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Contents **Volume 2**

Heinrich Grebe
Bringing the "empty shell" back to life:
On the metaphorical co-construction of dementia
in potential-oriented contexts 83

Anita Bagus
Forced internationality of a national discipline.
'Cold Wars' in the transformation process of *Volkskunde* after 1945 104

Helmut Groschwitz
A modern myth for the nation.
Jacob Grimm's Teutonic Mythology (1835) and
the ethnicization of the Germans 126

Jens Wietschorke
Architecture in Cultural Analysis.
State and perspectives of the research 144

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Heinrich Grebe

Bringing the "empty shell" back to life:*

On the metaphorical co-construction of dementia in potential-oriented contexts

*Abstract:*This paper presents an analysis of metaphors for dementia found in press reports self-help and experience-based literature, and nonfiction books that mainly were published in Germany. The metaphors in question derive from a relatively recent discursive context that can be characterized as "potential-oriented." The metaphors used in this context play a key role in interpreting and mediating experiences of dementia: They identify specific skills possessed by people with dementia, highlight effective ways of offering support and illustrate the many aspects of living with dementia. A few "deficit-oriented" metaphors for dementia are included in the analysis by way of contrast. A comparison of the two reveals the structural characteristics of a discursive re-evaluation of the phenomenon of dementia based on metaphorical usage. The metaphorical structures in question are identified by reference to the differentiation between structural, orientational and ontological metaphors developed by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson. The analysis of metaphors is preceded by an overview of biomedical, social scientific and cultural studies perspectives on dementia.

Keywords: Dementia, Alzheimer's, metaphors, discourse, power/knowledge

Perceptions of dementia are becoming more nuanced: Whereas the dominant issue in the past was inexorable loss and decline, other perspectives – beyond loss (see the eponymously titled book by Hydén, Lindemann, and Brockmeier 2014, see also Parland, Kelly, and Innes 2017) – are becoming increasingly apparent. This trend finds expression in a range of contexts, including statements made by people directly affected and their relatives, dementia support organizations (Bryden 2011; Geiger 2014; Wißmann and Gronemeyer 2008), media reports, academic analyses, civil society activities and political campaigns (Aktion Demenz 2014; Innes 2009; Van Gorp and Vercruysse 2012). These various representations and programs refer to the following three points in particular: Firstly, dementia does not necessarily lead to all-encompassing incompetence or a total disintegration of personality of those affected by it (Goldsmith 1996; Kitwood 2013); secondly, the situation in which people with dementia and those around them find themselves can include positive experiences (Beard, Knauss, and Moyer 2009; Netto, Jenny, and Philip 2009); and

* German version in *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 2015, 111 (2): 236–256. Translated by Kathleen Cross.

thirdly, many of the burdens and problems that arise in the context of cognitive impairments caused by dementia are connected with the way society is organized and, as such, can be mitigated by appropriate interventions at a societal level (Leibing and Cohen 2006; Sabat 2001). Taking these insights as a point of departure, the present essay highlights the fact that sociocultural factors frame our perceptions of and practical approaches to dementia fundamentally, thereby enabling or constraining specific modes and possibilities of living with dementia. The established repertoire of ideas is, thus, expanded: Dementia is not just a biomedical phenomenon, but, more especially, a "social and cultural entity" as well (Whitehouse, Maurer, and Ballenger 2000: 125).

This assumption is illustrated here using the example of the metaphorical co-construction of dementia. The reason for this focus on metaphorical expressions is because they are important elements in complex processes involving the interpretation of dementia as a phenomenon. The source material for the analysis consists of compound metaphors used in press articles, self-help literature and first-person accounts, and in nonfiction books on the topic of dementia. Special attention is paid to those media accounts of dementia whose content can be characterized as "potential-oriented," that is, those that are consistent with the focus on circumstances "beyond loss" mentioned above. My hypothesis is that these accounts signal a metaphorical and discursive reevaluation of dementia. Before embarking on the analysis of metaphors, I offer an overview of the developments and current priorities addressed in dementia research.

1. Perspectives on dementia

Biomedical and provision-related issues

The biomedical concept of dementia refers to a syndrome involving disorders "[…] of a previously greater mental capacity." In addition to "the memory, at least one other intellectual function must be affected (e.g. capacity to make judgements, capacity to think, planning)" (Förstl and Lang 2011: 6)[1]. Various "behavioural and psychological symptoms of dementia" (BPSD) are also described: "[…] agitation, aberrant motor behavior, anxiety, elation, irritability, depression, apathy, disinhibition, delusions, hallucinations, and sleep or appetite changes" (Cerejeira, Lagarto, and Mukaetova-Ladinska 2012).

Dementia symptoms occur as a "result of what is usually a chronic or progressive brain disease" (ICD 10). Some 70 % of all forms of dementia are thought to derive from Alzheimer's disease (Reitz and Mayeux 2014). During its progress, "the neurons of the cerebrum, the diencephalon and, to a small extent, the brain stem

1 All quotations from non-English language sources have been translated into English throughout.

die off" (Schmidtke and Otto 2012: 203). The "[k]ey neuropathological hallmarks" of Alzheimer's disease are considered to be above all extracellular β-amyloid plaques and intracellular neurofibrillary tangles in the brain (Reitz and Mayeux 2014: 640). The aetiology of Alzheimer's is currently unknown (Balin and Hudson 2014).

Vascular dementia constitutes some 10–30 % of dementia cases and, as such, is the second most common form of dementia (Haberl 2011). It also develops progressively and is believed to be caused by cerebral micro- and macroangiopathies. As such, Alzheimer's disease and vascular dementia are the most widespread primary diseases in the context of cognitive impairments related to dementia, and they occur together frequently: "[N]euroimaging and autopsy-verified studies have revealed that a large majority of dementia cases are attributed to cerebral mixed vascular and neurodegenerative pathology" (Qui and Fratiglioni 2017: 17).

The number of people affected by dementia in Germany is estimated at 1.5 million (Bartsch 2014). The occurrence of dementia-related cognitive impairments correlates positively with a person's age: "While a little over 1% of the population aged between 65 and 69 suffers from dementia, one third of the group aged over 90 are affected" (Bickel 2012: 19).

No effective causal therapy exists for Alzheimer's and vascular dementia. For this reason, biomedical dementia researchers are looking closely into potential strategies for prevention (Solomon et al. 2014). At the same time, recommendations for medical treatment focus on certain pharmaceutical products and the importance of psychosocial therapies. Regarding pharmacotherapy, the following three approaches are the main ones: Antidementives, which may be capable of delaying a reduction in cognitive capacity; drugs used to "treat relevant vascular risk factors and primary diseases that lead to further vascular damage" (DGN/DGPPN 2016: 63); and the possibility of pharmacological treatment for BPSD. However, certain forms of these approaches are subject to criticism, combined with demands for alternative strategies in dealing with BPSD: "Non-medicinal therapies should be used in the first instance" (Savaskan et al. 2014: 141).

Non-medicinal therapies include various psychosocial approaches (e.g. cognitive training, occupational therapy, memory therapy, self-maintenance therapy, artistic and sensory procedures). Their aim is to "[…] *reduce neuropsychiatric symptoms* such as fear and depression, and to *maintain cognitive, social and everyday practical skills* as well as *physical well-being*" [italics in original] (Romero and Förstl 2012: 371). Medical guidelines define these forms of therapy increasingly as a "crucial and necessary component of looking after people with dementia and their relatives" (DGN/DGPPN 2016: 84). As indicated here, such therapies are also intended to benefit the person's relatives. In their case, the main aim is to reduce the strains and stresses summarized by the term "care burden" (Wolfs et al. 2012), which arise as a result of care work often being undertaken within the family setting: "some 75%

of all patients with dementia in Germany are cared for by family members" (Bruder 2011: 471). Family support often occurs in settings involving a mix of welfare and care. The main people involved in this in many western societies are trained outpatient staff, voluntary helpers and, frequently, "migrant care workers" (Walsh and Shutes 2013).

Social and cultural issues

As the biomedical concept of dementia itself illustrates, the phenomenon of dementia with its specific set of symptoms also impacts sociocultural contexts specifically. Furthermore, pharmacological drugs cannot cure the various forms of dementia; the usual approach is to initiate (psycho-)social treatment, both in extended therapeutic and care settings and in networks of support involving the person's family and lifeworld contacts.

From a cultural studies perspective, it is important to stress that, fundamentally, illnesses are "dependent on how they are known, dealt with and experienced and, as such, are always historically situated" (Beck 2001: 33). Thus, disease is "always also a social and cultural phenomenon" (ibid.). Indeed, the example of Alzheimer's makes this especially clear. There is no doubt that the cognitive-behavioral and cerebral phenomena associated with the term Alzheimer's disease exist "independently of the way they are constructed scientifically or socially" (ibid.). Nevertheless, conceptually speaking, Alzheimer's is the expression of a multidimensional process of construction (Ballenger 2006; Whitehouse 2000).

Contrary to narratives spread widely especially by the media, this concept of the disease did not develop rigorously from the discovery presented at a medical conference in 1906 by Alois Alzheimer often mentioned. While conducting an autopsy on the brain of a patient who displayed severe dementia-related cognitive impairment at the presenile age of 51, Alzheimer found abnormal clusters of "'senile plaques' and 'neurofibrillary tangles'"[2] (Lock 2008: 57). In 1910, Emil Kraepelin (1910) defined these neurobiological phenomena as a cause of presenile dementia symptoms and characterized the process as a separate disease, Alzheimer's, distinct from senile dementia. Kraepelin's definition of the disease met with opposition, however, and was to play only a minor role in the medical concept of dementia during the years that followed.

2 Senile plaques are pronounced accumulations of the amyloid peptides mentioned on p. 2 above, which form outside the neurons (nerve cells): "The peptides probably have toxic effects both interneuronally as well as in the extra-cellular space and contribute to the neurons dying off" (Schmidtke and Otto 2011: 205). Neurofibrillary tangles, by contrast, are found in large quantities within neurons and consist mainly of tau proteins: "It is not yet clear how tau pathology is linked to amyloid-β pathology. [...] Similarly unclear to date is whether tau pathology reflects a malfunction of the cell or perhaps even a cellular protective mechanism" (ibid.).

It was not until the 1960s and 1970s that there was a biomedical "Rediscovery of Alzheimer Disease" (Katzman and Bick 2001). The reason for the rediscovery and discursive-clinical establishment of Alzheimer's disease, however, was not just a greater interest in possible connections between specific brain-related and cognitive-behavioral phenomena. Instead, a number of factors came together, including medical insights (e.g. brain autopsies were increasingly being conducted on patients with dementia symptoms), technical innovations (electron microscope), new fields of research on age and ageing (differentiation between normal and pathological processes of ageing) and the interests of various institutions and groups (e.g. National Institute on Aging, Alzheimer's disease movement) (Ballenger 2006).

As sociologist Karen A. Lyman showed in 1989, the biomedical concept of Alzheimer's was initially the leading one in scientific fields beyond neurobiology and medicine – especially in social gerontology. Lyman resolutely criticizes this situation: "[R]eliance upon the biomedical model to explain the experiences of dementing illness overlooks the social construction of dementia and the impact of treatment contexts and caregiving relationships on disease progression" (Lyman 1989: 598).

In view of current developments, however, two comments are in order regarding Lyman's views. Firstly, medical treatment guidelines themselves now consider the influence of "treatment contexts and caregiving relationships" by referring explicitly to psychosocial therapeutic approaches. Secondly, Annette Leibing and others have shown that part of the reason why the biomedical profession has come to pay greater attention to the behavioral and psychological problems experienced by people with dementia is that dementia studies in psychology and the social sciences, as well as patients' and relatives' organizations have drawn attention to them (Leibing 2006). The biomedical concept of dementia is not only being taken up unidirectionally by other scientific disciplines or social movements, but there are also complex, multi-directional relationships between different scientific disciplines and interest groups concerned with dementia.

Psycho-gerontologist Tom Kitwood, a contemporary of Lyman's, also began to address processes involving the social construction of dementia, concentrating especially on dementia-related care practices. Kitwood rejected the common notion that people affected by dementia inevitably lose their personhood; he noted that "personhood is not, at first, a property of the individual; rather, it is provided or guaranteed by the presence of others" (Kitwood and Bredin 1992: 275). Accordingly, a person's social environment can contribute crucially to protecting and maintaining the personhood of people with dementia, thereby establishing the decisive basis for the possibility of "[r]elative well-being in dementia" (ibid.).

Lyman and Kitwood – along with sociologist Jaber F. Gubrium (1986) and neuropsychologist Steven R. Sabat (2001) – are, thus, among the protagonists of a development that has led the phenomenon of dementia to be studied much more in

its (psycho-)social and cultural dimensions and with a marked emphasis on the actors involved, as reflected in the book title *Hearing the Voice of People with Dementia* (Goldsmith 1996). Studies have emerged from various disciplinary contexts, above all (social) gerontology, nursing science, sociology, social psychology and ethnology.

Up to now, only a few isolated analyses have been conducted against the disciplinary background of ethnography/empirical cultural studies/European ethnology/cultural anthropology (Krasberg 2013; Klausner 2006; Otto 2013), although North American (medical/cultural) anthropology has particularly provided important insights into and fresh impetus to the field of research. The edited volume *Thinking about Dementia* (Leibing and Cohen 2006) deserves special mention here. In the introductory chapter of the book, Lawrence Cohen appeals for a social scientific "reanimation" of the concept of senility, one aimed at opening up more wide-ranging perspectives and approaches than the biomedically specific term (Alzheimer's/vascular) dementia:

> By senility, I mean *the perception of deleterious behavioral change in someone understood to be old, with attention to both the biology and the institutional milieu in which such change is marked, measured, researched, and treated* [...]. For us, as social scientists and humanists of medicine, to organize our conversations around senility in this sense of the word, as opposed to organizing them around dementia, is simply not to presume in advance how perception, biology, and milieu are related. [italics in original] (Cohen 2006: 1)

Here, Cohen is highlighting the importance of a profound theoretical-conceptual debate in the Humanities disciplines concerned with dementia. The concept of senility developed by Cohen has, thus far, rarely been taken up, however; the term "Dementia Studies" is more widespread instead (Innes 2009).

I shall outline a number of key thematic issues and theoretical concepts, given that a wide range of discipline-specific approaches currently dominates the field of socioculturally informed dementia studies and these cannot be presented in their entirety.

An area now well-established and one that is particularly important in relation to public debate is the issue of quality of life, i.e. the kinds of positive experiences that are had by people with dementia and those closest to them, and the societal conditions that facilitate such experiences (Kruse 2010). The gap in dementia research identified in the following quotation is being addressed: "[L]ittle attention has been devoted to examining how social location shapes the subjective experiences and responses of persons with dementia" (O'Connor, Phinney, and Hulko 2010: 30). The issue here is the influence of categories of difference, such as race, class and gender (and their mutual intersections), as well as milieu- and (sub) culture-specific ideas and ways of dealing with dementia (Henderson and Henderson 2002; Hulko 2009). There are studies on the significance of physical circumstances

(embodiment/'lived body' memory) in relation to dementia (Downs 2013; Martin, Kontos, and Ward 2013). The issue of the societal and political status attributed to people with dementia is being examined, along with the extent to which this status can be seen as problematic (stigmatization/exclusion) (Bartlett and O'Connor 2007; Milne 2010). There are studies on (governmental) practices of discipline and control which people with dementia find themselves facing (e.g. in care institutions). The issue here is also one of how those affected react to these practices and how they advocate for their own needs and interests (agency) (Aquilina and Hughes 2006; Newerla 2012). Societal and individual representations of dementia are being analyzed, as is the degree of significance specific narratives of dementia and certain narrative practices have for the persons affected and for those around them (Beard, Knauss, and Moyer 2009; Van Gorp and Vercruysse 2012). Research has developed a focus on communicative practices in the context of dementia, with nonverbal, sense-based forms of communication receiving particular attention (Grebe 2016; Killick and Allan 2001; Walmsley and McCormack 2013). Researchers are interested in the role stylistic forms of expression (e.g. clothing, haircut) play for dementia sufferers and how important such forms of expression are in relation to, for example, their sense of identity (Twigg and Buse 2013; Ward and Campbell 2013). The development and deployment of technical systems of support, nursing care, emotional care and personal protection is also a subject of research (Landau et al. 2010; Rosenberg and Nygård 2012). There are analyses of the knowledge practices associated with the phenomenon of dementia, the main focus here being on the biomedical field (Leibing 2006; Lock 2008). A dementia-informed debate – mainly ethical in orientation – has begun concerning society's images of what it means to be human and the accompanying existential boundaries that are drawn between people as a result (Coors and Kumlehn 2014; Post 1995; Wetzstein 2010). Studies have been conducted on relationship networks and practices in dementia, with particular attention being paid to dyads (dementia sufferers-relatives) and triads (dementia sufferers-relatives-professionals) (Adams and Gardiner 2005; Graham and Bassett 2006). An extended network-based approach is being undertaken as part of a current project funded by the Swiss Natural Science Foundation, "Figurations of care for people with dementia in Switzerland" at the Zurich Institute for Social Anthropology and Empirical Cultural Studies – Popular Cultures (Wolf and Wysling 2016; Zimmermann 2018). Based on their own theoretical and preliminary empirical studies in cultural studies research on ageing, the team around project director Harm-Peer Zimmermann is studying (care) relationships and (care) practices between people with dementia and their broader environment (Grebe 2015; Zimmermann 2016, 2017; Zimmermann and Grebe 2014).

2. (Linguistic) images of a "widespread disease" *(Volkskrankheit)*

The importance of scientific studies in the field of dementia is often explained by reference to the high numbers of those affected. Media interdiscourse is highly receptive to such numbers: "G8 summit on dementia in London: A widespread disease around the globe" (newspaper *Die Tageszeitung* from December 11, 2013).

The way dementia is addressed interdiscursively as a "widespread disease" forms the point of departure for my doctoral research. I am interested, firstly, in how dementia is portrayed in German language press reports, self-help literature and first-person accounts, and in nonfiction literature between 1980 and 2016. Secondly, I interviewed the relatives of dementia sufferers and employees of the Alzheimer Society about their views and their practices. Thirdly, I volunteered for two months in a day-care center for people with dementia run by an Alzheimer Society to conduct field research there. In relation to these three levels of study, I inquired into the specific forms, discursive frameworks and practical effects of the contemporary problematization of dementia.[3]

As my analysis of the media source corpus shows, various kinds of statements are made about the situation of dementia sufferers and their relatives, as well as about the overall situation in society. A field of speakability becomes apparent here that stretches between a deficit-oriented pole and a potential-oriented one (Grebe 2012).[4] Deficit-oriented descriptions apply above all to situations of grave loss or threat with which people with dementia (dementia as a "life of no longer being a human being" [BILD, April 2, 2008]), their families ("Alzheimer's is destroying the family" [Reader's Digest, February 1992]) and 'ageing societies' as a whole (dementia as "the Plague of the 21st century" [Spiegel Online, March 12, 2013]) see themselves confronted. The main thrust of the potential-oriented perspective – at first rarely encountered, but now becoming more influential – was outlined in the introduction above.

