical theory does not draw definitive conclusions yet about this change of paradigm. The distinction between 'history' and 'memory' that I criticize in this work is a proof of that, because it is based on the assumption that there are two types of pasts: one is related with history and the other is related with memory. For instance, several historians and philosophers have sustained that while history is more distant of its object (the past), memory is not; or while one is objective and neutral the other is subjective and interested, and so on (Ricoeur, 2001; Traverso, 2005; Spiegel, 2013; among others). Even Hayden White has recently held a similar distinction when he postulates two types of past: “the historical past” and “the practical past” (White, 2014). In each case, this is an operative distinction based on assumptions alien to a non-representative conception of the past. It assumes that the labels to classify works about the past have to do lesser with the conditions of enunciation, than with those pasts that it is supposed they refer. In the same vein that Jouni-Matti Kuukkanem, I hold that historical writing is an argumentative performative act, but I refuse the conceptual pair subjective-objective that he sustains as useful to understand how history works (Kuukkanem, 2015). I prefer to think the historical argumentative practice as a web of discursive strategies constrained by rules that are internal and external to discourse.

My approach to the writing of the past is pragmatic and recovers the insight of White’s *Metahistory* that distinguish in all discourse about the past three non-reducible dimensions: epistemic, aesthetic and ideological (ethical-political). In this sense, the



difference between history and memory resides in the flexibility to combine these three dimensions in each case. While history is a discipline with very well delimited rules, memory is not. Because of that, history has a well-defined territory, but memory has a territory in constant displacement. The boundaries of memory are constantly redefined in response to the demands of social agents. So, in both cases history and memory has a practical use, but history has lesser capability than memory to respond to these demands. In this work I will criticize the representative conception of history using as a leader case its apparently difference with memory based on two types of past. I claim that if it is true that past is a linguistic construction, then it is no longer useful as a demarcation criterion external to language between history and memory. I propose to replace this point of view with one that focus on its different modalities of argumentation.

**The blurred boundaries between history and memory: The case of Greeks in Egypt**

This paper focuses on the social and economic presence of the Greek inhabitants who decided to remain in Egypt after 1961. Based on interviews I conducted with members of the Greek community mainly in Cairo and Alexandria between 2015 and 2016, this paper attempts to explore the socioeconomic mobility of the lower- and middle-class Greeks through oral history. My analysis is based on Michael Rothberg's concept of «multidirectional memory», whereby memory is seen not as a form of competition, but as «subject to ongoing negotiation, cross-referencing, and borrowing; as productive and not privative» (Rothberg, 2009: 3).

Both Greek and Egyptian historiographies fail to include and explore the activities of the Greek community of Egypt after its en masse departure in 1961. Instead, they approach the community's presence through ethnocentric and cosmopolitan lenses, until its departure that reached its peak after the 1961 Nationalization Laws. Moving away from narratives of Greek-Egyptian departure, and its subsequent consequences on the nation, this paper attempts to explore notions of foreignness and belonging in Egypt after independence. Such analysis will draw upon conceptual understandings of absence and presence, memory studies, and scholarship on post-colonial Egyptian citizenship.

The oral history of the Greeks in Egypt, as part of the social memory, coexists with the Greek and Egyptian national discourses and correspondingly demarcates the boundaries of who could belong to the nation. The oral accounts of the Greek inhabitants embody the struggle of memory against forgetting, providing a specified example of blurred boundaries between history and memory. Their presence here, as explored through their socioeconomic activities, emerges in relation to the departure of other Greek inhabitants and the formation of the new postcolonial Egyptian state. The lived experience of leaving and remaining were interlinked, having significant impact on the process of socioeconomic mobility in postcolonial Egypt. The memory of presence here does not contradict the absence even though the community lacks representation in the historiography and space in social memory. The absence and presence co-exist

simultaneously. Their presence is silent and unspoken. Hence, the memory of presence and absence come into a dialectic relation, reinforcing each other (Rothberg, 2009).

This different reading of the post-1961 Greek presence in Egypt reveals the multiple layers of mobility diasporic communities expressed through labor and citizenship. Hence, the exploration of the labor practices and the social world of Greek inhabitants in Egypt aim to expand further the scholarship on the Modern Greek diaspora, and the histories of the making of modern Egypt through an engagement with specific localized and economic histories.

Francisco Naishtat

Abstract

**Title:** Anachronism, failure and Afterlife

Since the first generation of the *Annales* Historiographical French School, anachronism has been considered to be the most unforgivable sin for historic knowledge. Meanwhile twentieth-century structuralism has familiarized us with an understanding of epochs as consisting of defined borders. As these boundaries need to be respected in order to fulfil the aims of historiographical research, they can be considered a kind of category of the historical a priori (Foucault). However, Walter Benjamin stressed not just a certain inevitability of anachronism, but also its potentiality. Making use of Warburg's concept of the afterlife (*Nachleben*), as well as the notion of a trace [*Spur*], Benjamin considered how the markings that characterize different historical periods can also reveal the past itself as a figure capable of disrupting the present time and its relation with itself. The disruptive strength of *Nachleben* and *Spur* reclaims an experience with the past that, far from abolishing anachronism, relies on its productive potentiality. This need not imply continuity, identity or totalization, but should rather be thought of in terms of displacement, differentiation and translation.

This approach can be seen in the writings of Didi-Huberman who, developing Benjamin's intuitions, focuses upon the inevitability and productivity of anachronism as the starting point for the conceptualization of a methodology suitable for history. Here we encounter the idea of the "simultaneity of the non simultaneous" (*Ungleichzeitigkeit des Gleichzeitigen*) as introduced by Ernst Bloch, and developed by Reinhart Koselleck, and more recently by Berber Bevernage. Understood in this sense, 'productive anachronism' reveals the extent to which the act of taking place, making place, as well as the experience of the loss of place, can be situated within a polarized force-field, between the historical a priori (synchronic level) and a diachronic level. This implies, in turn, that it is not enough to understand the figure of displacement in purely spatial terms. Rather displacement also implies the experience of a break in temporal continuity, a way of opening up towards productive anachronism, spectrality, translation and dissemination

under conditions of a broken tradition. This *breaking of transmission*, however, emerges in tandem with a new framework for understanding the past – that of the *breaking of tradition*. Within this new framework of a secularized breaking of tradition, the main political dangers become the *breaking of transmission* and the *fall of experience*. This condition leads us towards the issues of life, survival and afterlife that are the main themes of this panel. We conclude by considering how such an understanding of historicity and finitude may enable us to shift from the heideggerian figure of *being-towards-death*, towards a more trans-individual understanding of the past as figured by loss, afterlife and traumatic transmission.

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## **The Redefinition of European Borders in English and German Romanticism**

**Abstract for *Place and Displacement: The Spacing of History* (Stockholm)**

### **Individual paper**

My research project *Romantic Cartographies: Lived and Imagined Space in English and German Romantic Texts, 1790–1840* (Turku Institute for Advanced Studies, 2017–2019) provides a new interpretation of English and German Romanticism by changing the focus from temporal to spatial. The Romantic interest in history typically included a spatial presupposition, in which a historical epoch was associated with specific geographical region. I analyse the spatiality of Romantic texts by reconstructing the various maps they implied by using named-entity recognition (NER), geoparsing and other text mining methods. The study of Romanticism has often focused on the canon of few famous authors, but applying these new methods has a potential to analyse a much bigger corpus of primary sources.

On the special focus of this presentation is the dynamic relationship between the Mediterranean south and the (sub)arctic north that has been often overlooked, when one assumes that the Western culture was defined only in contrast to the Orient. The Napoleonic Wars (1803–1815) and the Greek War of Independence (1821–1829) were redefining the borders of Europe, and the Romantics were actively participating on the spatial definition of both European culture in general and their own national cultures. Many British and German Romantics were also Philhellenists who promoted the Greek areas of the Ottoman Empire as the “origin” of Western culture in contrast to Roman and Latin culture. It is significant that the ancient past of European culture was now

constructed in an area belonging to the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, my presentation will analyse the new interest in Nordic "peripheral" regions in Scotland, northern Germany and Scandinavia, which were never part of Roman empire and were typically associated with medievalism and collecting national folk and epic poetry. As is shown in *Romantic Norths: Anglo-Nordic Exchanges, 1770–1842* (ed. Cian Duffy, Palgrave 2017) and Angela Byrne's *Geographies of the Romantic North: Science, Antiquarianism, and Travel, 1790–1830* (Palgrave 2013), Romanticism did not look only to the Mediterranean and the Orient, but to the North as well, when searching for the historical origin of European culture. Based on that, I argue that Romanticism was inaugurated in the tension between the ancient urban centres of the Mediterranean and remote rural periphery in the northern areas.

The open future as a finite resource:  
On the difference between Anthropocene and climate change temporalities

Julia Nordblad

This paper compares the Anthropocene and climate change concepts with respect to the temporalities they carry. These temporalities have different implications for political thought on contemporary environmental crises. The main difference between them is the way they conceptualize the future. Whereas the Anthropocene implies a deterministic temporality and a closed future, climate change makes possible a new conceptualization of the open future as a fundamental democratic value and condition for politics.

The Anthropocene concept is based on the thought experiment of thinking about current environmental change as it would appear to a geologist in a distant future examining the stratigraphic record of our time. The Anthropocene is in this way declared in the future perfect, as that which will have occurred. Envisioning the present from a point in the future suggests that the way forward is already determined. This effect is reinforced by the recurring trope of a transition between two geological epochs, the Holocene and the Anthropocene, suggesting a trajectory from one predetermined state to another. Instead of galvanizing political thought and creativity, as its advocates maintain, the Anthropocene thus closes down the key political resource of the future, and stifles political thought by way of its temporality.

Climate change offers a different political temporality. First, climate change temporality is structured as a panoply of different scenarios. Although these are not directly translatable into political scenarios, they structure temporality in such a way that the future is not yet determined with respect to the amplitude and thus the consequences of future climate change. Second, the climate system may at a certain level of emissions enter into a temporality of unfolding. At that point, processes with decisive consequences for societies are set in motion and take on its own momentum, regardless of emission cuts. Unfolding climate change in this way threatens the core political value of the open future. As opposed to the Anthropocene perspective, climate change renders visible that



the future is still open, in the sense that the temporality of unfolding is still avoidable, but that it is a value that is in danger. Climate science further offers a conceptualization of the open future via the concept of the carbon budget. The carbon budget is the estimated total amount of greenhouse gases that can be emitted before the temperature rises to a certain point, and the risk of major unfolding becomes impending. In principle, there is thus a fixed amount of CO<sub>2</sub> left to emit into the atmosphere before major climate events start to unfold in an unstoppable and irreversible manner. In this way, the open future can be understood as a finite and quantifiable resource. One of the questions climate change faces us with is how much of that resource present people are willing to leave to future generations.

## Representations of migration in history textbooks 2010-2018

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### **Abstract**

History as a school subject is formed in a constant tension between tradition and change. The objectives, methods and content of education are altered as they are subjected to often contradictory pressures from teaching strategies, textbook traditions and social and political transformations. For some time now, globalization and increasingly diverse societies have challenged the understanding of what should, and could, be the task of history in schools (e.g., Banks, 2009; Carretero, Asensio, & Moneo, 2012). In history, both as an academic discipline and a school subject, a tenacious methodological nationalism still tends to conceptualize social phenomena in terms of the boundaries of the nation-state, thus creating a set of blinders that obscure other crucial forms of social interaction and structure (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002).

The general plot in most textbooks has been a relay race where the torch of civilization is handed from one geopolitically well-defined carrier of culture to the next (Carretero et al., 2012; Coulby, 2000). Thus, history education has to develop alternative meta-historical themes in order to unleash the disciplinary potential for a powerful knowledge that makes it possible for students to explain and understand contemporary migration (Nordgren 2017).

