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Journal of European Ethnology and Cultural Analysis

Contents **Volume 1**

Editorial

As we announced in 2016, the *Journal for European Ethnology and Cultural Analysis* (JEECA) has been established as the English language edition of the biannual peer-reviewed *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, which is the principal German-language journal for the discipline which operates in the German context under the names European Ethnology, Cultural Anthropology and Folklore Studies. The JEECA was launched in order to make the results of German-speaking researchers available to the international scientific community. Starting with Issue 1/2018, we broaden the content of the journal through a cooperation with the other two important German-language journals of our discipline, namely the *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* and the *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*; both journals are also peer-reviewed. Beginning with this volume, we add one article from each journal, respectively.

The *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* (ZfVk) is the oldest cultural anthropological journal in Central Europe still in print: It originated from the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft* in 1891 and was initially established as an organ of the Berliner Verein für Volkskunde by the German philologist Karl Weinhold. The Deutsche Gesellschaft für Volkskunde (German Society of Folklore) has been entrusted with its publication since 1963. The *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* (ÖZV) was founded in 1894 by Michael Haberlandt and Wilhelm Hein as the *Zeitschrift für Österreichische Volkskunde* and is edited by the Vienna-based Verein für Volkskunde (Society for Folklore Studies). The *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde* (SAVk), on the other hand, was established in 1897 and is edited by the Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Volkskunde (Swiss Society for Folklore Studies) which was founded by Eduard Hoffmann Krayer in 1896.

The JEECA represents current cultural analysis in all its breadth, from a contemporary and a historical perspective, in global as well as regional and local contexts. The contributions – mainly written by researchers from German-speaking universities and research institutions – cover phenomena of everyday culture in European societies: Questions about sociocultural transformations and differentiation are posed, aspects of transnationalism and migration are addressed, and historical micro analyses of regional living conditions and power structures are conducted. The focus of the orientation is on the present and the past. What is central and connects them is the perspective on the acting subjects, their practices, strategies and forms of knowledge. Depending on the research context and the spatial and temporal horizon, the articles are based on the analysis of fieldwork material, qualitative interviews, images, films, objects and archival material, including discourse and media analyses.

The editors

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Silvy Chakkalakal

"The World That Could Be"

Gender, education, *Future* and the project of an Anticipatory Anthropology*

Abstract: This article is the revised version of my inaugural lecture given on June 27, 2017 at the Department of European Ethnology at the Humboldt University, Berlin. In line with the professorship's areas of research of gender, education and Future, I would like to elaborate the anticipatory, imaginative and transformative ('educational') potential of European Ethnology. In a broad outline, which sketches out future research topics and questions, I inquire into the following aspects: Firstly, doing and making futures are presented as topics of cultural analysis from the perspective of gender and education. Secondly, I examine the relationships between pedagogical and anthropological concepts and how a wide conception of education may enrich European Ethnology. Thirdly, I discuss how European Ethnological research practices can be understood as an Anticipatory Anthropology, which not only analyzes the doing of Futures, but also contributes to laying out and creating futures. This article focuses on the entanglements of Future/education in different social fields, such as economics (technology advertisements of the company Intel), literature (the feminist science fiction of Ursula Le Guin) and early Cultural Anthropology as Future Research (the collaborations of Boasian anthropologists and the pedagogue John Dewey). Here, I am interested in how time and temporality are made, practiced and imagined and how temporal orders are created. It becomes evident throughout my analysis that the nexus of Future/education and Future-making takes effect through the dialectic relation of the normative and the exploratory.

Keywords: gender, education, future, anticipatory anthropology, time and temporality

1. The conjunction of *Future* and education

The future is currently on everyone's lips. The Federal Ministry for Education and Research (in Germany) has planned their Year of Science 2018 under the motto "Work Environments of the Future." The Futurium (formerly the House of the Future) is set to open in Berlin in early 2019, while the old topic of future research has been revived across think tanks, consultancies and research institutions. With the establishment of this junior professorship focusing on gender, education and

* German version in *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 2018, 114 (1): 3–28. Translated by Simran Sodhi.

Future, anthropological and European Ethnological future research at the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin has become part of this development. The following essay, which is a revised version of my inaugural lecture,[1] has three main concerns. First, it examines the concept of the future and knowledge about the future (henceforth Future with a capital F) as an object of research in tandem with gender and education. Secondly, it seeks to show how a perspective grounded in educational theory can be enriching to European Ethnology and produce cross-connections with other areas of research. Thirdly, I will examine how the research practice of European Ethnology can be understood as Anticipatory Anthropology; as a way of doing research that analyzes social Future-making and, simultaneously, participates in the development of multiple futures.

Future research emerged initially in the form of prognostic, creative, solution-oriented styles of thought and practice during the Second World War, predominantly in the USA, gaining force as "Future(s) Research" in the 1960s and 1970s (Seefried 2015: 2; Seefried and Barbieri Masini 2000: 491). The early Cultural Anthropology of the 1910s and 1920s participated from the beginning in the production of Future-knowledge. The anthropological perspective has even had a public voice (Chakkalakal 2018) in the commissioned research undertaken by Franz Boas (1858–1942), Ruth Benedict (1887–1948) and Margaret Mead (1904–1975) for the U.S. government,[2] and in the transdisciplinary work environments of the time.[3]

Future research wishes to design futures by generating Future-knowledge. Hence, traditional topics have been technology development, demographic trends, social coexistence and democratization, migration and mobility, conflict research, the future of work, sustainability and the environment, the future of the media, and, last but not least, education. If one examines the production of Future-knowledge in the circle of Boasian cultural anthropologists, the conceptual link between education and Future stands out. The conjunction of gender, education and Future already plays a central role in Margaret Mead's very first ethnography *Coming of Age in Samoa* (2001[1928]). Here, she sketches a future sexual education free of conflict in her final chapter "Education for Choice," and she writes:

1 Inaugural lecture by Silvy Chakkalakal, June 27, 2017: *"The World That Could Be" – Gender, Education, Future and the Project of an Anticipatory Anthropology* at the Department for European Ethnology, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin.

2 Ruth Benedict's *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword. Patterns of Japanese Culture* (1946) is a study she wrote at the request of the U.S. Office of War Information. The purpose of the study was to understand the behavior of Japanese people during the Second World War. In addition to Benedict and Margaret Mead, the Foreign Morale Analysis Division of the U.S. Office of War Information also engaged Clyde Kluckhohn as part of a group of anthropologists, see Engerman (2009: 3, 44, 56).

3 Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead, for example, were part of the Cybernetics Group. See Holl (2004) and Valentine (2015).

> And even more importantly, this child of the future must have an open mind. The home must cease to plead an ethical cause or a religious belief with smiles and frowns, caresses or threats. The children must be taught tolerance, just as today they are taught intolerance. They must be taught that many ways are open to them, no one sanctioned above its alternative, and that upon them and upon them alone lies the burden of choice. (Mead 2001: 169)

Mead's work is exemplary for the use of the figure of the child as a cipher for the future of humankind.[4] In the context of ethnological primitivism, the temporal dimension of "primitive cultures" and childhood as an original and natural phase becomes apparent (Torgovnick 1990; Warneken 2013: 33–53). Child and childhood are recurring points of reference in the field of future research and it is worth looking at them closely.

Leaving it to this brief sketch of the beginnings of future research, I would like to examine the potential that the conceptual conjunction of education and Future could have for cultural analysis, and the methodological and epistemological implications this brings for a European Ethnological research of education and Future. The entanglement of gender, education and Future opens new perspectives on temporality as a cultural phenomenon in its consideration of the past, present and future as intertwined (Bevernage and Lorenz 2013; Chakkalakal 2018). Notions of a linear time, of 'possessing' a past, or of history in terms of progress have been discussed from a postcolonial perspective within Cultural Anthropology under the notion of "politics of time" (Fabian 1983; Osborne 1995). Keeping this in mind, my take on education and Future illuminates the concepts and images that produce temporality and Future-knowledge as performative, aesthetic and political practices; as actions that *make time*. Such an understanding of time recognizes the constant production of temporal realities: It is eminently political, as described by the historian Elazar Barkan writing from the perspective of an "engaged historiography": "(…) the construction of history continuously shapes our world, and therefore has to be treated as an explicit, directly political activity, operating within specific scientific methodological and rhetorical rules" (Barkan 2009: 907).

Such a conceptualization of time also makes clear why the political theorist Armen Avanessian and his colleague Suhail Malik observe that the recent and strengthened presence of the future changes our relationships to the past and present:

> We are not just living in a new or accelerated time, but time itself — the direction of time — has changed. We no longer have a linear time, in the sense of the past being followed by the present and then the future. It's rather the other way around: The

4 Mead is often seen as one of the leading thinkers in the historiography of Anticipatory Anthropology or even as the founder. In 1971, for example, she made an initial contribution with *A Note on Contributions of Anthropology to the Science of the Future* to such a project. See Mead (2005) and Salazar et al. (2017: 6).

> future happens before the present, time arrives from the future. If people have the impression that time is out of joint, or that time no longer makes sense, or it isn't as it used to be, then the reason is, I think, that they have – or we all have – problems getting used to living in such a speculative time or within a speculative temporality. (Avanessian and Malik 2016: 7; author's translation)

The increasing presence of Future and Future-knowledge brings us not just to the issue of ideas, images and feelings of time; these analyses produce insights into time's modes of operation itself, by conceiving of time as a category of order. From a European Ethnological perspective, the ethnographically oriented question of how time and temporality are practiced, imagined, situated and rendered tangible follows here. And naturally, not least, the matter of which specific parameters of power and inequality are intertwined with it.

2. The Future as a normative and exploratory lesson

Analogous to the subject of Future and Future-knowledge, the intertwinement of education and Future runs through the most varied of social contexts. The conceptual linkage between both subjects is common across political and economic fields, advertising, art, subculture and counterculture and so on, in the work of parties, foundations, consultancies, think tanks, associations, businesses, museums and other entities of the cultural and art world. Two aspects of the Future/education entanglement are immediately apparent here: This constellation is an overarching phenomenon and a "continuous category" (Lepenies 1977: 142), recognizable in a distinct form even as it appears in diverse contexts.

I want to illuminate the nexus of Future/education from a historical perspective with an example from the economic field. This illustrates the relationality of the concepts and the relational knowledge practices associated with this nexus. Intel, like many tech companies, discovered the topic of Future for itself, and chooses "the future" as their sales message in a series of clips: "Intel knows the future, because we are building it." In the clip "Develop Your Future" by "Intel Africa," we see a girl using Intel technologies in different stages of her life.

"Develop Your Future" makes the temporal aspect apparent in how the girl's development is tied symbolically to the technological development of Intel products. Following the girl's growth, we observe the Intel processors' own continuous development. As the girl learns how to use technology, technology itself is learning and becoming more complex and more powerful. The exhortation to "Develop Your Future" makes Future visible as a paradigm of development.

The image of the learning child that stands for technological advancement and, more generally, for Future-orientation, can be deployed for diverse political and economic goals. The image is an evocation, an empathetic call and invocation of 'the future.' The latter is personified and set into a picture as a child. I see this as

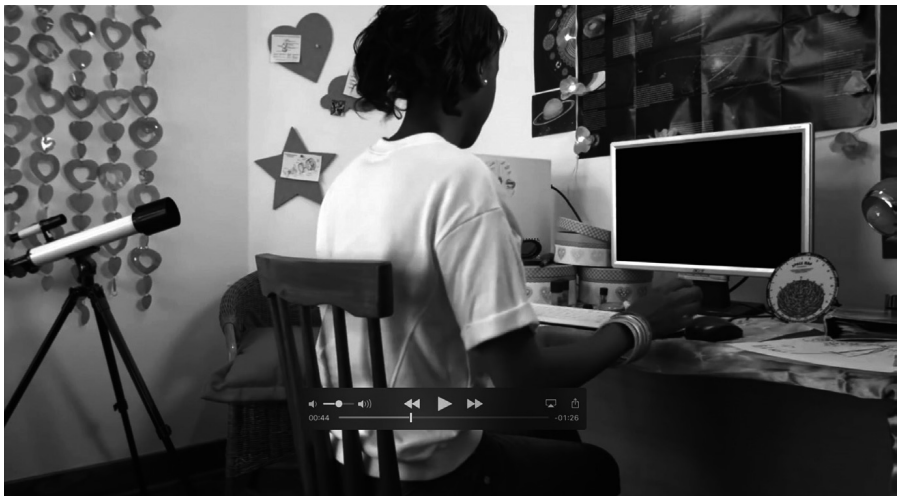

Figure 1: Develop Your Future | © Intel Africa: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z4oDHpTC5gY

a sensualization, a mediatization and an aestheticization of Future. These specific aesthetic practices render Future tangible and perceptible. However, we are dealing with a normative aesthetic, which presents an imperative for action. The urgently evoked message is: 'No Future Without Education!' The sensory and aesthetic impact of the message makes the production and application of representations of Future as a knowledge practice visible. This brings forth normative Future-knowledge and Future (in the form of tangible and visible time) as a normative category.

The Intel clip "Develop Your Future" brings the mutability of people in relation to technological development into view. Thus, the clip addresses the idea of 'educability' (or also 'perfectibility' and 'improvement'[5]) as anthropological phenomenon, a narrative that in the late 18th century connected the figure of the child with the idea of 'the future.' The educability of the bourgeois child stands for the educability of the future bourgeois society. The model of the learning child processualizes a notion of education from the 18th century that rests on experience-based learning and that is still influential today (Chakkalakal 2014a). It has become common sense that humans are cultivable. Reflections on a livable future, a coexistence based on fairness and equality, often take their vantage point from the liberal notion of humans' ability to learn, taking a higher purpose, a cultivation of all of society. The debates around educational disadvantage and equal opportunity, issues that were also addressed in the clip, must be understood against this backdrop.

5 These are guiding concepts of the Educational Sciences that emerged in the 18th century: Ullrich Herrmann's historical studies of education have a pioneering position here in which he conducts historical socialization research in reference to Norbert Elias, cf. Herrmann (1982, 1992).

If we look at the clip more closely, the strong connection between the categories of gender and the themes of education and Future become apparent. The pink flowers on the computer and the purple decoration (see Figure 1), and later the nail polish and lipstick next to the computer all stage the figure of the cultivable child as a 'girl.' Her girl-ness contrasts with the male voice-over, which comments on the developmental progress from an overarching perspective, calmly and evenly moving through different periods of time: "We have played. And as we have played, we have realized, that what we thought were complex problems, are actually things we can solve" (Intel Africa 2015). The "we" of whom the narrator speaks is the company Intel, but also a "we" encompassing all of society, to which the girl also belongs – she is like "you and me." Simultaneously, however, the figure of the girl indicates a 'differently' gendered educational space. The protagonist is a signifier of gendered otherness, who, nevertheless, reaches her professional and personal goals, thereby she becomes both a foil and a figure of identification.

The so-called 'Others' – women and children as well as colonial Others – are included via tailored educational programs in this enlightened, bourgeois notion of education (McClintock 1995; Zantop 1999). And it is no coincidence that the colonial mission bases itself on educational programs, given that the foreign country and the othered gender are seen as pedagogical laboratories even today.[6] I go further and claim that this notion of education is fundamentally dependent on these Others to make its transformative potential palpable and visible (Chakkalakal 2014b: 94–98). It is about creating an improved future society through education, naturally from a middle-class and early pedagogy perspective.[7]

If we follow the traces which the constellation Future/education leaves in the diverse spheres from a gender theoretical perspective, the following observations about Future-making and Future-knowledge can be made:

1. Future evokes normative and exploratory aesthetics that work empathetically and call for and invoke activity and action.
2. Future is an educational category. Future is epistemologically connected to 'evolving,' 'becoming' and 'educating oneself.' Future is a space of education and education becomes a laboratory where a future scenario might be tested.

6 In this context, Susanne Zantop also pursued Germans' literal obsession with Native Americans until the 18th century. Although the Germans had no colonies at that time, we can speak of a literary colonial mission. Within this 'discursive colonialism,' which manifested itself in novels of that time, Germans staged themselves in educational parables as better colonizers with a strong educational and paternalistic character, cf. Zantop (1999); cf. also Reusch (2008).

7 Early Educational Sciences develop its questions in relation to anthropology and natural history in the late 18th century. Starting from the claim to equality (see e.g. the natural-historical idea of the human species), a different location of the sexes and the constitution of the so-called "natural gender characters" emerge here, cf. Honegger (1989) and Mayer (2006).

3. Future refers to power relations and inequalities that make a gender-theoretical perspective indispensable: A perspective which has to think simultaneously about 'race,' 'ethnicity,' 'class,' 'age,' 'dis/ability,' etc.

Future-making and Future-knowledge are always entangled in the politics of education. They sketch effective images of belonging and participation.[8] The subject of education functions like a magnifying glass which makes different so-called social problems visible. Hence, opinions and recommendations that concern other political fields, such as equality, migration and work, are also being articulated here. Education is, thus, an important aspect of a variety of political Future-practices and -processes with relevance to civil society, civic rights, economic and socio-political issues. Through education, not just individual life chances but also blueprints for society come to be negotiated. The nexus of Future/education is perpetually in a field of tension between the normative and the exploratory/imaginative. We are dealing with the simultaneity of power relations (expressed in normative guiding motifs) and spaces of possibility (expressed in exploratory thought experiments). The following section turns towards the exploratory and imaginative aspects. This is most apparent in science fiction, where an alien world serves as a pedagogical laboratory. Here too, Future and Future-knowledge are produced in the tension between the normative/instructive and the exploratory.

3. Future as ethnographic imagination

'The world that could be' – worlds that offer alternatives with respect to relations of power and possibility are sketched out in the science fiction novels of Ursula Le Guin (1929–2018), who died last year. She is one of the most celebrated and well-known U.S. American science fiction and fantasy authors, boasting a large fan following and numerous prizes. The New York Times called her "America's greatest living science fiction writer" in 2016 (Streitfeld 2016).

Le Guin frequently uses the figure of the anthropologist in her novels as the discoverer of these new, alternative worlds. This is no coincidence as Le Guin was the daughter of cultural anthropologists Alfred Kroeber (1876–1960) and Theodora Kroeber (1897–1979). The latter was a novelist herself. Alfred Kroeber belonged to the first generation of scholars under Franz Boas, who is widely accepted as the founder of U.S. American Cultural Anthropology. Le Guin describes her childhood at the University of California, Berkeley, during the semester and at the family ranch *Kishamish* in the Napa Valley during the vacations. Looking back, Theodora Kroeber writes:

8 Arjun Appadurai bases his concept of an "anthropology of the future" on a "politics of hope," which he develops from his research with slum dwellers in Mumbai, cf. Appadurai (2013: 285–399).