Another outcome of the media text analysis is the observation that both the deficit- and the potential-oriented descriptions make frequent use of metaphorical expressions. This frequency can be explained, in my view, by reference to a characteristic quality of metaphors: They enable "something abstract, unfamiliar or 'intangible', not 'graspable' [...] to be translated into concrete, familiar terms" (Kruse, Biesel, and Schmieder 2011: 65). This special meaning-giving function of metaphors is particularly important when it comes to interpreting dementia, which, in many

3 I use the term problematization in reference to the concept of problematization coined by Michel Foucault (Foucault 2001).

4 Some of the texts I have analyzed contain both deficit- and potential-oriented descriptions. It is not a case of two narrative patterns that are always homogeneous and clearly separable from one another.

respects, is abstract, unfamiliar, intangible and not graspable – in all kinds of discourses, including special discourses, interdiscourses and elementary discourses. A common way of metaphorically illustrating complex biomedical neuropathology, for example, is the following: "Dead nerve cells, gravestones of lost pasts, transform the hard drive of the brain into a graveyard" (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, September 07, 2004). Semantically parallel to the image of the deleted hard drive are also occasional references to the fact that the people affected by dementia have been 'emptied out': "Alzheimer's – 'I'm so empty, I want to die!'" (BILD, July 26, 2005); "'At the end, my mother [affected by Alzheimer's] was just an empty shell'" (VdK Niedersachsen-Bremen 2013).

The interpretive and mediatory function of metaphors also gives rise to a special "productive and reductionist power" (Dederich 2007: 117). The productive aspect of metaphors is grounded in the fact that they can offer practical orientation for dealing with specific phenomena. The metaphor of the empty shell, for example, can make it seem pointless to try to communicate with dementia sufferers and, consequently, may prompt the people around them to give up trying. If this were to happen, the metaphor could be said to contribute to the communicative exclusion of people with dementia (Sweeting and Gilhooly 1997).

The metaphorical illustration of a phenomenon is usually limited to very specific kinds of images; it is this that constitutes the reductionist and selective character of metaphors. Welf-Gerrit Otto, Harm-Peer Zimmermann and I have been able to demonstrate that there is a characteristic set of deficit-oriented metaphors for dementia in circulation and that these generate comparisons, above all, with phenomena and situations such as absence, loss, degeneration, decline, darkness, emptying and physical attack (Grebe, Otto, and Zimmermann 2013). The emergence of new metaphors for a specific phenomenon can, thus, open up new perspectives on this phenomenon: "An altered perception of problems often [...] has something to do with an altered metaphorical structuring of these problems" (Levold 2012: 232).

To summarize, metaphors constitute an important starting point for analyzing processes of attributing meaning in a given area of concern. At the same time, however, the capacity of metaphors to influence our perceptions and actions should not be overemphasized. Metaphors are constantly woven within specific discursive contexts; their productive impacts arise only in the complex interplay of discursive and non-discursive factors. This is the reason for speaking of metaphorical *co*-construction: The metaphors for dementia addressed here do not halt the influence of biological circumstances and neither do they solely determine, of their own accord, biomedical, care-related or lifeworld practices.

I differentiate between structural, orientational and ontological metaphors to clarify the kinds of metaphors encountered in my research. This differentiation was developed by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in their well-known book *Metaphors*

we live by (Lakoff and Johnson 2003). The authors advocate the theory that processes of thinking and acting are oriented toward a system of cognitive concepts, which, in turn, are structured in elementary ways by conceptual metaphors. Although Lakoff and Johnson provide a robust schema of classification for mundane metaphors by distinguishing between structural, orientational and ontological metaphors, they do not offer any explicit analytical method for studying these metaphors. Neither does their approach include the study of discursive contexts. The metaphorical analysis conducted here, by contrast, is part of a discourse analytic approach that incorporates theoretical and methodical ideas developed by Jürgen Link and Siegfried Jäger (Grebe, Otto, and Zimmermann 2013: 91f.). Another important point of reference are attempts by Rudolf Schmitt to develop a systematic form of metaphorical analysis (Schmitt 2011). This systematic approach considers mundane, lexicalized and 'dead' metaphors, as well as especially striking linguistic imagery. It also groups the "many semantically similar metaphors" used in a given context into superordinate metaphorical concepts and "compares metaphorical concepts with similar as well as contrasting concepts in order to obtain the overall conceptual system of a phenomenon […]" (Schmitt 2011: 181).

Structural metaphors

Lakoff and Johnson's identification of three kinds of metaphors is based on the following assumption: "The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another." Structural metaphors occur in cases "where one concept is metaphorically structured in terms of another" (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 14). This can be observed, for example, when the concept of dementia is illustrated by reference to the concept of a journey: "For dementia patients, the journey into the land of forgetfulness begins gradually" (Neue Post May 2003). Metaphorical descriptions of this kind together form the conceptual metaphor 'dementia is a journey,' which, in turn, is based on the widespread notion 'illness is a journey.' This example also highlights the fact that, as a rule, the cognitive concept of a phenomenon such as disease is determined not just by one, but by a range of conceptual metaphors (including, e.g. 'illness is a struggle').

One important aspect of the potential-oriented dementia debate involves tackling the question of how dementia sufferers and the people around them can respond to the problems associated with dementia. The answers given to this question are often determined by a type of "semantically similar" structural metaphor, as I shall show using the example of three text extracts. Arno Geiger writes about his relationship with his father who suffers from dementia in his best-selling and highly metaphorical account 'The Old King in his Exile' (*Der alte König in seinem Exil*): "Since my father can no longer cross the bridge into my world, I must go over to him" (Geiger 2014: 11). A similar account is found in a report from the magazine

published by *Aktion Mensch* (a campaign for social inclusion): "The idea is to find the right 'key' so that we can make contact with the seemingly closed-off and submerged world of people with dementia. The more 'keys' and 'door-openers' we find, the better" (Menschen. Das Magazin April 2008). Christine Bryden, herself affected by dementia, has also developed a highly vivid idea of possible ways of approaching dementia: "I like the idea of a couple dancing with dementia. We [C. Bryden and her family, friends and professionals] move together as a couple in a caring partnership. We discern the needs of the other and adapt to the changing music that accompanies the journey through dementia" (Bryden 2011: 174) .

A metaphorical reference to forms of movement is common to all three of these examples. They point out that it is possible to *cross over* to the person with dementia and to gain direct *contact* (from Latin *contactus* = touch) with them, or to *dance* with the dementia, in other words, to *adapt* to difficult situations with a degree of flexibility. These special kinds of movement – so goes the metaphorically structured argument in each of the quotations – help both those affected and their relatives to cope with the negative consequences of dementia to a certain extent. Thus, a specific facet of the concept of dementia support is illustrated here through the concept of movement: Dementia support is movement. The movement metaphor is closely connected to the conceptual structural metaphor 'dementia is absence,' particularly in the first two cases. This metaphor crops up often, especially in deficit-oriented interpretations of dementia, although these usually emphasize an absolute absence of the person affected: "They are in a different world to which there is no means of access" (Neue Zürcher Zeitung, August 31, 2008).

In contrast to this latter statement, the quotations above convey the notion that the boundaries between the worlds of people with and without dementia can certainly be 'crossed' (*cross over/contact*), that both sides, for example, have the opportunity to *sense one another's presence* – that the absence of those affected can be mitigated by certain resources and behaviors. A key characteristic of potential-oriented descriptions of dementia becomes apparent in this context: There is an emphatic reference to various (psycho-)social resources. These resources are often associated – for good reason – with the positively connoted collective cultural symbols of the bridge and the key, or door-opener. By symbolically equating certain attitudes and approaches (e.g. having an understanding of dementia sufferers, using specific communicative strategies) with bridges, keys and door-openers, it becomes possible to highlight the beneficial potential of such attitudes and approaches.

Orientational metaphors

In addition to structural metaphors, Lakoff and Johnson also identify so-called orientational metaphors: "Orientational metaphors give a concept a spatial orientation; for example, HAPPY IS UP. The fact that the concept HAPPY is oriented UP leads to

English expressions like 'I'm feeling *up* today'" (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 14). As they point out, this type of metaphor is based principally on specific physical and spatial experiences or observations:

> HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP; SICKNESS AND DEATH ARE DOWN[:] He's at the *peak* of health. […] He came *down* with the flu. His health is *declining*. […] Physical basis: Serious illness forces us to lie down physically. When you're dead, you are physically down. (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 15)

A widespread potential-oriented orientational metaphor is used in the following two quotations taken from journalistic sources. The first quotation is about poetry slammer Lars Ruppel and his adaptation of the "Alzpoetry" program developed by Gary Glazner:

> Memories crumble, and even conversations about simple things like the weather or food appear impossible. While everyday topics fall through the cracks, some words still get through to them in the form of poems, proverbs or song texts, for example. Words can wake dementia sufferers up – hence the name of a German project that puts this concept into practice: 'Wake-up Words.' (Aachener Zeitung, July 04, 2012)

The second extract is from a report about how a clown works with people with dementia:

> Laughter is the best medicine: As a clown, Ulrich Fey has specialized in working with people with dementia. Using make-up and a red nose, he visits care homes, singing, belching and crying. He awakens emotions in many residents in this way, though he is wise to expect nothing at all. (Spiegel Online, December 10, 2012)

Both examples illustrate metaphorically the effects "Alzpoetry" and therapeutic clowning can have as forms of dementia support: They *wake up* dementia sufferers and their emotions. The image used as a source for these metaphorical descriptions is an everyday change in physical position: People who are asleep (lying/down) become awake (sit up/up). In this case too, however, a deficit-oriented orientational metaphor constitutes a point of reference, at least indirectly. Deficit-oriented descriptions that include ideas such as dementia sufferers being in a "calamitous state of semi-slumber" (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, February 07, 2012) exemplify the metaphorical concept 'people with dementia are down.' This concept generates and expresses a symbolic association between dementia and death (eternal rest = eternal lying down). It is with this in mind, that I regard "waking up" as an orientational metaphor rather than as a structural metaphor (the latter would likewise have been possible, as "waking up" refers not just to a change in physical position, but also to a complex process. In view of the fact that "a metaphor rarely fits exactly into just *one* of the categories" (Kruse, Biesel, and Schmieder 2011: 80), it is important methodically to assign categories upon consideration of specific metaphorical discursive contexts.

A second form of orientational metaphor comes out clearly in the title of a study about the attitude adopted by the wife of a dementia sufferer towards her caring activities: "Flourishing of the self while caregiving for a person with dementia" (Sabat 2010). It is also worth quoting the following passage taken from a self-help book whose very title with its firm rejection of notions of absence – "'I am still here!' Creatively supporting people with Alzheimer's" – is significant: "Being present with someone who is living with the disease tends to offer some unspoken and often surprising lessons to those who are open to change. For these people, it is as if the relationships grow and, in the course of this thriving, offer up special personal gifts" (Zeisel 2011: 242).

Both these texts describe an upward development: The relationship between relatives and dementia sufferers in the latter case and the self of those involved in the former can *grow* and *flourish*, like a plant leaning toward the light. Contrary to the widespread notion of a decline of dementia sufferers and their relatives ('dementia is down'), the image is portrayed of a thriving and vibrant relationship based on care and of rich and flourishing experiences of caring. References to such positive care situations are another characteristic of potential-oriented accounts of dementia. At the same time, the metaphorical process at work here is not completely idiosyncratic or culturally innovative; on the contrary, the metaphor of thriving is collectively symbolic and marks valued situations, abilities and developments quite fundamentally (Welter-Enderlin and Hildenbrand 2012).

Ontological metaphors

The characteristic feature of ontological metaphors is that they illustrate certain phenomena by means of comparison with objects or substances (Lakoff and Johnson 2003:25). The passages quoted above also contain ontological metaphors. This is most obviously apparent in the account of certain ways of gaining access to the world in which people with dementia live and of certain ways of behaving as a "key" (object) to this world.

What is less obvious, by contrast, is that the deficit-oriented description of dementia sufferers as "empty shells" is also based on an ontological metaphor. Indeed, the form of metaphorization used here is a crucial one for the entire debate about dementia: Human beings – and, above all, the human brain – is frequently regarded as a container (object), one that 'contains' the person's personality, and one in which all the person's lifetime memories are 'stored' ("brain as hard drive") or 'filed away'. Lakoff and Johnson speak, therefore, of the image of a "memory container" (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 27–34). Unlike deficit-oriented descriptions, potential-oriented accounts do not generally refer to the emptying of a memory container:

> For people with Alzheimer's disease, tastes, smells and visual impressions expand their access to their memories. All our memories are present in our brain. We don't

> forget our children or our friends, worries and relationships so easily. It just becomes more difficult to gain access to them without some help. (Zeisel 2011: 77)

In this example, many key potential-oriented conceptual metaphors occur together: Memories are still *present* in the "memory container" of people with dementia, so the argument goes; *access* (movement metaphor) to them is given by nonverbal, sense-based approaches as an aid to gaining access or a door-opener.

A structurally similar example relating to the nature of dementia sufferers' memory container is provided by a conversation recorded as part of my study on relatives' perspectives and experiences. The man in question is talking about his wife, who has been suffering for many years from severe cognitive impairments related to dementia. The quotation makes the extent to which metaphorical concepts are productive especially clear, that is, how they can have impacts in terms of concrete actions: "The brain is like an apothecary's cabinet with all its little drawers. Some of the draws contain things she likes: playing ball, singing. And I can work with these things, I can make her life nicer, more enjoyable."

Alongside these container metaphors, Reimer Gronemeyer and Peter Wissmann develop an ontological metaphor in their publication *Dementia and civil society*, characterized as a "magazine for public disputation" (*öffentliche Streitschrift* [the German word for magazine being *Zeitschrift*, Tr.]). The authors discuss, among other things, processes of social isolation and the dissolution of communal forms of living and mutual support structures, noting in this regard: "We can see the phenomenon of dementia [...] as a 'pharmaceutical,' a remedy that is spurring our socially endangered – if not indeed devastated – society to position itself anew" (Wißmann and Gronemeyer 2008: 82). The following observation from Anne Davis Basting is similar to this in content, though differently structured metaphorically: "Memory lapses, dying and ageing bring us directly into contact with what it means to be a human being, to love, to be loyal, and to lead a meaningful life" (Basting 2012: 248).

Both quotations emphasize that dementia and the special vulnerability that accompanies old age can have effects that are valuable for society and individuals alike, because the wider spread of the phenomenon may lead to a strengthening of forms of living based on solidarity and to people gaining insights into the meaning of life. Accordingly, there is also talk in various places of dementia being an existential "lesson" (structural metaphor) (Romero 2012). However, while Gronemeyer and Wissmann describe dementia as a substance (a healing *pharmaceutical*), Basting personalizes dementia-related impairments (memory lapses), dying and ageing, suggesting by doing so that these phenomena *bring* us into contact with the essence of humans. According to Lakoff and Johnson's analysis, this is an ontological metaphor in which it is not an object or substance that constitutes the point of reference, but rather a subject (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 33). This kind of personalization of

dementia is also found, incidentally, in the image developed by Christine Bryden: Dementia is her and her relatives' dance partner.

To sum up, Gronemeyer, Wissmann, Basting and Bryden deviate markedly from the metaphorical objectifications and personalizations found predominantly in deficit-oriented accounts, where Alzheimer's disease often appears, for example, as a malign pest: "This disease is brutal. It robs you of the person you loved. A little more each day" (BILD, September 10, 2007). Such accounts are also usually about ways of combating this dementia thief by biomedical means; the possibility of dancing with the thief is generally not described here – still less the option highlighted in the title of a potential-oriented nonfiction book: *Making peace with dementia* (Bode 2014).

3. Conclusion

The various metaphorical concepts associated with the phenomenon of dementia show that a "re-evaluation" of the meaning of dementia is currently underway at a metaphorical-discursive level (Whitehouse 2000: 304). This includes reevaluating potential ways of dealing with and treating dementia and, above all, reevaluating the existential status of those affected by it: The "empty shell" is being metaphorically 'brought back to life' in various ways.

The structural opposition between deficit- and potential-oriented images of dementia, accordingly, is an expression of "cultural negotiations around a biosocial death" (Leibing 2006: 248). According to Annette Leibing, biosocial death occurs wherever certain cognitive circumstances of a person lead to restrictions in their social skills and, consequently, to them being regarded as a "nonperson." Regarding biosocial death, the crucial issue is how restrictions in a person's cognitive and social skills are interpreted and judged by others. The metaphors for dementia described above address precisely such issues of interpretation and judgement: Are people with dementia absent and unreachable? Are they lying in a state of semi-slumber? Has their memory hard drive been deleted? Has dementia robbed them of what was theirs?

The fact that the answers to these questions are so diverse can be attributed, above all, to the influence of different kinds of discursive framings. In the case of deficit-oriented images of dementia, one influential context has been described by Peter J. Whitehouse as follows: "Loss of intellect is perhaps the greatest challenge to the post-Enlightenment person who (over) values cognition" (Whitehouse 2000: 304). This kind of "hyper-cognitivism" (Post 1995) along with the associated idea of a "cerebral subject" (Lock 2008) can be regarded as a fundamental reason for the emergence of notions of emptying.

Potential-oriented representations, by contrast, voice critique regarding the overvaluing of cognition; they contrast the "cerebral subject" with an image of being

human that does not ignore the "lived body of humans (*Leiblichkeit des Menschen*)" and, thus, the "importance of the body for the individual" (Wetzstein 2010: 63): "Contact with dementia [...] can and should (!) lead us away from our usual patterns of overexaggerated busy-ness, hyper-cognitivism and verbosity towards a way of being in which emotions and feeling are given much more space" (Kitwood 2013: 27). When perceived in this way, there is no (metaphorical) talk of dementia involving the loss of all of a person's key human qualities: "For there is always something there" (Süddeutsche Zeitung, August 24, 2012). While references to the presence of certain human 'contents' are important, so too are accounts of the 'points of access' to these 'contents' that remain intact: "The cognitive, the intellectual level of communication drops away; what remains is the level of feeling" (Bode 2014: 198).

Potential-oriented perspectives on dementia are based on a context of – in some cases long existing – care practices, communicative strategies, (special) discursive findings, (civil) society institutions, ethical positions, political interventions and, not least, (collective) metaphors and symbols. Of course, a more precise description of this context is called for than the one I have been able to offer in the introduction and conclusion to this essay. Nonetheless, I would like to conclude by pointing out that it includes the demand for change in current "regimes of living" in elderly care and support (Collier and Lakoff 2005). New models of help and support are being developed in conjunction with this critique (Aktion Demenz 2014; Henwood and Downs 2014). The goal of the protagonists of this development is to establish a fundamentally transformed 'regime of living with vulnerability/dementia.'

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Forced internationality of a national discipline*

'Cold Wars' in the transformation process of *Volkskunde* after 1945

Abstract: The article discusses internationalization processes of *Volkskunde*[1] after 1945, focusing primarily on the interdependent tensions of political constellations, agencies promoting science and developments of the discipline. The complex desideratum of international historiography of the discipline is approached here with a specific German-German perspective in the context of the Cold War. Using the term 'forced internationality' as the basis for research allows one to capture a double bind: the self-mobilization of the national specialists and external contacts with the international scientific community. The search for a transnational disciplinary identity with a standardized nomenclature as well as methodological and theoretical standards is less affected by the competition between two rival political systems during the Cold War than by inner-disciplinary discrepancies between the various traditions of *Volkskunde*, ethnology or cultural anthropology. Consequently, the level of engagement in the common struggle for an international epistemic community differed substantially. Factors supporting this observation range from the respective national presence or non-presence on international stages, the participation or nonparticipation in internationalization processes through to the active non-perception of transnational and interdisciplinary communication spaces.