The specific aim of this paper is to explore how textbooks in history are used in primary and secondary school and in initial teacher education to narrate and explain migration as a historical phenomenon. We are interested in analyzing to what degree updated disciplinary knowledge on migration and robust models for explanation are integrated into textbooks. We will also investigate to what extent an implicit methodological

nationalism structures the textbooks' plots on migration and in what ways the textbooks have been influenced by intercultural ambitions (Aldred, Byram, & Fleming, 2006). The concept of powerful knowledge will be used to discuss possibilities for educational recontextualization and progression from primary school to history teacher education. (Bernstein 2000; Young 2007).

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Claire Norton “Narrating *otherwise*: art and spatialities of occupation”

This paper will explore how artists use past-talk in their works to contest the erasure of identities and challenge place-bound truth claims to contested territories. Using the example of Israel/Palestine and taking a lead from the work of Nadia Abu El-Haj, *Facts on the Ground: Archaeological Practice and Territorial Self-fashioning in Israeli Society*, Eyal Weizman, *Hollow Land: Israel's Architecture of Occupation*, and the Forensic Architecture project I will consider the ways in which some artists have responded to the spatial politics of occupation, (dis)placement and vertical power. How do such works articulate the lives and experiences of displaced and marginalised communities? I will ask whether the audio and lens-based work of Larissa Sansour, Emily Jacir, Lawrence abu Hamdan, Faizal Sheikh and Judy Price in effect successfully narrate *otherwise* thus offering a counter narrative to dominant histories and/or accounts and providing an alternative means of articulating claims for justice.

***Oduduwa Versus Olofin: Reconstructing the Yoruba  
Politics of History and Memory in the 1960s***

**By**

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This paper focuses on invention and contravention of traditions that created political alignments and fragmentation in Yoruba history during the turbulent politics of the 1960s and displacement in Southwestern Nigeria. From decolonisation to the post-colonial era, socio-cultural organisations occupy a central place in Yoruba politics and migrant identity in the cities. I focus on the ways in which Chief Samuel Ladoke Akintola deployed cultural narratives and politics of belonging in the search for legitimacy in a turbulent political context, migration and displacement. Chief Akintola was the leader of the National Democratic Party and Premier of the Western Region of Nigeria between 1964 and 1966. Following the devastating rift of the Action Group Party in the early 1960s, Akintola used the politics of history and memory by (re)inventing *Oduduwa-“Olofin aiye”*, the acclaimed progenitor of the Yoruba as *Olofin*. The “renaming” of *Oduduwa* as *Olofin* led to debates on Yoruba history, memory and politics. For a brief period, the establishment of *Egbe omo Olofin* marked end of hegemony of a certain kind of Yoruba leadership and the ascent to dominance of another, which historiography has failed to capture in detail. This major historic power shift demonstrates the primacy and pitfalls of cultural nationalism in political mobilisation among the Yoruba. *Egbe Omo Olofin* signaled a new personality cult, political patronage and legitimacy of Chief Samuel Ladoke Akintola, the Premier of Western Region. Yoruba historiography remains vulnerable to political sentiments, (intra) ethnic tensions and bias. This paper discusses

the unsettled question of Yoruba politics of history and memory and implications on migration and displacement.

## Shall we talk about objectivity? The political role of philosophy of history

Theodoros Pelekanidis

The fact that the 3<sup>rd</sup> INTH Conference is organized around a subject of major contemporary political significance is a very positive development. History and theory of history are not products for inner consumption, but need to be able to take their fundamental ideas from the society and give back a productive feedback with social and political value. The important theoretical ideas of the 2<sup>nd</sup> conference can now acquire practical depth. In my proposed presentation I would like to highlight exactly this political role of an emancipatory philosophy of history.

Basis of my argument are the ideas of the so called postmodern theory of history, symbolically starting from Hayden White in 1973 and ending with the retirement of Keith Jenkins around 2009. During this 35-year-period the “postmodern” ideas have played a significant role in the field of theory and philosophy of history with radical and provocative theses about subjectivity, language, politics, art etc. Although there are hardly any theorists of history at the moment who would call themselves postmodern, there is also hardly anybody who could speak about contemporary issues on theory of history without mentioning the influence of the postmodern problematic.

Despite its highly interesting and thought-provoking ideas, postmodern theory seems now to be outdated. This is partly because it was unable to adopt a concrete political position and give specific answers to the future of the historical science. If we can use the term Paradigm to characterize the “traditional” historiography and its evolution from the 1820s till today, we could claim that the postmoderns challenged it but could not actually prove to be more persuasive in the solutions they tried to provide. It is no coincidence that this theory could not find any active place in a world of real economic and political problems, after the financial crisis of 2008 and the enormous political unrest that followed worldwide.

An emancipatory and socially useful philosophy of history can on the one hand use the postmodern idea that every narrative has equal scientific value with every other, but on the other hand should take into consideration that not everything that historians say and write can have equal social value. My main idea is that there can be found specific forms of narration, even independent of the interpretations they offer, which can create objectified connections between a represented past, a comprehensible present and a desired future. Theories that stem from the practical engagement with contemporary problems can be successfully used in situations of displacement, where the space of human lives acquires a hard unfamiliar dimension and the time loses its “classical” routinely

function. It is in those moments that historians need to answer to their political responsibility and find crucial consensi, as it maybe is the time to finally remember that we are now living in is a world of war, concentration camps, slavery and severe environmental crisis. Of course there always remains the question if historians, closed in their academic cells for decades, can find their way back to society or if the train towards the understanding of the present through the quasi scientific investigation of the past has been lost forever.



## INDIVIDUAL PAPER Proposal

Title: Decolonizing Epistemic Practices in Philosophy of History

Moira Perez

### **Abstract:**

Philosophy of history, as a discipline concerned -among other things- with the ways in which a community relates to its past, holds a particularly strong link to the current problems of our society. How to approach its practice is, thus, a fundamental question, both ethical and epistemic, that must be addressed by our professional community. In particular, issues of place and displacement can lead us in many directions, including the question of where the academic canon is produced, and which places are considered worthy of epistemic authority. This paper will focus on such epistemic aspects, to contend that diversity -and particularly geopolitical diversity- in the process of knowledge production plays a key role for an epistemically robust practice.

The paper begins by evaluating the current scene through an analysis of the quotation tendencies in the main publications in Philosophy of History, assessing the relative presence of sources of different geographical and/or linguistic origins. It then assesses some of the problems that could derive from this distribution, and goes on to propose a range of means to bring about geopolitical diversity as an epistemic value in the academic practice of Philosophy of History.

Confronting our own colonial practices, exposing them and working to dismantle them is not only an ethical issue, but also an epistemic one. Our considerations about the ways in which any given community represents its past, and how different communities interact, will gain in complexity, accuracy and depth if we open the dialogue to a broader range of places and perspectives.

Sanja Perovic

**Title:** Mise-en-abîme: Or, Context After History

Historical representation typically assumes narrative forms. Yet an argument can be made that past events are also expressed through formal and rhetorical structures, some of which may block or interrupt the historicizing process. Mise-en-abîme is one such structure. In the most general terms, it can be defined as a ‘reflexive strategy where the content of the medium is the medium itself’ (eg. plays within plays, films within films). Mise-en-abîme has mostly been studied as an artistic, narrative or symbolic device. Michel Foucault, however, most famously in his discussion of Velasquez’ *Las Meninas* has suggested mise-en-abîme can also serve as a critical tool for historical analysis. Disrupting time and displacing space, it reveals the other times and worlds living in any one time. Building on this understanding, this paper asks: what can mise-en-abîme tell us about historical time and how it is constructed in the present? My examples will be drawn from the sphere of live art, where the tensions between live events and their documentation have been explored at some length.

Historical time is often imagined as a ‘container’ that holds events. Mise-en-abîme in contrast allows us to experience the frame itself as expressing its own time. It disrupts the boundary between inside and outside, between the ‘image’ or ‘story’ and the ‘world’, thereby revealing the multiple durations of time that underlie any representation. In so doing, it raises important questions: Which has the greater degree of reality, the narratives we tell of the past, or the (often obscure) events (stories) that we recount? When the frame is interrupted, does the story within the story have a higher ontological reality or the perspective outside it? Is there a way in which the content of a historical experience can also become the medium of history and if so how?

This paper argues that mise-en-abîme problematizes the boundaries between past and present in at least four ways. First, it does not fit the dichotomy between ‘showing’ and ‘telling’ that remains so much part of our conceptual vocabulary. Second, it disrupts boundaries between inside and outside. By enabling the experience historical time as both ‘inside’ us and as ‘outside’ us, it also raises important questions about who or what is the

subject of history. Third, it highlights the problem of frames of reference as well as the role of repetition in the creation of meaning. Finally, drawing on Carl Schmitt's analysis of the play-within-a-play in Hamlet, I suggest that mise-en-abîme – despite being a formal device – can also reveal a 'a very hard core of reality', a reality that withstands 'a double-exposure on a stage positioned as a stage'. According to Schmitt, this core of reality has two key facets: it expresses an irrevocable time and this irrevocability is experienced concretely, through a common, shared public sphere.

Beyond live art, my aim is to consider mise-en-abîme and its related structures (e.g. analepsis) more broadly, as reflecting the 'contemporaneity of the non-contemporary' that characterizes the experience of history, especially in times of crisis.

**Key words:** mise-en-abîme, live art, frames.

# THE INTERWOVENNESS OF TEMPORAL AND SPATIAL ASPECTS IN HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Friedrich von Petersdorff

Among the decisive aspects to be considered within historical theory is the significant role of temporality, as the respective temporal concepts have an effect upon the perspectives chosen by historians, and therefore also upon the process of research, and furthermore upon its results and its presentation. Such temporal aspects become apparent in, at least, three distinct instances, namely when examining the respective historical topic in its relation to 1) the historians, 2) those living in the respective past and 3) those in the present being potential readers of historiography. Due to the evolvement of historical research throughout the centuries various differentiations within these temporal approaches and aspects have emerged, depending upon, for example, if a specific past is being considered as hardly related to the present or is being viewed as a past still (or anew) worth remembering. Apart from these temporal aspects regarding history and its theory, spatial aspects, too, are being discussed and used by historians – e.g. Reidy (2017), Debarbieux and Rudaz (2015 [2010]). It, therefore, appears reasonable to analyse spatial concepts as well when discussing epistemological aspects of historical theory. Within this context I shall focus upon an analysis of the interwovenness of temporal and spatial aspects in historical research and historical writing. I argue that a common ground of temporal aspects, on the one side, and of spatial aspects, on the other, is to be found in the notion of distance, as this word can be used in a temporal sense as well as in a spatial sense. I shall, therefore, analyse how various degrees of interwovenness of temporal and spatial perspectives direct historical research either towards one's own past (temporal distance) or towards the past and present of other societies (spatial distance). Furthermore, I shall analyse if and how an awareness of the interwovenness of temporal and spatial perspectives can assist historians in responding “to the challenges of global migration and multicultural societies”.