> To children and adults alike, Kishamish's forty acres were illimitably expandable, becoming for us a complete world. Much as the California Indians, in their long occupation of the land before the coming of the white man, lived within adjacent but separate worlds, tiny, complete, self-sufficient, of known and near boundaries. What lay beyond his own world interested the Californian very little; what lay within it was for him of cosmic variety, complexity, and passionate concern. So it was Kishamish: a world without phones or doorbells or the tyranny of close schedules; a world for exploration, for reading, for one's own work, for swimming and playing games, for sitting by the outdoor fire until late in the night, talking, telling stories, singing; for sleeping under the stars. (Kroeber 1970: 141)

The famous author grew up in this countercultural milieu of drop-outs, cultural anthropologists and artists. Like the common places of field research – such as 'the island' (e.g. Samoa, Bali) or the 'Indian pueblos' (Santa Fe and Taos, cf. Stocking 1992: 290–292) – *Kishamish* was one of the spaces where anthropological and artistic counterculture practices came together (Chakkalakal 2015). Another place where the academic and artistic bohemians met was Greenwich Village in New York. Le Guin's alternative worlds are anthropologically informed; her fictive ethnologists have an observational and descriptive take. Her texts produce something I would like to call 'ethnographic imagination.'[9] Indeed, the concepts of 'image,' 'education' and 'fantasy/imagination' play a fundamental role for Le Guin in the sketching out of Future and Future-making, as indicated in the first words of the novel *The Left Hand of Darkness* (1969): "I'll make my report as if I told a story, for I was taught as a child on my homeworld that Truth is a matter of imagination" (Le Guin 1987: 1).

These introductory words are spoken by the protagonist of the novel, the ethnologist Genly Ai, of the planet "Terra" (the Earth), who has landed on the planet "Winter." We get the impression while reading the novel that the character could be a cultural anthropologist trained during or after the 'Writing Culture' debate. What is particularly remarkable is the importance granted to imagination in the very first sentence by connecting it to the capitalized "Truth." A truthful report requires, according to Genly Ai, the powers of imagination and fantasy. His self-image as a learning child makes clear the connection between education and imagination: Fantasy, analogous to bourgeois concepts of education, trains and builds experience and knowledge through vivid, sensory, illustrative impressions. The protagonist's

9 Even though I am not adopting Paul Willis' concept of "ethnographic imagination," which attempts an "experimental, *profane* theoretical methodology," there are overlaps in the interest in the imaginary and in aesthetics as knowledge practices. Willis describes the latter in his preface as follows: "This is the bringing together of ethnographic accounts of everyday life and aesthetic questions. I pose the question in this book: what happens if we understand the raw materials of everyday lived cultures as if they were living art forms?" (Willis 2000: ix-x, emphasis in the original).

Figure 2: Die Kroeber Familie, Kishamish, 1931 | © https://karlsfriends.wordpress.com/2010/09/06/biographical-note/

images and imaginative practices are, thus, a product of his sociocultural education, something he discloses in the very first sentence.

The Left Hand of Darkness from 1969 is a work of feminist science fiction which seeks to conceive of alternative gender relations. Thus, there is no gender on the planet "Winter." Its residents become male or female during sexual activity. This gender flexibility is, however, very much based on the category of sex upon closer examination: Le Guin was not able to write off the dual-gendered heteronormative matrix. Male and female become more porous and interchangeable, but they remain binary opposites. Here we see the ambivalence of Future-making as it moves between normative and exploratory/imaginative modes of production of knowledge. The supposed counter-project of this future is riddled through and through with the problems of the present, though its goal is to get rid of such problems. The back cover summarizes the story as follows:

> The Ekumen of Known Worlds has sent an ethnologist to study the Gethenians on their forbidding, ice-bound world. At first he finds his subjects difficult and off-putting, with their elaborate social systems and alien minds. But in the course of a long journey across the ice, he reaches an understanding with one of the Gethenians – it might even be a kind of love … (Le Guin 1987: Back cover)

This science fiction is an ethnographic imagination at work: We follow the ethnologist Genly Ai's perspective to understand this world. It is a field research diary written in the first person:

> The snow had thinned a little. It was beautiful, drifting in white clots and clusters like a fall of cherry-petals in the orchards of my home, when a spring wind blows down the green slops of Borland, where I was born: on Earth, warm Earth, where trees bear flowers in spring. All at once I was utterly downcast and homesick. Two years I had spent on this damn planet, and the third winter had begun before autumn was underway – months and months of unrelenting cold, sleet, ice, wind, rain, snow, cold, cold inside, cold outside, cold to the bone and the marrow of the bone. And all that time on my own, alien and isolate, without a soul I could trust. Poor Genly, shall we cry? (Le Guin 1987: 142)

The irony of the last sentence makes clear how self-reflective the text is in staging cultural border crossings, a very classic fieldwork experience. Field research itself can be perceived as an experience of border crossing. The pairing of the opposites "warm home" and "cold foreignness" involve the boundaries between here and there, us and the Others, civilization and nature, as well as the boundaries between the sexes. In the novel, crossing frontiers is arduous and hard; it is an embodied practice. The cold, seeping into the marrow of one's bones, is an impressionable image for that.

It is only in the laboratory situation of the alien place that the ethnologist can question the familiar; not only is the foreign brought forth, but the familiar also undergoes a process of being marked – namely in its opposition to the Other. It is the confrontation with the fact that there is no gender on "Winter," which allows the ethnologist from Earth, Genly Ai, to see his own, up till then, relatively unmarked masculinity. It is on the edges of the cultural ways of life familiar to him that the binary oppositions of his own sociocultural context become visible and palpable, feeding the experience of fieldwork as a liminal experience. These oppositions – for example, between man and woman, ambisexual and heterosexual – are, in their symbolic constitution, physically and sensorially experienced. The boundaries become materially real and have such an impact that Genly Ai, and through him we as readers, experience them as normal and natural; any transition between boundaries brings with it pain, anxiety and confusion.

Ethnographic imagination in feminist science fiction uses the space of a potential future and is, thus, projective in its work. This is not because ethnologists travel in space ships, but projective in the sense of asking: What if …? What if there was no two-gender matrix? What would social life look like without the existence of male and female? What would love look like in that scenario? This future does not appear to be extrapolated or prophesied about in the novel: If we do not change this or that, this is what will follow. It is not a future in the form of an apocalypse or a post-apocalypse, neither is it a Utopia. It is an imaginative and descriptive work of

science fiction. The text designs an alternative world that is firmly described and derived in terms of native and familiar parameters. The imaginative exploration produced by the question "What if …?" is based through and through on the problems and considerations of Le Guin's own world and time. To this extent, the text imagines and describes that which is conceived as problematic and conflict-laden on warm earth.

Thus, the novel takes on an ethnographic perspective. The text brings home the foreign world in the form of empirical knowledge. Projective imagination (or, put differently, projection) also implies the medialization of and the processes of aestheticizing the gender binary as an everyday phenomenon. Or, in Le Guin's words from the prologue of her novel:

> All fiction is metaphor. Science Fiction is metaphor. What sets it apart from older forms of fiction seems to be its use of new metaphors, drawn from certain great dominants of our contemporary life – science, all the sciences, and technology, and the relativistic and the historic outlook, among them. Space travel is one of these metaphors; so is an alternative society, an alternative biology; the future is another. The future, in fiction, is a metaphor. (Le Guin 1987: xviii–xix)

The ethnographic imagination is precisely a sensualized and aestheticized future project, here in the form of the alternative world "Winter," and the attempt to think gender alternatively. Ethnographic imagination becomes visible as a knowledge practice. But it is not reducible to a way of expression; moreover, it is a particular knowledge practice of sensory and aesthetic cognition.[10] In its specific manner, it constitutes gender as an object and mode of knowledge. It is characterized by the tension between the normative and the exploratory, in how the alternatives offer critical reflections. It is in its exploratory criticism that ethnographic imagination illustrates the normative power of Future-making and Future-knowledge in their teaching and behavior-changing dimensions. This aspect points clearly to the nexus of Future/education which I will examine in the following with reference to Boasian notions of culture.

10 Here, I follow the aesthetic dimension of the concept of "ethnographic imagination" with Baumgarten's concept of aesthetics, which Christoph Menke outlines as follows: "[T]he formation of aesthetics [made] the epistemological character of all sensual perception clear in qualities such as beauty" (Menke 2002: 19–48; author's translation). Here, aesthetics is not merely a focus on art but must be understood as a practice that generates knowledge. The beautiful becomes the object of knowledge.

4. Learning for 'the Future' – the correlation of Future, education and culture

The question that accompanies the representation of scenarios of specific futures in diverse fields, such as industry, literature and science, is: What can we learn from this? We have seen in the interconnection of Future and education that Future-making and Future-knowledge seek to change the present. Normative-exploratory worlds are created to serve as pedagogical thought experiments and laboratories. In these worlds, new knowledge is brought out in relation to old knowledge through a concept of evolving learning. The examples I have discussed so far, the Intel clip and the science fiction-world of Le Guin, both feature the figure of the learning human (the 'Intel girl' and the ethnologist Genly Ai). The image of learning conjures the school, with Intel as a school of technology and the planet "Winter" as a school for familiar and foreign patterns of behavior. 'School' is conceptualized in broad terms here as a learning space. This space can be filled with the content that drives the corresponding concept of the specific Future: Technology, new media, notions of democracy, social values and a social coexistence marked by gender equality. School, then, is a meaningful metaphor for the desired subject matter and social change and can malleably fit into each Future concept. The field of Future-knowledge is pervaded with terms such as school, learning, childhood, child, experimental research and experience. In the following, I will delve deeper into the cultural relativist conception of culture which is crucial to my discussion of the nexus of Future/education.

School as a metaphor appears in Le Guin's literature as well. It is depicted as the space for the negotiating and processing of difference. Genly Ai, thus, describes the "Ekumen of the Known World" in which his home, the Earth, is one of several, as a school: "It is a society and it has, at least potentially, a culture. It is a form of education; in one aspect, it's a sort of very large school – very large indeed" (Le Guin 1987: 146). At a different point he describes his job as a sort of educational mission, as trade with education: "[O]pen trade is really what I'm here to try to set up. Trade not only in goods, of course, but in knowledge, technologies, ideas, philosophies, art, medicine, science, theory (…)" (Le Guin 1987: 148).

The conceptualization of the "Ekumen" as a school is tellingly a reference to the ideas of Le Guin's father, Alfred Kroeber, about the Oikoumenê, which he developed in his article *The Ancient Oikoumenê as an Historic Culture Aggregate* (1945). Kroeber presents the Oikoumenê as a large cultural net between the cultures of Asia, Africa and Europe – a massive system of exchange of cultural ideas and products that were passed on from network to network over thousands of years. Le Guin's concept of the "Ekumen" as a school also foregrounds moments of exchange and the relationality of cultural concepts and interactions. It is based on the cultural relativist idea of cultures in the plural as Franz Boas had formulated. Kroeber, as mentioned earlier, was one of Boas' students who made the concept of culture popular and success-

ful within anthropology. Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, Edward Sapir (1884–1939), Melville Herskovits (1895–1963) and Zora Neale Hurston (1891–1960) were among the most influential students.

The ethnologist in Le Guin's novel and the early anthropologists who called themselves mediators and collectors of knowledge, technologies, ideas, philosophies, arts and medicine formulated explicitly the imperative 'Learn from other cultures!' That is to venture into other worlds to bring home other, alternative knowledge and, impelled by that, to change home. The ethnological field itself becomes a school and a place of learning, so that the present can be transformed into a better future. This can only be explained from the countercultural point of view of these protagonists: Le Guin was a feminist who opposed the Vietnam War in the 1960s, Boas and the first generation of his students produced their cultural relativist writings in the 1910s – a time of extreme nationalism and xenophobia (Chakkalakal 2015). Foreign culture becomes a space of learning for cultural anthropologists, where they can contrast their own cultural practices with those of the Other, to change their practices for another future.

This countercultural aspect of 'learning from other cultures' to generate Future-knowledge resonates through the meeting between Franz Boas and John Dewey (1859–1952) at Columbia University in New York (Colon and Hobbs 2015). Dewey, as a representative of the philosophy of pragmatism (along with William James, 1842–1910, Charles Sanders Peirce, 1839–1914 and George Herbert Mead, 1863–1931), on the one hand, was an important figure in the field of cultural analysis for his works on experience, cognition and practice (Chakkalakal 2014a: 60–64; cf. Bogusz 2009). On the other hand, his work is considered very important to the topic of Future/education because of his pedagogical ideas, based on which he co-founded the University of Chicago Laboratory Schools (1894). Boas stands for the cultural relativist and antiracist pluralization of notions of culture, whereas Dewey, as no one else, developed new concepts of education, exploratory learning and experience. Looking at the works of both, it is clear that they did not simply meet, but also worked together. One can safely assume that they influenced each other's thinking and research. Based on their meetings and ways of working, I want to delineate the intersections of pedagogy, philosophy and early anthropology that appear to me to be important for the subject of Future as a field of research on education for Cultural Anthropology and European Ethnology.

Dewey and Boas taught a seminar together called "An examination of the evolutionary and historical methods in the study of intellect" in 1914–15; in addition to referencing Boas' work, this seminar also shows that Dewey began to reject ideas of cultural evolution in the 1910s.[11] Both stood for similar political goals, such as

11 Dewey refers in seminars, reading lists and notes to Boas' *The Mind of Primitive Man* (1911), cf. Dewey and Boydston (1985: xv, footnote 7); cf. also Dewey (1927: 24–36).

freedom of speech and the independence of research and science. They were both involved in Bertrand Russell's (1872–1970) court case; Russell was not allowed to teach at a New York University because of his interests and writings (Jay 2002: 442–446). On a different occasion, Boas sent an open letter before its publication to Dewey asking him for advice (Jay 2002: 269–270). Boas argued in this letter that the United States should not get involved in the First World War. Despite not being able to go into great detail at this point of my analysis, these intersections show that many intellectuals in the 1910s feared that extreme nationalism and patriotism in the U.S. could endanger critical expression and independent research. These were debates literally about the future of an autonomous academia and a plural society, thus, making clear that the connection between Future, education and culture played a major role in politics and everyday life.

Interestingly, there are also methodological overlaps in the research of Boas and Dewey. In 1918, the latter along with his students undertook an ethnographic study of a political community for its so-called resistance to assimilation. He had done anthropological research himself:

> Daily they [the students] would examine the Poles under the microscope. Frances Bradshaw would study the ideas of education held by the residents; Brand Blanshard, their religion; his brother Paul Blanshard, their social customs; and Irwin Edman, their general intellectual, aesthetic, and neighborhood activities. Dewey would choose his own topic for study after he surveyed the scene. (Jay 2002: 281)

I cannot record all the traces of their relationship here, but the above should be enough to indicate that the notions of culture and education of this time can only be understood, first of all, in their relationality and, secondly, in the context of the countercultural milieu of that time. Dewey, for instance, had close ties to the writer Max Eastman (1883–1969) who was his assistant at the university and a member of the Greenwich Village bohemians (Eastman 1942). Dewey was also close to Ruth Benedict, who was also part of the same network of artists, film makers, writers and culture rebels and wrote and published poetry. Interestingly, Dewey also wrote poetry (Dewey and Boydston 1977: ix). This aesthetic imaginative practice of an alternative knowledge production brought forth Future and Future-knowledge with which one's own society could be changed (Chakkalakal 2018).

Dewey, thus, writes in *A Common Faith* (1934) about the imagination as the motor behind the production of new knowledge which is focused on Future and change:

> The aims and ideals that move us are generated through imagination. But they are not made out of imaginary stuff. […] The conditions for their existence were there in physical material and energies and in human capacity. […] The new vision […] emerges through seeing, in terms of possibilities, that is, of imagination, old things in new relations serving a new end which the new end aids in creating. (Dewey 1934: 49)

As in my discussion of ethnographic imagination, fantasy is described by Dewey as a knowledge practice, namely, as the ability to see old connections in a new light. "Imagination" is the skill of observation ("new vision" and "seeing"): Present-day situations are examined for new possibilities and alternative connections ("new relations serving a new end"). As a knowledge practice, imagination – naturally including poetry – creates a 'new time' in the form of Future and Future-knowledge. The similarity to ethnographic skills of observation is surely not coincidental in view of the relationship described.

Fantasy as an alternative practice of knowledge production plays an elementary role in this counterculture milieu. The foreign culture serves as a space of imagination, enabling a space of learning where old connections can be thought afresh to produce new constellations. A space of learning refers literally to a *Gestaltungsraum* – an imaginative space where alternative futures can be tested. A further reference to the connection of Future, education and culture can be found in the writings of Ruth Benedict: "For culture is the sociological term for learned behavior: behavior which in man is not given at birth, which is not determined by his germ cells as is the behavior of wasps or social ants but must be learned anew from grown people by each new generation" (Benedict 1943: 9–10).

She quotes Dewey directly in *Patterns of Culture* (1934) and emphasizes once again the focus on the learning individual. Future-making in the sense of societal change occurs through this idea of learning; in this context time has the role of shaping, giving form and teaching:

> John Dewey has said in all seriousness that the part played by custom in shaping the behavior of the individual as over against any way in which he can affect traditional custom, is as the proportion of the total vocabulary of his mother tongue over against those words of his own baby talk that are taken up into the vernacular of his family. When one seriously studies social orders that have had the opportunity to develop autonomously, the figure becomes no more than an exact and matter-of-fact observation. The life history of the individual is first and foremost an accommodation to the patterns and standards traditionally handed down in his community. From the moment of his birth the customs into which he is born shape his experience and behavior [sic]. By the time he can talk, he is the little creature of his culture, and by the time he is grown and able to take part in its activities, its habits are his habits, its beliefs his beliefs, its impossibilities his impossibilities. (Benedict 1934: 18)

Dewey, in turn, refers back to the concept of 'culture as learned behavior.' He is concerned primarily with the notion of 'race' and with critiquing the ideas of biological aporia and inevitability. Like Boas, he rejects the ideas of evolutionism, which ranks different cultures according to their level of development assuming Western societies at the top.

Learning is, thus, conceived of as a stepwise development: The temporality of 'becoming through learning' makes time a kind of plastic material. The clearest manifestation of this is seen in the then frequently posed question: What can we learn from 'primitive' societies? In this light, culture indeed appears to be a sort of laboratory, like the one founded by Dewey and other parents in Chicago, where pupils could learn in an exploratory manner. We see how pedagogical and anthropological ways of thinking are interlaced when we continue reading Benedict:

> With the vast network of historical contact which has spread the great civilizations over tremendous areas, primitive cultures are now the one source to which we can turn. They are a laboratory in which we may study the diversity of human institutions. With their comparative isolation, many primitive regions have had centuries in which to elaborate the cultural themes they have made their own. They provide ready to our hand the necessary information concerning the possible great variations in human adjustments, and a critical examination of them is essential for any understanding of cultural processes. It is the only laboratory of social forms that we have or shall have. (Benedict 1934: 29)

It becomes clear that the foreign culture is an imaginary and educational space for the cultural anthropologist; it becomes a place of temporal and cultural difference. In this space of the cultural Other, one's own social behaviors and categories appear less fixed and more relational, thus, changeable for the future. It is my view that we should consider the suggestions for change within Dewey and cultural relativist's own society and the practices of the imaginative and observational ethnographic gaze as practices of Future-making.

5. Children and teachers as generators of Future

It is no surprise that the figure of the child plays an important role in anthropological and pedagogical practices. Dewey had observed his own children systematically, as had Margaret Mead her daughter. Many of their contemporaries studied childhood in minute detail. Mead shot many hours of film and produced a very large archive of pictures of children during her fieldwork. She liked to be photographed with children, it is a popular motive, and she collected children's drawings. Her daughter's drawings are also a part of the archive of the Library of Congress. In addition to the photo ethnography *Balinese Character* (Mead and Bateson 1942), a new compilation and selection of these pictures in *Growth and Culture: A Photographic Study of Balinese Childhood by Margaret Mead and Frances Cooke Macgregor. Based upon Photographs by Gregory Bateson* (1951) reveals a real fascination with childhood and children. Most of her ethnographic films are centered around children (see Chakkalakal 2015 on Mead's films). Here, childhood and foreign cultures function as analogous epistemological concepts regarding how they enable a reflection of the known with new knowledge and how they generate (Future-)knowledge themselves.