Keywords: scientific history of cultural anthropology, international scientific history, promotion of science, disciplinary identities during the Cold War, internationalization processes.

The genesis of internationalization processes in academia has been receiving significant attention for some time. Aspects which are focused on range from studies on international disciplinary historiography (Krige and Pestre 1997; Middell and Roura y Aulinas 2013; Porciani and Tollebeek 2012) via the global history of international organizations and networks (Herren 2014) to the *histoire croisée* (Werner and Zimmermann 2002) or foreign science policy (Schütte 2010). These interests go along

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1 The term '*Volkskunde*' remains in German in this article because it cannot be translated reasonably. It is sometimes translated into 'Folklore Studies,' but in the German-speaking context, it encompasses a range of names, such as 'Empirical Study of Culture,' 'European Ethnology,' 'Cultural Anthropology (of Europe)' or 'Folklore Studies.'

with the treatment of academia during the Cold War which has been booming in the Anglo-Saxon area since the 1990s (Engerman 2003; Unger 2006). The *Journal of Cold War Studies* has been published by the Harvard project of the same name from 1999 onwards. It focuses on both the sciences and humanities (Greiner, Müller, and Weber 2011; Müller 2010). Studies on *Cold War Anthropology* are the subject of current debates (Nader 2016; Price 2003; Verdery 2016; Wax 2008).

Comparable research interests only exist in a rudimentary form for the history of *Volkskunde* and its international manifestations (Moser, Gotz, and Ege 2015; Schmoll 2009). The discipline of many names expanded its research radius continuously; this is lately also functionally supported by the restructuring of universities as part of the efforts to increase comparability in European higher education in the Bologna process. It is often listed on the homepages of German university institutes under the English term 'Cultural and Social Anthropology,' which already introduces the question of the translatability of national and inner-disciplinary traditions. In these new orientations, however, the genesis of the international development of the discipline, which is linked to the terms and their epistemologies, theories and methods, has not received reflection due to it. Furthermore, the question remains how German *Volkskunde*, with its semantic persistence after 1945, managed to establish links with the international scientific community in the multifaceted international transformation processes and during the different phases of the Cold War. The plurality of disciplinary names referred to gives rise to questions concerning the cognitive identity of the discipline and the determinants and coordinates of academic internationalization. Who or what stimulated or prevented dialogue and cooperation? Which influence did the university and science policy of the occupying forces have in the postwar era? Did the constellations change because of the building of the East-West bloc, and did the scientific community act in line with the bloc conformity of the rival systems? Or was the political East-West bias only marginal in the international disciplinary discussion? Was it rather inner-disciplinary cultures and competing differences between disciplinary traditions of *Volkskunde* that played a key role, as well as the relevant national constellation of resources?

This article presents an approach to a complex desideratum of international disciplinary historiography, bringing into focus the tension between political conditions, societal problems and disciplinary developments after 1945. At this point, only first findings can be discussed and questions for further research can be posed.[2] The title refers to the approach chosen: By forced internationality, I mean a recipro-

2 The contribution results from the DFG project "Internationalization processes in European Ethnology in the context of the Cold War between 1945 and 1970" (www.vkkg.uni-jena.de). In a global point of view, these processes would have to be analyzed regarding all national disciplinary cultures which are involved in the dynamic. The web of internationalization processes, however, can here only be viewed from a German perspective.

cal development which involves both the self-mobilization, respectively, self-internationalization and a politically intended opening of science after 1945 in the sense of a challenge-response constellation in the transformation processes of the postwar era. To put it in another way: It is always about an oscillation between normative levels concerning internationalisation and the actual practices of the protagonists. In the first section, I ask about the influence of the politics of occupation as a specific German factor in the transformation of resource constellations (Ash 1995: 904) in the immediate postwar era. In doing so, I follow Mitchell Ash's approach, according to which resources can be of a financial, apparative-institutional, cognitive-conceptional or rhetoric kind (ibid.). The second section focuses on selected actors and their involvement. The article concentrates on the time up to the end of the 1950s. After this, the Cold War entered a new phase. The constellation of resources also changed because of the generational change at the universities, student protests and societal processes of liberation.

I. Occupation policy as a determinant of German postwar *Volkskunde*

While the Cold War had different effects globally, divided Germany became the place where the competition between the systems crystallized (Jarausch 2004). In contrast to other European countries, German postwar processes were initially characterized by the occupation policy. A course which promoted continuity and change as well as internationalization in science was set in the divided Germany after 1945 because of the university and science policies of the allied forces in the four zones of occupation. There is consensus in historiography about the restructuring of the universities that denazification eventually failed in all zones (Malycha 2009). Even if it was initially undertaken more rigorously in the Soviet Occupation Zone than in the Western zones, here, too, there were exceptions regarding the functional elites right from the beginning. A severe lack of staff led to the end of denazification in 1947 and to the reemployment of lecturers who had previously been let go. The postulate of the successful anti-fascist democratic revolution in East Germany is part of its founding myth (Münkler 2010). Beginning with the winter semester of 1947/48, incriminated professors and lecturers were successively reintegrated in all zones; the increasing East-West conflict contributed to this. Whether the evident continuities of the supposedly neutral natural sciences (Walker 1997) were also used by incriminated folklorists as a rhetorical resource, for instance, in reemployments or in international activities, remains an open question in research. Furthermore, transatlantic professional circles signaled dispensation as early as 1946. A designated "Committee to investigate the possibility of strengthening non-Nazi anthropologists in enemy countries" in the American Anthropological Association (AAA) debated on how to deal with Nazi colleagues. The argument against ostracizing them ran as follows:

> We considered that if a German served in the armed forces of his country he was no more guilty from our point of view than those of us who had done the same thing. At first glance, we considered blackballing those who had used their position for propaganda, but we soon realized that a great number of our own anthropologists had done the same thing and if we had supported that course of action we would have had to condemn some of our own colleagues. (Coon 1947)

This moderate handling made access to the international stage easier for incriminated academics. To date, it is open whether folklorists used transatlantic contacts in the same way as German and Austrian ethnologists did (Mason 1946).

The transformation of the German education and university sector was also characterized by continuities – there was no zero hour. Although all allied forces subscribed to measures of democratization, they took different pathways. There were significant differences and similarities which had an influence on institutional, material and epistemic structures and obstructed or stimulated international cooperation (Defrance 2007). The Western allies placed less emphasis on deductive measures and more on 'self-democratization,' by also appealing to a return to the democratic traditions of the Weimar period. The aim of integrating Germany into a democratic Europe, however, was certainly strongly motivated by the Cold War. The European discourses (Wagenbach 2010) which settled into the discipline from 1950 onwards, therefore, do not only point to rhetoric resources, but also to institutional and cognitive-conceptual ones. The postulate of European *Volkskunde* as a research task (Meisen 1952) signaled possibilities to integrate it into international disciplinary discussions.

Suggestions for the democratization of university structures could not be implemented due to the resistance of the traditional tenured professorship. The *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (DFG), reestablished in 1949 as the largest organization of German science funding, also initially remained a corral of the tenured professorship (Sachse 2010: 478). *Volkskunde* used these specific constellations of resources, and these led, for example, to the renewed funding of the *Atlas der deutschen Volkskunde* (ADV) by the DFG from 1954. The ADV took a central role in the international cooperation of *Volkskunde* in the joint project of the *Ethnological Atlas of Europe* (Schmoll 2009). From the mid-1950s to the late-1960s, the *Ethnological Atlas of Europe* acted as a platform for international disciplinary communication and joint research practice which transcended the Iron Curtain.

The reform efforts of the Western allies were also complicated by the federal organization of the education and university sector. An investigation into whether the federal structure had a lasting limiting effect on internationalization or whether it offered regional resources for transnational cooperation is needed. Orvar Löfgren's perception points more towards a persisting tendency in German *Volkskunde* institutes:

> For an outside visitor to German *Volkskunde* departments in the 1980s and 1990s, this was very striking. To me it sometimes felt like a journey through Germany before unification. Many departments attended to their local profile, often in fierce dissociation from others. There was a Tübingen, a Berlin, a Münster or a Frankfurt style of dancing. (Small and proud nation-states, sometimes ruled by very strong professoral personalities.) (Löfgren 2014: 118)

In contrast to the Western allies, the USSR aimed at a fundamental change of the political and societal structures following the Soviet example. This matter was conditioned by the centralized plan to redesign the education and university sector in the Soviet Occupation Zone. Moreover, the plan itself was linked to a rigid orientation to economic requirements (Kleßmann 1981) and the building of a new socialist society. The cultural policy goals were also characterized by Wolfgang Steinitz' program for the work of *Volkskunde* in the German Democratic Republic (Steinitz 1955a). However, traditional frameworks hindered structural change in the university sector (Malycha 2009). The stringent redesign was also impeded by problems in communication and competence between university officers of the Soviet military administration in Germany and the higher education policy's cadres of the East German Socialist Unity Party, which often proceeded in a more rigid manner (Nikitin 1997). This resulted in contingent resource constellations which already characterized the Soviet sciences (Krementsov 1997).

The centralist regulation of the university sector in East Germany was extended with the second university reform in 1951/52. Academic *Volkskunde* was now largely concentrated in the Institut für Volkskunde at the German Academy of Sciences and the Humboldt University in Berlin. The studies were oriented at Soviet ethnography, which encompassed both folklore studies and ethnology and was associated with the historical sciences (van Meurs 2001). From 1951, the new orientation was advanced by lectures by Moscow ethnographer Sergei Alexandrovich Tokarev in Berlin and Leipzig, on the one hand, and by his ongoing contacts with the Berlin institute, on the other hand (Tokarev 1969; Winkelmann 1986). Because of Tokarev, not only connections to ethnography in the Eastern Bloc states opened up, but also pathways to international stages, such as the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES).

As a result, from the time of occupation, different disciplinary and higher education policy routes emerged which affected the internationality of *Volkskunde* in the respective areas. The varying courses consolidated and became apparent after the foundation of the two German states (the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic). International activities were decidedly motivated by foreign policy, because these were, in each case, linked with the appreciation and upvaluation of the states (Schütte 2010). In West German *Volkskunde*, West German federalism contributed to the approach of adapting old structures to new conditions

and setting oneself up in the "canon" (Scharfe 1970). *Volkskunde* in East Germany oriented itself around Marxist-Leninist ethnography (Brinkel 2012). Nevertheless, German-German *Volkskunde* studies did not develop independently of each other. Their lasting connections were characterized by an asymmetrically interwoven parallel history, striving simultaneously for distinction from one another but, at the same time, referring to the respective 'other' Germany continuously (Niethammer 1999). Whether this asymmetry effected the international stage remains to be seen.

II. Going international after 1945: actors, initiatives, projects

1. Updates on international communication

How and where did internationality voice itself after 1945 and where were comparable initiatives missing? Which constellations promoted or hindered international activities and cooperation? The first remarkable phenomena after 1945 are kinds of 'updates' which indicate a pressing need for exchange and, furthermore, for the establishment of an international space for communication to be used by a joint scientific community. The instruments range from worldwide registers and discussions of a state of the art by anthropologists to national activity reports or the mere printing of publication lists from individual countries. For instance, from 1947 onwards, the *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde* published reports which had been sent in after a call for works concerning *Volkskunde* abroad. These compilations of information portrayed the situation of *Volkskunde* in France, Italy, Romania, Austria, the Netherlands, Norway, Finland, Latvia, Spain, Portugal, Sweden and Great Britain (SAV 1947–1948). A comprehensive report from Germany followed in 1949 (Röhrich 1949). The dialogue on the international stage which had thus been initiated was cultivated in the following years by the publishing of literature reports and reviews. The *Internationale Volkskundliche Bibliografie*, which had been institutionalized in Basel in 1917 (Brednich 1977/78), also contributed to the establishment of continuity regarding international networking. It goes without saying, however, that the international reception must be more intensively studied regarding potential partiality in the context of the rivalry of systems. The *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, which started in the 1950s and included literature reviews and bibliographical essays on key themes, offers another example of the need for information on international developments. In 1954, for instance, Elfriede Rath gave an overview of *Volkskunde* in the United States which concentrated on relationships to American narratology (Rath 1954).

The *Deutsche Jahrbuch für Volkskunde*, which was published in the German Democratic Republic from 1955 onwards, was positioned "as a mediator between West and East," as was stated in the introduction of the 1955 issue of the annual. This aim was approached by publishing extensive bibliographies of the international

state of research since 1945 (Vorwort 1955). Literature reviews from the Soviet Union, Austria, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, France, Luxembourg, Scandinavia and the Netherlands document this purpose as well as Lutz Röhrich's comprehensive essays on international developments in fairy tale research since 1945 in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, France, Sweden, Denmark, the United States and Canada, which appeared in the first three volumes (Röhrich 1955b, 1956, 1957). The openness towards Western professional circles is also evident in the young assistant's laudation to Arnold van Gennep on the occasion of his 80th birthday (Röhrich 1955a). Initially, the yearbook was characterized by neither bloc conformist limitations nor ignoring Western literature. Furthermore, it was officially open to be used as a medium of communication by foreign folklore studies (Vorwort 1955).

Bloc conformist reporting occurred after 1960 in *Demos. Volkskundliche Informationen*, which explicitly registered *Volkskunde* research of the socialist countries of Europe. The journal was published by the Institute for German *Volkskunde* at the German Academy of Sciences in Berlin and in cooperation with the Institutes for Ethnography and Folklore Studies at the academies of science and the Ministries for Culture in Albania, Bulgaria, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and the USSR. *Demos* contained both bibliographical essays and notices on disciplinary activities from the participating countries (Emmrich 2002) and opened the exchange between Eastern and Western professional circles on the international stage, for it was published in German; titles in Cyrillic writing were translated. To what extent ideological or propagandist aspects influenced the accounts will only be known after a thorough analysis. Since 1953, the journal *Ethnographisch-archäologische Forschungen* – entitled *Ethnographisch-Archäologische Zeitschrift* from 1960 – also offered a platform for international exchange to the East German *Volkskunde*.

If one compares the German language *Volkskunde* organs regarding their international orientation, it becomes apparent that comparable initiatives are missing in the West German *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, which was published again from 1953 onwards. This thwarted the self-set goal as an anonymous author had proclaimed it in the first postwar issue of the *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*: to act as the central organ for *Volkskunde* in the Republic of Germany aiming to address the most renowned experts in *Volkskunde* in the world and to report on research results of foreign institutes and the progress of *Volkskunde* conferences abroad. Embracing the ethnology of expelled Germans was seen as the major research task. The anonymous writer expressed his hope that German *Volkskunde* would be able to master this challenge and thereby develop groundbreaking new methods and insights for *Volkskunde* overall (Anonym 1953: 3f.). The introduction matched the tone of the occupying forces by pledging a new orientation towards Europe or the culture of the occident. However, the redundancy of the semantic restructuring is presented with claims of superiority and an attitude that had to sound rather uninviting to the ears of for-

eign actors. *Cum grano salis*, the rhetoric gesture of the introduction is reminiscent of familiar tones eight years after the end of Nazi rule. Thus, after a thirteen-year break, the journal positioned itself not as cosmopolitan, but rather as caught up in the national communication space. In the following years, only the reports section occasionally pointed to international events and contacts.

2. Takeoff via the UNESCO funding policy

A global protector whose influence on academic internationalization cannot be overestimated entered the stage with the founding of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1945. One of the organization's key objectives, against the background of the catastrophic Second World War, was contributing to peace and security by promoting the cooperation between the peoples by means of education, science and culture (Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft 1948). According to Arnold van Gennep, who was one of the founding fathers of the "*Commission International des Arts et Traditions Populaires*" (CIAP), ethnology was one of the disciplines which was particularly apt to foster international understanding (van Gennep 1949). The professional association, which was founded under the auspices of the League of Nations in 1928 (Rogan 2014), received UNESCO funding for numerous projects targeting international academic exchange from 1948 onwards. *CIAP Information* (1948–1951) and the journal *Laos* (1951–1955) also received funding, as well as international conferences, such as those in Stockholm in 1951 (Erixon 1955c), in Namur in 1953 (Actes Namur 1956) and in Arnhem in 1955 (Actes Arnhem 1956). Furthermore, the *Internationale Volkskundliche Bibliographie* (International Bibliography for *Volkskunde*) was granted financial support from 1949 onwards. It is remarkable that, except for the *Internationale Volkskundliche Bibliographie*, all projects were dominated by Western European actors. Among the main actors of the CIAP during this time were Sigurd Erixon from Sweden, Georges Henri Rivière from France, Jorge Dias from Portugal, Branimir Bratanic from Yugoslavia and Piet Meertens from the Netherlands. They were internationally connected and saw the future of the discipline in a unified European Ethnology (Rogan 2008a). The question why the actors from the Eastern bloc appeared neither at conferences nor in the publications by the CIAP until 1970 remains unanswered inclusively in Bjarne Rogan's studies on the CIAP (which was transformed into the "*Societé Internationale d'Ethnologie et de Folklore*" (SIEF) in 1964) (Rogan 2008b; 2015). Perrin Selcer's observation that UNESCO decisions were not independent from the Cold War (Selcer 2011) should receive further (scientific) attention.

The UNESCO also actively promoted the international development of the social sciences into which cultural anthropology and ethnology were integrated as the result of an evaluation conducted in 1951/52. The corresponding publication contained a state of the art of the discipline by Claude Lévi-Strauss which remains worth

reading to this day: "*Place de l'anthropologie dans les sciences sociales et problèmes posés par son enseignement*" (Lévi-Strauss 1954). Sigurd Erixon, who also introduced German aspects into the report, was among the experts consulted. Through this UNESCO project, Erixon was not only inspired to conduct a survey on "The Position of Regional Ethnology and Folklore at the European Universities" (Erixon 1955b), but also to plead for the integration of social science approaches in European ethnology. This option was discussed at the 1955 CIAP conference in Arnhem (Actes Arnhem 1956).

One project which received UNESCO funding deserves special attention as it points to a 'Cold War' within the discipline. In 1948, Arnold van Gennep had suggested a multilingual dictionary on disciplinary terminology to promote inner-disciplinary understanding of theories, methods and areas of knowledge:

> As the main current of international scientific and political life is joined by an increasing flow of peoples and nations, each with its own language and anxious to analyse more closely what makes up its collective personality, it becomes necessary to find a speedy and universally accepted solution to the various problems of terminology. In the first place we have to unify the definition of our science itself, which is indifferently referred to as ethnography, (ethnology), folklore, popular or collective traditions, and by many other names, too, among which one of the best seems to me to be the term invented by Politis for Greece – Laography. (van Gennep 1948)

The endeavor was launched in 1951 under Swedish aegis (Erixon 1955a). The first volume of the *International Dictionary of Regional European Ethnology and Folklore* included "General Ethnological Concepts" (Hultkrantz 1960). It was strongly oriented towards US cultural anthropology and left Eastern European literature largely aside. Laurits Bødker followed a philological concept in "Folk Literature: Germanic," and limited his sources to Germanic language literature because he thought it problematic to transfer a vast number of terms from different contexts and with divergent connotations to an international terminology which was based mainly on the English language (Bødker 1965). He had already noted at the draft stage "a cold war going on between anthropologists and folklorists" (Bødker 1956: 97). His divergence from the concept of the first volume was subject to negative public sanctioning in the joint preface by Erixon and Hultkrantz (Bødker 1965). The inner-disciplinary bias between folklorists and ethnologists was evident in the CIAP. It probably had a more enduring effect than the political rivalry between systems and certainly influenced the transformation process from the old CIAP into the new SIEF in 1964 substantially.