## **The making of historians. Young academics' views on the concept of 'history'.**

Marjaana Puurtinen Dept. of Teacher Education & Dept. of Psychology, University of Turku

Mikko Kainulainen Dept. of Teacher Education, University of Turku

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The task of professionals in any domain is to gain flexible enough theoretical thinking and reflective skills that would then allow them to interact with both present and future intellectual environments. Thus, also the training of academic historians should not only help the students to understand the history of their discipline, but also prepare them to work with and in the future types and forums for representing the past. We propose that one important step in supporting the development of these skills is to target teaching so that it directly brings forth the students' existing understandings of 'history', and challenges them when needed: although there is no one kind of 'history' to be taught, the preconceptions and positions students may be strongly committed to can hinder their learning in terms of the domain-specific meta-skills mentioned above and should therefore be addressed. In order to test ways to make such existing understandings visible, we presented Finnish history students the question "how would you visualize 'history'". This question was created with the intention of avoiding textbook answers about the nature and history of the discipline. We first interviewed 23 BA and MA history students, and then invited 43 first-year students to give their responses in writing offering them also the possibility to add visualizations to their replies. We will discuss our interpretations on how these responses reflect the students' ideas about representations, experientiality and the doing of 'history', speculate on how such views (unless challenged) could perhaps affect how the students conduct their own historical research, and also compare the two methodologies applied in addressing the issue. We propose that the more traditional approaches to academic historians' learning trajectories, those that may focus on retrospective accounts in autobiographies, or be based on public

(and carefully created and polished) works, could be enriched with examinations about the shaping of in-training professionals' theoretical views. This kind of an empirical approach to present-day theoretical understandings could have direct effects on reforming history education and thus affect how the future professionals will come to construct and reflect on their own historical works.

*Franziska Rehlinghaus (Göttingen): Cutting the Thread of Fate. Decision-making, Temporality and the Concept of Fate in 19th Century Germany*

While the word “decision(-making)” apparently describes a (temporary) break in the continuous course of time (cf. *de-cidere* – to cut through, to separate), the (German) concept of fate (“Schicksal”) is understood, at least since the 17<sup>th</sup> century, as an uninterrupted and constant chain of events, which connects past, present and future times. This is represented, among others, in ancient mythology by the *Parcae*, *Moirai*, or the *Norns*, who weave and hold the thread of fate, which can only be cut by death (*Atropos*, *Morta*). This constitutes a final decision, which cannot be influenced by human beings. This juxtaposition of decision-making and fate together with their corresponding temporal implications reflects the debates about determinism and indeterminism, that were taking place with special vehemence in Germany during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Beyond the philosophical and theological discussions, they also became manifest in political discourse, with different practical implications and consequences. While, at the beginning of the century, political transformations (particularly those going on at that time) were perceived by many contemporaries as an expression of a superhuman *fatum* which uses single exposed persons to take its predetermined course, the relationship between fate and fateful determination on the one hand and (human) self-determination and self-determined decision-making on the other hand had changed in a fundamental way until the mid of the 19<sup>th</sup> century – in correspondence with the revolutionary impact of liberal political ideals. Especially in 1848, there were several conflicts of interpretations about the question who or what determined the fate of (political) collectives. In this context, processes of decision-making as such were of special importance and, thereby, the prospect dimension of the concept of fate was successively emphasized: fate happened in that moment when human agents took their decisions, and therefore contingency became a premise of fatefulness. The talk will discuss the specific relationship between fate, decision-making and temporality and its relevance for questions concerning collective self-determination, looking at political discourses of the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

”The Lion in Narva: Place and the Politics of Memory in the Interwar Period”

*Magnus Rodell*

In 1936, a monument commemorating the Swedish victory over Tsarist Russia in Narva in 1700 was inaugurated. The monument – a lion on a pedestal – was erected at the former battlefield. The project was initiated in Sweden, the required land was donated by the Estonian government and at the inauguration ceremony representatives from Sweden, Estonia and Finland participated and held speeches.

The monument sparked a massive interest in contemporary news media. It was used to express various narratives about the past, the present and the future depending on ideological affiliation. It must also be situated in the insecure world order of the interwar period: The statue was placed in Estonia that had only been independent since 1920, only a few miles from the border to Soviet Union and it was initiated in Sweden, where the question of national defence sparked political controversy.

In my paper, I will start by asking what it means to commemorate a national victory outside the nations borders. What does it mean when national memory migrates to another country? Erecting the monument at the old battlefield put into play the dynamics between history, place and the politics of memory. These dynamics will be analysed. One Swedish daily stated that the memory of Narva had so far been commemorated only in books, but would soon also be commemorated on the very spot of the historical battle itself. In this statement, various types of creating public history is made explicit, but it also shows that the spatial manifestations of history constitute something different than history in books.

In the past decades, anthropologists and historians have paid attention to the role of borderlands in forging various types of identities. Thus, material culture and commemorations are invested with other meanings when they are situated in and take place in borderlands. This became very explicit in Narva 1936 and I will discuss this thoroughly in my paper.



*Tim Rojek (Münster): The Narrative Constitution of Decision-making and its Consequences in Hegel's Philosophical Approach to World-history*

Abstract: The talk will deal with the question how the relationship between the decision-making of historical agents (Caesar, Luther, Napoleon, ...), their respective interests and ends (in the process of history), and the unforeseen consequences of their decisions is problematized within the philosophical conception Hegel provides in its philosophy of world- history. Clarifying this relation and its narrative constitution gives us insight into the strategies and hermeneutical means chosen by Hegel to reach a reconciliation between the decisions of historical agents, for whom the future is unknown, and its interpretation by the philosopher (or historiographer), who is familiar with the (past) future. Here, Hegel presents a possibility to interpret decisions and to ascribe them to specific entities in a narrative way rather than to reconstruct them directly from the sources. The talk will proceed in four steps. First, I will give a short introduction into the systematic goals and means of a Hegelian conception of world- history and into the systematic structure of the discipline philosophy of history, as I conceptualize it. Then I will focus on a precise conception of the third central question mentioned above and how you can deal with it within a Hegelian framework and discuss some examples from his Lectures on the Philosophy of World History. Third, I will expose some systematic problems of Hegel's approach. In the last part I will show what we can learn from Hegel for our own systematic questions and what may be seen as an answer which is specific for its own time and so dependent on the *Zeitgeist*.

## **Who “owns” the city square? Migrants, space and politics of the past in Greece.**

Emilia Salvanou

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How are space and time ruptured and re-connected in cases of mass dislocation and/or population movement? How is memory inscribed into politics of space and how does performativity become a vital part of place making? How does fragmentation of the past result in the assemblage of historical culture? How do contested spaces contribute to the politics of identification and is it possible that they become spaces that cultivate politics of inclusion and promote critical citizenship?

The paper aims to scrutinize these issues by focusing on the politics of space in two public squares in Athens, Greece, during the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century. While at both squares the presence of migrant and refugee groups is vital, their stories are diametrically different. In the one case, the refugees not only populated the neighborhood, but claimed (and gained) a right to the national space and time, created space (both metaphorically and literally) for them and gained visibility through the production of historical knowledge and practices. In the other case, the square became the field in which politics of violence and exclusion against the migrants/refugees were developed. Migrants and refugees were for many years negated the right to become visible and “locked out” of the square.

How can such striking difference in politics of inclusion or exclusion be explained? Why did the one group make its way into the core of the national imaginary and the other was so much marginalized, that it became the excuse for the neo-Nazi party to gain visibility and strength through performative actions? If “cultural intimacy” is considered an important factor for politics of inclusion, how is such intimacy produced? Based on the two cases of the city squares, the paper will examine how politics of the past, historical culture and historicity are involved in the production of –literal and symbolical- spaces of inclusion and/or exclusion.

The 3rd INTH Network Conference: “Place and Displacement: The Spacing of History”  
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### **Visualization of Historical Time**

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History is the science of making our chaotic past intelligible and meaningful through a variety of interpretive and structural techniques; among these, the imposition of a systematic notion of time has proved to be one of the most important. The construction of time lines, royal lines, genealogies, chronicles, annals, and historical tables, which have developed since ancient times, helps to form our historical knowledge and mind. The further necessity of knowing the synchronicity of the plural lines was the first step toward reaching a historical consciousness. Peoples have proposed a variety of ideas to synchronize the different times of human history.

The synchronizing of historical events that happened in different places and times can be viewed as the singular most distinguished achievement in the historical consciousness of the human mind. This is reflected in the construction of chronological tables or historical tables.

It is necessary here to distinguish chronological tables from annals and chronicles; they have very different purposes. Annals and chronicles attach importance to the content they record; on the other hand, chronological tables stress the date or sequence of historical events.

The chronological table gives us a visualized temporal image of our past, in the same way that a world atlas shows us a visualized spatial image of the world. It has two important functions. One is to give a bird’s eye view of the stream of time in history, the other is to make certain of the synchronicity of historical events in various parts of the world.

In East Asia, the use of chronological tables as a reference for comprehending history was first proposed by Sima Qian (135–93 BC) in his *Shiji* (Records of the

Historian). They can be viewed as the beginning of a consciousness of historical time. He arranged 'the chronological table of the twelve dukes' by separating lines for the events of each of the 12 states. Reading down the columns, one sees what happened in each state in any given year by using the sexagesimal cycle and regnal years of that state. Reading across the columns, one can see the sequence of historical events for any given state. We could say that he made the table to show us history in both its temporal and spatial contexts.

The development of the chronological table in Europe was effected by choosing Anno Mundi, or Christian chronology, as the key time scale, around which the various historical events were listed.

The historical time-based Christian chronology was already established in Europe by the sixteenth century. However, at that time it was primarily employed in the field of ecclesiastical history. It was not until the eighteenth century that these two chronological methods were unified into Christian chronology. At that time historical events were rewritten in terms of the Christian chronology and thus were synchronized with events in the rest of the world. This synchronicity laid the foundations of a time consciousness capable of giving birth to the modern method of historical thinking.

Benjamin Marchall's

Chronological Tables (1713) is one of the earliest works of this genre. John Blair published *The Chronology and History* (London, 1754), in which he proposed a table of various regnal years in Europe, which was constructed around a time line of years since the birth of Christ. James Bell established the earliest style of modern historical tables in his *A View of Universal History* (London, 1842). Historical tables were disseminated throughout the world through the works of Karl Ploets (1819–81), a German historian.

Since the latter half of the nineteenth century, Christian chronology as the historiographical 'standard time' has spread throughout the non-Christian world. This chronology has been established as the pivotal time by which the world creates and maintains the possibility of a synchronicity of the various local historical times. It is only with this temporal foundation that it is possible to write a history of the world.

Yehuda Sharim

January 14<sup>th</sup>, 2018

**“I Don’t Trust Your Camera but I Trust You”:**

### **The Poetics and Politics of US Immigrant and Refugee Realities**

#### **Abstract**

One central question will be entertained in my presentation: What is the role of the artist/intellectual/filmmaker in turbulent times of mass displacement, racial oppression, and an overall state of moral crisis? How can we imagine social change? Drawing on filmed interviews that I have conducted with migrant and refugee families in Houston as well as footage from my recent films, *we are in it* (2016), and *Lessons In Seeing* (2017), I will explore the poetics and politics of representing immigrant communities and visions of hope and change. While migrant and refugee narratives have long been dominated by excessive victimization interlaced with a heightened sense of decontextualized hyper-sensational heavily mediated image of hysteria and terror, I ask how film (and thus art) can initiate a conversation in spaces that are often dominated by apathy and fear. Moreover, I am interested in extending Walter Benjamin’s noted injunction that “history breaks down into images, not into histories” [or stories, or narratives] and I would like to question the role of the image in shaping of collective imagination of belonging, home, and movement across and within borders. Last, I argue that an alternative form of representation is central to the remaking of the transitory and fragile archives of marginalized communities, opening a window onto unrecorded feelings and creativity: both radical seeds in catalyzing social change.