They are seen by these social scientists as anthropological and pedagogical laboratory situations, where they do not simply observe how a particular behavior is learned. Rather, they serve as thought experiments where new constellations, situations and possibilities can be tried out. Both 'childhood' and 'primitive culture' work unquestioned as uncontaminated and innocent contexts. They simultaneously make time visible regarding how they stand for origins and the beginnings of civilization. We recognize here a recurring aspect of Future that I analyzed previously: The child and the foreign culture represent a society in its becoming and, simultaneously, its potential for change through education.

This focus on children and learning shows that Boas, Mead and Benedict were not so much interested in a collective history of different societies, but more so regarding how the social environment has an impact on the individual and, in turn, is impacted by his/her behavior.[12] This progressive and liberal perspective on changing society for the better through behavioral changes is central to John Dewey's thinking as well. Ethnographic research brings into focus the individual's relationship to his/her culture as a detailed, sensitive, imaginative and exploratory practice. The notions of experience, sensibility, sensual cognition and perception are important here – words of that era, each understood as a set of historically specific practices of knowledge.[13]

If we continue to explore the lines of connection between concepts of education and culture, the role of the anthropologists becomes clearer. In terms of Dewey's pedagogy, they can even be understood as teachers specializing in their own and foreign society. However, this less in terms of instruction, but more in the realm of imagination, facilitation, mediation and moderation. Thus, it is no wonder that the early anthropologists were also writers, poets, curators, future researchers and government consultants. The connections to art institutions, museums, sociopolitical entities and the U.S. government imply very clearly that early Cultural Anthropology should be understood as a network and its practices as relational. The Boasian critique of the racist and xenophobic discourse around migration in their own society in the 1910s and 1920s produced socially and politically engaged forms of research, which, in turn, brought forth a specific understanding of history and culture.

The salvage ethnography undertaken by cultural anthropologists concerned with the codification of 'primitive' cultures makes this historical-political position very apparent. Margaret Mead describes her own path into the arms of the discipline

12 Cf. regarding the Culture and Personality School, Harris (2001: 393–421).

13 Cf. Rolf Lindner, who describes that "the desire for new experience" in the context of the Chicago School of Sociology of the 1920s, became, in addition to "curiosity, explorative expeditions, vagrancy and wanderlust," a research attitude and, thus, also a keyword of modernity. "To be modern means, first of all, to be open for new experience" (Lindner 2000: 22). Robert E. Park has studied philosophy with Dewey, among others, and was influenced by his concept of experience (Lindner 2007: 51, 229, 238).

in terms of time: "Anthropology had to be done NOW. Other things could wait" (Mead 1972: 114). The capitalized NOW renders the present visible and, thus, time as man-made. It is not just foreign cultures that anthropologists hold 'fixed' in time in the truest sense of the word, but they delve into the past and display the practices and ideas of the culture examined as historical patterns. I have analyzed in detail elsewhere how the relativist notion of culture was defined as alterable and relational (Chakkalakal 2018). In this notion of culture, time becomes visible everywhere where it can be seen that ways of life and practices are in constant change. This continuous reference to time and temporality in early anthropological research brings about a reflexive understanding of time. This can be examined in the practices of Future-making and in the creation of teachable Future-knowledge about one's own society.

I have attempted to show that notions of Future, education and culture were conceptually intertwined in the formative years of U.S. Cultural Anthropology. As an engaged discipline, early Cultural Anthropology can indeed be understood as an Anticipatory Anthropology. The analysis of educational concepts and practices (that are always temporal and temporality-producing) enriches European Ethnology, particularly with regards to the increased emergence of Future and Future-knowledge. The analysis of important concepts, such as experience, culture, education and Future, in the context of specific lifeworlds is central to ethnography. We additionally need to investigate them historiographically to consider their conceptual and epistemological impact on anthropological research and cultural analysis. This is not so much to do a history of ideas, but to see the epistemological relationality of the concepts and the knowledge practices and policies connected to them (Lindner 2013: 16–27). Future/education and culture/education are examples of such relational and epistemological complexes.

6. Anticipating, imagining, educating

> "Imagination is more important than knowledge. For knowledge is limited to all we now know and understand, while imagination embraces the entire world, and all there ever will be to know and understand." (Albert Einstein in The Saturday Evening Post 1929)

At the end of this inaugural lecture and the beginning of the junior professorship whose focus is on gender, education and Future, there remains one question to ask: What are the prognostic and predictive aspects of an Anticipatory Anthropology? I am not using this term to cast European Ethnology as a prognostic or pedagogical science. Unlike the early U.S. American cultural anthropologists above, I am not concerned with producing behavioral changes in society. It was exactly this sense of mission and the assistance provided to government programs and projects through reports, studies and articles that led to the temporary discrediting of U.S. anthropol-

ogy. Instead, I want to draw attention to an important concept of education inspired by cultural theory and ethnography which, not coincidentally, had a role to play in the development of a relativist conceptualization of culture, as I have traced above. 'Education' and 'imagination' appear to me to hint anticipatory elements of European Ethnology's cultural analysis. Thinking with anticipation is a central aspect of European Ethnology and ethnographic research: As ethnography examines the conditions behind individual cultural phenomena and investigates structures and practices for the same, it inevitably opens up a space for reflection and the possibility to think about them differently. Anticipations appear in numerous cultural analyses – frequently in the form of a critical or emancipatory approach – as alternatives.[14] In light of my previous remarks, I would like to explore this anticipatory element as a part of ethnographic work. Ethnography anticipates by observing lifeworlds and their practices from a frequently projective perspective. These are not projections in the sense of a prediction or an extrapolation but in the sense of a modified (sensualized and aestheticized) transmission of an image onto a projection screen. In this sense, we can conceive of European Ethnology's ethnographies entirely in the Baumgartnerian sense as a sensorialization and aestheticization of everyday phenomena. The ethnographies are simultaneously and in equal measure practices *and* production of knowledge (see footnote 10).

This medial and sensual-cognitive aspect leads us back to the notion of imagining, that I have already talked about in my remarks about the ethnographic imagination.[15] Ethnographies are anticipatory in the sense that they are imaginations of a particular lifeworld or a particular practice. Imagination does not imply a totalizing vision of a Utopian world, but rather the ability to imagine, with critical distance, a reconfiguration of one's own (experiential) knowledge in relation to the subject of ethnographic analysis. Brad Evans understands the ethnographic imagination in his book *Before Cultures. The Ethnographic Imagination in American Literature, 1865–1920* as phenomena that produces not just difference but also belonging and alliance (Evans 2005: 7–8). Imagining is, thus, made visible as a knowledge practice with contextually specific patterns of perception and representation.

14 Manuela Bojadžijev and Regina Römhild, for example, when formulating critical migration research, speak of the claim to social transformation: "To understand migration as a complex web that is continuously produced and reproduced as part of the socialization that we ultimately want to transform" (Bojadžijev and Römhild 2014: 21).

15 Brad Evans describes the "ethnographic imagination" interestingly as an aesthetic phenomenon in the context of the intersection of the fields of anthropology and literature before 1910; he is concerned with the time before the concept of culture became influential and describes the "ethnological imagination" as "experimentation, sometimes serious but often in the form of aesthetic dalliance, with new ways of perceiving, representing, and producing structures of affiliation and difference" (Evans 2005: 7–8).

The concept of education inevitably comes into play here, though it has been treated as the means of acquiring knowledge since its conceptual beginnings in Western societies in the 18th century. The German connections between image (*Bild*), imagination (*Einbildung*) and education (*Bildung*) are not just etymological. I do not want to suggest 'educating'/*Bilden* next to 'imagining' as pedagogical practices, but rather as knowledge practices of an Anticipatory Anthropology. 'Educating'/*Bilden* is, thus, conceived of as an aesthetic-sensory practice, where people act in creative and meaningful ways and through which the production of logics of action, group memberships and materialities can be not only set into motion but also undermined. In the course of the junior professorship, I am keen to develop a broad notion of education, one that encompasses individual approaches and structural relationships. The potential of a European Ethnological perspective on education lies in its ability to ask how people practice and conceptualize education in their everyday lives, and what influence education has on different lifeworlds and spheres of activity.[16] Simultaneously, a broad understanding of education brings with it a reflection on the epistemologies of education and, thus, on one's own research on education (education as analytical model) and the possibility of exploring a method of anthropological 'educating'/'becoming'/*Bilden* (education as methodology).[17]

The methodological interrogation of anticipating, imagining and educating as insightful practice should not simply spotlight these as methods and means, but also as modalities and, more importantly, as a research attitude and mindset. Arjun Appadurai speaks of not only "imagination" and "anticipation," but also of "aspiration" in his remarks on an anthropology of the future. The last term captures best what research attitude means: Aspiring to something that does not yet exist and staking a claim in the process of its constitution. Anthropological research can produce a social and collective asset:

> My own view is that we need to see the capacity to aspire as a social and collective capacity without which words such as 'empowerment', 'voice', and 'participation' cannot be meaningful. In conversation with Charles Taylor, Amartya Sen, and Albert

16 See Kittlitz (2013).

17 It seems important to me to point out here the normative effects of education resulting from a constricted understanding of education as serving 'for' a certain social group. The group-specific categorization 'educationally distant' best illustrates this constricted conceptualization. However, these normative effects can also result from a disciplinary intensification (the educational concept 'for' European Ethnology or 'for' Pedagogy). By contrast, a broad educational concept looks at normative dichotomies and examines social educational practices, drafts and histories from a relational perspective. It also makes it possible to contribute one's own social drafts by analyzing oneself. The broad concept of education is, therefore, not so much an "education 'for itself'" (whereby the focus is more on the respective group and its specificity/difference through education), but rather an "education 'in itself'" according to the understanding that all social actors are measured willfully or unwillingly against these educational norms.

> Hirschman, I see the capacity to aspire as a navigational capacity, through which poor people can effectively change the 'terms of recognition' within which they are generally trapped, terms which severely limit their capacity to exercise voice and to debate the economic conditions in which they are confined. (Appadurai 2013: 289–290)

'What ifs' are often a careful formulation of alternative, but in fact existing realities in ethnographic writing which are in contradiction or complete opposition to hegemonial structures, practices, materialities and orderings: 'migration is the normal state of things;' 'life needs to be multiplanetory;' 'artificial intelligence already exits;' 'gender is constructed.' Ethnographies of the everyday – which are a proven area of expertise of this discipline – operate anticipatorily, imaginatively and educationally where they examine the discords between different lifeworlds.

Anticipatory Anthropology should in no way introduce a new specialization within European Ethnology. Rather, I understand the anticipatory element as a connecting link between the different areas of research of European Ethnology as it recurs in research on urban and rural spaces, migration and mobility, gender and sexuality, popular culture and media, museums as well as Science and Technology Studies. These anticipatory, imaginative and educative strands resonate throughout. They are a fundamental part of knowledge production in the cultural and social sciences; they have been unavoidably retained through the use of the concepts of experience and experiential knowledge. Thus, I do not see the areas of research on gender, education and Future as a stray branch of European Ethnology, but as a field of relations, shared thinking and shared work – within the discipline, but also in close exchange with other fields.

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Dynamicland

An ethnography of work on the medium*

Abstract: When research and development engineers attempt to influence the development of the computational medium by establishing concepts, finding new technical solutions and carrying out social experiments, they perform work on the medium (*Arbeit am Medium*). This paper analyzes an endeavor of this kind. It is based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted by the author between 2015 and 2017 in the "Dynamic Medium Group," an influential research collective based in the San Francisco Bay area. The research group, working under the lead of engineer Bret Victor, focuses on establishing the conceptual and technical foundations for a new "dynamic spatial medium." This paper explores some of the stances (including those of an autonomous form of engineering), ideas (including those rooted in media history and media theory) and forms of sense-making (including imaginaries of making history) at play in this type of endeavor. It highlights the types of conflicts and fault lines that emerged during the attempt to realize the project and how it was finally stabilized. This moment of stabilization emerged by focusing on a very complex prototype: *Dynamicland*, which is a hybrid of space and computer that links objects, things and people in new ways. The group built this prototype to explore the potential characteristics of a future medium. The members of the research group see *Dynamicland* as a prototype "from the future": A future imagined by them and made possible through their work on the medium.

Keywords: engineering, media, digital media, computer, ethnography

The *Dynamic Medium Group*, based in the San Francisco Bay area, is working on developing a fundamentally new digital medium.[1] Between 2013 and 2017, the engineers of this research group designed and built a "new kind of computer" called *Dynamicland* that served as the prototype for a new medium. My field research at their location was based on two goals: On the one hand, I wanted to learn something *from* these engineers who were looking into the nature of computers and media from an entirely different point of view than that of cultural anthropologists, com-

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1 Five of my eight months of field research were made possible thanks to a fellowship from the *Department of Communications* of *Stanford University*. I would also like to thank Paula Bialski, Wolfgang Hagen and Seth Schoen as well as all the members of the *Dynamic Medium Group*.

munications scientists and sociologists. On the other hand, I wanted to research *how* the potential features of a feasible new digital medium could begin to take shape in the work of these engineers; what intentions, expectations, social dynamics, and epistemic, technical, and institutional resources and limitations apply; and how concepts, imaginaries, technical systems, practices and organizational forms promote, stabilize, or undermine one another within this process. I will be presenting parts of this research in this paper, focusing on the enterprise of the engineers I studied, which I describe as "work on the medium." This paper is dedicated to the memory of Stefan Beck.[2]

Work on the medium

What exactly do we mean when we speak of a digital medium? At first glance, the answer is quite simple: Digital media are computer-based media. The relationship between computers and media, however, is complicated, not least because both terms are historically in flux (Hagen 1997). Computers are the result of a series of processes that culminated in the 1940s when various older fields of mathematical knowledge production, such as calculation and logic, were combined with new possibilities of the technical construction of complex circuits, leading to (1) electric machines that could perform calculations and allowed flexible instruction. In the following years, these calculating machines gained more capabilities of (2) storing, sorting, processing, representing, simulating and communicating information, and of (3) interacting with humans in more human-adequate forms. Consequently, (4) the features of older computers increasingly merged with other media characteristics to create progressively complex systems, (5) thus, establishing qualitatively new media characteristics, (6) new scenarios and contexts of their production and usage, and (7) an increasing influence on our society and culture (this influence goes, of course, both ways). If we are interested in examining this process (1–7) as a whole, it can make sense not to speak of (different) digital media in the plural but of a digital medium in the singular.[3]

The evolution of this digital medium continues.[4] One driver of this evolution is a certain type of research and development carried out by engineers, who aim

2 Stefan Beck not only actively followed these two scientific approaches, he knew like no other how to constructively employ them for an ethnographic "reconstruction of the logic of material, discursive, and symbolizing practices" (Beck 2000: 219).

3 I use the singular and plural here to refer to the relative specific nature of the argument: Digital media can be many different types of computer-based media, whereas a digital medium is the development that combines the features of computers and media as a whole.

4 At the same time, media theory experienced an upswing, especially in the works of Marshall McLuhan. This was not a coincidence. Although McLuhan developed his media theory without taking an in-depth look at computers, it is evident that his ideas and the subsequent development of media theory since the 1970s are based particularly on the experience of a (digital) media revolution.

to equip the digital medium with features that are substantially new and different from previous media (see especially element 5 in the last paragraph, but it also has implications for the elements 2–7). The work carried out by the *Research Center for Augmenting Human Intellect* (headed by Doug Engelbart) in the 1960s in Stanford and in the neighboring *Xerox PARC* industrial laboratory in the 1970s, especially in *Xerox PARC's Learning Research Group* (headed by Alan Kay) are important examples. In these labs, engineers consciously attempted to initiate processes for designing new features of the digital medium by employing a wild mix of speculative thought, new technical solutions and social experiments. While doing so, they investigated the question of what a digital medium is and could be – in Engelbart's case, without calling it a medium, and in Kay's case, naming it explicitly under the influence of Marshall McLuhan as such.[5] It is this type of work that I describe as "work on the medium."

The genesis of digital media is, of course, not only the result of the work of engineers and certainly not solely due to the specific type of research and development discussed here. The work of the research groups mentioned above, however, is indeed historically important, as it led to the development of inventions and imaginaries that had a significant impact, although they seldom had the effect the actors themselves had intended. This did not go unnoticed. On the contrary, journalists and authors of books on the history of technology have written extensively about these labs. It is indeed astonishing that the technical systems built at the *Research Center for Augmenting Human Intellect* and *Xerox PARC* closely resemble today's digital media (the problem of using these homologies to make ahistorical deductions to the effect that the work of these groups of engineers consisted of constructing the predecessors of today's media is another story altogether). The work carried out at these laboratories has now become a chapter in the story of how engineering was the motor for technical progress. The people active at the time were honored and personal testimonies have put them in the history books. Cultural anthropologists, media scholars and social scientists who are interested in digital media are delighted that engineers such as Doug Engelbart and Alan Kay are such congenial partners: Not only did they contribute to building systems, they also wrote brilliant articles that dealt with issues related to cultural anthropology, media studies and sociology, even though they treated them in a fundamentally different manner (Engelbart 1962; Engelbart and English 1968; Kay 1972; Kay and Goldberg 1977).

When, in the summer of 2015, I was presented with the opportunity to carry out ethnographic field research in a research group that followed explicitly in the

5 Alan Kay was inspired as a student by his university professor, the engineer Robert Barton, who was among the first to read and discuss McLuhan's work in engineering circles (interview with Alan Kay conducted by the author on December 12, 2017).

footsteps of Engelbart and Kay, I did not hesitate to accept.[6] My research project in the *Dynamic Medium Group* is primarily an ethnographic contribution to a corpus of monographs that otherwise deal more with the historical forms of work on the medium – an outstanding contribution in this area is Bardini's (2000) description of Engelbart's research group.[7] This special form of research and development has scarcely been examined ethnographically (e.g. Suchman 1987; Süßbrich 2005; Turkle 1984); there are, however, well-researched ethnographic research fields in its thematic proximity.[8] My field research took place from 2015 to 2017, including eight months on site.[9] This paper presents the initial results. It concentrates on the nature

6 I was not yet familiar with Bret Victor's work at this time, but I did know that the research context in which he was active had been initiated by Alan Kay, i.e. the engineer who had made conceptually significant contributions to the history of the digital medium in *Xerox PARC* in the 1970s. Even before I began my field research, I held Alan Kay in high regard as a representative of those engineers who criticized the state of contemporary digital media, because he believed that they do not achieve their full potential. At first, I spent time in several different research groups that worked closely with Alan Kay, but I soon focused my attention entirely on Victor's group, as their concept was the most radical form of work on a new digital medium.

7 Bardini (2000) demonstrates how the figure of the user was developed in Engelbart's group. See Friedwald (1999), Katz (2015) and Maxwell (2006) for more on Engelbart and Kay. Llach (2015) and Wagner (2006), for example, are also relevant for MIT, among other topics. Haigh, Priestley, and Rope (2016) provide a particularly subtle account regarding the quality of the historical reconstruction (however, the book dealt with early computer history). See, for example, Brand (1987), Hiltzik (1999), Levy (1984) and Waldrop (2001) for more on popular literature.