Without a doubt, there is a remarkable contrast: After 1945, the internationalization efforts were primarily promoted by the inventorizing of theories, methods and terminologies. This can be interpreted as a searching movement for a disciplinary identity. As a focal point of self-understanding, the project was supposed to

make both national and inner-disciplinary commonalities and differences visible. Furthermore, the project aimed at facilitating international standardization to forge a common cognitive identity of an international folklorist-ethnological scientific community. Having these high expectations in mind, it must be stated that the dictionaries led to relatively little response and reception. This indicates, more than 15 years after the start of the aforesaid endeavor, how massive the barriers and borderlines were that worked against attempts to overcome national boundaries and inner-disciplinary traditions.

The UNESCO funding policy was, in principle, carried by the mission to foster international understanding and, therefore, focused particularly on application-oriented projects. The first CIAP program envisaged numerous musical ethnological collections as well as projects and publications in popular science (CIAP information 1949: 11f.). Thus, European songs in their original languages (Gregor 1957/1960) were distributed with cosmopolitanism as the learning objective (von Hasselt 2001), and the project "Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind" activated anthropological and cultural historical research cooperation globally (Singh 2011). Hereby, the measure of the League of Nations, which had already supported application-oriented CIAP folklore studies in the late 1920s, was continued (Rogan 2007). Therefore, it should be further investigated whether and to what extent *Volkskunde* disciplines were among the research areas which experienced an increase in importance during the Cold War because of their application-oriented nature.

3. Internationalization by dint of philanthropic foundations

US foundations, such as the Rockefeller Foundation, Ford Foundation or Carnegie Corporation, had an eminent influence on the internationality of sciences during the Cold War (Krige and Rausch 2012), particularly with their funding focus, which was in line with UNESCO's interests in the arts and humanities (Müller 2012). The funding program was strengthened by the Western Allies, who promoted the establishment of social and political science as well as Eastern European studies and American studies. These courses of studies gained prominence at the Freie Universität Berlin, which had been set up through funds from the Rockefeller Foundation. The academic exchange programs to promote the integration of German academics into the international scientific community were another important part of the cultural Marshall plan (Paulus 2010).

One example of transatlantic cooperation in the discipline is the American narratologist Stith Thompson, who received a visiting professorship at Oslo University via a Fulbright exchange program in 1952 during which he established numerous contacts and became an active member of CIAP:

> During that time we also went to Sweden to a large international meeting and there met many of the folklorists of Europe for the first time. This was a fine meeting and

> it was the occasion of my becoming actively interested in the work of C.I.A.P., the International Commission for the Popular Arts and Folklore. Several years later, I found that I had been made vice president of this organization, and remained so until about a year ago. (Upadhyaya 1968)

As part of a Guggenheim fellowship, he solidified his contacts in 1956/57 by researching in European *Volkskunde* archives. The list of colleagues he visited is as interesting for a network analysis as it is for the question whether he facilitated study trips and mediated fellows to the United States. Intensive prosopographic studies are needed to investigate to what extent exchange programs had an influence on the international character of the discipline after 1945.

The "Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research" (WGF) played an outstanding role in the promotion of international anthropology. It was founded as early as 1941 under the name Viking Fund by Axel Lennart Wenner-Gren, a businessman who had migrated from Sweden. One program which aimed for worldwide exchange after 1945 was the 1952 "International Symposium of Anthropology" in New York. The conference was conceptualized under the leadership of Alfred L. Kroeber in the AAA. Aside from representatives from all areas of US anthropology, it also assembled European spokespersons – among them Claude Lévi-Strauss, Hans Weinert from Germany, who had worked as a race biologist and race hygienist during National Socialism, and Alfred Métraux as a representative of UNESCO (Kroeber 1953). Information concerning the international feedback was distributed in the discussions published (Tax et al. 1953). Jorge Dias also participated in the discussions and referred to them in his Arnhem lecture on disciplinary identity (Dias 1956). The conference provided lasting impulses for the internationalization of anthropological disciplines and brought knowledge traditions of physical, historical, linguistic, cultural and social anthropology together. Wilhelm Mühlmann referred to the publication as a basis for an international discussion among anthropologists (Mühlmann 1954), and Gerhard Heilfurth, who advocated an opening towards US cultural anthropology in his inaugural lecture in 1961, also referred to this conference (Heilfurth 1962).

The WGF-financed *Current Anthropology*, which is still published today, was an important organ for the East-West dialogue. This was also due to the initiator and editor Sol Tax, whose "World Mission of Liberal Democratic Anthropology" was portrayed by George Stocking (Stocking 2000). Tax understood *Current Anthropology* as a global journal for both sides of the Iron Curtain. His review process, labelled *CA**, made international discourses transparent. An article by Wolfgang Jacobeit, for example: "Intensification of International Cooperation in the Field of European Agrarian Ethnography" (Jacobeit 1964), was commentated by ethnologists and anthropologists from East Germany, the USSR, Eastern, Northern and Western Europe as well as the United States, and by Jorge Dias and Géza de Rohan-Csermak on

behalf of CIAP. *Current Anthropology* was strongly subsidized for the area outside of Western Europe and North America; it was the only affordable and accessible journal in some countries of the Eastern bloc, as its former editor Adam Kuper remarked (Kuper 2009).

However, Tax's democratic concept met with criticism in and outside expert circles as it resulted not only in a useful global anthropological communication, but also unintentionally provided information to the US foreign secret service, as Dustin Wax points out:

> But professional anthropologists were not the only persons to whom this kind of thorough, centralized information could be useful. David Price (2003) has described the lengths to which the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had gone, ten years earlier, to conceal their collaboration with the AAA to compile a roster of anthropologists along with their specializations and research; now all this information could be easily tracked with a simple subscription to *CA*. (Wax 2008: 139)

The WGF and Sol Tax may be seen as a telling example of how transnational and also transdisciplinary communication spaces in the anthropological sciences were, on the one hand, utilized and, on the other hand, also ignored. Tax interviewed anthropologists worldwide for the conception of the CA on how international exchange could be optimized. Renowned actors, such as Sigurd Erixon and Åke Hultkrantz in Sweden or Richard Wolfram in Vienna, participated in the conferences which he organized all around the globe from 1958 onwards. Tax connected his stay in Austria with the opening of the "European Headquarters of the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research" on Burg Wartenstein in Lower Austria (Tax 1959). This location regularly hosted anthropological symposia. Being given the chance to participate in them was considered an honor among US anthropologists. However, Burg Wartenstein was not only a place for the 'Who's Who' of anthropology to convene; it was there that the relationship between Soviet ethnography and US anthropology was discussed alongside Soviet representatives of the discipline (Gellner 1980; Lindee and Radin 2016: 266). While Austrian ethnologists participated in the international exchange (Koppers 1954, 1958), German-speaking *Volkskunde* were sited within the traditional orders and established pathways of the humanities as a life science (Schmidt 1947, 1956) and maintained the familiar canon (Scharfe 1970). The question remains why German language *Volkskunde* hardly participated in transdisciplinary and transnational discourses of a broad anthropology. Was this reluctance caused more by enduring bonds to philological traditions or by the retaining of a concept of *Volkskunde* as a national discipline with specific requisites and a certain inventory of knowledge?

It is astonishing that the Swedish protagonists oriented themselves strongly by cultural anthropology of US imprint, on the one hand; Hultkrantz, for example, received the funding for a research stay in the United States via the WGF. On the

other hand, a funding cooperation between the CIAP and the WGF, whose founder originated from Sweden, never came about. Were there resentments towards Wenner-Gren who was suspected by US officials of having collaborated with the Nazi regime? This suspicion was not refuted until 2016 after insight into FBI files (Luciak 2016). Or was it because the foundation offensively promoted the East-West dialogue?

4. Impeded internationality through disciplinary bias

The effort of understanding the internationalization of knowledge production within *Volkskunde* after 1945 requires focusing on disciplinary boundaries and transitions between folklore studies and ethnology. A mutual opening of the disciplines had already been demanded by several actors (Lutz 1971) at the first "International Congress of European and Western Ethnology" in Stockholm in 1951 (Erixon 1955c; Hultkrantz 1952). One year later, Jorge Dias took up the bias at the Vienna conference of the IUAES in his lecture on "*Volkskunde und Völkerkunde*." Inspired by the participation at the New York symposium, he pleaded for a stronger international understanding in ethnological research. He diagnosed a state of isolation and backwardness and additionally remarked that if *Volkskunde* wanted to live on, it would have to, voluntarily or involuntarily, become an extended *Völkerkunde*. Dias argued that if ethnology (anthropology) was to be understood as a science of man as a cultural being, artificial boundaries between the disciplines would fall and racist bias would wane (Dias 1955: 15–17). He further explained his approach at the CIAP conference in Arnhem in 1955 and pleaded for unified terminologies (Dias 1956). Support for an opening of German studies towards *Völkerkunde* was also voiced by Otto Höfler (Höfler 1955), Dias' former PhD supervisor in Munich (Branco 2010; West 2004).

One actor who had voiced his support for an opening of disciplinary boundaries between *Volkskunde* and *Völkerkunde* as early as 1953, but whose participation in the Arnhem conference was thwarted, was Wolfgang Steinitz. For him, *Volkskunde* was a synonym of *Völkerkunde* or ethnography (Steinitz 1955b: 270) – borrowing from the Soviet terminology (Tokarev 1951). He also rejected the differentiation between research on European and non-European people and reminded readers of the racist thought patterns of national socialist *Volkskunde* studies and referred in this to the hubris towards other peoples. What is remarkable, however, is his inconsistent handling of the terms: He explained that his discipline used the term German *Volkskunde* rather than German *Völkerkunde* or German ethnography for traditional national reasons and that *Volkskunde* could also be used in conjunction with other peoples as a synonym of ethnography, for instance Russian or French *Volkskunde* (Steinitz 1955b: 247f.). The subsequent use of the term *Volkskunde* was due more to the asymmetrical German-German relations than to a distancing from the term ethnography. It remains unclear whether Steinitz's concept had a lasting influence, as

it was stated in 1973 that the concept of a unified *Volkskunde* and *Völkerkunde* had so far been implemented only insufficiently into the working program (Mohrmann and Wolf 1974: 109).

The stimulus for the discussion about a joint European nomenclature and an abolition of the differentiation between *Volkskunde* and *Völkerkunde* came both from US anthropology and Soviet ethnography in the 1950s. The regular participation of East German folklorists and ethnologists in international conferences both in the Western and the Eastern hemisphere, such as the IUAES conferences, suggests that contacts were also maintained across the Iron Curtain. Heinz Kothe participated in the 1956 IUAES conference in Philadelphia alongside Tokarev. In Paris, Steinitz was elected Vice President in 1960. Here, East German *Volkskunde* was strongly represented and at the Moscow conference in 1964. Ingeborg Weber-Kellermann remarked, referring to the conference in Paris, that it was regrettable that West German *Volkskunde* was only sparsely represented and that international ethnology did not know the problems of the German division of disciplines. Therefore, *Volkskunde* questions were treated within the same framework as ethnologic ones. She stated that if German *Volkskunde* did not want to lose touch with international research, it had to seek (as narratology had already done) planned working relationships with the groups named in the future and organize participation in coming CISAE. According to her, German *Volkskunde* had to find its way into the larger supranational area of a 'Cultural Anthropology' in which it would have significant contributions to make which stemmed particularly from its highly developed regional level of science (Weber-Kellermann 1961: 149f.).

The absence of German language *Volkskunde* regarding the social sciences, which had been promoted internationally after 1945 and aimed for an integration of cultural anthropology, sociology and social psychology, was among other hindrances to an international opening (de Bie 1954). Accordingly, "Relations of Anthropology to the Social Science and to the Humanities" (Redfield 1953) were discussed both at the New York Symposium in 1952 and the CIAP conference in Arnhem in 1955. Here, support for the integration of social science approaches was voiced by Sigurd Erixon and Karl Meisen (Erixon 1956; Meisen 1956); Meisen had already pleaded for sociological approaches in *Volkskunde* in 1952. Approaches to sociology were made, for instance, by the Ruhr area folklorist and sociologist Wilhelm Brepohl (Scharfe 1970) or by Heilfurth's contributions in the *Handbuch für Empirische Sozialforschung* (Heilfurth 1974). Yet, the mainstream of the discipline in West Germany remained untouched by these efforts until the late-1960s, even though, through the connection with the Cologne social research which was internationally connected via the UNESCO as well as by means of American exchange programs, a social science orientation could have had opened up (Weyer 1984).

The last two points are part of a basic conflict which influenced the internationalization of the discipline after 1945 and became openly apparent in the renaming of CIAP into SIEF in 1964. It is the bias between the disciplinary traditions of folkloristic and ethnographic cultural studies which, after the takeoff of the CIAP, led increasingly towards a crisis and to concurrent international activities from the mid-1950s onwards. From 1954, the ADV in Bonn and the permanent international atlas commission, which hosted its own meetings or met at IUAES conferences, became the center of international atlas research (Bratanic 1965). Another example are material culture researchers and agrarian ethnologists who, under the topos "Research on Ploughing Implements," forged a network of mostly Eastern European provenance from the 1950s, which, in 1966, eventually organized itself in the "*Association Internationale des Musées d'Agriculture*" (Tempír 1996). Narratologists, who had been internationally organized in the "Folklore Fellows" from as early as 1910, initially met in 1959 at a cooperative conference in Kiel and Copenhagen and networked from 1962 in the "International Society for Folk Narrative Research" and in the journal *Fabula*, published from 1958 onwards. Folk song researchers and music ethnographers organized themselves in the "International Music Council," and even research on displaced people was internationally networked in the "*Association Européenne pour l'Etude du Problème des Refugiés*." All these associations and organizations were characterized by practices of cooperation between East and West, even if these were influenced by the dynamics of the rivalry of systems. The CIAP, on the other hand, remained a purely Western event.

III. Perspectives

'International' is a relational category, meaning that internationalization processes move in an asymmetrical area of tension between border crossings and national delimitation. International disciplinary organizations, conferences, projects, etc. are simultaneously platforms for exchange, cooperation or networking and negotiations between different positions or rivalries between disciplinary representatives from specific nations. Research into the genesis of European ethnology, therefore, needs to include the simultaneity of national motivations and international orientations as characteristics of internationalization, that is, specific national influences, orientations and constellations in a self-reflexive manner.

The common struggle for an international epistemic community with a unified nomenclature, and methodological and theoretical standards is not only influenced by the tensions between differing inner-disciplinary tendencies, but also by generational aspects, and national disciplinary constellations and interests. On an international stage, processes of negotiation in the competition for national standards are relevant. However, comparisons of the scientific achievements of renowned national actors at an international level can also relativize them and, therefore, at

times, international engagement can also go along with a national loss of reputation. This disciplinary political aspect of relativization is just as relevant for the question about the presence or non-presence in the internationalization process as the rivalry between political systems. International historiography must constantly assume that politics and science promotion constitute an eminent resource for the discipline in the sense of a complex interdependent ensemble of resources both at the national and international level. Studies on international disciplinary development, therefore, need to sound out interdependencies between the individual national intentions and circumstances, and international conditions and possibilities.

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A modern myth for the nation*

Jacob Grimm's Teutonic Mythology (1835) and the ethnicization of the Germans

Abstract: Teutonic Mythology (1835) by Jacob Grimm is a book that is both influential and highly controversial. On the one hand, it stimulated numerous folkloristic (*volkskundlich*) thinking styles and initiatives. On the other hand, incorrect deductions led to the problematic interpretations of the 'Mythological School.' The ideological basis of the work was criticized and consistently questioned after the Second World War. As a result, folklore studies (*Volkskunde*) largely abstained from studying mythological theories. New mythological theories have once again made it possible to describe the relevance and modernity of mythological narratives and practices in contemporary everyday life. The interest in myths, pop-cultural mythical worlds and genesis narratives is less the expression of an anti-modernist view and more a reference to the present and the need for syntheses and transcending narratives. This article, therefore, argues for a renewed preoccupation with Grimm's mythological work which goes beyond the criticism of ideology and takes the history of science into account. It is important to ask how a German mythology is composed and how the new format of knowledge created by Grimm, despite the questionable nature of his theorems, could serve as a new myth for the German nation. At the same time, relying on the central categories of language, mythology, law and customs, *Teutonic Mythology* can be read as a driving force within the ethnicization of the Germans.

Keywords: Jacob Grimm, mythology, *Teutonic Mythology* (1835), history of science, imagined communities, formation of knowledge

A large international congress took place in Kassel in 2012 in honor of the bicentennial of the first edition of the first volume of *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* '*Grimm's Fairy Tales*' by Jacob (1785–1863) and Wilhelm Grimm (1786–1859). Under the title "Fairy tales, myths, and modernity," researchers expressed their admiration not only for the fairy tales in general, but also for the works of the Brothers Grimm. The two-volume conference proceedings consist of 1,207 pages with articles by 96 academics from various disciplines (Brinker-von der Heyde, Ehrhardt, and Ewers 2015); the focus was primarily on fairy tales and mythological works. Although these numbers can

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only hint at the degree of academic interest in the subject, they clearly demonstrate the ongoing interest in the academic works of the Brothers Grimm and their impact.

The study of the Grimms' work since the 19th century has oscillated between glorifying rapture and fundamental criticism, which is partially due to the complexity of the approaches taken in this research. While their linguistic texts and findings could be further refined without any difficulties, the mythological texts particularly posed a problem. The interpretations according to the Mythological School (Pöge-Alder 1999) and the adoption of mythologems in the *völkisch* movement were finally perverted by the national socialists. After German philology had largely distanced itself from the mythological works since the mid-19th century, they were taken up once more, in part even more intensely, in the newly developing folklore studies (*Volkskunde*) where they were corrupted. After the Second World War, it appeared even more important to dissociate from the folklore mythologems. As a result, folklore studies predominantly abstained from studying mythological works for a time (Groschwitz 2013). The enormous popularity of myths in everyday modern culture is, thus, a remarkable contrast to this movement. Whether the pop-cultural mythical worlds of Tolkien and co., including the impressive 3D film adaptations, mythological stories in theaters and operas, the assemblage of new pagan religions from mythological feminism to Wicca, the academic response to folklore works that have long since been scientifically refuted, culminating in the endless revival of declarations regarding the pagan origin of traditions in newspapers and local customs, whether the inflationary attributions of people, objects, or events as 'myths,' or the political (re-)activation and instrumentalization of traditional tales of *imagined communities* (Anderson 1983) – myths and mythologies are an important aspect of the present.