#### **Bib**

Yehuda Sharim is a scholar, filmmaker, and postdoctoral fellow in Jewish studies and a Kinder Scholar at Rice University. He holds a PH.D in Culture and Performance from

UCLA'S World Arts and Cultures program. His book manuscript, *Wake Up and Act: Sephardic-Mizrahi Racial Identities in Palestine, 1918-1948*, is concerned with interdisciplinary approaches to the question of race in Mandate Palestine. His most recent films, *we are in it* (2016) and, *Lessons In Seeing* (2017) provide a comparative study of immigration and displacement, presenting the greatest challenges to integration for various migrant groups as we refashion constructions of home, nation, and belonging. Sharim is the co-founder of *Houston in Motion: Empowering Houston Refugee Communities*, a multimedia project that provides a window into the lives and experiences of immigrant and refugee communities in Houston.

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CONFERENCE: “Place and Displacement: The Spacing of History”

**PAPER TITLE: “In Search of the Soviet Way of Death: Ideology, History, and Memory in one Soviet Cemetery”**

The Communist Revolution – and perhaps revolutions more generally – was a battle of the living against death and the dead. Ideologically, this was about rejecting the past, tradition, and existing forms of authority and legitimacy. But the battle against death and the dead also took place on a material plane, because many of the debates about the meaning of death, and about what to do with dead bodies, continued – and mirrored – debates about the meaning of life and how to manage the living. However, death continuously posed a problem for Soviet Communism. As the writer Kornei Chukovskii observed in 1921, “The revolution confiscated former rituals and decorum and did not provide her own. [During funerals, all] wear their hat, smoke, and speak about the corpses as they would of dogs.” In place of religion, the revolution left a vacuum that threatened to empty death, and consequently life, of meaning. The question of what to do with death as an ideological category, and with the dead as a material reality, was a central question that demanded an answer, because the failure to answer the question threatened to expose the tensions between Communism's ideological promises and the material reality of Soviet lived experience.

This paper examines these questions by analyzing history and fate of one Soviet ideological project that brought into conversation theory, practice, memory and history in one space: The Memorial Complex at Baykovo Cemetery in Kiev, Ukraine. Ordered by

the Communist Party, designed by important Soviet Modernist architects and artists, and constructed over the course of the 1970s, the Baykovo Memorial Complex was envisioned as a space that would represent a specifically Soviet way of death. Built on the grounds of Kiev's old Baykovo cemetery, it included a crematorium, mourning spaces for conducting socialist funerals, and a Park of Memory. The centerpiece of the complex, however, was a long wall covered with bas-relief images, and it was these images that were supposed to relay to Soviet people a specifically Soviet narrative of death. The Baykovo Memorial Complex took more than a decade and enormous resources to complete, yet before the project could be unveiled to the general public, the leader of the Ukrainian Communist Party visited the site and immediately thereafter ordered the image reliefs on Baykovo's Wall of Memory to be destroyed. Why did the party consider the representations on the wall so dangerous that it believed that all traces of their physical presence needed to be destroyed and erased from memory? The heart of this paper is an effort to explain what happened, and what this episode reveals about the ways that history and memory can intrude and subvert seemingly monolithic ideological narratives.



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If "the Mind is Nowhere, Ever," then Where is the (Good) Historical Subject?:  
Herbartianism and the Practice of Good Historical Subjectivity in Leipzig, ca. 1840-  
1880"

**Abstract**

My paper looks at nineteenth-century German historicism as a theory and set of practices of the self. I explore how *becoming historical* in the nineteenth century was more than a theory of history and a set of scholarly practices for dealing with the past. It also entailed a way of approaching the human mind and personal identity that was used to make people into good subjects in the historical present.

Beginning with the philosopher Johann Friedrich Herbart's (1776-1841) dictum, "The mind is nowhere, ever [*Die Seele ist nirgendwo nirgendwann*]," my presentation plays on the theme of place and displacement by showing how, according to Herbartian philosophical psychology, an individual's identity had no fundamental substance or structure. According to Herbart, the mind is a perfect tabula rasa at birth, absent even the faculties. *All* mental contents are discrete representations (*Vorstellungen*) accumulated over the course of one's life, which are patterned according to the accidental sequencing of one's experiences. Each different mental representation contains a force that competes with other mental representations to cross over the threshold of consciousness and

become part of one's conscious awareness at any moment in time. Consequently, the totality of one's mind is constantly in motion, in an on-going state of agonistic disharmony. And as a result, who one *is* at any moment is an expression of the displacement of one set of mental representations in favor of another in the face of an ever-changing perceptual field.

By thus outlining Herbart's theory of mind, I will claim that at the heart of Herbartian psychology was a notion of the historicist psyche or "self" that described how personal identity itself was historical. I will then look at the moral philosophy of one of Herbart's most influential pupils, the Leipzig mathematics and philosophy professor, Wilhlem Moritz Drobisch (1802- 1896). Working with both published and manuscript sources, I will ask: if the mind was no where, ever, then how could one be a good historical subject? For Drobisch, the will was governed by the traffic of one's mental representations. Individual virtue rested not in the ability to act freely but in the ability to contemplate one's historically-constituted habitual will and in the power to restrain that will if it acted out of temptation rather than conscience. I will argue

that, for Herbartians, good historical subjectivity consisted in a specific kind of self-knowledge, whereby one came to understand one's historically constituted "empirical self" and the proclivities of his or her habitual will and in the power to resist base temptations.

I will conclude by pointing out that while Hegel made a point of writing Herbart out of the history of philosophy, Herbartians are still remembered as the founders of the institutionally defined field of disciplinary pedagogy. I will allude to some of the ways in which the Herbartian understanding of good historical subjectivity informed educational practice in the middle of the nineteenth century.

*The New Inheritance Paradigm: Future Histories of the More-than-Human*

Colin Sterling (UCL)

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We study the past not in order to find out what really happened there or to provide a genealogy of and thereby a legitimacy for the present, but to find out what it takes to face a future we would like to inherit rather than one that we have been forced to endure.<sup>8</sup>

Recent years have witnessed a growing interest in the reconceptualisation of ‘inheritance’ to encompass things and narratives beyond the human. Much of this work emerges from the broad field of posthumanism, where themes of care, vulnerability, and ‘becoming-with’ across human and more-than-human worlds are ever present. As Donna Haraway argues in her groundbreaking *Companion Species Manifesto*, ‘I want to learn how to narrate this cohistory and how to inherit the consequences of coevolution in natureculture’. This is closely connected to broader questions currently being asked across the heritage field: What do we take on from the past, and how might we ‘pass down’ differently? What does it mean to anticipate (or even shape) care for certain things, and disregard for others? How might we write both natural and cultural histories differently to address the challenges of the Anthropocene? Taking Derrida’s concern for an inheritance that both continues and interrupts as a key point of departure, this paper aims to bring together recent thinking from the philosophy of history, the environmental humanities, science fiction studies, and critical heritage to explore the current potentialities and future possibilities of this evergreen concept.

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<sup>8</sup> Hayden White in C. DeSilvey et al (eds.) *Anticipatory History* (Devon: Uniform Books, 2011)

Third INTH Network Conference

Author: Lucila Svampa (University of Buenos Aires)

Title: Catachrestic uses of spatial concepts in Koselleck's Work

Spatial concepts appear in Reinhart Koselleck's work at least in two senses. On the one hand, they show a way to understand what takes place, and on the other hand, what may take place. Within the first group, it is possible not only to think of categories very explicitly connected with space, such as *Zeitschichten* (time strata) and *Erfahrungsraum* (space of experience), *Standortbindung* (link to the location), but also not that evidently spatial notions, such as the *Ungleichzeitigkeit* (the non simultaneity). The second group implies the unavoidable *Erwartungshorizont* (horizon of expectations) and *Utopie* (utopia) as a conceptual derivation.

But in which extent contribute all these notion to his *Historik*? Giving place to an alternative that contemplates a variety of speeds and coexistences, the *Zeitschichten* offers a picture of how we can be oriented in and by history. In this context, space of experience is one of the two metahistorical categories that without offering a historical characterization, suspends its denomination, due to its detachment to any particular content. Moreover, *Standortbindung* express the place and perspectives from which historians investigate the past. The contemporaneity of the non contemporaneous refers to a multiplicity of times in which we can live; besides it also have a geographical aspect. Koselleck describes it while characterizing the exploration of the planet, which enabled the humankind to establish comparisons between numerous coexisting realities from different civilizations. Last but not least, *Erwartungshorizont* contemplate potential realities, utopias and people's change perspectives.

Both groups provide the author with the possibility of explaining historical phenomena borrowing concepts coming from the geography and constructing neologisms. Thanks to them, Koselleck portrays displacements not only in past events, but also in the historical theory. This means that there is a dislocation inside the ways we understand historicity after the break with the *historia magistra vitae*. Fractures and disjointing will be essential to understand the crisis through which Modernity started. The

future work will aim to explore the confluence of the spatial and historical notions of Koselleck's work and would draw the conclusion that although the theory of historical time is built against linearity, the catachrestic use of spatial concepts still depends on chronological orders. In order to do that we will track down these concepts and their implications in *Vergangene Zukunft* and *Zeitschichten*, books in which they play a relevant role.

## **Looking in the mirror of literature and cinema: four portraits of the (post)modern historian**

### **Aurimas Svedas**

Cinema and literature are among the most important agents, which actively participate in the formation of historical culture and the cultural memory of Western society in the 20th and 21st centuries. The potential of literature and cinema as a specific history writing form has already been discussed by Mark Ferro, Robert Rosenstone, Peter Burke, Beverley C. Southgate, Jerome de Groot and other theorists. These scholars in their articles and books showed how writers and filmmakers raise new questions about the past, propose unexpected history's rethinking strategies, and break various taboos.

Sometimes literature and cinema step even further from the territory described above while thinking about the meaning of the historian's craft in the modern or postmodern world, raising the questions about the importance of the scholar's existential / ethical position in his or her job, talking about scientists' responsibility in front of society.

How do literature and cinema create the portrait of a historian in the 20th and 21st centuries? How should we interpret these texts and films? Are writers and film directors able to say something new about the historian's destiny in the contemporary world to Clio's servants and society? Do we have an opportunity to interpret films and novels about the historian's life as a socio-cultural source, which express the so-called *Zeitgeist* of the particular epoch?

Trying to answer the questions the mentioned above the presentation will be divided into four parts.

The first part of the presentation deals with the Soviet writers brothers Arkady and Boris Strugacky's science fiction novel 'Hard to be God' (1964), which follows historian Anton's life on an alien planet called Arkanar that is populated by human beings whose society has not advanced beyond the Middle Ages. The Earth-born scientist was sent to the planet to investigate the retrograde realm where he is known as nobleman Don Rumata and is considered divine.

The second part of the presentation is concerned with German film director's Alexander Kluge's movie 'Die Patriotin' (1979). The central figure in Kluge's film is Gabi Teichert, a high school history teacher from the German state of Hesse, which painfully tries to find her own attitude how to work with the aftermath of history—the memories, stories, maps, photos and other diverse materials which have been forgotten and/or discarded by the official narratives.

The third part of the presentation will introduce British writer Graham Swift's novel 'Waterland' (1983), which tells the story about history teacher Tom Crick from a secondary school in Greenwich. The audience's skepticism makes Tom change dramatically his teaching approach and at the same time rethink the historian's craft.

The fourth part of the presentation will be devoted to the Portuguese film director Manoel de Oliveira's movie 'A Talking Picture' (2003) which shows Lisbon University professor's Rosa Maria and her little daughter cruise from their home country Portugal to Bombay while visiting the birthplaces of civilization.