8 For ethnographic research on the production of media in industrial contexts and other related fields of application see the classical, quasi-ethnographic reports by Kidder 1981 (and later Latour 1987) and e.g. Downey 1998; Kunda 1992; Latour 1996; Malaby 2009; O'Donnell 2014; Star and Ruhleder 1996; Wittel 1997). Helpful is furthermore the ethnographic literature on the free software movement (Coleman 2013; Kelty 2008), on scientific research laboratories (especially relevant for this paper: Helmreich 2000; Knorr Cetina 2001; Rheinberger 2001), on socio-technological imaginaries (Jasanoff and Kim 2009: 120; e.g. Boenig-Liptsin and Hurlbut 2016) and on the subcultures of Silicon Valley (cf. English-Lueck 2002; Marwick 2013; Turner 2009; Zandbergen 2011).

9 In addition to my research journals, in which I documented primarily the work methods of the *Lab*, my sources were videos of public talks, which were particularly important for the early phase of the Lab; manifestos and self-promotions that are relevant for the later phases; prototypes and technical systems, including initial considerations and documentations that were developed in emails, on whiteboards and on posters; large sections of internal emails and Bret Victor's journals from 2013 to 2017; extensive open-ended interviews with all members of the research group (including members who left the group); the minutes of meetings and retreats, some of which were taken by members of the group and some of which I took; books and technical documents used by the group; research on historical references that made the rounds in the *Lab*; and discussions about the group's ideas with external partners. Conversations I had with my roommate, Seth Schoen, in San Francisco played an important role. It is generally important to note that ethnographic field research consists not only of collecting and analyzing data, but is also a lengthy process of comprehension whose most important stage takes place in the field. Consequently, the knowledge of what the engineers were preoccupied with – knowledge I acquired during my field

of the group's joint endeavor. My emphasis is, thus, on presenting the conceptual considerations of the engineers and their most important preliminary prototypes. Work methods and processes, forms of organization and internal conflicts, as well as the position of the group within Silicon Valley are only marginally discussed in this paper.[10] My objective in this paper is less to deconstruct and rather to reconstruct the engineers' ideas on the topic they *'are working on'* and the problems, solutions and work practices they develop in doing so – which is why I use the phrase 'work "*on the*" medium.'[11]

Dynamicland

On March 15, 2013, Bret Victor received an email from Alan Kay. It described an endeavor with an astonishingly ambitious goal, "pretty much tantamount to calling for a reinvention of personal computing itself" (Kay wrote in the email). Bret Victor, the recipient of this email, was 36 years old at the time. After studying electrical engineering, Victor built virtual-analog digital synthesizers for *Alesis* (a producer of electronic musical instruments) and then worked for several years for *Apple*, where he developed software prototypes for new hardware, such as for a new device that was later marketed as the *iPad*. Once Victor had left his job at *Apple*, he became a freelance developer,[12] but was in no way a blank page, as he had, by then, also written and given a series of highly influential papers on questions relating to new forms of information design. The author of the email quoted above, however, was even more famous than Victor: Alan Kay, who was 73 years old at the time, was the recipient of the renowned Turing Award[13] and had made important contributions to new ideas, prototypes and programming environments in the late 1960s and 1970s, all of which were aimed at developing a special version of the digital medium: the "dynamic medium" (Kay and Goldberg 1977: 31). This email from March 2013 was an invitation from Kay, the indefatigable, for Victor to help start a research group with

research, which was the basis for my analysis of the data – was the most important thing I brought back from the field.

10 See Bachmann 2018 for more information on the work methods and practices of the group and Bachmann 2017 for their position within Silicon Valley.

11 To a certain degree, work on the medium is a special form of the larger, more established research field of human-computer interaction (see Woletz 2016). However, Kay and Engelbart presented their most important work prior to the institutionalization of this field and almost all the actors described in this paper emphasize that their work was about more than just the questions and ideas discussed here.

12 This was the *Apple Cooperation's human interface device prototyping* team (interview with Bret Victor in the summer of 2017).

13 The *Turing Award*, which has been presented by the Association of Computing Machinery (ACM) since 1966, is widely considered to be the Nobel Prize of computer science. Kay received it in 2003 and Engelbart in 1997.

the goal of working on the medium. Instead of "one design, not one application," Kay had a bigger goal in mind, as he wrote in his email: "a 'rendezvous' and 'integration system' for 'things that help thinking, designing, creating.'"[14]

Six months later, Bret Victor's research group started their work. The group consisted of five to eight employees, but due to various fluctuations and because external friends also played an active role in addition to the employed members, more than a dozen engineers belonged to the inner circle.[15] In its first years, the group, alongside several other research groups initiated by Alan Kay, shared a large loft in the South of the Market District in San Francisco, the heart of the startup scene in northern Silicon Valley. Three years later, the group moved to their own lab in Old Oakland, on the east side of the San Francisco Bay. The entire research association started by Alan Kay was initially financed by the company *SAP,* and later by the research association *YC Research,* which is affiliated with the startup incubator *Y Combinator* and financed by donations from the industry. The changing financiers had virtually no influence on the group's work and Alan Kay also gave them freedom, true to his motto of supporting "people, not projects." The group's work was explicitly dedicated to fundamental research and not to the foundation of a startup. In this setting, the *Dynamic Medium Group* spent more than four years in a mixture of playful experimentation, software and system building, social experimentation and the search for a concept. During their earlier period, the group created hundreds of prototypes that initially indicated numerous possible paths their vision could take. My first visit was during this stage. Afterwards, a phase of severe crises on multiple levels took place, affecting both the group's goals and their forms of internal cooperation, which I partially witnessed on my second and third visits. The outcome was that the group focused its work on constructing a complex and technically demanding system for a place called *Dynamicland*, which began to take shape after four and a half years in Oakland. My final and longest visit took place during this phase.

So, what was this *Dynamicland they were building?* The group's first answer has always been that it is not possible to explain it in words or pictures: on the one hand, because it is something so new that people need to experience it for themselves; on the other, because it was built as a system that is bound by its location and space. In order to spare the readers from traveling to Oakland, I will, however, attempt to

14 Kay's email, which was very important for the Lab, was shared with me at a later point in time (as well as the majority of the internal emails of the group).

15 In addition to Bret Victor, the group members were: Glenn Chiaccheri, Chaim Gingold, Toby Schachman, Robert Ochshorn, Michael Nagle, Paula Te, Virginia McArthur, Josh Horowitz, and Luke Iannini. Additional important people connected with the group included May-Li Khoe and Dave Cerf. Throughout the paper, I have used people's real names because the group's specific and prominent ideas and work methods are hard to anonymize.

describe *Dynamicland*.[16] In the summer of 2017, the Lab's visitors would enter a large loft that had evidently been recently renovated expensively. Above the front staircase hung a banner with the word "*Dynamicland*" in colorful quilting, sewn by the mother of one of the engineers. The loft was divided into several large rooms. Part of the largest room was filled with a big, open kitchen containing a kitchen table made from a huge, old wooden board. Aside from this, the room was full of desks, display panels and prototypes. The second room was similarly furnished. These two rooms looked very much like many startups in Silicon Valley. The other rooms contained machines, tools and a well-equipped library. In the summer of 2017, visitors were first led into the open kitchen. There they were introduced to a few of *Dynamicland's* special features. The fact that this took place with the visitors standing around the kitchen counter – the same counter the research group usually used to prepare their meals – was, of course, intentional.

In addition to the kitchen utensils currently in use, several pieces of paper, some spread out all over, some sorted into binders and boxes, sat on the counter. All these papers had five colored dots printed on each of their four corners and several lines of code in the center. More importantly, colorful shapes, lines, images and videos were projected onto these papers. Glancing up, visitors could see a projector on the high ceiling above the kitchen, with a camera mounted next to it. The camera's function quickly became evident when visitors moved the sheets of paper: The projections moved with the pieces of paper so that the images continued to be projected onto them in their new position. There were also projections between the sheets of paper, which adjusted their positions when the pieces of papers were shifted. Small balls of rubber clay had the same effect, but they did not have any dots on them; evidently, they operated differently. When visitors flipped through one of the binders, each of the papers in the binder prompted the corresponding projections to appear, which were usually aimed directly at the binder, giving it the appearance of a dynamic book. Many of the projections represented simulations that could be manipulated; they often dealt with mathematical and physical subjects, such as particle movements. The whole setting had a playful mood and, despite the evidently complicated technical installation, a low-tech character, at least when compared with the bright demos that are normally expected from engineering laboratories.

In the next hour, visitors were greeted by ever-changing variations of the same nature in other locations inside the lab: Desks, a wall, a white rug and even the big kitchen table were all laid out with the same sheets of paper, as well as cardboard structures and other arts and crafts materials, often decorated with colorful dots and projections. Visitors encountered installations of a different kind in some places in

16 The following is a description of *Dynamicland* in the summer of 2017 told from the point of view of a visitor in order to give the reader a first impression of the building. These visits occurred often and were, to some extent, standardized.

the lab: They could, for example, operate a pinball machine made of light and paper, magically move Go stones made of clay on a table using a joystick or draw pictures of projected light on a wall using lasers – all of these, the visitors were told, were older prototypes that members of the group had built before *Dynamicland* began to take shape. Hundreds of small photos of similar prototypes were displayed in a research gallery spread out over several display panels. If a laser was aimed at these photos, videos and historical emails appeared that documented each of the prototypes (the research gallery for older prototypes was also a prototype of its own from an older generation). There were a striking number of the papers with colorful dots on one wall – visitors were told that they together formed the operating system that controls *Dynamicland* (more on this later). In another spot, posters, which, despite their very large size, were indeed posters, hung on the walls. These posters usually contained technical concepts, often in microscopic writing and in a peculiar layout. Other posters showed huge drawings of people, who were evidently having a great deal of fun in an advanced future version of the current *Dynamicland*.

As you are starting to (hopefully) imagine, *Dynamicland* was a large loft filled with prototypes, including some that were made of papers with colorful dots on them. The members of the research group worked in this loft, but, at the same time, it was equipped for receiving guests and giving them a tour. Visitors usually toured *Dynamicland* together with a member of the research group who, at first, did not comment on anything that could be experienced in the room. Visitors who stayed a while longer learned how the sheets of paper could be inspected, programmed, and printed and often used them to build applications of their own, which were then left for future visitors. Eventually, the conversation almost always turned to the question of how to describe in words what was going on. While visitors searched for the right words to describe what they were experiencing, members of the research group had already prepared their own. The canonized self-description of *Dynamicland* was then handed over to the visitor in the form of a newspaper called *Zine*, which the group had written together. *Zine* contained a condensed form of the research group's conceptual considerations, so perhaps it makes sense at this point to end our imaginary tour, and to take a look at this *Zine*.[17]

The sub-headline of this publication described *Dynamicland* as a "place for all people to build, study, play, speak, learn in fundamentally new ways." This was followed, somewhat roguishly, in brackets by "(also it's a new kind of computer)." This ambivalent description – on the one hand a specific "place," and on the other, "also," a computer – was, of course, just as conscious as the placement of the papers

17 Until the summer of 2017, the group avoided exposing *Dynamicland* to the online public as much as possible. In January 2018, the group put the website online as part of their search for funding. The content of the website was similar to that of the *Zine* but had an additional focus on the concept of 'community': dynamicland.org, accessed on February 2, 2018.

on the kitchen counter. The result of this hybrid of a place and a computer was, according to the *Zine*, initially a "computer with no box" that could be spread out over the space of the room: "People walk around inside of it." In this "real place," "real objects in physical space" would assume the role of "virtual objects on a screen." Visitors could, therefore, experience something that was a "part of our shared physical reality, not an illusion on a screen."[18] At the same time, the *Zine* emphasized that it was important to the founders to keep the hybrid they had created fully programmable: Similar to free software, *Dynamicland* gives all its users complete access to its system (i.e. it is not limited, such as on a smartphone or an app store). In this way, *Dynamicland* provides people with tools they can use to create their own tools and, thus, truly develop a "fluency in a medium."

In addition to the double characteristic of *Dynamicland* as a place and a computer, the title of the magazine also referred to even bigger goals: *Dynamicland* was intended to explore a "fundamental[ly] new way" to understand, express oneself and communicate. It also aimed to support "togetherness" in much better forms. All this made *Dynamicland* a prototype for a "fundamentally" new medium: The "dynamic spatial medium." As a "spatial medium," it was not only "more real," but also "more human-scale." As a "dynamic medium," it was also equipped with all the abilities of a computer: One example was its programmability, another was the ability of computers to model and simulate systems. While the medium could only be hinted at in *Dynamicland,* the project itself was an attempt to initiate and influence the development of this medium. If it managed to develop and establish itself within the next few decades, it could have the potential to start a revolution similar to that of personal computing and/or the internet (if we think small), or, if we want to think bigger, could possibly be as impactful as printing or even the written word, the mother of all media revolutions.

All of this was pretty hard to digest, even in Silicon Valley, which is not exactly a stranger to big promises. How did all this fit together: a system that projects light onto a few pieces of printed paper, on the one hand, and such gigantic promises, on the other hand? How could it be that visitors, including many prominent figures in Silicon Valley, did not break out in laughter, but often became keen supporters of the project? Bret Victor's prestige certainly plays a role in this, as does Silicon Valley's questionable mantra that engineers can "make the world a better place" (Winner 1986, Barbrook and Cameron 1995). But this, alone, is not a sufficient explanation. In order to comprehend what was going on here, we must understand what the research group was talking about when its members used the term "medium", and we must take a closer look at *Dynamicland* itself. I will begin with the former.

18 In doing so, the group distinguished itself from related approaches, such as virtual or augmented reality.

Ideas, stances, sense-making

To analyze the ideas, stances and sense-making processes behind the *Dynamic Medium Group's* work on the medium, I will now examine a series of talks held by Victor before and after the foundation of the *Lab*, i.e. several years before *Dynamicland* began to take shape. A special role has a talk called "Inventing on Principle", which Bret Victor held on January 20, 2012, at the Canadian University Software Engineering Conference (CUSEC).[19] This was Victor's most famous talk, which is reflected in more than 800,000 views on a variety of video platforms (a high following for an intellectually challenging 54-minute talk). The power of the talk also became clear to me through stories I heard about the effects Victor's video documentations could have on engineers. One engineer, for example, who later worked in the *Dynamic Medium Group*, told me in an interview[20] about the moment, years before, when she watched this video during her lunch break at work after a friend had recommended it (she did not know yet Victor at that time): It had brought her to tears and shortly thereafter, she decided to go back to university, partly because of this experience. Other engineers in the group reported similar moments of awakening.

So, what was Victor talking about? Similar to all of Victor's talks from the period before founding the *Lab*, he showed "demos" (i.e. demonstrations of certain software prototypes) of new kinds of digital information design. These demos were accompanied by introductory and concluding remarks. In "Inventing on Principle," Victor made in these framing remarks an appeal for an uncompromising form of what it meant to be an engineer. Engineers should place their work in the service of a principle and not in the service of clients, university careers or dreams of becoming rich. Such a principle should be just as special as it is difficult to realize. It should not be about fulfilling general goals, such as user-friendliness, but instead provide new perspectives for the work and, thus, bring "new ideas into the world." In his case, he described his principle with the phrase "creators need an immediate connection." By this, he meant that further developments of dynamic computer interfaces should give users more direct and extensive feedback. The exclusive aim of all his demos was to explain this principle. The important aspect was the principle, not the demo. Consequently, his talk did not recommend that other engineers follow his principle; instead, he advised them to make their own – which is why the talk was titled "Inventing by Principle." The talk mentions some of the first elements that would later be a part of *Dynamicland*: An uncompromising stance, framing the engineer as a principled hero, and a set of ideas on how software should be further developed to increase the creative power of its users.

19 vimeo.com/36579366, accessed on February 2, 2018.

20 Interview on August 18, 2017.

One thing, however, was missing in this talk: The medium. It had its big appearance more than a year later in a talk entitled "Media for Thinking the Unthinkable," which Victor held on April 4, 2013, at the *MIT Media Lab*.[21] Again, Victor showed a cascade of demos accompanied by one argument, which was now explicitly rooted in media theory: "[S]cience" investigates systems, "engineering" builds them, but one thing both have in common is that they have to understand systems. Understanding, however, is shaped by representations made possible through media. Victor defined representations as "how we think about [something]" and media as "thinking tools."[22] He claimed that our thinking is still shaped by paper and pen, even where computers have taken over their functions. Programming languages written with a keyboard, for example, are still under the media paradigm of paper and pen, and are, as such, unsuitable for the pending tasks of science and engineering. However, he stated that engineers have the opportunity to develop new thinking tools that could fully tap the possibilities of computers and be a powerful aid for understanding and building complex systems. His demos are trials for a project of this kind. This talk was, therefore, a variation of Victor's personal principle, which he had presented in the previous talk, but now it was reformulated from the perspective of media theory. Victor's principle was no longer one of many; it had become *'the'* king of principles. At the same time, Victor's version of work on the medium became a kind of metawork for all future knowledge work.

Almost fifty years earlier, Alan Kay had followed a similar line of argumentation. And it was precisely Alan Kay who had written the email discussed earlier, eleven days after Victor's talk, asking Victor to launch and head a new research group. Victor agreed and began recruiting engineers. During this phase, Victor held a talk entitled "The Future of Programming" on July 9, 2013, at the DBX Conference.[23] Victor appeared in strange clothing. He wore a starched white shirt with several pens in his shirt pocket and a thin tie, i.e. not the laid-back clothes that one would expect from a Silicon Valley engineer from the 2010s. An overhead projector stood next to him. By the time the first slide appeared, the audience realized that Victor was playing the role of a historical engineer who was speaking on July 9, 1973, about the future of programming from this (past) point of view. The engineer Victor was playing then presented a series of scenarios that he described as absurd and which he believed would, therefore, not come into being. But these scenarios

21 worrydream.com/MediaForThinkingTheUnthinkable, accessed on February 2, 2018.

22 Victor refined his reasoning on media theory in a later talk, "The Human Representation of Thought," (cf. below). Representations became methods of presentation that can be found in thinking tools, where they determine ways of thinking. He now understood maps, tables, writing or music as representations. New representations are, therefore, something he attempted to include in his original approach. However, ways of thinking, methods of presentation and thinking tools cannot be clearly distinguished from one another.

23 worrydream.com/dbx/, accessed on February 2, 2018.

described precisely the historical developments that later, in fact, occurred. Instead, the fictive engineer of the past voiced recommendations that implied a form of work on the medium which would continue what has been done until then (i.e. prior to 1973) in terms of its radicality and vision. This work pointed, not surprisingly, not into the direction of what actually happened, but towards the current perspective of the real Bret Victor. In short: Victor was now placing himself directly in the footsteps of Engelbart and Kay. This gave him authority and significance, but it also had the dangers inherent in the status of a disciple. Consequently, Victor developed a specific version of this tradition. Instead of following in the tradition of the technical solutions connected with the names Kay and Engelbart, he mobilized a more abstract tradition: Work on the medium.

In the next year, Victor explained in two additional talks – "Seeing Spaces" at the EG Conference on May 2, 2014, and "The Human Representation of Thought," which he held in October 2014 at the UIST and SPLASH conferences[24] – what exactly this medium could be. Space and physicality, he said, need to play new and different roles.[25] Only a spatial medium would free people from the permanent "peek-a-boo" game in front of their screens, where they only had direct access to small parts of a large complexity – a condition that forces them to imagine the rest without the support of a thinking tool. Victor, thus, abandoned his hopes for the development of a screen-centered computer, as these "tiny rectangles" stood in the way of new ways of representation and thinking. Instead he started to imagine what, years later, the research group would call the "dynamic spatial medium." Victor's ideas had become even more radical. At the same time, they had also become more theoretical: While all the talks Victor held prior to founding the Lab always contained demos – for a good reason, since engineers seldom trust what they cannot see in its concrete state – the talks that came afterwards had to make do without demos. Instead, Victor used theories and drawings.