Roland Barthes' (1964) *Mythen des Alltags* '*Mythologies*' (1957) was a significant work for the new mythological approach in folklore studies, which is especially apparent in the profound analysis of mythical concepts in *Lust am Mythos. Kulturwissenschaftliche Neuzugänge zu einem populären Phänomen* '*A passion for myths. Cultural anthropology takes a new approach to a popular phenomenon*' (Zimmermann 2015a), a collection of conference proceedings. This volume also emphasizes the necessity for deconstructing old mythologems and critically analyzing ideologies. However, the critique of ideology must also be questioned, as it might otherwise become a myth of its own. There is some danger that it "will cement as a taboo the very thing that [it] rejects" (Zimmermann 2015b: 11). This new analysis of myths and mythologies also opens up the path for a new contemplation of Jacob Grimm, who has a very secure, if ambivalent, place in the history of folklore studies. After all, he was an academic whose far-reaching impact, which ranged from German linguistics and a diverse collection of sources to (at times involuntarily) politics, and extensive influence have been described, situated and deconstructed many times. At the same time, it is remarkable that the common view of Jacob Grimm is essentially

very stereotypical. He is often envisioned as a somewhat misanthropic man sitting at his desk, collecting and sorting countless historical sources; a man who produced an abundance of works that would command the utmost respect even in the era of computers and databanks. This image generally portrays him in a bourgeois environment in Marburg, Kassel, Göttingen and Berlin (with the exception of political campaigns in Paris, Vienna and Frankfurt). There, he was said to be searching for the origins and the development of the German language, the effects of Germanic law and mythology, or, more respectively, pre-Christian religiousness. He is thought to have worked embedded in a network of correspondents who spread his research programs across Europe. It appears that a portion of the Grimm myth – and, thus, the myth of *Teutonic Mythology* – is an image of Jacob Grimm fixated on his historical sources and books, one that was constructed by Grimm researchers.

Jacob Grimm and folklore studies

The history of science, especially the history of a specific discipline, is always accompanied by an attempt to construct a line of ancestors that reflects a contingent, if not logical development leading up to the modern academic field long before it had established itself as a science (Hartmann 2001: 9; Kaschuba 1999: 17). Some protagonists from various disciplines are more or less called on, ignored or rejected, connected with, or labeled as indirectly influential. Jacob Grimm can thus be found within the context of linguistics and German philology, the history of law, folklore studies, the history of religion, and narratology. However, he appears to have been virtually unconnected to both the ethnography[1] of the 18th and early 19th centuries and early ethnology. At the same time, other people are mentioned in histories of folklore studies and ethnology, and in the biographical and academic context of Jacob Grimm, e.g. Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803), Friedrich Creuzer (1771–1858), Georg Forster (1754–1794), and the brothers Wilhelm (1767–1835) and Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859), who were part of the intellectual milieu in which Jacob Grimm was active. And in truth, it is not easy to find the points that connect the collections of the Brothers Grimm and the mythological works of Jacob Grimm with the modern field and the refinements of the discipline, which were strongly shaped by empirical data and now carry the names European ethnology, cultural anthropology or empirical cultural studies. At the latest, once it became known that the Brothers Grimm presented themselves in a literary topos as travelers who collected fairy tales and the identification of the informants, who did not at all fit the image of the "peasant storytellers" (Rölleke 2004), these images appear to have lost their magic. Other figures now became more important, for example, Wil-

1 Within this context, ethnography refers to the description of societies prior to the disciplinary separation into cultural anthropology and ethnology.

helm Heinrich Riehl (1823–1897), whose approach to the people they described was deemed more relevant. Today, it is generally only the philological branch that still plays a central role in folklore studies within the context of storytelling research, or history of science discussions about the term *Volk* (the people) and the deconstruction of the Romantic continuity paradigm with which the Brothers Grimm are associated. The mythological works particularly were long considered an expression of a Romantic, anti-modernist view and a strategy to compensate for a modernity that was deemed deficient and confusing. In this paper, I would like to demonstrate how mythology can be interpreted as a direct expression of this modern age, just as folklore studies are a "product of modernization" (Köstlin and Nikitsch 1999; Welz 2005).

The 1835 edition of *Teutonic Mythology* (as well as the later editions of 1844, 1854 and 1875–78) will be the focus of the discussion for an analysis of Grimm's mythological works. Without a doubt, an analysis of this book was necessary on many levels. In 1968, Wolfgang Emmerich considered Grimm's mythology to be the beginning of the *Germanistische Volkstumsideologie* '*Germanic folklore ideology*' (Emmerich 1968) and, thus, the beginning of the later nationalist and *völkisch* developments and their emotional connotations. Hermann Bausinger, Wolfgang Brückner (Bausinger and Brückner 1969), and Bernward Deneke (Deneke 1969) deconstructed the Romantic continuity paradigm, and Dieter Harmening clarified the misunderstandings regarding *Superstitio*, the discourse on superstition (Harmening 1979; Hartinger 1992). Finally, Beate Kellner deconstructed *Grimms Mythen* '*Grimm's myths*' comprehensively (Kellner 1994), once again revealing the methodical shortcomings and erroneous interpretations. It would exceed the scope of this paper to name additional sources that have criticized Grimm; the range of the analyses of Grimm's mythologems and theorems illustrates how deeply they were embedded in the theoretical foundation of folklore studies.

Even though Karl Braun was later able to establish that Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814) and Friedrich Ludwig Jahn (1778–1852) played a significantly more important role in shaping national ideologemes (Braun 2009), *Teutonic Mythology* still appeared to have value only for the history of science and was relieved from the necessity of further analysis. By contrast, *Teutonic Mythology* proved to be extremely influential for the 19th century, above and beyond the connotations of the Mythological School. The book encouraged numerous collections that, even today – despite the contemporary opinion that its research design contains serious shortcomings – are an invaluable collection of resources. Franz Xaver von Schönwerth (1810–1886) is one example who noted in his *Sitten und Sagen* '*Customs and myths*': "Since Professor Phillips gave me a copy of Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology* when I was at university, I have been thinking about also going to study the Upper Palatinate, of which little is known, in the same way" (Schönwerth 1857: 37). And elsewhere he praised: "Since

Grimm, another Prometheus, rekindled the fire on the German hearth, the concept of a German 'Heimat' has been burning in all the hearths across the land" (ibid.: 4). In addition to this retrospective story in his book, it is the type of volume and its organization which demonstrate his close connection with Grimm. References like these to Grimm, the initiator, can also be found in the works of many other folklore collectors of the 19th century.

The formation of a German mythology[2]

Jacob Grimm wrote during a period in which the antique mythologies were well respected and the Central European and Norse myths were relatively unknown. The late 18th and early 19th centuries, however, were also a period in which an increasing number of medieval sources were edited and, thus, reintroduced to the academic circulations, including the *Nibelungenlied*, the medieval *Minnesang* or both of the Islandic *Eddur*. In retrospect, Jacob Grimm noted that his first encounter with medieval sources was in 1803 when he was an eighteen-year-old law student in Marburg. At the time, he and his brother, Wilhelm, saw an edition of the *Minnesang* belonging to their teacher Friedrich Carl von Savigny (1779–1861). This edition had been published by Johann Jakob Bodmer (1698–1783) in 1758/59 (Bodmer and Breitinger 1758/59). Not until almost half a century later did Grimm tell this story during Savigny's doctoral anniversary (Martus 2009: 81). It sounds a bit like a traditional mythical tale – certainly suitable for developing a myth of one's own, which is characteristic of the brothers. The anecdote also refers to a situation in which the book was read, when uncertainty and initial confusion awakened a first "notion" that led to a long-time study of the subject (Martus 2009: 83). In 1803, the same year as Grimm's alleged initial contact with the material, Ludwig Tieck published an edition of *Minnesang*, which he attempted to relate with the aim of teaching the readers and modernizing the songs (Martus 2009: 84). In any case, Jacob Grimm's interest was piqued. He did not complete his legal studies and instead followed Savigny to Paris in 1805. This step initiated a phase of intense research and comprehensive literary study which was oriented on Savigny in its inductive form and during which Grimm also appropriated existing literature (Deneke 1969).

The study of mythological texts from the pre-Christian era began with humanism, using mostly Latin texts (Ehrhardt 2013: 105). The constructing equation of 'Teutonic' and 'Germanic' (Beck et al. 2004; Fried 2015) is equally old. The academic topos of the continuation of 'pagan' customs in contemporary 'folklore' existed long before Grimm, although exclusively in individual studies, i.e. within the context of *Fastnacht*, the Southern German winter carnival (Schmidt 1752) or the legends of the 'Wild Hunt.' One early, very comprehensive mythological anthology from mainly

2 For more details, cf. Groschwitz 2015.

antique sources is a book published by Johann Alexander Doederlein (1675–1745) in 1734 called *Kurtzer/doch gründlicher Bericht Von dem Heydenthum Der alten Nordgauer 'A short/yet comprehensive report on the paganism of the old Northern Gauers'.* Doederlein – who also played an important role in researching the Upper Germanic-Rhaetian Limes – took up the concept of the continuing influence of pagan ideas among the population:

> §. IX. The fourth place among the gods of our ancestors was formerly given to the courageous Wodan, or Gwodan, also called Othin and Oden etc. by some. […] is still customary among the people here, where one can still sense and observe many traces from ancient times, including paganism: […]. (Doederlein 1734: 9f.)[3]

In addition, Doederlein repeatedly discusses the hypothetical adoption of deities from Asia, just as he adopts the concept of a pan-European diffusion, thereby also incorporating Germanic mythology into antique mythology:

> In this first period, despite all of the doubts in the religion of our people, in those times known under the name of the Scythians, and at times the Celts, […]; and even some of the Greek wise men in their peregrinationibus may have taught this and that to the Germans […]. (Doederlein 1734: 113f.)[4]

Here, he discusses the gradually developing concept of a transnational linguistic community. His mention of the "Scythians" as the linguistic origin is a reference to the Dutch scholar Marcus Suerius Boxhorn (1602–1653) (van Hal 2008: 159). Doederlein is, therefore, a very early source for the concept of the Indo-European linguistic model; otherwise, historical linguists generally credit the English orientalist William Jones (1746–1794) and his 1786 book *The Sanscrit Language* as the relevant starting point for the history of Indo-European studies (Meier-Brügger 2010: 133–141; Petermann 2004: 376f). This discovery of similarities among the historical languages in a broad geographical area piqued an interest in cultural comparisons and promoted the theory that language and culture influence one another (Petermann 2004: 377). It also encouraged the search for the notion of 'originality' which the Romanticists later carried out with intensity.

The mythologies from the period around 1800 include several interesting collections of mythological elements from an international perspective, which extend beyond Europe. Friedrich Majer (1772–1818) made the most extensive attempt in his

3 German original: "§. IX. Den vierdten Platz unter den Gottheiten unserer Vorfahren obtnirte ehemahlen der tapffere Wodan, oder Gwodan, von einigen auch Othin, und Oden, rc. genannt. […] ist unter dem Volck bey uns annoch üblich, als bey welchem man auch noch die meisten Spuhren des Alters, mithin auch des Heydenthums, spühren und wahrnehmen kann: […]."

4 German original: "In welchem ersten Periodo dann sonder allen Zweifel die Religion unsers Volcks, so damahliger Zeiten unter dem Nahmen der Scythen, ingleichen auch der Celten, […] bekannt gewesen […]; auch wohl einige der Griechischen Weltweisen in ihren peregrinationibus ein und anders den Teutschen beygebracht haben mögen […]."

Mythologisches Lexicon aus Original-Quellen '*Mythological lexicon based on original sources*' from 1803 (Majer 1803). Jacob Grimm criticized the 1814 edition because of "this lexicon's atrocious central structure," (Denecke and Teitge 1989: 585) which proves his knowledge of this book.

Werner Petermann only discusses Jacob Grimm in passing or in a footnote in his very extensive history of ethnology, whereas he pays considerably more attention to Georg Friedrich Creuzer and Joseph von Görres (1776–1848) and their mythological texts (Petermann 2004: 367–385). Both of these men are also important for the history of *Teutonic Mythology*. While Creuzer and his 1810 book *Symbolik und Mythologie der Alten Voelker* '*The symbolism and mythology of the ancient peoples*' (Creuzer 1810) unraveled myths from a classical esthetic perspective and ascribed a timeless quality to them, Grimm later distanced himself from this point of view by incorporating myths into a historical development and thereby historicizing them (Petermann 2004: 371).

Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm also wrote their first mythological works during this period. The basic idea of the "myth as truth" (Paul 1985: 79) policy was already a part of the small, though still largely Romantic and speculative text *Gedanken über Mythos, Epos und Geschichte* '*Thoughts on myth, epos and history*' written by Jacob Grimm in 1813 (Grimm 1813). In 1827, Christian Vulpius (1762–1827), who was Goethe's brother-in-law, published his *Handwörterbuch der Mythologie der deutschen, verwandten, benachbarten und nordischen Völker* '*Concise dictionary of the mythology of the Germanic and Norse peoples, their relations and neighbors*' (Vulpius 1827). The book is both a general summary of 'German mythology' and a subsequent lexicon. Interestingly, he was the first to dedicate a longer article to the alleged goddess *Ostara*.[5]

It is important to mention that the terms *mythos/mythe* (myth) did not yet carry the later meaning of the word and were barely distinguishable from saga and epic. They generally referred to stories about gods, heroes, numinous appearances and cosmologies. The term mythology referred, on the one hand, to the totality of mythical stories from a specific time or society and, on the other hand, to the scientific discussion of these stories. The large number of mythological collections and the development of different theories regarding myths in the decades before and after 1800 is striking. They were forerunners to the *Teutonic Mythology* of 1835, as well as for Grimm himself, within a field of tension that involved a variety of developments. These included the increasing discussion of antique sources on the 'Teutons' (particularly Tacitus' *Germania* and *Annales*), the publication of Scandinavian and Islandic texts, the development of the Indo-European language model,

5 The historical interpretation of this alleged Teutonic goddess is still alive today (Simek 2006: 334). It is based on an Old High German name for a month, which is plausibly derived from *eos* (Aurora) (Hartinger 1992: 21–29; Knobloch 1986).

the search for a 'new mythology' in Romantic literature (i.e. Schlegel 1800), the establishment of archeology, the collections of ethnographica within the context of explorations, and the corresponding study of extra-European societies and myths. In addition, positivistic science also made encyclopedic claims, as is reflected in the works of Lorenz Oken (1779–1851).

Mythology as a format of knowledge

In the end, all of the authors of mythologies that concentrated on German-speaking areas were faced with a problem: In contrast to the antique and Norse sources, they were few in number, scattered and, as Jacob Grimm put it, "utterly in pieces" (Grimm 1835a: XXV), they had to collect myths and give them a form that united them. An interesting aspect of this is the corresponding "format of knowledge" (Boie et al. 2009; Dietzsch, Kaschuba, and Scholze-Irrlitz 2009). This term is used in the theory of knowledge and examines processes that are significant for the formation of knowledge. In doing so, "individual expertise is put into a specific form according to a certain process of selection" in which "the format guarantees the validity of the knowledge associated with it – and thus places it on a spectrum between academic science and the wider public" (Dietzsch et al. 2009: 14). Within this process, the format cannot be separated from the performative and discursive frame of formation, and the participating actors. The requirements for the formation of knowledge are seldom explicitly stated and must, therefore, be inferred from the environment via the formats of knowledge themselves and additional related sources. They are not only the result of the production of knowledge but, conversely, also influence this production. They are "both a structured authority and one which structures knowledge" (Dietzsch et al. 2009: 14). Mythologies, i.e. mythical stories or fragments that have been given a consistent form by a writer or scholar, can also be understood as a format of knowledge of this kind.

By the time the first edition of *Teutonic Mythology* was published in 1835, the Brothers Grimm had made a name for themselves. The *Deutsche Grammatik 'German grammar'*, published in 1819 (in print until 1837), particularly aroused a great deal of interest. *Grimm's Fairy Tales* (1812/15) generated the expected attention after some initial difficulties. Their *Deutsche Sagen 'German legends'* (1816) and *Rechtsalterthümer 'German legal antiquities'* (1828) were also remarkable collections. In 1830, the Brothers Grimm accepted a position at the University of Göttingen. Jacob Grimm, who did not particularly enjoy the hustle and bustle of the university and library, found solace in publishing numerous works. Now aged 48, Grimm was no longer the young Romantic – and yet some of the premises of his early mythological works live on in his writing, which now became extremely dense and encyclopedic in nature. While Jacob Grimm created an impressive range of sources and conducted an inductive search for structures and rules, the assumption of "myth as truth" contin-

ued to be a common thread in his works (Paul 1985), finally leading to several misinterpretations that would later discredit them. He often used long, linguistic lists, comparisons and derivations to substantiate his theorems. His strength lay generally in connecting mythology and linguistics. He, thus, attempted to distinguish his methods from Romantic speculations and instead strived for a well-founded data basis that was as comprehensive as possible. To achieve this, he repeatedly sought assistance.

> The incompleteness and the loose correlation of that which can be saved, spares me, I think, from the confusion that often occurs in the study of Norse and Greek mythology, which attempts to compensate for only partially uncovered historical data by employing philosophical or astronomical interpretations. I aim to faithfully and simply collect that which remained of paganism after first the early degeneration of the peoples themselves, and later the scorn and inhibition of the Christians, and only wish that my work can be the starting point for additional research of this kind. (Grimm 1835a: 9)

Jacob Grimm's European perspective, which consistently extended beyond country and nation, is remarkable. He was also interested in questions regarding contact, adaptation and intermingling in geographical and temporal contexts. In connection with the *Völkerwanderung*, he wrote, for example: "their withdrawal [he refers here to the Gauls, author's note] was not so sudden that it did not leave traces of their language and religion on the people who took their place" (1835a: XIV). In the introduction to the first edition of 1835, he labels his composition – in contrast to previous lexical works – as an incomplete, negotiable and ongoing process of research.

I would like to mention that there is no more a consistent Greek or Roman mythology than a clearly defined Christian mythology. In reality, we always have a wide range of texts that are incorporated into a coherent system via a literary or academic synthesis. These texts are, thus, selected, formed and changed. Mythologies, in one sense defined as the totality of mythical texts, are often contradictory, historically variable and bound to their storytellers. Their modernizations also reflect the time in which they originated. Whereas Doederlein's arguments were still largely influenced by antiquity, Grimm represented a change in perspective, placing the developments in the German-speaking regions as the focal point. Compared to earlier German mythologies, his work was most radical in its focus on the German (cultural) nation. In addition, the change in the format of knowledge is also striking. It is less a lexical representation of sources sorted by lemmata. Instead, in addition to a hitherto unknown abundance of material, Jacob Grimm introduced a categorization according to theologies (e.g. God, temple, service), relying on antique mythologies to compile the material (Paul 1985). Even though Grimm repeatedly denied attempting to cre-

ate a reconstruction, the composition and apparent coherence of his selected format of knowledge suggests that he did just that.

Volksgeist and the ethnization of the Germans

Teutonic Mythology is unique in that it alternates between a historical collection of open-ended sources that are rich in detail and an assumption of an inner coherence that is both the basis for the alleged religiousness of our ancestors and for later developments, which would become more obvious with an increasing knowledge of additional sources. Although it may seem paradoxical from today's point of view, the result is a simultaneous examination of a historical line of development and the epistemic research gap of an earlier period that is not clearly definable due to the lack of sources.[6] Jacob Grimm searched in the remnants and traces for a kind of social order and regulation that would have existed almost naturally from and within the community of this early 'German' period. He addresses a naturalization[7] of law and customs in, for example, his evaluation of Christianization.