### **Archive as paradigm: between the rewriting of history and poetic-political practices**

According to authors such as Hal Foster or Anna Maria Guasch, there is currently an archival turn that proposes new challenges to the history of art in general, but, more specifically, to the relationship between art practices and the pair history / memory. Radical perspectives on the concept of “archive” penetrate contemporary artistic and historiographical practices as one of its most outstanding features. Indeed, Foster assures that the "archival impulse" is the most recurrent feature both in works that inquire into existing archives and those that build them through poetic-political practices. In the recent theoretical perspectives, the archive is not the sacralisation of a set of documents, but an opening to the desecration of possible to be said and a repository from which to write the unwritten histories, the historically marginalized local knowledge.

It is from the configuration of new archives that some artists of the post-dictatorship in Argentina are enrolled in this discussion. Recent film productions by filmmakers such as Albertina Carri or Andrés Habegger –*Horse Thief (Cuatreros, 2017)* and *The (im)possible Forget (El (im)posible olvido, 2016)*, respectively- propose the configuration of archives based on memories that have been invented or reconstructed rather than recalled from the way in which, from distancing or melancholy, they problematize the conception of the archive as a spatial surface in which to organize both documents and the demand to rewrite their history as children of the disappeared. From frames guided by the challenge to chrono-normativities and the power that arises from the montage, they implement interstitial policies -in the code of authors such as Walter Benjamin and Aby Warburg- that will be explored in this communication in order to evaluate the archive as a contemporary paradigm which prefigures the relationship between art and history and a fundamental vector to think about a certain relationship between history and memory.

This last point will follow some assumptions of the narrativism of Hayden White, who, in his later work, lays the foundations to investigate the relationship between modernist narrative forms and the production of historical accounts. From *Figural Realism (1999)*, the Whitean theory of historical narration has resulted in the demand to attend to what he



characterizes as modernist events. Since these events exhibit a novel “nature” and an evident traumatic character, they imply a revision of the very concept of “event” and new categories and conventions to attribute meaning to it. In the light of these ideas, the claim of the archive in the configuration of historical representations in contemporary arts and the modes of apprehension of the past implies the introduction in this discussion of the analysis of the specific effects of the issue of archive, the questioning of the conventional ways of raising historical meanings in past accounts, and a general review of discursive practices in history and art.

**Marek Tamm (Tallinn University)**

**Rethinking Historical Time: New Approaches to Presentism**

Abstract

Over recent years, historical time has become increasingly non-linear, complex and constituted in part by the preservation of the past in time. We can conceptualize this type of time as “multi-temporal”, “percolating”, “multilayered”, “heterogenous” or “polychronic”. It has been argued that historians “must embrace the richness and variability of different forms of time that exist throughout our lives” (Tanaka 2015: 161). From a postcolonial perspective, Dipesh Chakrabarty (2000: 108) has stated in the similar vein: “The writing of history must implicitly assume a plurality of times existing together, a disjuncture of the present with itself.” He is seconded in turn by Berber Bevernage (2015: 351), arguing that “philosophers of history should break with the idea of the fully contemporaneous present and instead embrace that of radical noncontemporaneity or noncoevalness.” Also, contemporary archaeology denies the past its radical absence and distance by reminding that it is still present through its vestiges. “It follows that, archaeologically, the present is not actually what is happening right now, but rather the accumulation of all past times that have been materially preserved.” (Olivier 2013: 124).

A new “regime of historicity” prevails in contemporary Western world, asserts François Hartog (2014). While for the past couple of centuries the dominant Western regime of historicity has been future-oriented, the orientation has shifted during the last decades with the future clearly relinquishing its position as the main tool for interpreting historical experience and giving way to a present-oriented regime that Hartog terms “presentism”. This presentist regime of historicity, Hartog argues, implies a new way of understanding temporality, an abandoning of the linear, causal and homogeneous conception of time characteristic of the previous, modernist regime of historicity.

This paper, departing from a recent collective enterprise to publish a volume on “Rethinking Historical Time” (forthcoming in 2019), aims to engage in a discussion with contemporary conceptualizations of historical time. The paper anticipates to explore what

are the main epistemological consequences of the shifts in contemporary Western time regime, of the present made up of multiple temporalities, and to discuss critically some of the traditional assumptions that underpin the research on the matters of the past.

## **Stefan Tanaka (UCSD): 1884: a question of change**

This paper focuses on a year, 1884, in a moment of transition to explore how non-modern societies change in their encounter with the liberal-capitalist West. We have called this development, progress, modernization, etc. 1884 is not a particularly "important" year in chronological history, that is the point, yet it is the moment the world was officially synchronized according to one time.

By focussing on a year, rather than beginning and end point, we can see multiple times and operations as the people of an archipelago which we now know as the nation-state of Japan examined various inherited forms and reconceived them into different pasts--dead, traditional, continuing--to re-organize the heterogeneous society into an (always existing) nation-state. Change in this society was not from an old to a new, tradition to modern, Oriental to Western modernity, etc, but multi-layered, sporadic, and multi-directional.

## **The processual relation between representation and experience: in what sense do representations “cancel time”?**

Marcus Vinícius de Moura Telles (São Paulo University)

This paper builds on two typically “narrativist” positions. The first one is from Louis Mink: in the act of “comprehension”, one reunites mentally in a *totum simul* experiences that happened in series. The second one was brought forth by Hayden White: meaning is something that is attributed, not discovered, and such attribution is done with the use of socially shared resources such as plots. Both authors talked especially about aesthetical-cognitive usages such as historical texts, but we will then specify: every comprehension of past events reunites, among other things, past experiences already organized as comprehensions, and often with the use of plots by the agents themselves.

Both authors, to whom we can align names such as Frank Ankersmit, indicate the temporal relation between comprehension and meaning attribution, on the one hand, and that which is comprehended and signified, on the other: the act of reuniting events and hierarchizing them, creating redescriptions, suggesting attitudes towards them is done *retroactively*. Reflections such as these brought Mink to conclude that the historical representation “cancels time”. That is: instead of merely reproducing the agents’ experience, effectively or potentially described in its own terms, the historical representation transforms or refigures its temporality by presenting them in a simultaneous way.

Given the recent interest, motivated among others by White himself, for the “practical” dimension of the historical knowledge, it is worth adapting for our own discussion something pointed out by David Carr in the 1980s (partially in criticism of authors such as Mink and White): such mental acts take place in the “life world”, of which the professional historical fields are only a part and of which the historiographical ways of writing are a small variety among all the possible ways of manifestation. Above all, we would like to emphasize that the retroactive dynamic by which meanings are attributed to manifolds of things and experiences characterizes what Carr called “human reality”.

So, in the inside of a present “practical world”, historians produce meanings to events that happened in past “practical worlds”. Such meanings then return to the practical world, as a performative act. The paper unfolds two interrelated consequences from this. (1) The cancelation of time described by Mink is part of a *process* of social circulation of meanings, whose nature includes also de-cancelations. (2) Given that the very intersubjective human reality is *made* by processes such as comprehensions and emplotments, which are, by their turns, “supported” by unstable things such as human bodies, material spaces, books, wider intersubjective discourses, etc., then it can only be expected that such processes contain not only constructions, but also *disruptions*. This means that phenomena such as “sublime historical experience” and “presence” not only are not incompatible with Mink, White, and the early Ankersmit’s reflections – we take them to be complementary.

## Returnees, Recollection, and Religion: The Making of Cultural Memory in Post (1994)-Genocide Rwanda

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Tutsi *rapatriés*,<sup>9</sup> who fled Hutu uprisings in 1959 and 1973 and returned to Rwanda after the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) ended the 1994 genocide, number one million—nearly double the number of Tutsi who were massacred during the atrocity.<sup>10</sup> How may the spatial dislocation of refugees shape their recollection of Rwanda's history, and how may their return affect communal remembrance of the genocide? Tutsi who directly experienced the 1994 genocide are typically viewed as the “most authentic bearers of truth”<sup>11</sup> and these victims combined with repatriated refugees are corporately recognized as “survivors” by the state. Yet, the historical narrative of returnees, whose collective memory was incubated abroad, dominates “cultural memory”<sup>12</sup> in post-genocide Rwanda.

Parsing Maurice Halbwachs' “collective memory,” Jan Assmann proposes the term “cultural memory.” Cultural memory encompasses social, historical, and mythical time, and is symbolized through stable objects of collective memory *transmission*,<sup>13</sup> for example, Rwanda's *lieux de mémoire* (sites of memory). One way of framing how the collective memory of *rapatriés* dominates Rwanda's historical narrative is to consider that Rwandan President Paul Kagame, former commander of the RPF, functionally

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<sup>9</sup> Most refugees were from Uganda, Tanzania, Kenya, Congo (Zaire) and Burundi

<sup>10</sup> Timothy Longman and Théoneste Rutagengwa, “Religion, Memory, and Violence in Rwanda” in *Religion, Violence, Memory, and Place*, eds. Oren Baruch Stier and J. Shawn Landres (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006 ), 140.

<sup>11</sup> Elisabeth King, "Memory Controversies in Post-Genocide Rwanda: Implications for Peacebuilding," *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal* 5, 3 (2010) 293-309, 295. Available at: <http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/gsp/vol5/iss3/6p.295>.

<sup>12</sup> Longman and Rutagengwa, “Religion, Memory, and Violence,” 45.

<sup>13</sup> Jan Assman, “Communicative and Cultural Memory,” in *Cultural Memories Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, eds. Astrid Erll, Angar Nünning (New York: De Gruyter, 2008), 109.

operates his regime as a rival religion, which entails maintaining a community through the conservation of mythologies of pure origins and ritual. Per Halbwachs, “in all societies, religion is an essentially conservative social phenomenon, which seeks to preserve, through time, the... pure memory of an ancient past.”<sup>14</sup> Similarly, the Rwandan regime is preserving the polity by perpetuating a mythical, golden period in Rwandan history that is reinforced by national ritual commemorations and memorial site visits.

An idealized Rwandan past is a period of peaceful existence among Tutsi, Hutu, and Twa that preceded the pernicious, colonial influence that bitterly divided Tutsi and Hutu among the ethnic lines and fomented the 1994 genocide. The “idyllic” pre-colonial Rwanda and affection for the Tutsi monarchy that shapes the returnee imagination (and is not shared by survivors who were on the ground during the genocide)<sup>15</sup> is largely due to a process of romanticization afforded by geographic distance and the influence of national genocide memorial sites that aim to “educate returned Rwandan refugees.”<sup>16</sup> Moreover, while those who directly experienced the genocide tend to favor private “memorialization as an end in itself, others, especially some Tutsi elites who returned from exile, conceive of memorialization as a means to an end, notably the marketing of genocide.”<sup>17</sup> This latter purpose results in economic gain but such promotion also functions as ritual—reinforcing a mythos that is integral to the conservation of a product of cultural memory, *lieux de mémoire*, through the proscribed public practices of annual commemorations and visits to memorial sites that perpetuate the regime’s desired historical narrative. The collective, frozen in time, recollection of *rapatriés* is indispensable to Kagame’s maintenance of pure cultural memory, or the cyclical reproduction of a sacralized Rwandan past, which Kagame uses to rule and sustain public confidence in reconciliation

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<sup>14</sup> Maurice Halbwachs. *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (Paris: Alcan, 1925). 193 quoted in Guy G Stroumsa, “Religious memory, between orality and writing,” *Memory Studies* 9,3 (2016), 332–340, 333.

<sup>15</sup> Erin Jessee, *Negotiating Genocide in Rwanda: The Politics of History* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2017), 191.

<sup>16</sup> Brandon Dickson, “Perpetuating the Single Reality – the Culture of Rwanda’s Genocide Memorials,” *e-International Relations*, November 29, 2017, <http://www.e-ir.info/2017/11/29/perpetuating-the-single-reality-the-culture-of-rwandas-genocide-memorials/>.