Consequently, Victor did not have anything left to show except radical ideas. And what he wanted to create – a fundamentally new thinking tool – was not something he could build alone. Victor recruited a team of younger, highly talented engineers, all between the ages of twenty and thirty, many of them with a background at MIT, and all enthralled with Victor and Kay's ideas and the promises that these ideas contained. In the first two years of the *Lab's* existence, this resulted in a

24 You can find "Seeing Spaces" here: http://worrydream.com/SeeingSpaces/and "The Human Representation of Thought" here: vimeo.com/115154289 (both accessed on February 2, 2018). UIST and SPLASH are conference series by the "Association for Computing Machinery." UIST is the symposium on "User Interface Software and Technology" and SPLASH stands for "Systems, Programming, Languages and Applications: Software for Humanity."

25 Here, Victor was able to refer to his previous work on the role of using our hands, cf. "A Brief Rant About the Future of Interaction Design" from the year 2011: worrydream.com/ABriefRantOnTheFutureOfInteractionDesign/, accessed on February 2, 2018.

productive phase in which many prototypes were developed. The younger engineers often combined Victor's older principle of "creators need an immediate connection" with their own ideas. However, as a result, the younger engineers were most of the time writing software for the creation of software. In addition, the members of the group created prototypes for a spatial medium, but these prototypes were still far away from being a new thinking tool. Victor felt none of this was going far enough. He was growing nervous and unhappy and increasingly showed this in the *Lab*. The situation grew even tenser when Victor adopted an engineering method called "bootstrapping" that Doug Engelbart – one of the key proponents of the particular tradition of work on the medium that I am describing here – had developed 50 years earlier.

Engelbart had wanted to create an "augmentation system to provide increased capability for developing and studying augmentation systems" (Engelbart and English 1968: 396). Victor was not only interested in Engelbart's conceptual considerations about the idea of "augmentation systems," which resembled his own, "to boost collective intelligence and enable knowledge workers to think in powerful new ways," as Victor wrote a few years earlier in an obituary for Engelbart.[26] Victor was also no longer solely interested in the uncompromising stance with which Engelbart followed his ambition "to collectively solve urgent global problems" (Victor in the same obituary). Victor was now also increasingly interested in Engelbart's methodology, namely in his "interesting (recursive) assignment" (Engelbart and English 1968: 396) to his own research group that Engelbart called "bootstrapping". In this assignement Engelbart asked his research group to build a system that the group would then use to build the next iteration of the system (a process that can be repeated), leading to an evolving collective of technology and humans, and an evolution of language, methods and knowledge in the research group. Victor wanted to attempt something similar, but with a spatial medium. This meant that all of the engineers had to build (t)his spatial medium together, and, while they were doing this, they should use, as much as possible, the evolving medium they were working on, thus banishing from the *Lab* that ever-present work in front of screens that Victor increasingly hated.

But all of this was highly controversial in the *Lab*. Many of the younger engineers felt they were being degraded to being merely assistants. At the same time, Victor's view of the world became darker and, as a result, his ambitions became even greater: A new medium would have to help "prevent the world from tearing itself apart," Victor wrote in an internal email to the research group in the summer of 2016. It is probably no coincidence that this further radicalization happened while the political situation in the US darkened. At the same time, it was an attempt to

26 worrydream.com/Engelbart, accessed on February 2, 2018.

find even stronger arguments to encourage the younger engineers to assist him in his project of jointly building a prototype for a dynamic spatial medium. However, this very argument made the situation in the *Lab* even more delicate: Many of the younger engineers doubted whether work on the medium could achieve goals of such kind. As a result, some of them demanded that Victor abandon these enormous ambitions, while others accepted them but wanted to realize them in a different way: Either by developing different media or using means that had nothing to do with media at all. Victor grew even more desperate: He was unable to assert himself within the group, and he believed that his external prestige was suffering because he still had nothing he felt he could show for his work. All the prototypes were either for something other than a spatial medium or were so sketchy that he did not think they had the necessary features to substantiate his ideas and authority.

Along these lines of fracture, a series of conflicts broke out during which most of the first generation of engineers decided to leave the *Lab*. Victor hired a second generation. Once more, conflicts broke out, and once more, they broke out around similar lines of fracture, but, in time, a fragile compromise was found. An important factor was that Victor now permitted – initially to a large extent against his beliefs – the new spatial dynamic medium to have more objectives than just establishing new ways of thinking. A new objective was to promote new types of "togetherness", not only as a means for common understanding, but as a goal on its own. The research group also prevailed with their wish of involving other users outside of themselves, such as kids. The group increasingly started to speak of themselves as a "community." These compromises remained fragile, but they were sufficient to enable the group to work together on an especially demanding part of their endeavor: the construction of a technical system that would finally be a prototype for exploring a dynamic spatial medium, a bootstrapping system that would shape their work, and a demo for the principle-driven stance of the group and the newly achieved compromise regarding ideas and sense-making processes. The group began to build its "new kind of computer":[27] *Dynamicland*.

Things, objects, people, future

Dynamicland is the name for the room-sized prototype for a hybrid between a place and a computer that I described at the start of this paper. I now want to focus on it a second time. How did the many colorful sheets of paper lying across tables and other

27 Once again, the group experienced various crises, but these were more due to the building of the system: concepts were rewritten, technical solutions debated, different programming languages used, forms of cooperation tested, and deadlines missed. But in May 2017, the operating system was functional for the first time. Several months more were needed to make the system quicker and more stable. In the summer of 2017, a status was reached in which the system was truly usable.

surfaces turn *Dynamicland* into a computer that could serve as a prototype for a new medium? In order to answer this question, we need to understand how *Dynamicland* related things, objects and people to one another. I will begin with the objects. Each of the dotted papers in *Dynamicland* corresponded to what the "object-oriented programming" (OOP) paradigm calls an object. Many programming languages used today employ versions of this paradigm. In these common programming languages, however, objects are not physical things such as a piece of paper. Objects in the OOP paradigm are self-contained units of code and data. These virtual units are presented in the OOP paradigm as objects because they are, to a certain degree, capable of acting autonomously, communicating with other objects, and nesting in one another by creating classes (the focus differs depending on the variation of the paradigm). I would like to emphasize this point again: Objects in OOP are normally just a method of organizing large amounts of code through systemic modularization; they are not physical things.[28]

Dynamicland, on the other hand, aimed for a "strange and wonderful mix of computational and physical material" (according to the *Zine*) in which (some) things are also objects and (all) objects are also things. This required a series of operations. A system had to recognize the physical things by, for example, 'seeing' them and conducting a visual analysis to identify them (which explains the dots that are simply color codes for numbers) and it had to analyze some (not all!) of the features of these things, such as their position in the room. In order for physical things to become virtual objects in the sense of the OOP paradigm, the system also had to be able to carry out a series of additional operations: It had to know, for example, what the objects can do and should do, and it had to be able to control the complex interrelationships that emerged as a result. In particular, the central components of the system, which transformed physical things into virtual objects, should consist of precisely those physical objects that it had to recognize. This meant it first had to make itself possible (an advanced but not entirely unusual characteristic of a software system). In *Dynamicland*, all of this was made possible thanks to an operating system called *Realtalk*, which the group had developed for this purpose.[29] The group later described this system in their *Zine* as follows: "Any physical thing can be an object, as long as some other object claims to recognize it. Any physical thing can

28 In order to fully understand this, it helps to reconstruct it from the context of programming languages and environments (I have used a very simplified description here of what actually occurs). Programming languages and environments must contain mechanisms that can formally instruct machines, but they are also intended to be comprehensible for people.

29 The name *Realtalk* is a reference to a hybrid of the programming language and environment called *Smalltalk*. It was developed in the 1970s in *Xerox PARC* by Alan Kay, Dan Ingalls and Adele Goldberg, among others (Kay 1993). *Realtalk* adopted some of the concepts of *Smalltalk*, but mostly it functioned differently.

be a 'program' (whether it is a page of text, a diagram or a pile of stuff on a table), as long as an object claims to have interpreted it."

All this was realized in Dynamicland's current iteration by cameras and conventional computers. However, at least in principle, it could be achieved by any kind of sensor technology. After all, it was merely a supporting framework for a combination of physical objects that could recognize and influence one another. The result was a physical environment that contained a subset of things, whose features that turned them into objects were accessible for people and other objects alike. In other words: This subset was accessible for other objects without becoming inaccessible to humans. The *Zine*, once more, explained that: "[Realtalk is] designed to be examined, understood and modified, with no barriers of 'black boxes' (…) if a person can't see something, Realtalk can't see it either!"

In *Dynamicland*, people could manipulate things in a variety of ways. Firstly, they could be in the room together and manipulate physical things without the system being aware of it. They could, for example, draw a few lines to constitute a playing field on the floor. That may seem trivial, but it was important for the engineers, because *Dynamicland* was purposefully designed to allow those things that can be done without a computer to be done so. The credo was that computing should be reduced, wherever possible. Drawing a line, in this example, could be done just by drawing a line – it needs no computer. Secondly, people could manipulate features of physical objects which were recognized by the system. People could, for example, move objects back and forth in a game, thus, changing their positions in space. Thirdly, people could write programs that controlled these objects and their interrelationships. To do so, they placed another paper object, called the "editor," next to the first. The editor adopted the program from the object that was to be reprogrammed and enabled its manipulation via keyboard and projection. If users were happy with the changes, they could print a new object and replace the old one with it.[30] In addition, users, i.e. visitors to *Dynamicland* and members of the research group, could associate an object with files, streams or other data, projecting, for example, an image or a video onto the object, or linking it to a certain sound.

Anyone who used the system also developed its features. Most of the time this was a new application: A new game or new way of representing a system. People often took advantage of the option of spreading the objects out throughout the room. Users often experimented with new kinds of manipulation, for example by integrating robots. And sometimes, people also changed fundamental system features, although this was done less. The system did make thinking and comprehension easier in some areas, especially when the group built new iterations of the operating

30 The research group dreams of finding solutions in the future in which the manipulation of code and the physical manipulation recognized by the integrated system of other objects become one and the same thing, enabled by interfaces that replace language-based programming.

system and used the possibilities inherent in this process (remember: the central features of operating system were built in itself, that is: they were built by using the same pieces of paper that were recognized by it). However, it was new ways of togetherness that became increasingly the most important features of *Dynamicland* to many members of the group. This was already apparent during the joint building of the system but became clearer when the first iterations of the system were applied to build additional applications. When several people worked with the system, *Dynamicland* produced intensive and unusual forms of social interaction. The applications were in close physical proximity to one another and interconnected with one another. People inspected the objects made by other users and copied and altered them. Relaxed and playful cooperation was the dominant form of social interaction, and I was not the only one who had the feeling that potential traits of a new medium were, indeed, emerging here.

At this point, I have come full circle: The mixture of physical things, virtual objects and people leads us back to the ideas, stances and sense-making processes that were integrated into this mixture. This wild combination was situated in *Dynamicland* as it had become in the summer of 2017, but it was also situated in the past in the form of an imagined trajectory of work on the medium that pointed to *Dynamicland*, and in an imagined future, since *Dynamicland* was, to borrow the jubilant phrase used by the research group, "from the future." *Dynamicland* was a prototype: A special form of an "epistemic object" (Rheinberger 2001: 24), a "working artefact" (Suchman, Trigg, and Blomberg 2002: 175, 391) and a trap for potentialities (Jiménez 2014), intended to catch a medium of the future. The medium of the future was what science studies describe as the "epistemic object" (Knorr Cetina 2001: 181): Objects of investigation that have not yet fully taken shape.[31] This ambiguous epistemic object (which should not be confused with the objects in *Realtalk*)[32] was a preliminary, unstable and future-oriented abstraction of previous engineering practice. It was a prototype that would allow other prototypes to materialize. *Dynamicland,* therefore, existed in a "not-yet" status; it was its own forerunner, a materialized promise. In the imagination of a recursive methodology

31 Epistemic things (generally speaking: The means of research that shape the process) and epistemic objects (generally speaking: The desired outcome of the research process, which unfolds during this process) differ within the context of science research. In our case, situations become either the one or the other, depending on the perspective. The medium of the future, for example, is the epistemic object of the entire process. At the same time, it is also an epistemic thing of the future. In the case of bootstrapping, for example, it is also intended as an epistemic thing of its own development. Throughout the process, there are inherent challenges at each of the stages, including technical problems, particularly those whose solutions become epistemic objects at the corresponding stage.

32 The same applies for Rheinberger's epistemic things: These, too, cannot be equated with *Realtalk's* objects.

of "bootstrapping," features of the burgeoning medium should contribute to its own evolution through self-referential, positive feedback. The technical solutions of *Dynamicland* were meaningful (and only meaningful) within this context of a medium of the future. Once their own practice revealed the first signs of what the group had been searching for, visitors and the engineers interpreted them as proof of the success of the entire endeavor.

Conclusion

No one can know whether the *Dynamic Medium Group's work* on a "dynamic spatial medium" will have an impact similar to that of Doug Engelbart or Alan Kay's work. Only one thing can be said with certainty: The aim of the *Dynamic Medium Group* is to work on the medium itself. Stances, ideas and sense-making processes play an important role in this work. In the case of Bret Victor and the *Dynamic Medium Group*, their stance was shaped by the ideal of principled autonomy for the engineer, which contained a tendency toward radicalization. As a result, conflicts arose. Once these were resolved, the group was able to work together to build a complex prototype following an earlier phase of extensive, individual work on a large number of prototypes. *Dynamicland* became a combination of space and computer connecting people, things and objects in new ways. From the group's perspective, *Dynamicland* is a prototype and demo for the "dynamic spatial medium." *Dynamicland*, thus, became an essential part of their endeavor without which all the group's stances, ideas and sense-making processes were little more than empty speculation. On the other hand, Dynamicland can only be fully understood if we take the group's stances, ideas and sense-making processes into account. If one is willing to do so, it is indeed possible to see *Dynamicland* as a preview for a fundamentally new medium. As such, it stands in tangible contrast to everything that we consider to be normal for digital media. Whether it is smartphones, social networks or virtual reality glasses, they all start to feel incomplete and sad, if seen from the point of view of a future that *Dynamicland* aims to foreshadow and construct. Viewed in light of the materialized media Utopia of *Dynamicland*, our present times urgently need work on the medium.

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The animal as a perspective for cultural analysis

On the mutual benefit of European ethnology and human-animal studies*

Abstract: The paper deals with the theoretical offers in the field of human-animal studies regarding their benefits for European ethnological research. Human-animal studies explore human-animal relationships as sociocultural phenomena of practical everyday negotiations and deconstruct established concepts of social, cultural and historical research. They think of animals as a heuristic category and focal point for sociocultural, economic and political processes and accentuate the ethical dimension of human-animal relations in historical change. Human-animal studies consider animals not only as objects of research, but rather as a research-guiding perspective. They move them from the periphery to the center of scientific interest. The practice-theoretical, language-analytical, network-theoretical, political and social-analytical approaches presented here are discussed using the example of animal slaughter and economic animal use in the 19th and early 20th century. The analysis of this neglected field of research can provide insights into the processes of overall modernization of working worlds and open up new perspectives on historical cultural analyses. Relating to the theories negotiated in human-animal studies, the article concludes with an outlook on the possibilities of creating a dialogue between European ethnology and ethology.

Keywords: Human-animal studies, modernization, agency, network, emergence, ethics, language, ethology, biopolitics, practice, emotion

The 1997 anthology *Tiere und Menschen. Geschichte und Aktualität eines prekären Verhältnisses*, edited by the historian Paul Münch (1998), marks a turning point in the academic work on animals. Relevant not only for the historical disciplines, it set a new epistemological course and introduced new perspectives for research on human-animal relationships in the social and cultural sciences. Animals generally took center stage in the historical, social and cultural sciences for the first time. They had been studied for a long time in the behavioral and veterinary sciences as a manifested ascertainment of overarching principles whose self-will had to give way to programmatic predictability and biological predestination. In the 1970s, the animal rights movement, whose objectives outside of academia created new horizons

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of interest within the university over time, succeeded in viewing animals no longer as just a thematic object, but as a perspectival starting point. Nevertheless, not all work dealing with animals can be located within the recently booming field of human-animal studies. The decisive point is not so much that the animal is a research topic, but that it is chosen as a perspectival starting point. The aspiration to deny essentialisms and to understand ideas of the other as sociocultural products and stable constructs of everyday negotiations moves human-animal studies into immediate proximity to a cultural anthropological understanding of European ethnological research. The conceptual overlap is also characterized by a sense of the having become of social realities and, therefore, always of terms which trade theorems and whose naturalness often remains unquestioned. It is all the more astounding that to date, European ethnology has contributed remarkably little to the theoretical and methodological considerations of human-animal studies. Whether their deanthropologizing thrust gnaws at the self-concept of a cultural anthropological discipline and provokes resistance is left aside here. Work has only been published which studies human-animal relationships from a decidedly European perspective in the last five years (Fenske 2013, 2016; Löfgren 1985: a pioneer in this field; Tschofen, Heinzer, and Frank 2016). This contribution focuses on which theoretical approaches are negotiated in human-animal studies, which benefits these have for European ethnology and where the limits of their applicability lie. Based on concrete examples of commercial forms of use in the context of historical animal slaughter, it presents and discusses theoretical approaches which are united in their different aims by the following: They move animals from the periphery to the center of scientific interest and think of them not only as an object, but as a perspective of the research.

Human-animal studies examine human-animal relationships as sociocultural phenomena of practical everyday negotiations and ask for a new vocabulary to expose the theoretical assumptions which are passed on in established terms (I). Others again increasingly operationalize animals as a heuristic category and burning lens of societal and political situations of need and processes (II). Finally, the works based on a third offer of theory accentuate the ethical dimensions of human-animal relationships in their historical transformation (III).

The field of the commercial use and slaughter of animals in the present and the past proves itself suitable in two ways. The commercial use of animals is a previously blanked out area of human-animal studies, even though the economies of animal production and reproduction are inseparably intertwined with political processes and constitute an area of the economy that is strong in capital and high in cost. My dissertation project on the transformation of the working world of the meat trade in the second half of the 19th century (Nieradzik 2017) and my research on commercial forms of animal use in history and present (Nieradzik 2015; Nieradzik and Schmidt-Lauber 2016) demonstrate that here, processes of an overarching societal moderni-

zation and rationalization densify and have fundamentally transformed work and lifeworlds in the past years and decades. Following up on the question of a mutual benefit of human-animal studies and European ethnological research, the possibilities of a dialogue between European ethnology as an empirical cultural science and disciplines from the natural sciences, such as ethology, are discussed in an outlook.

1. Practice and concept: Animals as acting companions, economic categories and narrative construction

Studies which examine human-animal relationships from a practical-theoretical and terminological perspective negotiate these as an interdependent network. They decenter the human as the sole agent and conceive of animals as socially potent actors. Science historian and biologist Donna Jeanne Haraway pleads in a unique way for a deanthropologization of the interpretation of social practice. Humans and animals shape the lifeworld they share jointly (Haraway 2003, 2008). The idea of an 'encounter value' of human and animal reaches its limits, however, when it is transferred to animals used agriculturally. While Haraway considers and turns emotionally towards the animals as a *conditio sine qua non* of her concept of "companion animals" (Haraway 2003: 12–14), these thoughts can hardly apply in intensive mass animal husbandry and rationalized forms of production. Here, structures and practices which are oriented at economic efficiency and return remain the decisive criterion in the relationship of humans and animals which permit hardly any opportunities for emotional attention.