> Christianity was not endemic. It came from afar, with the aim of usurping traditional and domestic gods that the people of the country honored and loved. The gods and their worship were closely related to the traditions, writings, and customs of the people. (Grimm 1835a: 3)

If the term had not already been applied elsewhere, one could speak of Grimm in terms of a 'natural law' in analogy to natural poetry and natural philosophy. However, Jacob Grimm disapproved of natural law as it was propagated during the Enlightenment, because he believed it was arbitrary and imposed from a contemporary point of view. Instead, like Savigny, he searched for the remnants of a natural concept of law in historical law. In his opinion, the law should be derived from everyday practice, as the power of the law cannot be legally justified (Martus 2009: 243). For this reason, Grimm believed that any kind of law or government that regulated or intervened based on the 'natural' order of society was appropriate.[8] This is probably one of Grimm's central errors, as assuming this inner essence was his basis for attempting to fill in the prehistoric gaps using later sources and modern

6 Interestingly, it is precisely this approach that is taken in Indo-European studies, in which previous forms are reconstructed based on evidence and regularly occurring changes in language. These are often only postulated and then labeled with an asterisk in front of the *word. It is important to mention 'Grimm's law,' also known as the first, or German, consonant shift, within the context of these linguistic regularities.

7 Cf. Emmerich 1968: 35f. on the naturalization of law and poetry.

8 Basically, this is an idea that led Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl to make his well-known, concise statement in 1858: "The biggest triumph of the inner administration would then consist of adapting every regulatory activity to suit the nature of the people to such a degree that the people believed that, even when it came to the most trying aspects, the administration were acting in the spirit of the people" (Riehl 1862: 225).

cultural practices.[9] This inner essence of '*Volk*' can also be identified as the concept of '*Volksgeist*,' or 'the national character'[10] that was developed by Johann Gottfried von Herder. Accordingly, the *Volksgeist* would be the immanent characteristic that binds the often disparate sources of Grimm's collections into a meaningful whole. From this point of view, the field of tension mentioned earlier between historical and idealistic world views is comprehensible, even though it is not a viable method from today's perspective. So why did these collections have such a huge impact in comparison to earlier mythologies?

Jacob Grimm in his *Teutonic Mythology* concentrates on an analysis of language, the concept of law and mythology – elements that are also relevant for concepts of ethnicity. According to Eric Wolf in the 1930s, the term '*Ethnie*' (ethnic group) was introduced to replace the terms '*Volk*,' 'tribe' and 'culture,' which had become problematic (Wolf 1993). Despite the now frequent use (usually in the form of an adjective as ethnic), *Ethnie* is just as diffuse and inappropriate a term as *Volk* when used to describe an essentialist (cultural) characteristic. For this reason, it is better to speak of processes of ethnicization, i.e. how membership to a certain ethnic group is determined and performatively established, or how groups distinguish themselves from others. Central criteria for determining an ethnic group may include, without all factors necessarily applying, a certain geographical area (independent of national borders or actual places of residence, a mythical region is also possible), a common language, shared norms, a shared mythology and art, and relationships (Beer 2012). These criteria can also be applied to discourses regarding 'Germanness' in the 19th century. Interestingly, the essentialist terms *Volk* and tribe are difficult to transform into procedural terms (as in 'becoming a people') which correlates with the fact that *Volk* and tribe are seen as aspects that are stable and given. On the other hand, the term ethnicization makes it possible to examine criteria and processes through which a number of people are performatively united as a community or an *imagined community*. As early as Herder, language was considered to be the most important aspect that connected people. For Grimm, mythology and law as well as customs also played a role, all of which he used as central categories to clearly define 'Germanness.' He, thus, took a systematic approach with *Teutonic Mythology*, i.e. largely using the historical and linguistic methodology that was modern at the time, to illustrate the ethnicization of the German people.[11]

9 This was also the starting point for the revision carried out by Hans Moser and Karl-Sigismund Kramer's "historical school," which radically concentrated on historical sources and rejected retrospective projections.

10 Even though the term '*Volksgeist*' is often connected with Herder, it was actually first used by Hegel (Großmann 2000).

11 For more details, cf. Götz 2011, particularly p. 93–128.

A new myth

> When asked, whether German mythology can explain our early history or be used to enrich our earliest history, some philologists might answer that there is no German mythology. (Grimm 1835b: 1,665)

This definition, which contrasted with the predominant paradigm, illustrates the importance of *Teutonic Mythology* in one very central aspect: It recognizes the mere existence of German mythology in defiance of the prevalent understanding that no such mythology exists, thereby confidently placing it in the same league as antique mythologies. In achieving this "creation" (Paul 1985: 77), Jacob Grimm developed a consistent format of knowledge that transcends the lexical or encyclopedic categorization of previous works – which often refer to the Interpretatio Romana and, thus, place Germany on the periphery – and emphasizes its own origin. Despite the fact that Grimm was looking for an old mythology, he created something new. His almost positivistic mythology indirectly formulated a new myth, a meta-myth whose primary message can be understood equally trivially and resoundingly as: now we, too, are a nation with our own mythology.

Teutonic Mythology, in addition to being an astonishingly comprehensive collection, is a dense compilation of theorems of continuity, assumed national character and an *invention of tradition* (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983), in this case as a synthesis offering a narrative of origin that united the *imagined communities* of the Germans long before the foundation of the country in 1871. This model of a "legitimizing story" (Zimmermann 2005: 123) could also be easily transferred to other countries. The myth of *Teutonic Mythology* is, therefore, more the result of the meta-story, paratexts and mythologems used in the book than the collection and formation of myths. Historical myths and their formation are the vehicle for a comprehensive myth, which, in turn, legitimizes the individual components and even the small narratives – and vice versa. It is safe to assume that it was not only the sources collected and the historical linguistic derivations that were so powerful, even though these were given a literary and artistic form. The meta-statements, especially, which justified a new mythology of the German people, also became very powerful. These were adapted by later collectors in a form of blackboxing.[12] These collectors then used the mythologems as the basis for a deductive observation of their own material.[13] This shines a completely new light on the textual deconstructions mentioned initially. It has indeed been proven that Grimm erred in the interpretation of his sources. Nevertheless, his mythology worked on a higher level.

12 Blackboxing in this context refers to the phenomenon of subsequently generalizing the results of complex derivations and interpreting them as facts instead of re-deducing or questioning them.

13 This can be clearly seen, for example, in the works of Franz Xaver von Schönwerth (Drascek 2011).

Here, Roland Barthes' concept which sees myths as a higher order sign can be applied. One of the strengths of modern mythology research is its rejection of the assumption that myths are a fixed and conditional reference to the past. Instead, it sees them as a special form of narrative that are permanently being modernized (Münzel 2015; Neubauer-Petzoldt 2015). According to Barthes, they are not necessarily recognizable as mythological texts. They

> in no way exclusively focus on large, fundamental topics (cosmogony, theogony, and anthropogony), but instead equally address small everyday topics and ideas and are in no way exclusively defined by celebratory and exclusive forms (hymns, epics) [...]. (Zimmermann 2015b: 9).

Myths, as opposed to logic, make it possible to take an overriding and simplified approach, which can provide orientation, particularly where there is a lack of clarity.

> Myths come from a variety and abundance, which logos with its structures and schematisms cannot achieve. Myths establish syntheses where logos takes an analytical approach, thereby missing the whole picture. (Zimmermann 2015c: 310)

Numerous deconstructions have since disproved that Romanticism – and, thus, those aspects of folklore studies that are derived from Romantic concepts – was a movement that stood in opposition to the Enlightenment. Romanticism, like the development of folklore studies, "must be seen as the answer to the disorganization, mobilization, and transformation of society" (Bausinger 1968: 232) and, thus, an integral component of this modern age. In the confusion of the upheavals during the period before and after 1800, myths offered a supplementary "big story" (Lyotard, as cited in Zimmermann 2005) that was able to consolidate both the many political and scientific differentiations and differences into a complete picture. Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology* should – despite its errors and shortcomings and the necessity for criticizing its ideology – be read within this context.

Outlook: Jacob Grimm, mythology and an extended history of science

One aspect that distinguishes *Teutonic Mythology* is the question, to which I have referred several times in this paper, regarding the historical categorization of folklore studies and the parallel exclusion from ethnology. It is important to keep in mind that ethnology also includes Johann Gottfried von Herder and Friedrich Creuzer among its "predecessors" (Petermann 2004; Znoj 2012). James George Frazer (1854–1941) also explicitly referred to Wilhelm Mannhardt (1831–1880) who, again, was a student and follower of Jacob Grimm. If we do not view *Teutonic Mythology* solely as a piece of work that refers to a single ethnic group (the Germans), but rather as a contemporary mythological discourse of the 19th century, we could most certainly define new 'relations' within the way of thinking in the early 19th century. Considering the enormous network that the Brothers Grimm maintained via letters,

visits and joint projects, it would perhaps be possible to further extend the research on Grimm in a new direction. The brothers were involved in larger projects earlier, for example, when they wrote an expert opinion for the "Berlin Plan" (Martus 2009: 269) in 1816. The plan was not realized, but it did initiate the foundation of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, one of the largest publication projects of medieval sources, one that has yet to be completed after almost two hundred years. The new University of Berlin was founded in 1809. Wilhelm von Humboldt played a central role in developing its concept – and one of the founding professors was Carl von Savigny, the Grimms' friend. We must, therefore, ask: Was Grimm not interested in the world beyond sources and the politics that affected him directly? After the European expansion began in the 15th century, an increasing number of new images and goods became a stable part of everyday life in Europe. The Romantic glorification of the Middle Ages can, thus, also be understood as a yearning for a self-contained religious and cosmological utopia. After all, the people of the early 19th century found themselves in a globally connected world that, in many aspects, stood on very shaky ground. This led to an increasing interest in world events, although, of course, the political events of the immediate environment were of stronger interest. However, why does research on the Grimms usually concentrate so unwaveringly on the Napoleonic era, the wars of independence, the Vormärz and the years following 1848? Were they not at all curious about the rest of the world?

There are clear indications that Jacob Grimm was indeed quite familiar with ethnographic literature. The library of the Brothers Grimm (Denecke and Teitge 1989), for example, also contains ethnological literature, such as the *Untersuchungen über die Verschiedenheiten der Menschennaturen […] in Asien und den südlichen Ländern in den Ostindischen und Südseeinseln, nebst einer historischen Vergleichung der vormahligen und gegenwärtigen Bewohner dieser Continente und Eylande* '*Investigations into the differences in the natures of the peoples […] in Asia and the southern countries of the East Indian and South Pacific islands along with a historical comparison of the early and current inhabitants of these countries and islands*' by Christoph Meiners (Meiners 1811). The handwritten remarks are proof that this book was read attentively. And, of course, Jacob Grimm was a librarian and, thus, had access to relevant literature. Proof that he evidently read ethnographic literature comes from his remark "that their [i.e. the German ancestors, author's note] nature and disposition was so different from a dull kneeling before the gods or statues, which, to use an awkward expression, was called fetishism" (Grimm 1835a: IV). This remark also illustrates that Jacob Grimm took a critical, derogatory view and rejected comparisons between his own 'preliterate cultures' (as the Teutons of the 19th century must be called in an ethnological sense) and others, even though this would have been an obvious approach. Instead, his own ancestors were removed from any comparisons and described as culturally and religiously superior. On the one hand, he, thus, took

up Jean-Jacques Rousseau's (1712–1778) distinction between "homme sauvage" and "homme naturel" (Rousseau 1998), on the other, he participated in the (colonial) construction of the "others" (Groschwitz 2016). In short: Addressing questions of this kind should be beneficial in any case, especially in light of the joint (mythological) history of folklore studies and ethnology.

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Architecture in Cultural Analysis*

State and perspectives of the research

Abstract: The article brings together various theoretical approaches and research strategies of cultural studies based on architectural research and provides a compact overview of the field. Three basic forms of access are distinguished: The symptomatic, the praxeological and the ethnographic, though each can merge into the other. Based on an example from my own research, that of the Votive Church (Votivkirche) in the ninth district of Vienna, I argue that a cultural analysis of architecture should combine the forms of access mentioned above to achieve a comprehensive understanding of built space and its importance for everyday practices.

Keywords: architecture, dwelling, theory of space, praxeology, material culture

There is hardly any dimension of material culture that is so prominently and lastingly integrated into everyday life as built and enclosed space. Architecture is wellnigh ubiquitous; it surrounds us, carries us, envelops us. Architecture programs the paths we will take; it allows and restricts movements in space and so is an elementary component of spatial practices. It evokes and regulates atmospheres and affects that influence the navigation of everyday life. It constitutes positions of the subject and modes of forming subjectivity. It, furthermore, forms the material and the scenery of our ideas of the good life. The process of building and the finished architectural project aims at a materialization of self-conceptions, identifications and political visions which are, in this way, established on a permanent basis and given their representation and visibility. Thus, all built structures embody specific ideas and representations of the social sphere, ranging from the necessary technosocial infrastructures, through the logic of spatial placements and social relations, to the ideal and utopian content of society. The positioning of actors in social space, the constitution of social groups and movements, the dynamics of approaching and distancing, of inclusion and exclusion, of hierarchies and power relations, can be read off from architecture. Conversely, built structures contribute eminently to the constitution and reproduction of the social world. Every institution has its architectures, which are engaged in the corresponding order of things and cooperate in

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stabilizing the institutional structure. Every form of habitation and housing, every dwelling[1] is, therefore, in the broad sense, an elementary, structuring moment of social situations and interactions, whether it is a bus stop or a cathedral, a public convenience or a philharmonic hall, a parking garage or a penthouse.

In view of the significance of architecture in everyday culture, it is no less than astonishing that only a few research approaches in cultural science have formulated its importance. In 2002, in Merkur, Detlev Schöttker could still maintain that: "As far as cultural studies are concerned, architecture, in contrast to texts and images, does not seem to exist at all" (Schöttker 2002: 494). Since then, however, this interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary field of research has definitely been set into motion. In the wake of the 'material turn' (Bennett and Joyce 2010; Hicks 2010; Mitchell 2011; Samida, Eggert, and Hahn 2014), something almost like an 'architectural turn' has become apparent, and most noticeably in architectural sociology. Although there were isolated research sketches and pioneer studies in this field as early as the 1970s and 80s (Ankerl 1981; King 1980; Thurn 1972), it is only in recent years, and chiefly in German-speaking countries, that publications have appeared which could serve to establish an architectural sociology in the strict sense. The stimulating works of Thomas Gieryn, Bernhard Schäfers and Herbert Schubert (Gieryn 2002; Schäfers 2004; Schubert 2005, 2006) were followed several years later by the theoretical outlines of Heike Delitz, Silke Steets (Delitz 2010; Steets 2015) and others, while Susanne Hauser, Christa Kamleithner and Roland Meyer presented an instructive two-volume anthology of texts that has opened up a cultural studies perspective on the subject (Hauser, Kamleithner, and Meyer 2011a, 2013). Archaeology has been making use of architectural sociological approaches for some time (Pearson and Richards 1994; Trebsche, Müller-Scheeßel, and Reinhold 2010) and, in connection with this, a (cultural) anthropology of architecture has been further developed (Buchli 2013; Rees 2016; Rolshoven and Omahna 2013; Wagner 2015; Wagner and Cepl 2014), with the result that there is now so much literature on the subject in the cultural and social scientific disciplines that an interim assessment would appear to make sense.

The present article gathers together some of the theoretical approaches to architectural analysis currently available and, on this basis, develops questions and perspectives for an intensified cultural studies examination of built space within the framework of European ethnology. In the following sections, research concepts that can be found in the literature are presented in three steps: Firstly, the concepts that grasp built space as a material mirror of social structures and, thus, propose a 'symptomatic reading' of architecture; secondly, the praxeological approaches to

1 The conference of the Societé Internationale d'Ethnologie et de Folklore (SIEF), held in Göttingen in March 2017, was entitled: "Ways of Dwelling: Crisis – Craft – Creativity" and discussed the most various forms of dwelling and housing.

built space that seek to consider the 'social efficacy' of architecture; and thirdly, research that applies ethnographic methods to explore both practices of the use and perception of architectural space, and processes of planning and building.[2] The rapid review of methodological dimensions offered here cannot of course afford a comprehensive survey of the research; it can merely direct a spotlight on some aspects of the subject. In the last section of the article, I use an example from my habilitation research on the political-cultural history of Catholic church spaces in Vienna to suggest how these conceptual approaches can be combined with a design for empirical research.

1. Reading architecture: symptomatic reading

A vast array of prominent authors and approaches can be claimed for the interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary history of architectural research in social and cultural studies (Delitz 2009: 25–54, 2010: 39–81; Schöttker 2011; Steets 2015: 17–57). Broadly speaking, most of these approaches can be assigned to the program of 'reading' architecture, which will be presented in this section. The program is essentially about inferring social relationships and conditions from architectural forms and spatial structures. Architectural space becomes in a certain sense a 'text' that can afford information about historical social orders. "In spaces we read the times" (Schlögel 2003): This could serve as a motto for the readings based on a logic of representation to which architecture has been subjected. The approach is based, among other things, on principles of the social morphology of the Durkheim school (Steets 2015: 20); it is, Nnamdi Elleh maintains in a recent anthology on the subject, "grounded on the position that architectural forms can be read as social symbols that are imbued with meanings" (Elleh 2014: 17). I would like to call such an approach, which discerns social structures and symbols in architectural forms, a 'symptomatic reading.'[3] Symptomatic reading in this sense establishes relationships between a text and specific contexts without claiming to trace those relationships empirically; architectural forms are declared to be visible symptoms or signs of abstract structural phenomena. An early example of the symptomatic reading of architecture is Gabriel

2 In her overview of architectural-sociological research, Silke Steets also takes a three-step approach, but decides on a different structuring of content, taking as the starting points "buildings as materialized structures of the social sphere," "the purposeful treatment of buildings" and the "materiality and sociality of built space" (Steets 2015: 19–49).

3 This formulation comes from Louis Althusser, who understands a reading as "symptomatic" insofar as "in one single process, it unveils the hidden in the read text and relates it to another text, which, necessarily absent, is present in the first text" (Althusser 1972: 32). (All quotations in the article are translated from the translations used by the author.) Regarding the materiality of the social world, René König has noted in an article on social morphology that "the material substrate" has, according to the morphological research approach, "essentially symptomatic significance" (König 1958: 260).