<sup>17</sup> Through a Glass Darkly: Genocide Memorials in Rwanda 1994-Present Project. “About,” accessed January 18, 2018, <http://genocidememorials.cga.harvard.edu/home.html>.



and realization of a unified Rwanda.

## **Spatial Metaphors, Figures of Subjection. History and Metahistory in Disputes over Land.**

**Verónica Tozzi**

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**Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas**

This presentation enquires on a suitable metahistoric approach to analyze historical strategies of argumentation used in public spheres. Specifically, in the case of the frequent and bloody displacements from their ancient lands suffered and resisted today by indigenous people in Argentina. On the legal field, the dispute over possession of land appeals to historical reasons, even history itself. History of original population has been rewritten many times, using all kind of historical perspectives, but, at the same time, some essential connection between history and identity is not put in question. There is a common belief that only an essentialist account of identity would be able to legitimize the right to possession of the claimed land. In turn, allegations to the contrary also appeal to essentialism. Either by not recognizing that contemporary “indigenous individuals” have the racial purity or cultural authenticity that would legitimize their belonging to a pre-existing nation. Or classifying the various ethnic groups of aborigens as "Chilean Indians" or "Argentine Indians" according to the Nation State that was founded in nineteenth century in the territory inhabited by these peoples, that is, ignoring their pre-existence as an independent identity or nation.

Space metaphors go through the writing of history of Argentine Nation, also made possible by some peculiar game in Spanish of the verbs “ser” and “estar”, translated both to English by "to be". In the case at hand, it is remarkable that the "indigenous" issue was approached not in political but in “natural” terms. Given the foundational purpose of Argentine country of being a white nation (with mainly European population), the 1878-1885 military campaign undertaken to take possession of the land -killing and / or enslaving Indians- was called "Conquest of the desert". The “wild life of indians were considered as part of the landscape (part of the place to conquer)”. The dispute in the public sphere often runs in essentialist terms: the pre-existing aborigin identity vs. the

Argentine identity (fundamentally white as a result of the Spanish colonization and the European immigration from the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries). What is clear today in this dispute is that history is considered a source of legitimacy. Even more, the descendants of indigenous peoples not only claim the land and to be considered as historical actors but also claim to write their own history rejecting to be reduced to an extinct folkloric minority.

For about 35 years, a new interdisciplinary historiography, a field called ethnohistory, has been developing in Argentina. Something very important to highlight is the high theoretical self-consciousness expressed by these professionals about the limits of traditional historiography to study the political economic structures of pre-existing populations.

This communication proposes a metahistorical analysis of the historical narratives held by those who claim the disputed lands: original populations, landlords, and the state (in the case of state lands), as well as of this new theoretically self-conscious historiography. Our metahistorical perspective, of a narrativist and pragmatist nature, is nourished by three sources: from Antonis Liakos' notion of "cultural history" in order to characterize the field of discussion, from Hans Kellner's account on the notions of evidence, sources and historical facts, and from George G. Mead's account on past reality. The object is to show the practical productivity of a pragmatically informed narrativist metahistory for the construction, appreciation and circulation of strong narratives and powerful metaphors by the native peoples in order to achieve a livable life on their own terms in the contemporary world.

## Scenes of Struggle

### The Historical Narratives of Capitalism and Socialism

This paper aims to revisit the two master narratives of twentieth century history – those of capitalism and socialism – and reflect upon the challenges they pose to historical representation. More specifically, we will try to identify how capitalism and socialism involved different narrative techniques to represent space and time. This will allow us to reconsider the historical dynamics of twentieth century history as an age of antagonism, and submit the period's political dramas to a stronger focus on the narrative mediations of historical phenomena.

In fact, the initial efforts to historicize and conceptualize the twentieth century as an autonomous historical object, have invariably insisted on a dual, almost Manichean, opposition between *extremes*. Narratively, this led to a strong dramatization where the century appears in permanent tension. From the age of totalitarianisms to the oppositional narrative structure of the Cold War, the century is often seen as a combat between overwhelming forces. Susan Buck-Morss's *Dreamworld and Catastrophe. The passing of mass utopia in East and West* summarizes this narrative structure well: the century not only is in conflict, but the forces of the antagonism seem somewhat too vast for traditional forms of historical representation.

Hayden White has tried to come to terms with this extreme scale of phenomena with the concept of *modernist event*, to which early twentieth century modernist novel should be seen as a narrative model for historiography. This paper will explore a more contemporary corpus of novels and films that have taken capitalism and socialism as their explicit object of representation. Novels like Pier Paolo Pasolini's *Petrolio* or Peter Weiss's *Aesthetics of Resistance*, or films like Fernando Solanas and Otavio Gettino's *The Hour of the Furnaces* and Alexander Kluge's *News from Ideological Antiquity* have all, in different ways, tried to identify the main challenges posed to representation by twentieth century capitalism and socialism. As a provisional hypothesis, the paper will consider how the representation of space in the narratives of capitalism and the

representation of time in the narratives of socialism can be appropriated by historical representations of the twentieth century.

Luis Trindade

Senior Lecturer in Portuguese Studies

Birkbeck, University of London

## A Transnational Diaspora: the case of the Russian Emigration during the Cold War

*Benjamin Tromly*

This paper examines Russian émigré communities of the post-World War Two period in order to contribute to wider thinking the nature of identities in diasporic communities. Throughout modern history, diasporic communities have shown a paradoxical tendency toward adopting both national and “cosmopolitan” identities, as the need to sustain a national community abroad competes with a process of cultural hybridity stemming from experiences in host countries.<sup>18</sup> Indeed, the two factors are complementary, as the extremes of national seclusion and acculturation often appear as being unsatisfactory paths within a diaspora, at least within the first generation after displacement. My paper proceeds from the position that the nationalism-cosmopolitanism dialectic does not exhaust the complex play of identities within diasporas, which emerge around memories, survival strategies, regional identities, and – especially important in the case of exiles, understood as people banished from their homelands for political reasons and unable to return – ideologies.<sup>19</sup>

This paper draws on my manuscript on the Russian diaspora of the second half of the twentieth century to build on theories of diasporic identities. The Russian exile communities of the Cold War period was made up of different cohorts or “waves” of migration connected to moments of political upheaval in the homeland: the Russian Revolution and Civil War (1917-1922), the Second World War, and the crisis produced by movements for Russian-Jewish emigration during the 1970s and 1980s. While far from monolithic in their own right, these exile generations were marked by different backgrounds in the homeland, varied circumstances of exit, distinct survival strategies,

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<sup>18</sup> Introduction to Susanne Lachenicht and Kirsten Heinsohn (eds.), *Diaspora Identities: Exile, Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism in Past and Present* (Frankfurt & New York: Campus Verlag, 1999), 8-9.

<sup>19</sup> On this point, see Heléna Tóth, *An Exiled Generation: German and Hungarian Refugees of Revolution, 1848-1871* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 11-12.

Yossi Shain, *The Frontier of Loyalty: Political Exiles in the Age of the Nation-state* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1989), 13-17.

and divergent forms of political activity abroad. Examining the interactions of these different cohorts in political discourse, the paper argues that the Russian diaspora represented multiple visions of Russian nationality itself, each representing a different moment of national history. Conceptualizing Russia abroad as a transnational diaspora, I argue, helps to rescue the history of the Russian diaspora from flawed historiographical approaches to the subject, in particular the twin pitfalls of viewing émigrés through a purely national framework or dismissing them as essentially irrelevant to the history of their homeland.

## **The Space of the Page and the Time of History: On Johan Huizinga's Buddhism**

### **Notes**

Henning Trüper, Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies

In this presentation, I propose to outline some of the features in which the inescapable condition of being-written has impinged on modern European historical thought. I will lay out an argument about the manner in which writing practices of a specific late nineteenth and early twentieth century type helped establish an understanding of historical time that defined itself against another temporality in which the actual conduct of historical research was framed. Grappling with this distinction was a common marker of scholarly historical writing work of the period, and the vestiges of this process are discernible in historical works from this time.

As a case example, I will discuss the note-taking habits of Dutch orientalist and medievalist Johan Huizinga in connection with his 1902 study on Buddhism, in which the author mobilized historical records to address what he considered to be some of the theological underpinnings of European modernity. This choice of example, although it concerns a minor and later on abandoned line of work in Huizinga's oeuvre, has the advantage of straddling divides between philology and history and Europeanist and orientalist lines of thought.

The overall argument will touch on a variety of notions about the normative shaping of writing and authorship and their realization and subversion in practice. I will also suggest that the spatial organization of writing on the surface of the page (and its underside) was used as a symbolic tool for grappling with the ordering of historical time. The familiar pattern according to which time is theorized in spatial vocabulary will then turn out to have a substantial practical side as well. I will moreover briefly explore the idea that the theoretical as well as historical significance of the writing practice of history is not limited to patterns of scholarly thought but extends into the domain of political thought.



**Thomas Uebel** (Professor, Department of Philosophy, University of Manchester;  
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“On the Virtues and Vices of Danto’s Copatibilism”

As a preliminary to an evaluation of Arthur Danto’s of position vis-à-vis C.G. Hempel's claim that historical explanations should conform to the deductive-nomological model, it is here investigated what led Danto to formulate this compatibilist position in *Analytical Philosophy of History (AHP)* of 1965. The developmental trajectory that emerges from an analysis of earlier writings—including his PhD dissertation of 1952 and a forgotten paper of 1958—runs contrary to that presumed by commentators. *AHP* was not the midpoint of his ascent from mainstream philosopher of science to high priest of postmodern aesthetics, but represents a reasoned retreat from his early historical idealism.

## **History-making in an unequal public sphere**

**Leonie Wieser, 3<sup>rd</sup> INTH Network Conference**

This paper examines hierarchies amongst diverse channels of history making within society, such as community and public projects, exhibitions and events. It argues that the public and community fields of history-making are essential in order to realise the role of history in contextualising the present. These channels however remain considered less valuable than academic histories in the public sphere. The paper proposes that it is society's shared responsibility to elucidate historical inequalities, which span the past and present and impact on the writing of history.

This paper argues that structural inequalities in the making of diverse histories are key to investigating histories in public. Methodologically, non-academic histories and heritage making remedies some of the thematic omissions of academic historical research by expanding the choices of topics and the questions asked. Politically, non-academic history-making often contests hierarchies in historical knowledge-making – the themes and issues researched, represented and deemed important. Academic and public history institutions remain hierarchical and exclusionary, and shaped by centuries of patriarchal and colonial structures. There is however no adequate framework to evaluate and recognise the historic contribution of these non-academic channels. This paper argues that an open and broad definition of history is key in ensuring that inequalities in the making of histories can be challenged. Taking the case of a regional women's migration history project, this paper examines the function of community history-making in contesting exclusion in historical research, specifically that represented in the public sphere.

This paper argues for a shared responsibility to the public examination and understanding of historical inequality, also in the discipline itself. Acknowledging the making of history of non-academics and understanding their contributions to historic research is one step to creating a shared space for historical debate and investigation.