Animal markets and slaughterhouses are exemplary for this. Founded all over Europe in the 19th century, they represent local political signature projects which promised to match the challenges of urban meat supply which had grown substantially during industrialization and urbanization. The spatial densification of production and economic requirements made animal agency an undesirable disruption of the work regime. If, in this case, one can speak of a practice of the animals, then this only appeared *ex negativo*: A pig jumping over the boundary in the stables or a cow injuring a market helper with a horn in a moment of inattentiveness meant that the animals broke the productive order of the slaughterhouse (Nieradzik 2014: 324).

In this case, it is far more appropriate to speak of effectiveness in social relationships than of practice. Actor-network theory provides perspectival suggestions for researching the web of actors and actants in this respect (Latour 2010). Thus, the increasing mechanization of the slaughtering and meat producing trades point not only to the aim of speeding up and standardizing production. The introduction of new slaughtering tools, such as slaughter masks or captive bolt pistols, and machines to take over the debristling of pigs can be read as a struggle of the machine with the resistance of highly developed organic substances (Giedion 1982: 262). The animal body challenged technical solutions and imposed limits upon existing work

processes. Thus, the dissecting of animals remained a task of which no machine was capable during the entire 19th and the early 20th century.

The attempt to understand this form of organic resistance as a trace of animal agency goes along with the aim set particularly in historical cultural science research of reading sources 'against the grain.' A new vocabulary pays heed to this aspiration of not focusing solely on the human, but rather on the web of humans, animals and objects. Haraway, for instance, describes animals as "significant others" and speaks of a "co-constitutive relationship" (Haraway 2003: 7–10, 12) being formed by human and animal. Actor-network theory even goes a step further. Michel Callon and Bruno Latour not only deanthropologize the term of agency, but they also conceive of the social world as a network. Aside from the term of the actant, "propositions" and "associations" (Latour 2008: 286, 297) are the more important terms here for their call for a symmetrical anthropology (Callon 2006: 142–143; Latour 2009) and a sociology of relations.

Many studies in the area of human-animal studies generally reject a vocabulary which upholds speciesist assumptions as unquestioned hypotheses (Ryder 1983: 1–14). In a German context, instead of speaking of 'humans' and 'animals,' a distinction is made between 'human' and 'nonhuman' animals, *tierisch*, which can have negative connotations of bestiality, is replaced by the more neutral, if less used *tierlich*, and 'the animal' as a generalizing term, and one that levels the diversity of animal life, by the plural form 'animals' (Chimaira Arbeitskreis 2011: 33). A prominent example of demanding a changed language is French deconstructivist Jacques Derrida. As part of his language philosophical considerations on "*différance*" (Derrida 1982), according to which language always imposes arbitrary semantic borders, he suggests the neologism "*animot*" as an alternative to the terms 'animal' and 'animals' ("*l'animal*" and "*les animaux*") (Derrida 2010: 68), because language creates reality by naming it. For Derrida, the animal is more than only a linguistic sign, rather, it is a concrete life form whose traces he aims to follow. By using the example of his cat staring at him while he is naked in the bathroom, causing him to feel a sense of shame, he demonstrates that the mere presence and view of the other onto oneself calls for action, thinking and feeling. This motive of the look and looking at which motivates action (Levinas 1990: 49–50) was also used continuously by local politicians, administrative officers and veterinarians in the 19th century when they discussed the concentration of animal slaughter to take place exclusively in the urban periphery and, thus, away from the public and no longer, as was common practice for a long time, to permit it in backyards and basements. Aside from the economic motive, social pedagogical reasons were also a decisive factor. The argument already introduced by Immanuel Kant, according to which cruelty against animals lowered the threshold for committing cruelty against humans, was used to relocate this work behind the scenes of societal life (Elias 1999: 324).

The sensitivity towards terminology may seem exaggerated. Yet, on the other hand, terms always pass on and stabilize theorems, and the sense of the creative power of language is an indisputable ingredient of European ethnological perspectives. Terminological change always indicates a change in social reality. This connection is illustrated in an exemplary manner by contemporary accounts of the commercial use of animals and meat production. The endeavor of valuating animals as a commercial good in the framework of increasingly modernized food production went along with a terminological change. Butchers, veterinarians and market helpers in the second half of the 19th century, noticeably often spoke of 'objects' when they meant animals, or they classified the animal body into 'front' and 'back' (Nieradzik 2017: 141). Linguistically, they, thus, anticipated meat as a product, the result of the slaughter of the animal and the dissection of the body. Remarkably, during this time, butcher's magazines, which were aimed at a readership from the meat trade, published less and less anecdotal reports in which animals were transformed into allegorical fairytale beings while referring to their individuality and the effectiveness of their actions. These accounts were about oxen breaking out of their stables during the night and hunting drunk passersby, of cows cantering like horses and performing tricks, or of calves getting drunk on brandy (Nieradzik 2017: 240–241).

The different ways of talking about animals go beyond those named above. While the narrative of animals as a commercial good encompassed the needs of the urban supply politics, which, aside from economic requirements, also included public education agendas and societal sensitivities, anecdotal tales imagined and anthropomorphized animals into self-willed beings which let species borders become fluid. If tales are about animals, they always point to humans. Animals as rhetoric figures become a semantic level of reference for social situations of need.[1]

2. Biopolitics: Animals as a paradigmatic projection of societal order

The question of how far societal and political orders as an ideal and stocktaking are negotiated in connection with imaginations of being human and animal is the focus of further offers of theory from human-animal studies. This includes research especially from the area of political zoology and considerations by philosopher Giorgio Agamben on the biopolitics of the modern. His concept of the anthropological machine (Agamben 2003: 47) aims at analyzing a historically grown dispositive which originated in the 20th century and redrew the borders between human and

1 The semantic field of wild animals which seemingly withdraw from anthropological access and which, in the bourgeois narrative of the 19th and 20th century, were upgraded to the epitome of the natural and genuine (Löfgren 1986) points to the fact that both dealing with animals and a look at animal societies renders them into areas of projection of bourgeois longing and fantasies of order (Löfgren 1985: 209).

animal. The biopolitics of the modern, he writes, rapidly took over the "vita nuda" (Agamben 2002: 11–22), whereby it stripped man as a social being of his societal and socializing nature. The camp was paradigmatic of this: A biopolitical paradigm of the modern (Agamben 2002) and a concrete location of a total usurpation of naked life, which had become evident in the historical experience in the shape of German concentration and death camps.

Agamben's considerations gain relevance in the field of human-animal studies not only because of the triumph of the life sciences whose genetic and microbiological techniques created a hitherto unknown space of possibilities of manipulating, controlling and reproducing animal bodies (Nieradzik 2015: 127). Agamben's work is also relevant for a historical analysis of biopolitical regimes which materialized in different institutional orders and logics. Thus, slaughterhouses are *pars pro toto* for a biopolitical modernity, the genesis of which brought forth the 19th century and rationalized the 20th. Slaughterhouses created a space which occupied humans and animals and which, while animal slaughter work became increasingly invisible, established a panopticon which abetted the seamless control of the work and the workers. The quest particularly for hygiene constituted a specific technique of governance aimed at the production and consumption of meat. Furthermore, the offices concerned with meat supply attempted to call on urban dwellers as responsible consumers. With the aid of publications and exhibitions which praised hygiene not only as an achievement of modern work processes, but as that of one's entire lifestyle, humans were to be made aware of health challenges. The appeal to take responsibility for bodily hygiene was as much part of this as the call to report diseases following meat consumption or shortcomings in butcheries. The hygiene paradigm of the slaughterhouse extended beyond its spatial and institutional borders (Nieradzik 2017: 120–123).

At the core of the biopolitics of meat production was the animal body. Its occupation encompassed different techniques of transforming naked life into an economic resource. Measuring charts segmented the animal body into different regions and drew a hierarchical bodily landscape of different meat qualities. Traders forced animals to drink water by letting them go thirsty or feeding them salt so that they temporarily gained weight and, thus, fetched a higher purchase price (Nieradzik 2017: 207–211). Access to naked life demanded, above all, a utilization of the animal body with as little waste as possible. New machines could even process slaughterhouse waste, bones and the entire animal cadaver into commercially usable products such as animal flour, fat or glue, while guaranteeing a production that met health standards (Nieradzik 2017: 170–171). In addition, a medical paradigm shift from humoral to cellular pathology in the late 1850s and 1860s increased the concern of infection by invisible microorganisms and falling sick as a consequence (Nieradzik 2014: 315–317, 321). Infection became a buzz word in the second half

of the 19th century and a term of interpretation for different social and political phenomena, such as moral decline, demoralization, brutalization or massification (Nieradzik 2016: 58–59). Gustave Le Bon, spiritus rector of crowd psychology, for example, explained the mobilization of the masses as a process of infection; feelings or political ideas, according to Le Bon, transferred like pathogens from one person to another. The infected collective, he wrote, deprived individuals of the possibility of individual action – a loss of autonomy he welcomed as an act of liberation (Le Bon 2016: 172; Gamper 2009: 83–84).

The idea of mobilized masses as infected collectives without centers, as they were drawn by crowd psychological writings, is also at the center of models of swarm theory. Borrowing from economist Jeffrey Goldstein's (1999) definition of emergence, swarms are discussed as unforeseeable and unpredictable, dynamic and evolving phenomena as well as specific modulations of the social which take on challenges cooperatively (Horn 2009). Le Bon explained this process as part of his infection paradigm and, thus, formulated an emergence theory model *avant la lettre* (Gamper 2009: 75–84). Further swarm theory work deals with the connection of societal utopias and imaginations of animal societies. Thus, for instance, insect societies served as blue prints for ideal designs of society for a long time, the realization of which was believed to be found in them (Johach 2009).

Questions of how animal comparisons and metaphors are staged as rhetorical figures to justify political and societal ideologies are the object of political zoology. This discipline also facilitates a fruitful perspective on the slaughterhouse. As early as the mid-19th century, slaughterhouses were seen all over Europe as an epitome of rationalized and objectified work processes from which not only animals, but also the humans working in them suffered – themselves victims (Marx 1973: 418) of modern and, not least, urban work regimes. At the time, there was a rationalization of animal slaughter, an increasing mechanization and a spatial concentration of this work in purpose-built and municipally administered slaughterhouses, as well as an emerging separation of productive and controlling tasks which was strongly indebted to the health requirements of a major city branded as pathogenic. These factors contributed to characterizing the butcher trade as a phenomenon typical of capitalist forms of production and a specifically urban one of the 19th century. In contrast to animal slaughter and meat production in rural areas, which, on occasion, was held as a public spectacle, where all work stages were conducted by male and female butchers and which were typical of a gender specific division of labor,[2] in urban spaces, this work increasingly took place in an opposite manner: Animal slaughter

2 Ethnologist Yvonne Verdier describes this gendered division of labor using the example of a pig slaughter in a French village. While the man killed, debristled and dissected the animal, the woman collected the animal's blood which she then processed; she was also continuously tasked with cleaning work (Verdier 1982: 20–21).

occurred away from the public and the labor differentiated, so that around the turn of the 20th century, hardly any butcher practiced all tasks (purchase, slaughter and processing of the animal, sale of the products) by himself. Furthermore, women were ostracized from the productive slaughterhouse work. Since the second half of the 19th century, they only appeared as cleaners in the municipal slaughterhouse, worked at the counters or were the ones who delivered food to their husbands (Nieradzik 2017: 243).

In the 19th century, the urban slaughterhouse developed into a precursor and emblem of Fordist types of production which transformed artisanal tasks into conveyor belt work. The "disassembly line" (Carlson 2001: 116; Cronon 1992: 211), which dissected animals and processed them into meat, created the foundation for centralized and rationalized systems of production which also became established in other areas of the economy, such as in the Fordist organization of the automobile industry (Hounshell 1984: 217, 241ff.). The dogma of increasing production, realized in the slaughterhouse, was negotiated by local political agents as an unavoidable and inevitable tale of modernity which was paradigmatic for a modernizing change in supply policies of European metropolises in the 19th and 20th century. Technologization, rationalization and a reorganization of labor went along with the belief in progress and growth in this Eurocentric narrative of modernization. Economy and culture, in the sense of a specific view of society and a form of expression of lived reality, were inextricably linked (Sahlins 1981, 1988).

With these developments, a certain image of the slaughterhouse originated: It became an emblem for a radical objectification and dehumanization of centralized production processes (Giedion 1982; Marx 1973: 418). The slaughterhouse, therefore, served as a rhetorical figure for social reformers, philanthropists and animal protection advocates to condemn conditions of labor and the plight of the animals to be slaughtered. Animal protection demands generally point to complex societal processes and challenges.

3. Ethics: Animals as an object of moral imperatives in historical change

The genesis, continuation and change of ethical motives over time is at the center of further offers of theory in human-animal studies. Initially, it was the animal rights activists who named human-animal relations as a central societal and ethically relevant relationship. Ruth Harrison undertook pioneering work in this area when she publicized intensive livestock farming systems in the 1960s (Harrison 1964). The theoretical program was delivered by philosophers Peter Singer and Tom Regan, who laid the foundation of today's animal ethics with their pathocentric and preference utilitarian approach (Regan 1984; Singer 1977). At present, it is predominantly application-oriented procedures as part of genetic and microbiological procedures

which determine ethical concepts and challenge concrete guidelines for action. The theoretical offers of an application-oriented animal ethics conceive of the individual animal as a needs-oriented life-form with specific interests and behaviors (Telos concept) (Rollin 1995: 159); they aim at its bodily integrity and self-determined life (integrity concept) (Rutgers and Heeger 1999: 41–51) or emphasize the responsibility and conscientiousness of humans towards animals (dignity concept) (Kunzmann 2007).

These ethical perspectives point towards a fundamental change in the anthropological perspective on animals which becomes evident in not only academic contexts, but also other areas of life, such as calls for a vegetarian or vegan lifestyle or a sustainable economy. A critical view of the treatment of animals in rationalized production contexts carries the same weight as fundamental doubt about capitalist economic logics. A need for a more ecological lifestyle manifests in the ideal of renouncing and describes food from monopolized, globalized and nontransparent production as a danger. The origin of goods and the degree of transparency of production and transport have become specific criteria of product quality and ethical consumption (Campbell 2009). Many of these demands, however, are not all that new: Whether they are health ideals of balanced nutrition, ecological demands for a sustainable ecology or animal rights matters, they all gained contours and momentum in the life reformist milieu in the years prior to the First World War. They all drew up the promise of a better society which was to be delivered through dietary styles and forms of production, and, not least, through self-improvement. This (bourgeois) promise as an expression of a criticism of modernity and a search for meaning is today carried on by, among others, the phenomena of urban gardening and urban farming. Their criticism of rationalized production systems is linked with the lived ideal of an artisanal, immediate and transparent operation which protects the concept of nature as a pristine good worthy of protection from the reach of capitalist logics of exploitation and, at the same time, implements it in the city in order to live and operate in harmony with it.

Current ideals and ethics of alternative forms of operation pay homage to their historical predecessors sometimes more, sometimes less consciously. They always mirror societal needs and are inextricably linked with their individual sociocultural, political and economic context, whether they are challenges which justify the dominance of the life sciences or agendas of the organization of labor to reform the meat provision for the growing metropolises of 19th and 20th century Europe. Thus, the historical field of commercial animal slaughter and meat supply shows a fundamental change of the ethical dimension of human-animal relationships which is linked to fears of a moral brutalization just as much as to utility industry projects. Animal abuse in the 19th century, for instance, was subject to increasing regulation and juridification in the Austrian crown lands of the Habsburg Monarchy. However, de-

crees, edicts and legal regulations only sanctioned the maltreatment of animals if it took place in public. Away from the public eye, humans could still deal with animals as they wished. Consequently, laws located animal protection along the border between public and private, and with its public education thrust, they addressed urban dwellers primarily. Animal protection, as the Lower Austrian government argued in March 1846, encompassed the mission which furthered humane and general morality.[3] The founder of the Lower Austrian Association against Animal Abuse, poet and dramatist Ignaz Franz Castelli, linked his animal protection endeavors with, among others, the concern of educating the underclasses about morality and humanity.[4]

In addition, a progressing technologization and modernization gradually shifted the moral parameters of the work of animal slaughter. It became possible to kill animals quickly and without resistance with the introduction and establishment of new slaughter tools such as slaughter masks and slaughter guns, and, compared to the usual slaughter by axe which demanded strength, agility and, not least, experience, simpler. Stunning and killing merged, and the animal led to slaughter, it was argued, did not notice that it died. This ideal of a humane cattle slaughter (MacLachlan 2006) was demanded and propagated by veterinarians, slaughterhouse reformers, animal protection associations and the offices commissioned with urban meat supply. If animals were slaughtered when stunned, they would not have to suffer, and the production process would also be sped up. The aims of the supply industry and animal protection went hand in hand. Kosher slaughter, on the other hand, was called cruel, inhumane and abhorrent by the advocates of humane cattle slaughter. These forms of slaughter in *fin de siècle* Vienna, a time characterized by fatalist fears, tangible testiness and a threatening uncertainty, developed into the epitome of an archaic, premodern method which contrasted with the ideal of a technology-based rationality of the sober killing. It was especially the sensually experienced killing of an animal that had not been stunned which met with harsh criticism and rejection, which become comprehensible in their societal and cultural reach only in the context of the infection paradigm and the fear of moral brutalization (Nieradzik 2017: 197–198).

Slaughtering animals, dissecting their bodies and processing them into meat products are, thus, more than just simple technological processes. They represent sociocultural practices which always point beyond the human-animal relationship by "de-animation" and "de-animalization" of animals and by passing on a specific understanding of nature and culture (Vialles 1994: 127). The meat industry transformed animals into calculation units, which were subject to economic categories and natural resources (Rifkin 1992). Thus, to name an example, urban historian Simon Gunn and geographer Alastair Owens describe the transport of animals to be

3 Quoted from Nieradzik 2017: 193.

4 Quoted from Nieradzik 2017: 194–195.

slaughtered into urban slaughterhouses as an urban appropriation and change of nature into economic materials (Gunn and Owens 2006). Man has appropriated nature by means of techniques of culture. The human-animal relationship in the context of an economy of supply, thus, points to a perspective which has at its base an opposition between nature and culture that is characteristic for the political, social and humanistic modernizing thinking of a Eurocentric provenance (Sahlins 2017).

how far the theories of human-animal studies presented here can be utilized for anthropological studies and be applied in research practice depends on the research area and the research question. The research area presented here as an example – commercial animal use, animal slaughter and meat production in the 19th and early 20th century – poses some limits because of the body of source material. Epistemological uncertainties are also a contributing factor. A research approach such as multispecies ethnography aims not only at an analysis of lifeworld entanglements of human and nonhuman actors and a reflection of one's own research practice (Kirksey and Helmreich 2010: 545, 562–563). It also takes a stand on sensual ethnographic approaches, which include smells, tastes and sounds, being applied to the analysis (Pink 2009; Stoller 1989), conceives senses as "ways of thinking and knowing" (Ingold 2011: 316) and makes use of them for analytical purposes. This approach reaches its limits in historical research. However, this does not mean a complete rejection of multispecies ethnography for historical analyses. Ethnography, in the sense of a research perspective in which different forms of representation (photographs, sound and video recordings, drawings, written records) are employed, promises new points of view and insights also for historical research (Fijn 2012).