Tarde, who had at the end of the nineteenth century already set the indicatory function of architectural stylistic elements at the center of his reflections: "Here the pointed arch, there the gable and elsewhere the round arch: this is at the same time the most noticeable and the most profound feature of a society" (Tarde 2008: 76). Behind such remarks is the idea of the 'legibility' of a society in the play of its façades and architectural forms; these are assigned an essentially expressive and mirroring function. Symptomatic readings of architecture generally often have the character of a "reflection theory" (Schroer 2006: 100), as is very clear in Norbert Elias, who writes in his study of courtly society:

> Not all social units or forms of integration of people are at the same time housing or dwelling units. But they are all characterized by certain types of spatial arrangement. They are always units of interrelated, intertwined people [...]. And so, the precipitate of a social unity in space, the type of its spatial arrangement, is a tangible one, a literally visible representation of its character. (Elias 1969: 70–71)

In his argument, Elias assumes a fundamental homology between social and spatial structures. If, in fact, all social units and forms are to be characterized by spatial categories, then this, in turn, assumes that "social space inscribes itself into physical space" (Schroer 2006: 100). Elias, thus, turns space into a "means [...] for representing social processes and contexts" (von Frankenberg 2012: 24). The complex materiality of built space is of secondary importance in this research design; basically, according to Elias, only the ground plans of architectures, combined with written sources, can be read in terms of a theory of figuration, precisely because they themselves depict figurations. Thus, the house becomes a cipher and figure of social relationships (Eibach and Schmidt-Voges 2015), just as, for example, analyses of prison, hospital and mental hospital architecture can show the spaces a society allocates to its outsiders. Only spatial figures and spatial divisions make the institutionalized treatment of deviance and delinquency visible (Forty 1980; Scull 1980; Tomlinson 1980).

The symptomatic reading of architecture has a double origin: On the one hand, it comes from an art-historical tradition of interpretation, into which social-historical perspectives have entered; and, on the other hand, it comes from the historical sciences and historically interested sociology, which invoke an indicatory or illustrative function of architecture. Successful historical architectural analyses work with a complex mix of structural findings, textual and pictorial sources, and contextualizing discourses, as, for example, the art historians Reinhard Bentmann and Michael Müller have done in their well-known attempt to interpret the "villa as hegemonic architecture" (Bentmann and Müller 1979). Here, the Northern Italian villeggiatura of the sixteenth century is derived from the political and economic conditions of the time and from the antique-style image production of the Renaissance, so as, in the end, to present "the villa as a social model" (Bentmann and Müller 1979: 51).

Numerous studies of this kind have emerged since the 1970s and 80s which integrate built space into social process in an insightful manner and thereby elaborate analogies between spatial and social structures (Hipp and Seidl 1996; King 1980; Petsch 1977; Stekl 1980). In principle, they all assume

> that the world of things is a coagulated, sedimented form of social relations, which can be decoded by an art-historical, architectural or spatial-theoretical analysis of this form, which, in turn, can be interpreted in terms of social diagnosis. (Steets 2015: 20)

A similar perspective underlies numerous works that deal specifically with the political dimension in architecture. Klaus von Beyme, for example, proposed a political iconology of architecture to avoid "loose talk" about political architecture (von Beyme 2004: 351). The art historian Ernst Seidl then attempted to identify patterns of political culture and "political types of space" in architecture and urban planning in order to work out the "impact of structures of public construction and space" (Hipp and Seidl 1996; Seidl 2009). The concept of "impact" (Wirkungsmacht) suggests that architecture should be examined not only as a mirror of society, but also as a socially effective spatial structure. Overall, however, the question about the extent to which use of the approaches mentioned previously opens possibilities of an analysis of social practices remains largely unanswered. Essentially, the decidedly 'social' perspective of many symptomatologically argued works on architecture do without actors. For the "starting point of such an analysis," as Silke Steets observes, "is always the building itself" (Steets 2015: 20). Insofar as symptomatic architectural research assumes that the social dimension "coagulates," "sediments," "materializes" or "crystallizes," it can basically ignore the question of specific use practices, since in "buildings as materialized structures of the social sphere" (Steets 2015: 19) and in discursive contexts, it has at its fingertips all the sources of information needed. Architecture, on the basic assumptions of this approach, lies before the viewer like an open book; it needs only be read correctly.

In a certain sense, this analytical approach to material culture is akin to older ethnological epistemology. Ethnologists, for various historically deducible reasons, have for a long time specialized in inferring practices of popular culture from "coagulated" and "sedimented" forms – texts, image sources and objects. Especially the ethnological subdomain of house research, which is connected essentially with buildings as sources, relies on such techniques of generating knowledge. "To recognize man through things and in his relationship to things is the concern of folklore," wrote Richard Weiss in the late 1950s (Weiss 1959: 292), thus, furnishing a program for architectural research within the context of the folklore studies of his time. In this fabric of people and things, however, people were "misplaced for a long time," as Hermann Bausinger noted in a retrospective review of folklore research (Bausinger 2006: 227). Although house research has always gone beyond pure building and

structural research and aimed, however haltingly, at the reconstruction of social conditions, the almost sole source of information, in addition to archival documents, remained the building itself (Baumhauer 2001; Bedal 2000). Here, too, the construction and spatial structure of a building functions as a representation of social and familial orders: "[G]round plan research is the decisive basis for the interpretation of the functional and social structure of the house" (Bedal 2000: 359). And again, the analysis of architecture remains necessarily restricted to the symptomatic 'reading' of material circumstances and schematic representations, occasionally supplemented by information from written and visual sources.

To summarize, the heuristic assumption that the social dimension inscribes itself in space creates an immensely plausible and exciting research perspective, a "stimulating and fruitful approach" (Schroer 2006: 100), but it also raises epistemological and methodological problems that are difficult to dismiss. For the sociologist Markus Schroer, the suggested congruence of spatial and social structures, as found in his view in the work of Elias and Bourdieu, goes a bit too far:

> The structures of social inequality, poured, as it were, into the material itself, seduce one to the assumption that social differences can be read directly off spatial subdivisions, urban worlds, buildings and interiors, without considering the possibility that social differences are not necessarily so obvious in spatial terms [...]." (Schroer 2006: 100)

This applies even more, according to Schroer, to the architecturally authored lifeworlds of late Modernism: "It is no longer possible to deduce social conditions from the spatial arrangement without further ado. In any case, sociology would do well to distrust this alleged correlation" (Schroer 2006: 101). The analogical inference from built structures to practices and interactions in symptomatological studies is generally always bound up with a good measure of speculation. For architectural research in social and cultural studies, this means that theoretical approaches and methodological possibilities have to be found which fetch the actors into the research design. How can perceptions, use practices and 'agency' be soundly and methodologically integrated into empirical architectural analysis? An answer to this question can be found in practice-theoretical or praxeological architectural research in the form in which it has been significantly advanced in recent years.

2. Architecture in a practice-theoretical perspective

Practice-theoretical approaches can be distinguished from the symptomatological approaches just presented insofar as they read architecture less as an 'expression' or 'mirror' of social relations and instead examine it in terms of its specific power of agency. This strand of architectural research in social and cultural studies puts "the materiality of the built in the center of the analysis and explicitly attributes to it a social efficacy" (Steets 2015: 44). Thus, it is intended that the staticness of built

space should be set in motion. In this discussion too, social morphology, as developed by the Durkheim students Marcel Mauss and, above all, Maurice Halbwachs, forms an important historical reference point (Schroer 2009). It aims to examine the material substratum of society in terms of its constitutive and productive functions 'for' society. Halbwachs states in his Morphologie Social, published in 1938, that:

> Society is always imprinted in the material world, and here, human thought finds regularity and stability in such representations as accrue to it through their spatial constitution – almost as the individual human being learns to perceive his own body in space to remain in balance. (Halbwachs 2002: 22)

To begin with, the phrase that "society imprints itself" on the material world still sounds quite "reflection-theoretic." The same sentence, however, already evinces the interest in taking a look at the effects of architecture on "human thought" and the perception of the body and space. The concept of "regularity and stability" refers as it were avant la lettre to the cultural studies program of a material analysis of everyday knowledge systems, routines and practices developed much later. Here, the elementary meaning of spatial structures for the routinization of everyday action is emphasized; architectures, thus, appear not only as social products, but as a "scaffold of life" (Pehnt 2005: 347) which supports social practices and gives them shape and form. Similarly, the German sociologist Herman Schmalenbach in his Soziologie der Sachverhältnisse (Sociology of Material Circumstances), published in 1927, interpreted things as "links" of social conditions and ascribed to them, about sixty years before Bruno Latour, their own "sociality" (Schmalenbach 1927). Hans Linde refers to Schmalenbach in his 1972 study *Sachdominanz in Sozialstrukturen* (Property Dominance in Social Structures). What Linde observed at that time with regard to "artifacts of the category 'device'" (Linde 1972: 81) reads like an anticipation of the perspective Latour delineated later in his actor-network theoretical conceptual chain of "prescription," "proscription," "affordance" and "allowance" (Akrich and Latour 2006): "A sociological analysis of circumstances must […] decipher the social relevance of the rules applied in the matter and accepted with the appropriation of property and its use" (Linde 1972: 82). Proceeding from this, direct links lead to the current broad discussion of materiality in the social and cultural sciences (Hicks and Beaudry 2010; Samida et al. 2014). The co-constitutive emergence of bodies and artifacts became the starting point for architectural analyses within actor-network theory (Latour and Yaneva 2008; Müller and Reichmann 2015; Rees 2016). The systematic place architecture can occupy in such cultural studies and cultural sociology of the material (Reckwitz 2008), however, still remains to be seen.

A brief historical sketch of the relationship between practice theory and architectural research could begin with Pierre Bourdieu, who, in his early ethnological studies in Algeria, also dealt with the spatial structure of the Kabylian dwelling and presented a famous analysis of these houses (Bourdieu 1987: 468–489). This text

reveals a methodological problem which is characteristic of praxeological architectural research as a whole and which lies in the "duality between architecture as a product and a producer of social processes" (von Frankenberg 2012: 24). At first, Bourdieu seems to proceed symptomatically; he 'reads' the house as an image of familial structures and dichotomous orders and recognizes therein "an inverted, miniaturized image of the Berber world" (Steets 2015: 41). However, it is then acknowledged that "the objectified sense of the things and places of the domestic space is fully [opened up] only through practices" (Bourdieu 1987: 471). On the one hand, Bourdieu's structuralist view identifies architecture as the objectification of social and symbolic structures, an approach that refers to Bourdieu's central idea of "inscribing" social space into physical space (Bourdieu 1991). On the other hand, practices are understood as a social-theoretical hinge between architecture and society; the reproduction of social orders occurs through the practical incorporation of objectified orders (in both the chief senses of the word 'orders' – An-ordnungen). How the concordance of practices and spatial structures can be specifically demonstrated, however, remains moot here.[4]

In a somewhat different way, Michel Foucault also seeks a praxeological approach to architecture, namely in the famous analysis of Bentham's Panopticon.[5] Foucault describes the spatial elements of this paradigmatic prison building, its viewing structures and subjectivizing effects, to demonstrate a certain historical dispositive of power. He exemplifies his concept of power through architecture because

> The dispositive is so important because it automates and de-individualizes power. The principle of power lies less in one person than in a concerted arrangement of bodies, surfaces, lights and gazes; in an apparatus whose internal mechanisms established the relationship in which individuals are trapped. (Foucault 1976: 259)

With these formulations, Foucault goes beyond the limits of a symptomatic reading of architecture and theorizes the socially constitutive effects of built space. By exploring the question of how the "orders" and "internal mechanisms" of the apparatus of which architecture is part establish the "relationship" in which individuals recognize themselves as subjects, he addresses the "evocative power" of architecture: "[I]ts subject-forming efficacy working on the psyche through the body" (Steets 2015: 57). Nevertheless, in Foucault, too, praxeological analysis is necessarily tied to symptomatic methods. 'Necessarily' because historical architectural research can get a grasp on the specific use and appropriation practices that interest it in only a very mediated manner. It has at its disposal only sources in which social practices have precipitated in the form of texts, images, plans and built

4 A substantial suggestion has been provided by Martina Löw in her sociology of space, in which the concept of 'order' (An-Ordnung) plays a central role (Löw 2001).

5 On an architectural-sociological approach for which Elias and Foucault can be claimed, cf. Schubert 2009.

structures. The archaeologist Foucault, like the historical sociologist Elias, interprets primarily architecture-related textual and pictorial sources within the horizon of his power-analytical question. The investigation, thus, has a deductive character: Practices here are derivative of theory; in fact, Foucault reads Bentham's design as the "architectural shape" of various interlocking power mechanisms and disciplinary procedures (Foucault 1976: 256). Moreover, the Panopticon becomes for him a metaphor, an "egg of Columbus in the field of politics" (Foucault 1976: 265), which is "called to become a generalized function in the social body" (Foucault 1976: 267).

What, on the other hand, do current attempts to spell out the materiality of architecture in terms of practice theory look like? One example is the study Gebaute Gesellschaft (Built Society) by the sociologist Heike Delitz, which has recourse to the entire theoretical discussion of materiality in social and cultural studies. Delitz uses her programmatic formulation of architecture as a "medium of the social" to illustrate that architecture not only reflects social structures, but also makes a "difference" to the social sphere and creates "new folds in the social fabric" (Delitz 2010: 11). With this argument, Delitz turns against a view that recognizes only "duplication" and "reproduction" of the social sphere in architecture and argues for an architectural sociology that pursues the "social efficacy" of space and recognizes in it the constitutive "shape" of specific societies (Delitz 2010: 12f.). Her detailed theoretical outline is followed by five case studies, which show, once again, how difficult it is to realize such a program in specific architectural analyses (Delitz 2010: 217–315). The chapters on twentieth century architecture are instructive and lucid; in addition to the macro-sociological question about the architectural 'form' of a society, Delitz endeavors to raise the micro-sociological question about the specific "structures" consisting of actors and artifacts. However, her answers fall short of the expectations built up by the detailed theoretical chapter: Delitz, too, ultimately reads architecture as, above all, a "mirror of society"; she, too, offers nothing more or less than an ambitious social history of architecture in monographs.

Built space is also conceived of as socially efficacious in other projects of a praxeological sociology and in these, the question also remains open as to how to make the theoretically postulated efficacy of built space cogent in case studies. Robert Schmidt, for example, in his *Soziologie der Praktiken* (Sociology of Practices), has presented some reflections on the "material and symbolic order of the office," considering, among other things, flexibility, furnishings and "couplings" through digital technologies (Schmidt 2012: 130–155). Schmidt applies Bourdieu's theoretical framework combining habitus and habitat and understands the "physical training of a habitus that is adapted to its habitat, to the material-symbolic office layout" as both the "presupposition and result" of the performance of the office's space of action (Schmidt 2012: 155). In view of the fact that habitualization processes are difficult to demonstrate empirically, the practice-theoretical connection rests on an

argumentative trick – the habitat "office" is explained by the habitus of the "office person" and vice versa. Though this does not detract from the persuasiveness of Schmidt's successful case study, it does make one thing clear: Specific architectural analyses that adopt the basic practice-theoretical stance, such as those of Delitz and Schmidt, often face the problem that the asserted social efficacy of built space must first be rendered provable. This is a problem that is firmly posed by ethnographic architectural research and, at the same time, a problem that is posed 'differently' from the point of view of ethnographic architectural research.

3. Ethnographies of architecture: the sensory, processuality, discursivity

How then can the analysis of social practices 'in architectonicis' called for by praxeological architectural research be supplied? In what ways is it possible not only to theorize built structures, but also to demonstrate their integration in performed actions empirically? Susanne Hauser, Christa Kamleithner and Roland Meyer have recently outlined a program for a cultural studies theory of architecture: This must "proceed from an expanded concept of architecture," which aims

> at an examination not only of architectural objects, but also of social processes occurring in the preliminary stages and surroundings of construction and the processes of the use, appropriation and transformation of architecture. (Hauser, Kamleithner, and Meyer 2011b: 9)

One opportunity afforded by such an expanded concept of architecture lies, firstly, in the breadth of topics that it brings into play. While many socio-historical or architectural-sociological works deal primarily with prestigious architecture or artistically ambitious housing and housing developments (e.g. Delitz 2010; Schäfers 2014; Stekl 1980), the entire range of everyday built and enclosed space here comes into view. In this way, what is treated in Anglophone architectural research under the term "vernacular architecture" is given a new focus (Carter and Collins Cromley 2005; Glassie 2000; Guillery 2011; Upton and Vlach 1986), expressly including ethnographic perspectives on domestic dwelling (Birdwell-Pheasant and Lawrence-Zuniga 1999; Buchli 2013: 117–135; Cieraad 1999; Katschnig-Fasch 1998; Miller 2001; Morley 2000). In this context, Elisabeth Katschnig-Fasch has characterized inhabited space as a place of resistant practices:

> Living arrangements manifest the social-cultural state, its mode of life, its ideology, its power structure […]. At the same time, people's responses manifest themselves here as their autonomous cultural power and their socio-cultural location. (Katschnig-Fasch 1998: 20)

Ethnographic research on architecture refers to the sensory and atmospheric dimension of the built space in a special way, which naturally suggests itself, since this

dimension can hardly be explored otherwise than by means of ethnographic methods. Consequently, theoretical designs for the concept of atmosphere often remain a little pale, an observation that also applies to Gernot Böhme's pertinent and much cited works (Böhme 1995, 2006). With its interest in the "non-representational" components of spatial experience (Kazig 2007), atmosphere-centered architectural research stands athwart all symptomatological approaches that read architectures precisely as representations. "The heuristic added value of the concept of the atmosphere lies," says Hanna Katharina Göbel, "in understanding atmosphere as a modus operandi that shapes the everyday experience of architecture by both sensory and esthetic means" (Göbel 2015: 169). In other words, instructive studies on the atmosphere of architectural spaces do not leave themselves at the mercy of the arbitrariness of 'perceptions,' but rather examine the esthetic component of everyday routines and practices in the sense of a social production process. Understood in this way, atmospheres are no longer a 'black box,' but allow the question about "which sensory domains are invested with social value" (Classen 1997: 401). Lars Frers demonstrated this in his methodologically very carefully considered study of "perception action" (*Wahrnehmungshandeln*) at railway stations and ferry terminals; it is an example of how architectural materiality, sensory-atmospheric perception and social action can be correlated in an empirically specific research design (Frers 2007). Anke Rees, in her new work on the Hamburg Schiller Theater, has succeeded in bridging the gap between actor-network theory and atmosphere theory, which positions the building as an actor with its own order (Rees 2016). Even more recent approaches to emotion research are oriented towards the social production of affective spaces (Reckwitz 2012), although with a different theoretical accentuation; Peter Kraftl and Peter Adey have provided an example of this line of research using the example of a kindergarten and an airport building (Kraftl and Adey 2008). Important new stimuli in this field have been given by Monique Scheer's reflections on "emotional practices" (Scheer 2012), which could profitably be taken up by architectural analyses in cultural studies. Thus, religious practices can be interpreted as emotional practices that use the esthetic settings of ecclesiastical and devotional spaces (Wietschorke 2015: 228–300). Techniques and strategies of trust-building in the finance industry, in turn, can be deciphered through the analysis of banking architecture and the design of consultation rooms, as Thomas Heid has done in his current research.[6] In these and other studies, sensory perceptions, esthetics and atmospheres are not understood in a phenomenologically abridged manner, but rather are used as a possible key to practices and patterns of practice.

6 The dissertation, supervised in Munich (Prof. Dr. Irene Götz) and Basel (Prof. Dr. Jacques Picard), is in its final phase of completion. Partial results were presented in 2017 at the dgv conference in Marburg in a panel discussion led by Thomas Heid and the author, entitled "Materiality and Aesthetics in the Money Market: Building Blocks for a Cultural Analysis of the Financial Industry."