**Abstract** for the 3rd INTH Network Conference: "Place and Displacement: The Spacing of History", Stockholm, August 20th–22nd, 2018

**Individual paper Martin Wiklund**

**Title: "A place that does not yet exist – the need for historical therapy of possible futures"**

In opposition to claims to objectivism and a view from nowhere, a number of notions have been developed that emphasize the placedness or situatedness of historians and historiography in terms of standpoints, points of view and perspectives etc. Within ordinary historical research, a common way of understanding the duty of the epistemologically responsible historian is for him/her to declare his/her perspective and standpoint from where he/she is writing. Even when a plurality of different identity factors are included in such perspectives, they tend to be sensitive to and emphasize already existing identities. Since cognitive identities have the possibility of transcending social identities and to move away from earlier points of view, the perspective of historical interpretations contains special opportunities. Historical narratives typically outline roads from the past that indicate directions for the future. In the present condition of strongly politicized historical narratives, circulated to provide political fuel for desired futures, such futures tend to become fixed standpoints and goals, from which and for the sake of which the interpretations of the past are organized. In a world of strongly conflictual identities, the place or point of view of history writing will necessarily be highly conflictual and contested. Such conflicts of historical interpretations and futures point to the need for some form of therapy of history. The historical narratives in question concern the future, in terms of desires and fears, interests and reluctances. The problem does not only concern the involved parties' present identities, but rather: who do we and you want to be tomorrow? Who should we be tomorrow? The place of tomorrow is a place that does not yet exist. This makes place for the dimension of the possible. What does it mean to write history from such a place? That is the direction that this paper explores. It does so by sketching a form of therapy of historical interpretation and future identities, a therapy of possible futures. Inspiration is taken from narrative therapy in psychology. If history has been used for building imaginary homes for peoples and a

sense of belonging somewhere in the world, how can historical interpretations be thought of as ways of orientation toward a possible place? History as a therapy of the future needs to create new places, possible places and places of the possible – a place that do not yet exist.

Wiklund, Martin (1970), Reader (Docent) in History of ideas at University of Gothenburg (2014), Ph.D in History at Lund University 2006 (*I det modernas landskap. Historisk orientering och kritiska berättelser om det moderna Sverige mellan 1960 och 1990*). He has published a second monograph (*Historia som domstol. Historisk värdering och retorisk argumentation kring "68"*, 2012) and a number of articles on historical consciousness and theory of history, and edited a Swedish anthology with texts by Jörn Rüsen. Main research interests: theory of history, functions and uses of history, history of historical thinking, the crisis of historicism. <http://su-se.academia.edu/MartinWiklund>

## Topological History: Towards a Spatial Understanding of Nietzschean Genealogy

Farida Youssef

### Abstract:

Nietzsche's *On the Genealogy of Morals* has a historical and a critical dimension. In this text, he examines the history of values and morals, but he also distances himself from questions of value and origins in order to see the value of values. He argues that the origin pertains more to an evaluation or an interpretation. Moving from origin to 'value of value' embosses the genealogy with a critical dimension, that of examining the shifts between interpretations, attending to why some last and others disappear. In fact, his *Genealogy* is not tasked with tracing a chronology of events, it contains no dates. All the more, as this essay will argue, this rejection of linear history and teleology can be seen as an exploration of the difference and distance, hence space, between accounts. Therefore, to further this analysis, this essay aims to show that Nietzsche's genealogical method is a spatialisation of history. The *Genealogy's* critical dimension, looking at the 'value of values', will be interpreted through the question of space. The essay will first look at why and how Nietzsche thinks history is an interpretation, the importance of perspectivism will be central here and, heightened through the role of imagery in the *Genealogy*. Nietzsche's understanding of history as interpretation will be arrived at by relating the genealogy to sight. By seeing differently, or Nietzsche's perspectivism, we will then be in a position to introduce difference to history, in the form of images. Secondly, the essay will see how his genealogy, which borrows from evolutionary theory, intends to draw a topological history, shaped like a network, rather than a line. The essay will also explain that this spatial presentation of the past is originated by the genealogy itself adopting space as its mode of reasoning. In conclusion, Nietzsche brings to the study of origins the importance of spacing, which we can expand as the importance of space for the theory of history. While the *Genealogy* will be the centre of the examination, the text will be brought in dialogue with Benjamin, Deleuze and Foucault's writings on Nietzsche and on history.

## **Espen Ytreberg (UiO): Simulta-nation**

Nations require a sense of simultaneity: this argument has been perhaps the most influential case of a temporal category being recruited to explain the formation and continuation of collectivities on a societal macro scale. A rough gloss on the argument would be to say that the sense of belonging to something like a nation has depended historically on an experience of presence in absence. Citizens scattered across the land have felt themselves to be part of one nation because they are audiences experiencing to the same media output at the same time. In media and cultural theory, several media have been recruited in the role of national unifier: In particular, print media have been tied to the rise of national imagined communities in the 18th and 19th centuries (Benedict Anderson); broadcasting has been linked both to nationalist sentiment and to the infrastructures of the nation-state (Paddy Scannell).

In the presentation I want to examine the nature, potentials and limitations of the link between simultaneity and nation via a closer examination of these key works. As a starting-point I want to examine which notions of simultaneity and nationalism/the nation they use. Second, and mainly, I want to examine the idea of simulta-nation as relying on highly complex forms of synchronisation. Provisionally, one can note that it requires an enduringly successful syncing up of communication's multiple production, distribution and reception temporalities, as well as an internal sync of the further multiplied temporalities involved in different people's situated media experiences. It also presupposes a working set of generic and social conventions to unify temporal layers and modes at the levels of the media text. The efficacies of all these syncings-up are all arguable, yet the simulta-nation link has been highly successful in media, cultural and social history. We might want to understand more precisely why that is the case.

## **The Place of Non-Representationalism in Analytical Philosophy of History**

Eugen Zelenák

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Analytical philosophy proved to be one of the most popular, if not the dominant, ways of doing philosophy in the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the English-speaking academic world. Although there is no unanimously accepted characterization of analytical philosophy, it is usually clear which concrete authors and works fall under this label for there are certain features that tend to characterize this type of philosophy. The same applies to analytical philosophy of history. Even though this name is used occasionally, it is relatively easy to identify which authors and which works might be covered by this label. To simplify, analytical philosophy of history is usually associated with discussions regarding historical explanation, historical knowledge and linguistic turn. During the recent discussions about the nature of history and historical knowledge, one may identify an approach that might be called non-representationalism. In this paper, I focus on non-representationalism and examine its role within the analytical movement in philosophy of history. I argue that non-representationalism is one of the fruitful approaches within the analytical movement.

In the first part of the paper, I briefly discuss the features of analytical philosophy and consider how this applies to analytical philosophy of history. In the second part of the paper, I turn to non-representationalism and its position within philosophy of history. To introduce non-representationalism I compare it with its representationalist alternative. This comparison helps to highlight the main point of non-representationalism – historical works should not be viewed as representations of the past but as the outcomes of certain practices (argumentative, discursive or constructive). During the examination of this approach I draw on the works of Paul Roth and Jouni-Matti Kuukkanen and I use concrete example from history to illuminate the nature of non-representationalism. I conclude the paper by discussing the role of non-representationalism within the analytical philosophy of history.

“Rethinking Analytical Philosophy of History: Origins, Contributions, and Prospects”

A primary goal motivating these panel proposals concerns reconnecting those researching in analytical philosophy (under some description) back to theory of history, and relatedly to establish a connection between researchers in INTH and those in HOPOS (the History of the Philosophy of Science, the premier international association for people working on this topic). Because of the very strong interest expressed when I initially solicited papers for this topic, I am proposing two connected panels. (Members of each panel have committed to coming to both sessions.) Based on the abstracts, the panels break naturally into two groups. Panel 1 examines broad issues relating to both the history of analytic philosophy of history and how this history influences its prospect going forward. Panel 2 takes as its point of origin the still fundamentally important work of Arthur Danto and examines how this influences and remains relevant to theory of history.



**Session Proposal „Time and Decision-making: Philosophical and Historical Perspectives“ / 3rd INTH Network Conference Stockholm, 20.-22. August 2018**

*Session Proposers: Philip Hoffmann-Rehnitz / Tim Rojek (University of Muenster, Germany)*

Since antiquity, the depiction and understanding of decisions as well as of its constitution and genesis have been central problems (not only) of historiography. In this respect, aspects of time and temporality have always played a central role, such as the question about the right (or wrong) moment to take a decision (*kairos*) or whether and how (historical) agents could foresee future developments or events.

If “decision-making” is understood as a specific form of social (i.e. intersubjective and communicative) and processual action, which is oriented towards generating an discrete decision from a plurality of possible alternative options; and if “decision” is understood as an (social) act, which shall determine or at least influence future actions; then it becomes obvious that “decision-making” is being performed against a twofold prospect horizon (“Zukunfts- und Erwartungshorizont”) and that it is, thereby, characterized by a specific structuration of time and temporality. *First*, decision-making comprises a more or less clearly determined space of time, which is confined by the (final) decision not yet taken (in many cases it is uncertain, if this will happen at all). And *second*, a wider horizon is constituted through the (potential) consequences and effects possible decisions may have on future actions. This second horizon is being constituted in processes of decision-making through “fictional expectations” (Jens Beckert), without which decision-making is not possible in any sensible way. The (social) processes how such expectations are formed are highly variable and contingent upon historical social, cultural as well as situational contexts. The specific temporal structuration of decision-making brings about different kinds of uncertainties. During processes of decision-making it is not only uncertain whether or not they will finally lead to a decision (and if so, what the decision will look like); it is also uncertain whether or not decisions have any (and if so: which) consequences and impacts on future actions (irrespective of the question in how far they correspond with the “fictional expectations”). Furthermore, both prospect horizons of

decision-making are interdependent and thereby intensify the uncertainties of decision-making in a way that makes it rather improbable for people to engage in decision-making in the first place.

The outlined (conceptual and empirical) connections between decision-making and time and temporality are reflected in historiography as well as in the philosophy of history, the philosophy of time and the philosophy of existentialism in manifold ways. How this is done varies across time, place and cultural context. For this reason it is of particular importance how the future and future points in time and with it the relation between present (decision-making) actions and future actions are conceptualized and (semantically, narratively, discursively etc.) represented. If the future is seen as totally determined and ‘closed’, decision-making does not seem to be possible and necessary. Therefore, a certain degree of openness of the future and a consciousness of contingency seems to be a fundamental condition for decision-making as a meaningful form of social action. Recent research on the history of time and future (and its cultural representations) has demonstrated that conceptions of contingency and “open futures” (as a not predetermined space of time) are not a singular characteristic of (Western) modernity, but were (and are) also relevant for non- and premodern societies. Insofar, the latter can also be seen (in the words of the sociologist Uwe Schimank) as “Entscheidungsgesellschaften” (‘societies of decision-making’). Nevertheless, the ways time and future are conceptualized have fundamentally changed from premodern to modern times as well, connected to this, how the temporality of social action in general and of decision-making in particular is represented.

The contributions of this panel will discuss the outlined problems and relations focusing mainly on general social as well as academic and especially philosophical discourses, especially the philosophy of history (Hegel, Existentialism). Central questions are in particular:

- 1) In how far and in what way is the temporality of decision-making reflected upon and represented in specific cultural and discursive contexts, especially the relationship between the presence of ongoing decision-making processes and its double prospect

horizon (constituted by the possible decisions to be taken and their possible effects on future actions)?

2) What are, in the respective discursive contexts, specific semantic and narrative forms of expression as well as discursive figurations (especially philosophical conceptions), by means of which these relations are reflected upon and represented, and how did they change over time, particularly between early modern times and modernity?

3) In how far did transformations in the way time, in particular future times, and the temporality of action are conceptualized alter the possibilities how (present as well as past) action is and can be described and interpreted as decision-making?

Panel proposal 3<sup>rd</sup> INTH conference “Place and Displacement: The Spacing of History”,  
20-22 August 2018, Stockholm

**Title:** Microhistorical Epistemology. Building the Epistemology of Historiography  
through Practice

**Chair:** Jouni-Matti Kuukkanen (University of Oulu)

**Commentator:** Giuseppina D'Oro (Keele University)

**Panelists:** Jouni-Matti Kuukkanen (University of Oulu), Ilkka Lähteenmäki (University of Oulu), Georg Gangl (University of Oulu); potentially a postdoctoral researcher to be appointed later this year at the University of Oulu. The panelists are all part of a 4-year research project (2018-2021) with the same title at the Centre of Philosophical Studies of History at Oulu University, Finland.