The epistemological potential of European ethnological research and the contribution of empirical cultural science to human-animal studies in my opinion, lies in its perspectival flexibility in general and an approach which studies social practices, feelings and the reflection of one's own scientific research in particular. That and how far possibilities of an exchange between cultural and natural science research is facilitated here will be discussed in the concluding section.

4. Practice, feelings and reflection as epistemic hinges between ethnology and ethology

The reception of different disciplinary perspectives and a readiness for interdisciplinary dialogue are not new for European ethnology as a discipline of understanding and interpretation which locates itself at the intersection of social sciences and humanities. Drawing on the theoretical offers which are negotiated in human-animal studies, European ethnology can readjust some of its central epistemic categories, such as practice or agency. In doing so, the aim is not to shake the anthropological foundations of the discipline – the study of human culture remains the leading principle – but rather to destabilize the self-evident and to deduce new potential

for insight into historical-cultural analytical and empirical-ethnographic processes. Regarding human-animal relationships, the genesis of bourgeois worlds of feeling can contribute here to a cultural scientific dimensioning of processes of modernization and create new ways of reading older materials from folklore studies, which, among others, shift the focus to the specifics of peasant cultures of emotion (Fenske 2016: 22). Furthermore, an increased turn of European ethnology as a relational anthropology (Beck 2008: 198) towards the object and perspective of human-animal studies opens up the possibility of forcing dialogue with the natural sciences. The aim of this is by no means a hierarchical integration of knowledge. On the contrary, the focus here is on forms of cooperation which tap into topic areas, and the finding and working out of research questions and methods – all the more so since the striving for a dialogue between cultural and natural sciences is evident on both sides (Beck 2008: 161–163, 198; Niewöhner, Kehl, and Beck 2008: 7–11).

Thus, regarding the field of human-animal studies, European ethnology can bridge the gap to ethology, veterinary medicine and applied animal sciences by pointing out perspectival and conceptual similarities. One possibility is facilitated by approaches which accentuate human-animal relationships increasingly as a negotiated cooperation, that think of the body as a somatic form of expression of emotional constitution and that conceive of ethical positionings as a multidimensionally conditioned phenomenon and include the reflection of their own research practice into their analyses. The latter refers mainly to the turn of biological (behavioral) studies towards a reflexive perspectivation of the research standpoint with which the constructiveness of data gathering is to be critically examined. The question about the subjective taint of the scientific research process has also been at the center of debate regarding the possibilities and limits of representative practices in the cultural sciences, at the latest, since the crisis of ethnographic representation and the linguistic turn (Berg and Fuchs 1999). Procedures such as Qualitative Behaviour Assessment (Ellingsen et al. 2014; Wemelsfelder 2007; Wemelsfelder et al. 2009) also stimulate an increased sensitivity towards one's own research practice. In this ethological method, body language (Wemelsfelder et al. 2009: 215) as an expression of the emotional condition of animals moves into focus (Rutherford et al. 2012) to be able to offer concrete possibilities for action to animal keepers which are oriented at animal welfare (Winckler 2016). Remarkably, Qualitative Behaviour Assessment aims at a standardization of perspectives of observation which determines body language along the categories "relaxed," "tense," "frustrated" and "content" (Wemelsfelder et al. 2009). This standardization is due to the demands of an applied animal science which aims to reform animal breeding and husbandry with its research, and in doing so, has to pay heed to agricultural and political requirements and determines the 'qualitative' aspect via a quantifying verification. The logic of the individual categorization through the individual researcher is not explained here, while other

ethological studies have pointed out particularly the constructiveness and at times arbitrariness of these attributions (Tuyttens et al. 2014). Instead of resolving these contradictions in favor of standardized analyses (Burghardt et al. 2012), they should be reflected regarding their heuristic potential. Ethnographic studies can contribute to revealing the logics and patterns behind such attributions.

Furthermore, a look at the relationship between researcher and researched in the area of behavioral biology opens up a further possibility for dialogue between natural and cultural sciences which can be established particularly well by interactional and practice-oriented conceptualizations. Thus, several ethological studies emphasize models which study the relationships in nonhuman social groups with a focus on interaction (Croft, James, and Krause 2008). Such a perspectivation forms a bridge to cultural scientific conceptualizations of agency which study the constitution of webs of social interactions beyond an actor-centered agency and which force interactions as a negotiated and negotiable in-between, as accentuated in work from the field of actor-network theory and multispecies ethnography.

Aside from this, ethical questions and dimensioning constitute a further topical area which suggests a collaboration. Questions about an ethical justification of different forms of commercial animal use in applied animal sciences are of an unprecedented relevance and topicality. A historical cultural scientific and ethnographic empirical dimensioning of ethical questions and demands, such as can be carried out within the framework of the animal welfare concept (Winckler 2016), can equal a deep epistemological probing which reveals the genesis and change of heuristic givens and renders them more comprehensible. Regarding the scientific and lifeworld patterns of perception, thinking and action of animal users, European ethnology can contribute to approaching the questions and challenges they encounter in a way that has a stronger relation to their lifeworlds and everyday culture.

The opportunity for a dialogue between disciplines opens up at these perspectival intersections between European ethnology and ethology. It would, of course, be naïve to believe that uniting these two more or less separate scientific worlds is possible immediately. Transdisciplinarity does not happen overnight. Such an endeavor requires scientific risks, possibly also frustrations and a need for perspectival innovation – all the more so since this optimism is hindered by significant hurdles in terms of perspectives of knowledge and epistemology. It is not only different and diverging knowledge horizons that are in the way of cooperation. One has to find a common language first and to formulate and establish the aims of joint research (perspectives). European ethnology as an empirical cultural science can benefit from this step and a reception of the theories discussed in the field of human-animal studies. Perspectives and approaches of human-animal studies can readjust the epistemological framework of empirical cultural scientific work by, as is done in multispecies ethnography or the concept of companion animals, decentering, to a

degree, both agency and the negotiation and establishment of social relationships, by accentuating language as a fundamental constituent of life and everyday worlds, or by adjusting the perspective on the change of human-animal relationships as a heuristic probe for a different perspective on societal and cultural change.

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The educative formation of folk costumes.

Collecting, exhibiting and renewal at the Tyrolean Folk Art Museum and in the work of Gertrud Pesendorfer (until 1938)*

Abstract: The paper discusses the transition from the conservation of folk costumes to their adaption to contemporary circumstances in the multilingual border region of Tyrol since the second half of the 19th century. Particular attention is paid to the Tyrolean Folk Art Museum (Tiroler Volkskunstmuseum) in Innsbruck that was one of the major arenas and actors in this field. Founded in 1888 as an arts and crafts museum, it oriented itself towards an ethnicized concept of folk art (*Volkskunst*) after 1900. It was opened in 1929 as a "monument for the unity" of the regions north and south of the Brenner Pass that had been divided between Austria and Italy since the Treaty of Saint-Germain in 1919. The paper analyses different versions of folk costume ('*Tracht*') corresponding to the changing museum concepts until 1938, when Austria was annexed to the German Reich. '*Tracht*' appears as a questionable model for modern arts and crafts, as an identity marker and advertising material for tourism, as a potential exhibit within planned but not realized museums, as costumes on loan and as a model for sewing courses. Looking at the interwar period, the paper focuses on how Gertrud Pesendorfer (1895–1982) took over responsibility for collecting, exhibiting and renewing '*Tracht*' in the museum. After 1938, she was one of the official functionaries in this field. The paper argues that '*Tracht*' was created by a set of material practices and styles of thinking within and outside the museum and closely linked to economic and political interests. Particular emphasis is placed on the visual dimension of '*Tracht*' connected to the museum's collection of folk costume images (*Trachtenbilder*) in its relationship to the concept of *Bildung* combining aspects of formation and education.

Keywords: Folk Costumes, Folk Costume Renewal, Collecting, Museum

Prologue: Lucifer and the Lechtal woman[1]

Since the reopening of the Tiroler Volkskunstmuseum ('Tyrolean Folk Art Museum') in Innsbruck in 2009, visitors beginning their walk encounter a larger-than-life

* German version in *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 2018, 121 (1): 39–83. Translated by Stefanie Everke Buchanan.

1 The idea for this article was born in an exchange with Simone Egger, whom I would like to thank. I am also grateful to Timo Heimerdinger, Katharina Eisch-Angus, Karl C. Berger, Konrad Kuhn and Magdalena Puchberger for their criticism and important impulses as well as to the 'Österreichischer

figurine. In the midst of a seemingly chaotic accumulation of art and junk that is reminiscent of a roof space, cellar or attic, the Lucifer from the St Nick's pageant in Stumm in the Zillertal is intended to frighten and fascinate but, above all, tempt visitors into playful-critical reflection. He is not considered here as "*der Bursche, der falsches Licht bringt*" ('the chap who brings false light')[2] but as an enlightener in and about the museum. He accompanies visitors through the house with his questions and doubts – and often rather crude slogans: What drove the collectors to whom the museum owes its holdings? What is the relationship between garbage, waste and recyclables; what is shown, concealed and hidden; what is remembered, forgotten and repressed? What role does the sometimes 'evil eye' of the audience play on the exhibits (cf. Scharfe 2009)?[3] Visitors on the second floor cannot even get past Luzi (as the museum staff call him), where, according to the labels, one would expect '*Trachten*,'[4] traditional or folk costumes. Forty-five figurines from the former *Trachtensaal*, the hall of folk costumes which was designed for the opening of the museum in 1929, are gathered in a scenery redesigned in 2009. Gertrud Pesendorfer (1895–1982), the secretary of the museum at the time, was in charge of this project. The facial features of one of the figurines, the *Lechtalerin* ('Lech valley woman'), are based on hers. Pesendorfer was the museum's managing, respectively deputy director, during the time of National Socialism. As the Reichsbeauftragte für Trachtenarbeit ('Reich Commissioner for Traditional Costume Work') of the Reichsfrauenführerin ('Leader of the National Socialist Women's League') Gertrud Scholtz-Klink, she headed the Mittelstelle Deutsche Tracht ('Intermediate Post for German Traditional Costume'), an office of the National Socialist Women's League located at the museum, which was to carry out inventories and renewals of folk costumes in several districts and 'foreign German regions.' The endeavor remained a torso, but today's image of '*Tracht*' in Tyrol (and partly beyond) was significantly influenced by Pesendorfer. Prompted by a public debate since 2012, I have studied her biography and practice of folk costume renewal in an ongoing research project. Special emphasis is placed on an analysis of the materials from the Mittelstelle preserved at the museum.[5] In the following, how-

Fachverband für Volkskunde' (Vienna) and the 'Institut für Volkskultur und Kulturentwicklung' (Innsbruck) for financial support.

2 Imre Lakatos in a letter to Paul Feyerabend, used as a motto in a prefix to Latour (2000).

3 The association of the 'evil eye' is obvious because the devil has a 'third eye' on his breastplate. It seems he needs protection – but from what?

4 In order to emphasize the constructedness of the term and its changing definitions, I will put it in quotation marks more frequently in the following. However, I avoid the principle of using such signals of distancing not only for reasons of aesthetics and ease of reading but also because ethnographic research (both historical and contemporary) has to hazard a proximity to its subject. I, therefore, plead for a reflective use of the term but not for an overly orthodox use of quotation marks.

5 "*Tiroler Trachtenpraxis im 20. und 21. Jahrhundert*," https://www.uibk.ac.at/geschichte-ethnologie/ee/trachten.html, the project is carried out in cooperation between the Tyrolean State Muse-

ever, I will focus primarily on the periods before Austria's '*Anschluss*,' the annexation to Hitler's Germany in 1938. I will follow the relationship of the museum to '*Tracht*' in the period from its foundation in 1888 to the '*Anschluss*,' where, in the end, the early work of Pesendorfer will also come into view. The half century from 1888 to 1938, with all its breaks and ambivalences, is by no means reduced here to a 'prehistory' of the National Socialist era. However, I regard the examination of this as one of several ways of thinking about Pesendorfer's work within social constellations, power relationships and ensembles of meaning and, thus, of contextualizing it.[6] To this end, I combine material from historical-ethnographic research with discourse-analytical views and theoretical perspectives on '*Tracht*' and 'museum.' This text can be read in figurative terms (as the museum with its figures and figurines can tempt one to do) as a rendezvous between Lucifer and the Lechtal woman. Both figures – respectively the questions they pose – are meant to mutually enlighten each other.

For the time being, one would not want to suspect the devil of having something to do with folk costumes. Custodians of folk costumes, such as Pesendorfer, would probably have associated him more with the supposed other of the costume: The "devil of fashion" (Hansjakob 1892: 3).[7] However, Folklore Studies/European Ethnology/Cultural Anthropology/Empirical Cultural Studies have broken with the '*Denkstil Tracht*,' the way of thinking about folk costumes (Keller-Drescher 2015), since the late 1970s. Nowadays, '*Tracht*' is no longer associated with actual rural clothing in the discipline and, in contrast to fashion, is presumed to be something pre- or anti-modern, relatively enduring in time, socially relatively uniform and specific to a region in terms of typology. '*Tracht*' is regarded as an emotionally and ideologically charged, powerful invention that can, at best, be ideally separated from a level of actual findings. The concept of '*Tracht*' as an analytical category has, thus, turned out to be something quite Luciferian (here in the anti-Enlightenment sense), as a 'fellow who brings false light.' Folkloristic clothing research only seemed possible to the extent that it distanced itself from "folk costume research" as one, in Kottmann's words, of a devilish number of possibilities for science of going astray and getting lost (2002: 221).[8] The former canon area of folk costume research has, thus, become a subject of the history of knowledge and science and, at the same time, of social and political history. The museum can be regarded as one of the

ums (Area of the Tyrolean Folk Art Museum [in the following: TFAM] Innsbruck) and the University of Innsbruck (Department of Historical Sciences and European Ethnology) and is receiving finance from 2014–2019 from funds of the Förderschwerpunkt Erinnerungskultur ('Funding Focus on Cultural Memory') of the Tyrol state government. See Bodner and Heimerdinger (2016) for the debate mentioned. See, fundamentally, Wallnöfer (2008) on Pesendorfer.

6 See Wietschorke (2012) on the specifics of folkloristic-cultural studies contextualization work; see Egger (2015) with a view to a study of Gertrud Pesendorfer.

7 The figure has been known since the 17th century.

8 Following on from the quote by Lakatos in Footnote 2 above.

central sites of relevant research, as '*Tracht*' was often, as has been pointed out, a construction created by the collectors and museum founders (Ellwanger, Hauser, and Meiners 2015: 13). However, focusing on the museum alone is problematic, as the term '*Tracht*' has meandered through too many different fields – also in the case of Tyrol studied here. If, in the following, we are looking at various time-bound social aspects of dealing with '*Tracht*,' then the museum forms a point of departure and docking. However, to echo Jens Wietschorke, it is necessary to think across fields to identify cultural themes and epoch-related signatures in relation to the phenomenon under investigation (Wietschorke 2012: 345).

The article is divided into five sections. The first deals with the Tiroler Gewerbemuseum ('Tyrolean Trade Museum'), founded in 1888, which, unlike regional museums of cultural history, did not devote special attention initially to the conservation of folk costumes. The linking of business and tourism promotion was particularly essential for the first approaches to a 'revitalization of folk costume.' A second section deals with the change of the idea of the museum towards a 'Volkskunstmuseum' ('Folk Art Museum') from around 1900 and the resulting change in the status of '*Trachten*.' These were collected as 'Tyrolean antiques' and stylized into national monuments. The idea of a 'living museum' was followed by the first concept of the furnishing of a *Trachtensaal* ('hall of folk costumes') for the presentation of clothing on life-size figurines – a specific genre of bourgeois museum staging[9] which, however, was not realized for the time being. The third section is devoted to a collection that far surpassed that of the museum in size and could only be acquired by the museum in 1918: The Tiroler Trachtemuseum ('Tyrolean Folk Costume Museum') of Innsbruck master tailor Anna Wöll, which also served as a costume rental. Gertrud Pesendorfer worked extensively with these holdings when, beginning in 1927, she arranged the museum's collection of folk costumes and realized the long-planned hall of folk costumes for the opening in 1929. This is the topic of the fourth section. Finally, a fifth section gives an insight into the activities of the museum as a regional costume advice center in the 1930s. The article concludes with a résumé of the practices in and by which different versions of folk costumes were produced and formed during the period under study or, in other words and as suggested in the title, their 'educative formation.'

9 See, fundamentally, Eisch-Angus (2016) for more on this topic. Reading this volume dedicated to the '*Trachtensaal*' opened at the Folklore Museum in Graz in 1938 has helped to arouse and inspire my interest in the Innsbruck example. This article outlines some of Innsbruck's specifics, but a more detailed examination of the hall – including its (supposed) return to its 'original state' as a 'museum within a museum' in 2009 – is still pending.

Figure 1:
Lucifer and the Lechtal Woman.
Photo composition by Richard Schwarz (Islandrabe) using two photographs by Johannes Plattner (2018, left) and Gerhard Watzek (2009, right).

The *'Fazzelkappe'* as a model? Trade museum, exhibitions and the promotion of tourism

We begin with the Tiroler Gewerbemuseum ('Tyrolean Trade Museum'), which was founded in 1888 on the model of the Bavarian Trade Museum in Nuremberg. The museum, operated by the Tyrolean Trade Association, initially in close connection with its permanent exhibition, showed contemporary (artisanal as well as) commercial products. This was intended to meet the central concern of the (artisanal and) trade museum to provide tradespeople with aesthetically high quality and taste-forming models for production. At the same time, the show was intended to strengthen regional trade against the competition from industry, which was perceived as a threat.[10] This combination of instructive and mercantile concerns must be seen against the background of the unequal economic development of the late Habsburg

10 Cf. Meixner (1989) on this and the following the fundamental study on museum history. A revised version of this work will be published in 2019 in the series '*bricolage monografien*' of the Department of European Ethnology at the University of Innsbruck. See Mundt (1974: 69) on the collection of samples as a central area of action of the artisanal and trade museum. See Korff (1992: 41) for the structural-political and economic relevance of the promotion of (artisanal) trades and folk art.

Monarchy. Industrialization began only hesitantly in the crown land of Tyrol, which had been dominated by agriculture for a long time. The urban, national-liberally dominated trade association wanted to keep pace with novelties and new fashions in the 'provinces,' which had to struggle with problems of economic backwardness. It was concerned, as a source puts it, with the industrial diligence of the modern Tyrolians (NWFZ 1907: 9) – both male and female. In any case, the museum and the exhibition also showed products by women or those generated through a type of domestic diligence that was connoted as female, such as handicrafts and lace (cf. Heiden-Herdeggen 1907). However, due to the lack of sources, it is difficult to determine whether, as Ringler (1962: 90) puts it in a review of museum history, any value was placed on the creation of a representative historical collection of folk costumes (see Meixner 1989: 130 for the body of source material). '*Tracht*' can sometimes be found as a category in relevant classification and library systems, a practice that was known but not adopted in Innsbruck (cf. Thurner 1899: 10).[11] However, the exhibition of '*Tracht*' at (artisanal) trade museums was indeed also viewed critically. Karl Schaefer (1870–1942), who had come to the Bremen Trade Museum from Nuremberg, published a treatise in 1903 (reprinted by the Innsbrucker Verein) which gives an impression of this. In it, Schaefer says that artisanal and trade museums had all too often turned their efforts and money to things to which one could only with advocative elegance attribute some modest significance as role models, naming gold-embroidered folk costume hoods as an example (Schaefer 1903: 2). Schaefer himself was a folk costume researcher, organized folk costume festivals and opened a folk costume jewelry department in Bremen (cf. e.g. Anonymous 1909: 574; Böning 1999: 64). However, he turned against what he called a somewhat limited idea of the model of the old as an immediate model (Schaefer 1903: 2). It was precisely because of this supertemporal role model function ascribed to the objects that the (artisanal) trade museum was subjected to a crisis in the late 19th century. The museum itself, with its model collections, was at risk of becoming antiquated (cf. Hartung 2007: 28–31). The foundation and the crisis of the (artisanal) trade museum in Innsbruck, where the foundation of a museum of this kind took place relatively late, took place particularly closely together.