A helpful compendium of esthetic-practical architectural analysis is provided by the *Grundbegriffe der Architektur* (Basic Concepts of Architecture) by the architects and architectural researchers Alban Janson and Florian Tigges (2013). The authors explain the entire "vocabulary of spatial situations" from A to Z in their book, focusing particularly on the sensory and affective dimension of built space. In this way, they open up the "specifically architectural" (Janson and Tigges 2013: 5), which is neglected in many context-oriented works on architectural history: The materiality and look-and-feel of spaces and the models of experience produced through spatial structure, lighting and surfaces. The specifically architectural is also discussed in architectural psychology, which deals with various aspects of the relationship between man and the built environment and, from Kurt Lewin to James J. Gibson, makes use of theoretical approaches that are little known in the social and cultural sciences (Richter 2013).[7] The works mentioned previously can support an ethnographic perspective based on the sensuousness of architectural arrangements because they proceed from specific spaces and develop their findings consistently from the perspective of experiencing and experience. Guy Ankerl used such an approach as early as 1981 in his curiously scientistic Experimental Sociology of Architecture to investigate the role of "space effects" in everyday communication (Ankerl 1981).

Johanna Rolshoven and Manfred Omahna are looking for very different approaches to the subject with their proposal to bring together the disciplines of cultural anthropology and architecture (Rolshoven and Omahna 2013).[8] It is "by no means a question of cultural studies simply speaking about architecture, but of cooperatively moving into a common conceptual construction with architecture" (Rolshoven 2013: 14). Architecture should be accompanied in its threefold formation as science, art and social practice, and examined together with its practitioners (e.g. Laister and Hieslmair 2013; Omahna and Schruth 2016). The program of such

7 The art historian Heinrich Wölfflin already sketched the programme of a "psychology of architecture" in his dissertation of 1886 (Wölfflin 1999 [1886]). This text is highly interesting for several reasons. Wölfflin not only draws up a research perspective that sheds light on the "emotional effects which architecture is able to produce with its means" (ibid., 7), but also develops virtually body-sociological reflections as they were later to be established in the second half of the twentieth century: "Corporeal forms can be characteristic only if we possess a body ourselves. If we were merely visually interpreting beings, an aesthetic assessment of the corporeal world would always have to remain denied us. But as human beings with a body that teaches us what gravity, contraction, force and so on are, we gather in ourselves the experiences that first enable us to have a sympathetic sense of the states of alien forms"(ibid., 9).

8 The International Association for Cultural Studies in Architecture, which has existed since 2008 with headquarters in Basel, has dedicated itself to such an open exploration of architecture and architectural practices. The continuity of architectural research in cultural studies at several formerly important sites of house research in folklore studies, such as Graz and Zürich, is noteworthy in this context.

an "architectural anthropology" pays special attention to the "culture of building" (Omahna 2013: 41). Thus, the focus shifts from the built structure as a (for the time being) 'finished' artifact to the process of building itself: To what extent is building to be understood as a complex process of communication and negotiation between numerous actors and institutions? Achim Hahn formulated this perspectival extension as follows in his introduction to architectural theory: "We focus not on a product but on a behavior. It is not architecture (as the product of building) that is at the center of architectural theory, but the human behavior that relates to architecture" (Hahn 2008: 30). Planning, drawing and designing are as much a part of this behavior as the sensuousness of architectural perception, the practice of dwelling or the discourse of architectural criticism. This opens up new fields for architecture-interested cultural analysis. Klara Löffler has called for "ethnographic research into building culture" in this sense; she deliberately takes into account "the complex events behind, before, but also after building, building as a space for action and negotiation, as a space of practices and routines" (Löffler 2013: 25). She criticizes the narrow disciplinary perspectives of some of the disciplines concerned with architecture and contrasts them with a genuinely ethnographic approach that is able to examine social relations, everyday mythologies and technical dispositives in praxi, using architecture as the focal point of all these practices and discourses. The reciprocal "accommodating" (Miller 2010: 77) of people and artifacts is just as much an issue here as are all the discursive ideas of the "good life" and the "good city" that have entered and are continually entering into building.[9]

An expanded concept of architecture, as proposed by Hauser, Kamleithner and Meyer, finds application in this research program. If building is thought of as itself "doing" (Awan, Schneider, and Till 2011), as "making" (Ingold 2013; Yaneva 2009) or as a "building event" (Jane M. Jacobs, quoted in Göbel 2015: 173), then there is no need to ask how buildings can be 'set in motion' in a praxeological sense. From this point of view, space is always space production, as Johanna Rolshoven has made clear by recourse to Henri Lefebvre's triadic conception of space. Rolshoven modifies Lefebvre's triad with a heuristic intent and relates "representation space," "experienced space" and "built space" to each other in order to be able to think "human being, society and built space in dynamic interaction" (Rolshoven 2013: 22). Thus, an ethnographic analysis of specific space productions oriented to Lefebvre and other social space theorists, such as David Harvey, can be extremely helpful in making architectures visible in their constitution as "structured and structuring structures." Finally, Alexa Färber, in her proposals for the "tangibility of the city," has again

9 Rogojanu (2015) and Gozzer (2017) offer fine examples of empirical research using this ethnographic approach. The "good and right urban way of living" has also been systematically studied by the DFG research group "Urban Ethics" (speaker: Prof. Dr. Johannes Moser) located at the LMU in Munich.

bridged other gaps between architectural and urban research by discussing built space in an ethnographic perspective and within an undogmatic theoretical frame of reference in the mode of a "realism of co-existences of the city" (Färber 2013: 62).

4. Ecclesiastical spaces in focus: Political-cultural history and empirical architectural analysis

The review of the research approaches presented here makes it clear that the examination of architecture by cultural studies can be conceived of in only an open and multi-perspectival manner. "The language of things is polysemous and leads not to simple but to multiple contexts" (König and Papierz 2013: 300). That is why architecture has to be investigated from multiple perspectives, in a flexible combination and fine-tuning of symptomatological, praxeological and ethnographic approaches. Unilateral methodological designs prove to be inadequate here. Symptomatic spatial readings, for example, can be problematic insofar as though they provide clues to time-bound social conditions and cultural patterns, they cannot describe them in the sense of social practices. Even praxeological approaches do not go beyond symptomatic reading in many cases and assume more about the social efficacy and agency of architecture than they can show empirically. By contrast, ethnographic approaches that deal with processes of spatial production often lack the fundamental perspective of a theory of architecture as a "medium of the social"; architecture then is not a 'focus' but merely a 'locus' of social interaction and empirical research. Proceeding from this state of the research, I would like to make a plea for an examination of the architectural dimension of the social world by cultural studies that plies productively between an interpretation of built space as locus and focus of research, links ethnographic research settings, discourse and image analyses and praxeological hypotheses about the materiality of the social medium, and then also undertakes symptomatic readings. In this way, architecture can be displayed and made heuristically accessible in its comprehensive social relevance, without merely deducing its meaning from the conditions in which it is situated.

I formulated a theory of such a methodological and epistemological mix in my habilitation research on "Kirchenräume als Medien des Sozialen. Ein Grundriss zur politischen Kulturgeschichte und kulturwissenschaftlichen Raumanalyse" (Ecclesiastical Spaces as Media of the Social Sphere. A Ground Plan for Political-Cultural History and Cultural Studies Spatial Analysis), completed in 2015, and tested it empirically by using exemplary case studies (Wietschorke 2015). The first step was to show what historically constitutive, cultural, physical and emotional roles church buildings and church spaces play in the political cultural history of Vienna and Austria. Ranging from the Counter-Reformation urban buildings of the seventeenth century to the community centers of the 1970s and the 'resacralized' spaces of the 1980s and 90s, a history can be traced in which church buildings serve as symbols of

power, a medium of representation and memory storage, carriers of social, national and local codes, stages for political performances, therapeutic and missionary spatial figures, resonance chambers of political emotions, scenes of religious practices, and places of assembly and heterotopic sites. I presented cross-sectional dimensions of a cultural studies analysis of ecclesiastical space in four further steps. The church space comes into focus 1) as a representational space of social orders and collectives, 2) as a memorial space, 3) as a sensory-affective space, and 4) as a material space – all of which were explored in praxeological and ethnographic terms.

I would like to use the example of the Votive Church at the Sigmund Freud Park in Vienna as part of this article to briefly demonstrate some possibilities of an integrated historical-cultural studies architectural analysis.[10] The historical-political message of this church building can be understood as an authentic product of the reaction against the revolution of 1848. The construction and decoration of the Votive Church enact the connection between 'throne and altar': After Emperor Franz Joseph barely escaped an assassination attempt in February 1853, it was resolved to build a church as thanksgiving and as a "spiritual imperial shrine" (Bruckmüller 1996: 100) of the Dual Monarchy. Following the example of Westminster Abbey and the Panthéon in Paris, an Austrian 'hall of fame' was originally to be integrated into the church; the glass windows communicated an elaborate iconographic program in which "Christian salvation and imperial propaganda were constantly interlaced" (Telesko 2008: 93) until their destruction in the Second World War. One can recognize in this interweaving of religious semantics, the invocation of imperial unity and Habsburg family myth, a principle that Thomas Nipperdey has called the "secularization of Christian, the sacralization of profane content" (Nipperdey 1977: 414). The Votive Church exemplifies this visual strategy characteristic of the nineteenth century culture of political representation as no other Viennese church does. This is also reflected in the abundance of military memorial signs: Ranging from the Imperial and Royal Field Howitzer Regiment and those members of the German National "Heimatschutz" (or "Homeland Security") who fell in 1934 to the camaraderie "Field Hospital 44," numerous affirmative references to military and paramilitary groups are inscribed in the church and are, thus, sanctioned and commemorated by memorial-cultural sacrificial myths (Kaiser 2010).

The political iconography of the glass windows now installed in the church cannot be treated here in detail (Wietschorke 2011). Therefore, only a few hints can be given: After the destruction of the old windows in the war, it was decided not to restore the old pictorial program, with the exception of the 'Kaiser window' in the

10 The following analysis brings together passages and reflections from different chapters of my habilitation dissertation; see the corresponding passages in the manuscript (Wietschorke 2015: 61–63, 158–164, 176–181 and 205–208). The printed version of this work will be published by Böhlau Verlag in the fall of 2018.

northern transept, and to use instead successive representations from the history of Social Catholicism in the restoration, which lasted from 1960 to 1973. The window in the southern transept, for example, shows, among other things, a figurative tableau with leading figures of the Catholic social reform movement in Austria: Emperor Karl I and Ignaz Seipel, Father Albert Maria Weiß and Pope Leo XIII, Hildegard Burjan, the first woman deputy of the First Republic, and the 'Journeymen's Father' Cardinal Anton Gruscha, the workers' pastors P. Anton Maria Schwartz and Rudolf Eichhorn (Fahrngruber 2012: 110–112; Wietschorke 2011: 65–67). The group of figures glorifies the social-political program of the Christian-Social Party (Kriechbaumer 2001: 243–334), updating the old narrative of 'Austria Sancta' in a modernized form. The four windows of the baptistery to the east also refer to the idea of Christian charity and tell the story of Austrian missionaries who lost their lives doing missionary work in India, China, Africa and America (Fahrngruber 2012: 106–109; Wietschorke 2011: 67). In this way, 'heroes' and 'martyrs' of Austrian history are incorporated in the "visualization of the entire history of salvation" (Telesko 2008: 93) – a principle also followed by the representation of the conscientious objector Franz Jägerstätter in the right window of the cross chapel and by the Mauthausen Window donated by the ÖVP on the southern nave aisle. This window shows the 'death stairs' of the Mauthausen concentration camp, a few inmates and an SS overseer. Above is an image of Christ carrying the cross; below to the left a man, identified as the Vienna chaplain Heinrich Maier, is making a gesture of benediction (Klambauer 2008). The picture represents not only a highly problematic Christian appropriation of the resistance against National Socialism, but also serves the political myth of Austria as the "first victim of the Nazism."

Regarding the potential of a cultural studies architectural analysis, the previous observations and interpretations follow the conventional symptomatological scheme: They relate the political semantics and iconography of the building and its interior design to the ideological constellations of Austrian history and, thus, see them as an 'expression' or 'mirror' of their time. In the next step, specific practices of spatial experience and the use of space had to be considered to broaden the investigation to include praxeological and ethnographic perspectives and to ask about the 'social efficacy' of the material-symbolic complex of the 'Votive Church.' Firstly, it is the atmospheric qualities of space that open up new possibilities for analysis. The Votive Church combines the function of a space of worship with permanent, altar-oriented pews and the appearance of an almost museum-like foyer in the form of its current interior decoration. The wide and, even in summer, very cool space immediately invites entrants to slow down their steps and look forward to the altar or up into the vault. Obviously, as in other Gothic or neo-Gothic church spaces, such as the chief Viennese church of St. Stephen, the spatial gestures of the architecture induce patterns of observation and movement to adapt to a rather passive mode of

spatial experience (Janson and Tigges 2013: 132f.). You speak only in very subdued tones here; you can hear the long echoing footsteps on the stone floor and, now and then, the sound of the swinging doors that lead into the church.

In addition to purely phenomenological observation, it is possible to explore which practices of 'emotional navigation' are linked to the specific look and feel of the space by means of auto-ethnographic and other texts, descriptions or interviews. What political emotions are to be generated here and by what emotional practices are these achieved? What "conditions of acting" and what "productivity of actions" (Bonz 2012: 110) are in play in generating "atmosphere"? With Andreas Reckwitz, we can ask at this point about the tacit congruities of habitual forms and spatial qualities:

> Routine practices rely mostly on perfect matches between atmospheres and sensitivities similar to the ideal fits between habitus and field that Pierre Bourdieu mentions. In these cases, we can detect an 'affective habitus' which is repeatedly reproduced in the same spaces and atmospheres, for instance, in the case of religious practices and feelings carried out and experienced by pious actors in churches. (Reckwitz 2012: 255)

Who uses the Votive Church as an atmospheric environment and a co-constitutive moment of his or her own actions? How is space appropriated to achieve a "physically experienced sense of coherence" between religion, politics and practice (Steets 2015: 217)? We can speak, in William Reddy's sense, of "emotional regimes" that are supported by certain spatial arrangements and embedded in a political dispositive in a productive extension of this interpretation. Such an emotional regime is, according to Jan Plamper in his compact summary of this concept,

> the ensemble of prescribed 'emotives' and their associated rituals and other symbolic practices. A public commitment to patriotism, such as the oath to the flag in the army, would be such an emotive and part of a national emotional regime in the modern age. Every political regime is supported by an emotional one. (Plamper 2012: 304f.)

Illustrative material on this research question is offered in the case of the Votive Church, for example, by the commemorative rituals of some of the military and paramilitary groups mentioned previously, for which the church space serves as a venue and affective resonance chamber. A memorial service and a wreath-laying ceremony of the camaraderie of the Imperial and Royal 99th Infantry Regiment, which installed a memorial in 1956 below the commemorative plaque to Emperor Franz Joseph bearing his motto Viribus Unitis, takes place here every year in the middle of December (Fahrngruber 2012: 123). Another ritual is associated with the so-called Barbarakerze (Barbara Candle), which was established in 1930 by the Association of Austrian Artillerymen. Two cannons bear the altar table on which stands a 264 kilogram candle whose burning time is said to be 100 years. This candle has been

ignited on All Souls' Day, on St. Barbara's Day and in the context of commemorative ceremonies of the artillerymen, surpassing, in the less than humble words of the Association's invitation to the St. Barbara's Day celebration of 1931, "all previous war memorials of the world in its simplicity and solemn effect" (quoted in Fahrngruber 2012: 127).

The space of the Votivkirche, highly charged as it has been with political myths, became the scene of an occupying action in the winter of 2012/2013. On the morning of December 18, 2012, the International Day for the Rights of Migrants, around 30 asylum-seeking refugees shifted their public protest from the Sigmund Freud Park into the church. "We are without prospects. We, therefore, want to use the Votive Church, this symbolic place, as a shelter," read one of the first emails of the refugees and their political supporters.[11] Father Joseph Farrugia, priest of the congregation, which presents itself as 'multicultural' with church services in many languages, responded on the same day with a clear call to evacuate the church. The temporary claim of an ecclesiastical "shelter" was, thus, turned into a regular occupation, which lasted until March 2013. A dormitory was set up in the first three chapel niches of the left aisle; after the end of December, 20 to 25 refugees, mostly young men, stayed the nights there and went on a hunger strike. Banners and handwritten placards were affixed to the pillars of the aisle, bearing inscriptions such as "Refugees Welcome – No one is illegal," "Are there any human rights?" and "Jesus was an asylum-seeker too".[12] The leftist online magazine Malmoe reported a

> tense and rather grotesque mood […]: In and around the church bustled a mixture of Christmas tree buyers, refugees, supporters, Caritas helpers, tourists, onlookers and media people, but also outraged Kronen Zeitung readers and xenophobic figures who came to rant and make threats.[13]

During this time, the Votive Church became not only a temporary home and common room for a few dozen people, but also a contested site and crystallization point of political conflicts between asylum seekers, political activists and representatives, the Church, police and state authorities. These events pose the question of the relationship between religion and politics as it was negotiated in the specific space of the Votive Church, not only in terms of legal and moral demarcations between church, state and civil society, but also in terms of what the message cited previously called a "symbolic place." In such a crisis situation, what affordance comes

11 Available at www.erzdioezese-wien.at/site/nachrichtenmagazin/nachrichten/archiv/archive/30409.html. Accessed on 17 February 2017.

12 See the photograph at http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Refugee_Protest_Camp_Vienna. Accessed on 17 February 2017.

13 „Rettung in der Votivkirche? Eindrücke eines/r Unterstützers/in des Refugee-Protests in der Votivkirche" (Salvation in the Votive Church? Impressions of a supporter of the refugee protest in the Votive Church). Accessed on February 17, 2017. Available at http://www.malmoe.org/artikel/widersprechen/.

from a space in which the semantics of 'compassion' and 'charity' are inscribed as reference points of Catholic social doctrine? What role does the historical function of the church play as a national and nationalist memorial to military veterans' associations? What memories are evoked? What "ghosts of place" (Mayerfeld Bell 1997) are summoned?

Father Farrugia rejected the granting of church asylum in December 2012, thereby rejecting the "old intertwining of church and public entities" (Scharfe 2004: 135) in favor of the institutional autonomy of the church. It becomes clear that the traditional function of ecclesiastical space as a shelter, and especially the Votive Church as a memorial site of charity and Catholic social policy, is not simply given but must be fought for by various strategies of implementation and legitimization: A process that depends on the extent to which specific decision-makers resort to these strategies. The refugees used the vast neo-Gothic interior of the Votive Church as not only an emergency shelter, but also a pathos formula and backdrop for political protest. It is not the stones and atmosphere of the church, however, which carry all these interpretations. It is rather the practices of the actors who, in interaction with the stones and atmosphere, generate the plurality of interpretations. An immense challenge for cultural studies lies in the complex and always situationally determined social function of architecture. As a material-symbolic complex, it has to be rediscovered again and again, both theoretically and methodologically, whereby symptomatological, praxeological and ethnographic approaches must intermesh. In all of this, epistemological questions of historically and ethnographically operating cultural studies are always up for debate: How can material culture be examined as an expression, a medium and a constituent of social practices? How can it be researched ethnographically as an integral part of these practices? Where are the specific potentials of these approaches to materiality? As things stand at present, many more contributions to the discussion may be expected in the years to come.

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