**Panel description:** A wide consensus seems to be emerging on “epistemology naturalized”: Philosophers cannot assume a standpoint above and beyond the actual sciences and their practices and proceed from the pure philosophical standards of a priori conceptual or transcendental analysis or ineluctable truths of logic. This ‘postpositivist’ consensus is also widely shared in the philosophy of history and historiography, along with the commitment that historiography is nevertheless a rational and disciplined practice that produces knowledge (pace some in the postmodernist and narrativist camp).

In order to understand these knowledge-producing practices and their epistemic grounding it is necessary to focus our studies on disciplinary-specific practices. In the philosophy of historiography, epistemic values such as coherence, consistency, explanatory power, empirical adequacy, scope, exemplification, originality, fruitfulness, simplicity have occupied the discussion in recent years in this respect. Strong naturalist such as Paul Roth are weary of the validity of such values beyond the any locale while others, such as Peter Kosso and Aviezer Tucker, have put strong emphasis on one of

those values, coherence in particular, as the justification of historiographic knowledge claims.

To put it bluntly, strong naturalists claim that

- (1) any general theories are universalistic and empirically poorly warranted. No analysis of local context can provide a generally applicable theory.

By contrast, the critics of strong naturalism argue that

- (2) any analysis of practice that is only locally focused is normatively irrelevant, because the validity of conclusions is internal, i.e. confined to this one specific locality.

In short, we are faced with a dilemma between positions keen on discipline constituting epistemic values and forms of strong naturalism. Given this state of affairs, it thus looks like that we have either empirically unfounded general theories or normatively irrelevant local analyses.

Microhistorical epistemology aims to solve this dilemma by focusing on local practices with an intent to identify epistemically significant principles in this practice. Its main aim is to develop a novel way to construct epistemic theories and to learn about the practice of historiography. In other words, it develops and implements a method, the epistemologically relevant microhistorical method, which enables the generation of warranted epistemic principles and even theories. A central premise is that the dichotomy between data and interpretation is too simplistic, because history writing begins with an existing discursive field and historical consciousness. In other words, previous research and writing sets a starting point for any research. This is to say that rules guiding epistemic inferences in historiography must be sought from the social practice of historians. This enables one to understand how a historian arrives at a specific account, in what way this account is justified and what kind of role evidence plays in this process. That is, which practices justify their intellectual outcomes (and which not) and can therefore be regarded as knowledge.

## 3rd INTH Network Conference: “Place and Displacement: The Spacing of History”

### Proposal for panel session

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**Title of the panel session:** What is eurocentrism?

**Chair:** Thiago Nicodemo – State University of Rio de Janeiro - UERJ,  
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**Co-chair:** Oldimar Cardoso – Anima Transmedia, Brazil

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**Member:** Dag Herbjørnsrud – Senter for global og komparativ idéhistorie, Norway

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**Member:** Naïd Mubalegh, University of Lisbon, Portugal

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**Member:** Pedro Afonso Cristóvão dos Santos – Universidade da Integração Latino-  
Americana - UNILA, Brazil

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### Abstracts

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**Overall panel proposal**

**What is eurocentrism?**

The term "Eurocentrism" is generally understood not only as the various forms of political, economic and social influence of Europe on the globe, but above all as a reference to the European *bias* implicated in concepts and values that operate in science and in other forms of understand and conceptualize the world. The purpose of this panel is discuss the relevance and pertinence of this concept throughout presentations that deals with the many ways knowledge transfers occur from Europe to the "peripheries" (and its historical narratives and metanarratives).

As defined by James Morris Blaut, it "is not Eurocentric to prefer European music to other music, or European cuisine to other cuisine. It is Eurocentric to make the claim that Europeans are more inventive, innovative, progressive, noble, courageous, and so on, than every other group of people: or that Europe as a place has a more healthy, productive, stimulating environment than other places". Eurocentric historians have propagated the idea that Europe grew richer and more powerful than all other societies because of religion, race, environment and culture. But to break away from an Eurocentric conception of History, we need more than to refuse this metanarrative of European superiority. An Eurocentric History is not only related to focus on historical sources and events from Europe, but also rooted in European sciences, historiography and concepts.

**Panel title: Historical experience, production of the place, and the writing of history.**

**Violence, displacements and resistances**

Panel description:

Conceiving historical space as a social production is no novelty – although in many cases the writing of history eludes reflection on the spatial production that social life entails. However, historical experience of individuals and collectives in the social production of the place isn't always emphasized.

In the historical production of space, communitary forces, State interests and transterritorial actors are combined with individual and collective experiences that are transgenerationally articulated.

Those who aspire to exploit the territories of communities in the present, are also interested in the disarticulation of memory and historical experience of peoples and subjects. Spatial policies are usually accompanied by policies of forgetfulness; facing these policies, collective resistances mobilize historical experience and reproduce territories and articulate historical consciousness towards the reproduction and defense of their vital spaces.

Spatial production and reproduction, as well as the production of resistance struggles, are all nurtured by historical experience in different levels. Thus, the production of physical places articulates with the production of symbolic places. In this sense it is possible to consider the place as a space appropriated by the subjects by mobilizing day-to-day or long-term historical experiences (which can be structural, generational or intergenerational).

According to the historiographic operation, which are the consequences of thinking the place as a living production in which communitary historical experience and transterritorial pressures interact?

We propose that, in the experience of living generations, which can be thought, following R. Koselleck, in multiple dimensions -structural, generational, original-, it is possible to explore the traces of the historical production of space; this invites to a displacement of observation/interrogation and the historiographical action towards the interaction with living subjects.



In this panel we will reflect upon the study of five cases in the American continent: two Mexican cases: Temacapulín, Jalisco, a settlement threatened by the construction of a dam, that has been in resistance for twelve years; and the case of the indigenous community of Mezcala de la Asunción, Jalisco, which has repeatedly mobilized its own historical experience as a weapon against dispossession; a Colombian case about sexual violence and displacement of women in the community of El Salado, and about how they have developed discursive, symbolic and physical places to process experience, construct memory and rehabilitate the territory; a Hawaiian case that reflects upon the nexus between climate change, food security, the communitary use of historical narratives, family histories and indigenous practices in a particular food system; and finally, a case about how communities remember death, social death, and resurrections in narratives, visual culture, and organizing that responds to militarisms and migration through artists' video works produced in the transnational feminist project "Migratory Times".

We will emphasize the challenges posed to the writing of history by the production and reproduction of places in which communities and transterritorial interests are confronted.

## **Panel suggestion for INTH 2018 in Stockholm**

### **In and Out of Sync: New Ways of Thinking about Time and History**

**Convenors: Stefan Tanaka, Geoffrey Bowker, Helge Jordheim**

Over the past few decades, since Koselleck's *Futures Past*, historians of different kind have increasingly interrogated the ways that time and temporality are part of history, rather than an externality. This panel builds upon the work of scholars who have argued that we must move beyond Newtonian absolute time toward multiple times and temporalities.

Exposure and criticism of linear time are relatively easy; changing historical understanding and practices are much more difficult. History has built up a rich toolkit of conceptual structures, vocabularies, and methodologies to execute the writing of histories according to what is now called classical time.

A central concept in the use and centrality of time in history is *synchronization*. In classical time we think of a moment of coordination: of coming together (at the same time) or of an orderly structure (development). Thinking about times in plural, however, synchronization changes into a much more complex and unpredictable process, a kind of work, by which different times – be they political, social, scientific, religious, technological etc. – are adjusted and adapted to each other to form arrangements, regimes, and hierarchies, which stabilize or transform their environments. In this framework it is possible to be non-synchronous (out of sync) even though at the same time and even though in the same order, in a way which impacts both communication and power relations.

The panelists use an exploration into synchronization to both expose limitations of classical time, and to explore how histories that operate according to multiple times offer other ways to conceive of our relation to pasts.

## Panel proposal for the 3<sup>rd</sup> INTH network conference: ‘Place and Displacement’

### **Panel title**

‘Future histories’(I and II)

### **Conveners**

Katie Digan (Ghent University), Colin Sterling (University College London)

### **Panellists**

Katie Digan (Ghent University)

Dr. Colin Sterling (University College London)

Zoltan Boldizsár Simon (Bielefeld University)

Prof. Cornelius Holtorf (Linnaeus University)

Broos Delanote (KU Leuven)

(Dr. Tim Flohr Sørensen) (University of Copenhagen)

### **Panel structure**

In this panel, we bring together researchers from different disciplines to discuss the way in which the future features in our thinking about the present and past. The researchers in this panel work in theoretical history, archaeology, heritage studies and geography. We propose a two-part panel with three speakers each. The speakers of each sub-panel will serve as commentators on the other sub-panel. The first sub-panel, consisting of Katie Digan, Zoltan Boldizsár Simon and Broos Delanote, will consider the role of the future in writing the past and the present from the perspective of theoretical history. The second sub-panel, consisting of Colin Sterling, Cornelius Holtorf and Tim Flohr Sørensen, will consider the role of the future in thinking about our past and present from the perspectives of archaeology and heritage studies.

### **Panel theme**

In his influential 2009 essay *The Climate of History*, Dipesh Chakrabarty takes Alan Weisman’s well-known thought experiment imagining ‘the world without us’ as a critical

point of departure for exploring contemporary moods of anxiety about the end of humanity. Chakrabarty is drawn to Weisman's experiment for the way in which it puts the future 'beyond the grasp of historical sensibility'. This resonates with the crisis of climate change, which calls for a mixing together of capital and species history that – in Chakrabarty's words – stretches 'the very idea of historical understanding'. In the shadow of the Anthropocene, artists, writers, historians, archaeologists, and geologists are now beginning to grapple with this new historical paradigm. Building on the work of Weisman and others, one of the key tools that has emerged in this task is the concept of speculative or anticipatory history: confronting *that which will have been* through experimental narratives that owe as much to science fiction as to history writing. Different labels have been attached to this work (future anterior, speculative memory, anterior posteriority, preliminary mourning, prolepsis), with scholars from diverse disciplines paying close attention to issues of what will be left behind, and how it will be read. The imagined perspective of a future historian also begs the question of what we *want* to leave behind. Our perceived responsibility towards future generations and our desire to move towards an imagined better future plays an obvious role in attitudes towards material culture, heritage, landscape management and the climate. But it can also shape the way we deal with or write about the past. When Hayden White proposes the idea of 'progressive history', he pleads for historical writing that makes claims based on the future rather than the past.<sup>20</sup> According to White, the past should be used to imagine a future we can act on in the present rather than distract us from it. This idea has been adapted by geographers who, especially in the writing of histories of place, explore the idea of 'anticipatory history'. Borrowing from the concept of 'anticipatory adaptation', anticipatory history can be a way to write about the history of a place that rejects the often-used linear chronological progression that 'lands us up gently in the present moment of enlightened stewardship'.<sup>21</sup> Instead, it proposes a multifaceted narrative that orients itself through contemporary and future concerns. Rather than see this trend as simply playful or apolitical, we want to examine the grounded implications of anticipatory thinking across the humanities and social sciences, bringing heritage,

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<sup>20</sup> Ewa Domanska, 'A Conversation with Hayden White', *Rethinking History* 12, no. 1 (March 2008): 3–21.

<sup>21</sup> Caitlin DeSilvey, 'Making Sense of Transience: An Anticipatory History', *Cultural Geographies* 19, no. 1 (2012): 31–54.

archaeology, history, literature, and memory studies into dialogue with each other to illuminate the knotted pasts and unequal presents that form differential concepts of the future.