Against this backdrop, things related to folk costumes were more likely to be found during this period in the exhibition activities of the association which often took up most of the energy of its members at the expense of the museum in any case. Hunting and tourism attire made of loden, a variety of folk costume, was presented in the permanent exhibition of the association and at its annual Christmas exhibitions. The production of exemplary souvenir figures in "real folk costumes" was also promoted (e.g. Deininger 1892: 45; Innsbrucker N 1894b; cf. Selheim 2010:

11 With reference to the Nordböhmische Gewerbemuseum in Reichenberg/Liberec.

484; Tiroler Gewerbeblatt 1902). The connection between the promotion of trade and tourism was especially emphasized by the association's director, the German Freedom Party politician Anton Kofler (1855–1943) – he was simultaneously chairman of the tourism association (e.g. Cole 2000: 390). What a local newspaper called unadulterated and colorful costumes and traditional attire in wedding processions and celebrations of all kinds were shown – also to promote tourism – at the Tyrolean Provincial Exhibition in 1893, which was jointly staged with the association. The report further stated that one did not want to offer a stage to what were called doubtful figures who travel the world in almost impossible costumes as Tyrolean singers (Innsbrucker N 1893: 3). The interplay of folklorization and efforts to achieve the unadulterated was also characteristic of the Tyrol appearances at world expositions that were co-organized by the association. Tyrol, by showing off set pieces of '*Tracht*,' competed against nations such as Switzerland as a destination (e.g. Meixner 1989: 74–77).[12] Local measures went hand in hand with this, while the idea of progress was the driving force in the exhibitions.[13] Thus, the Comité zur Erhaltung der Volkstrachten ('Committee for the Conservation of Folk Costume'), initiated by Kofler at the tourist association in 1893 (cf. ZÖV 1895),[14] did by no means want to preserve 'everything':

> We do not want to regret that the heavy Wifling [a coat made of a wool-linen mix, R.B.], the thick Fotzelkappe [a cone-shaped woolen hood, R.B.] and several other 'old-fashioned' garments from the wardrobes of our forefathers have survived, because despite their originality, they are partly too impractical, partly too expensive to assert themselves in our progressing/advancing time. (Innsbrucker N 1894a: n.p.)[15]

Only certain traditions considered practical and becoming were to be reactivated, for example, as uniforms in the hospitality industry or clothing for rifle companies. The latter had increasingly acted as guardians of tradition since the 19th century after the loss of importance of national defense. They acquired "national folk costumes" inspired by fragments of local clothing traditions, at times with imperial and state subsidies (cf. Cole 2000: 445–461). The Comité becoming involved in this field distanced itself from the interest of "cultural historians" in "curiosa" (Innsbrucker N 1894a: n.p.). However, Kofler and his colleagues needed experts with cultural-

12 See Wörner (1999: 174–179) on folk costumes at world exhibitions.

13 See te Heesen (2012: 22f.) on the link between exhibition and progress.

14 See, in detail, Selheim (2010) and Neuner-Schatz (2018: 60–68) for the Comité and the *Tiroler Kirchtag* ('Tyrol Church Day') Kofler organized at the Innsbruck Congress of Anthropologists in 1894; there are also references in it to accompanying anthropological and anthropometric studies.

15 "*Daß der schwere Wifling, die dicke Fotzelkappe und manches andere ‚altmodische' Kleidungsstück aus der Garderobe unserer Voreltern sich überlebt haben, wollen wir nicht bedauern, denn trotz ihrer Originalität sind sie zum Theil zu unpraktisch, zum Theil zu kostspielig, um sich in unserer fortschreitenden Zeit zu behaupten*."

historical expertise for juries and certifications as well as a provider of images. A state and a city museum played a prominent role in this.[16] One of them was the Ferdinandeum in Innsbruck, which had been founded in 1823 as the Tiroler Universal- und Nationalmuseum (Tyrolean Universal and National Museum). In addition to folk costume prints, it also collected "national costumes" and in the 1880s considered exhibiting them on dolls – a plan that remained unrealized (Innsbrucker N 1884: 1223).[17] On the other hand, the Bolzano City Museum (founded in 1882) needs to be mentioned, which set up a so-called old Tyrolean *Tracht* collection in 1884 and presented it on life-size, characteristic, lifelike dressed figures (Goldhann 1900). Around 1900, the regional press recommended that tourists and mountaineers visit the *Trachtensaal*[18] for orientation in cases of doubt and uncertainty when choosing a suitable Alpine folk costume as a ball costume (e.g. Der Tiroler 1907: 5).

Tracht as 'Tyrolean antiques.' Antique trade, collectors' interests and presentation concepts

Compared to the regional and other supra-regional museums mentioned above, the trade museum discovered '*Tracht*' for itself only relatively late. The first entries associated with the term in the museum's index (which, however, only began a decade later) can be found from 1903 onwards.[19] The collection included belts embroidered with feather quills and things which were previously mentioned as rather worthless: Hoods, Wiflings and the *Fazzelkappe*, which was discredited as a clumsy monster of a cap (von Hörmann 1904: 74). The increased attention paid to such objects is already largely located in the second phase of the museum's history in which the Chamber of Commerce and Industry continued the Gewerbe- und Handelsmuseum ('Museum of Commerce and Industry'), as it was called from 1903. There was continuity in staff because the multifunctional Kofler was also the secretary of the chamber. The second paradigmatic figure, however, was the painter and professor at the imperial-

16 See Tirolensis (1898) on both museums in relation to the Comité; see, for example, Innsbrucker N (1894c: 7) on representatives of the Ferdinandeum as judges in competitions; see, for example, Innsbrucker N (1898: 3) on the folk costume postcards approved by the Comité based on Bolzano holdings.

17 The plans were postponed due to the reconstruction and new building of the museum at that time. See only Hastaba (2003: 66).

18 *Trachtensaal* as a standing term in the context of the Bolzano City Museum only begins to occur more frequently after 1905 in press reports; this was the year of the opening of the *Trachtensaal* at the Germanic National Museum in Nuremberg. See, for instance, Bozner N (1906: 4, 1907: 4, 1908: 2).

19 See, fundamentally, Menardi (1988) on the collection of folk costumes. Somewhat more regular recordings of dates can generally be found in the index only from 1905 onwards. In view of the initially rare dates and a larger number of index cards which refer to objects transferred "a.d.a.B." ("*aus den alten Beständen*", 'from the old holdings'), individual earlier purchases cannot be ruled out.

royal state trade school in Innsbruck, Josef Tapper (1854–1906) (cf. Cole 2000: 368; Meixner 1989: 42–46, 89–108, 112 f.). Tapper, as an honorary museum director from 1904, bought antiques in a short period of time and sometimes on his own authority and increased the museum's bank debt considerably. The nervous, even "possessed" (Ringler 1962: 69) haste with which he and Kofler were active at that time is to be seen against the background of Tyrol as a collection area and hub of the Central European antique trade. The foundation in 1888 had already occurred rather late, as Ringler put it, to be able to gather good pieces for the museum at all (Ringler 1962: 68). Great haste seemed appropriate, especially since bourgeois circles complained about the "abduction of Tyrolean antiques" (Meixner 1989: 43–46) abroad. The fact that the export of antiques was now subject to official bans did not change the resentful attitude towards foreign traders. However, because the "sell-out of the homeland" (Meixner 1989: 46) had apparently been co-organized by the peasant population, the resentments were also directed against them. Thus, historian and legal practitioner Rudolf von Granichstaedten-Czerva (1885–1967) complained in 1908 that farmers had exchanged their old folk costumes for tasteless, almost urban clothing, stored them temporarily or thrown them out, cut them up, divided or repurposed them. At best, pieces were brought out for "masquerades." Despite all the importance of progress, von Granichstaedten-Czerva wrote (1908: 10), it was a question of reverence not to sell such things – as if something untouchable, quasi-sacred had to be withdrawn from economic exchange. A sort of archive museum should be set up in every village wherever possible with state subsidies (von Granichstaedten-Czerva 1908: 10) to prevent a further loss of objects, knowledge and identity.

In the meantime, Tapper had laid the foundation for a central federal 'archive museum' in Innsbruck and was himself increasingly involved in the antique trade. Historical museum reviews mention traders who rummaged all over the country and had dragged antiques to the museum (Paulin 1929: 5). In fact, Tapper also travelled and rummaged a lot. Vendors and contact points are ordered in the museum's acquisition files along a transport and communication network of routes and branches of buying trips through main and side valleys.[20] Critics accused Tapper of always loading new antiques on his "*Gütschl*" ['his carriage,' R.B.] and, thus, competing with the Ferdinandeum. He, however, denied the latter:

> I collect this and that, what the Ferdinandeum has left behind: Boxes, chests, furniture, whole interiors, farmhouse parlors, an Alpine hut, I'll set up a little church,

20 TFAM Innsbruck, Archiv, Erwerbungsakten. One of several focus points was the area around Brixlegg in the Lower Inn Valley (cf. Meixner 1989: 133), where around 1900, the paths of the collectors and members of the association of the Museum für deutsche Volkstrachten ('Museum for German Folk Costumes') in Berlin, Adolf Schlabitz (1854–1943) and Franz von Lipperheide (1838–1906), crossed. Cf. Schneider (2012, especially 140–142). Lipperheide had also been won as a benefactor for the Gewerbemuseum in 1891. Cf. Meixner (1989: 97).

> with a village cemetery around it, with the old crosses, and I'll make a blacksmith's cottage and a *Grödnerschnitzelei* ['carver's hut,' R.B.] and a farmer's kitchen, and the farmer's wife must stand in it in her Wifling, as if she was alive and baking *Krapfen* ['doughnuts,' R.B.]! – You see, I'm no competition for the Ferdinandeum![21] (Pardeller 1918: 3 f.[22])

What becomes clear here is not only the necessity of profiling one's own interests in competition with other collectors but also the idea of a 'living museum' oriented on the model of Stockholm/Skansen. Objects such as the Wifling were not to be depicted and classified in series but rather presented to a broad audience in vivid scenes by living actors in a kind of miniature Tyrolean countryside.[23] Other approaches and perceptions were added. Tapper, as an artisan, valued old farm costumes, also as a model for production, which an obituary associated with his natural sense of the elemental (Deininger 1906: 2). More so than Kofler, who promoted a 'modern' artisanal style of a "Viennese direction," Tapper propagated a "typical Tyrolean art" respectively a "national style" (associated with "Tyrol") (Meixner 1989: 78 f.)[24] The local objects collected were considered by him to be monuments of a "German Tyrolean homeland" (Cole 2000: 368). Tapper's interest in collecting was continued by others after his sudden death in 1906 and the reorientation of the museum was recorded in a new name in 1907: Museum für tirolische Volkskunst und Gewerbe ('Museum for Tyrolean Folk Art and Trade') (Meixner 1989: 111). A new buyer, the landscape painter and art dealer Edgar Meyer (1853–1925), involved the house even more strongly in the antique trade and, in doing so, was also himself suspected of selling out the homeland (cf. Brückler 2009: 31 f., 208). At the same time, the collector was the leader of the almost cross-party Tiroler Volksbund ('Tyrolean People's League') which was supported by all parties but the Social Democrats. It agitated against irredentist tendencies in Italy and Trentino's (*Welschtirol*) attempts at autonomy and demanded re-Germanizations south of the Brenner Pass. The conservation of so-called old country customs and folk costumes was seen as a resource for this. One of the rallying cries was: 'Protect us not only from *Welschtirol* but also from salon Tyrolism!' (Allgemeiner Tiroler Anzeiger 1908: 5), a slogan which signals a dual front: The fight against the supposedly 'foreign' (*the Welsche*) within the 'own' culture is, at the same time, also one against the supposedly 'other' in the 'true

21 "*i samml dös und das, was das Ferdinandeum links liegen gelassen hat: Kasten, Truchen, Möbeln, ganze Interieurs, Bauernstuben; an Almhüttn bau i, a Kirchl stell i au, und an Dorffriedhof herum, mit die alten Kreuz, und a Schmiedhüttn mach i und a Grödnerschnitzelei und a Bauernkuchl, und die Bäuerin muaß in ihrem Wifling dahinter stehn, wie lebendig und Krapfen bachen! – Du siehst, i mach dem Ferdinandeum koa Konkurrenz!*"

22 This is reported as an "authentic statement" from Tapper by Konrad Fischnaler, the historian, local history scholar and curator at the Innsbruck Ferdinandeum.

23 See te Heesen (2012: 82 f.) on the concept of the 'living museum.'

24 Statements at the time by Kofler and Tapper.

folk culture' (the 'salon Tyrolean'). Meyer was a protector of the municipal costume conservation associations which, since the late 19th century, had joined Kofler's folk costume committee and replaced it in their quest for a collection of folk costume (cf. Cole 2000, 391; Innsbrucker N 1908:4). The interests of the museum also increasingly overlapped with those of the urban bourgeois movement for the protection of the homeland[25] and the German and Austrian Alpine Club[26] which also endeavored to 'revive' folk costumes. It also promoted the rifle companies as "rural counterparts" of the homeland movement. Numerous companies dressed in new outfits, so-called 'national costumes' which were created according to the model of tangible fragments of tradition, for the 1909 centennial celebration of the Tyrolean uprising against the Napoleonic-Bavarian occupation in 1809 (Cole 2000: 479).[27] The actors and institutions named above are those that, in cooperation with the museum, took a central role in the transition from an antiquarian, historical interest in '*Tracht*' towards a 'renewing' approach.

At that time, however, there could be no talk of a 'museum' in the sense of a building. The Gewerbe- und Volkskunstmuseum ('Trade and Folk Art Museum') had been planned several times since its foundation in 1888 but had not been comprehensively realized and presented in one location. A new building was planned in the first decade of the 20th century to house and present the collections which, because of a lack of space, had hitherto been distributed among different and changing quarters. The philologist and art historian Karl von Radinger (1869–1921) presented a concept for a "museum of folklore studies" which, in his words, was to evenly study all aspects of folk life, be they beautiful or ugly (von Radinger 1909: 33). This rather modern understanding of the representation of everyday life in a museum contradicted the idea of the Gewerbemuseum ('Trade Museum'), even if it did not completely reject the aspiration of an aesthetic model collection. It did, however, contradict the long-established narrowing of the collection's interest in all things connected to "peasant life,"[28] even though elements of a "living museum" – for example, a "peasant church" – had been planned (von Radinger 1909: 38). With the existing holdings, a "Folklore Museum" in Radinger's sense would certainly not have been possible, which is why he would have liked to have taken over the cultural-historical and arts and crafts holdings of the Ferdinandeum. Taking up ideas from the contemporary museum reform movement, he proposed a classification that was

25 Following models from Germany, an association for homeland protection was founded in Tyrol in 1908 as the first crown state of the monarchy. Cf. Meixner (1992: 102–106; on folk costume: 102, 104).

26 In 1907, for example, Meyer organized a *Trachtenfest* on the occasion of the general assembly of the German and Austrian Alpine Clubs in Innsbruck. Cf. Plattner (1999: 163–166).

27 On the centenary cf. the detailed presentation Cole (2000: 323–412).

28 Cf. Brückner (1991: 93 f.) on the modernity of the concept. See Meixner (1989: 140) on the reduction to "peasant life."

partly technical and partly aesthetic (cf. von Radinger 1908: 17 f.). The museum was to contain an artisanal and a folklore section. For the latter, a geographically ordered "*Trachtensaal*" (von Radinger 1909: 35) was planned, modelled on the *Trachtensaal* in the Germanischen Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg which had opened in 1905 (Selheim 2005; Westermaier 2016: 101–105). Such a hall, according to Radinger, was better suited for comparative study than a presentation distributed among several rooms (von Radinger 1909: 35; cf. also Westermaier 2016: 107). For this hall, he said, it would be important to bring together the still living or recently extinct costumes in real specimens, but perhaps also urban folk costumes and local fashions. Although Radinger was active in the anti-Italian Innsbruck branch of the Südmark association (Innsbrucker N 1902: 3)[29] – a second national protection association in the region besides the Tiroler Volksbund mentioned above – he regarded all of Tyrol as a collection area, also the Romanic part since, he wrote, traditional valley costumes also used to exist in Ladin and Welschtirol (von Radinger 1909: 33, 35 f.). Contemporaries described the hall planned by Radinger as a panopticon (Neue Tiroler Stimmen 1912: 4)[30] – a term which had, since the late 19th century, been increasingly associated with wax figure cabinets and, thus, in the words of Eisch-Angus (2016: 19), with the democratization of the realistic sculptural image (cf. e.g. Selheim 2005: 51). However, Radinger distanced himself from precisely this both in terms of the material, since he found it a matter of course to choose wood in a woodcarving country such as Tyrol, but also for stylistic and aesthetic reasons. Although Radinger felt it was necessary to represent each valley type as faithfully as possible, he cautioned against too much realism as he held it to be a distraction (von Radinger 1909: 35 f.). Individual pieces and picture panels on the walls were to complement the hall. Radinger left the number of figurines open as, according to him, there were enormous gaps in research to date (von Radinger 1908: 18, 1909: 35 f.).

Two modes of categorization stand out in a special card index that Radinger had begun to create as a provisional museum curator in 1911: On the one hand, more than 13,000 numbers are arranged according to materials and object groups, including the subject group "textiles." On the other hand, there is a large category with the name of "folklore." It was assigned 623 peasant costumes and jewelry (more narrowly defined), 85 men's and 144 women's '*Tracht*' pieces, respectively.[31] As

29 In 1890, a branch of the Südmark association, founded in Graz in 1889, was founded in Innsbruck, and wanted to contribute financial means and educational measures to the 'protection' of the '*Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschtum*' ('Germanness at the borders and abroad') (in Styria, Carinthia, Carniola and the Austrian Littoral, then also in South Tyrol). Cf. on this only Plattner (1999: 103–108).

30 Also quoted in Meixner (1989: 140).

31 TFAM Innsbruck, Archiv, Karton "Inventare divers": *Aktenvermerk Josef Ringler an Landesrat Prof. Dr. Hans Gamper*, August 17, 1953; overview of the holdings of the Museum für tirolische Volks-

is common in ethnographic museums, '*Tracht*'/'costumes' and 'textiles' were, thus, separated. The term '*Tracht*' was used mainly for individual objects, as was also demonstrated by a provisional arrangement that was set up for visitors and experts for the purpose of study. Multi-part ensembles were rarer and, for the time being, each was recorded under 'one' number indicating the number of individual pieces.[32] It is remarkable, however, from whom these ensembles were frequently acquired: Josef Moroder-Lusenberg (1846–1939) from Val Gardena, an antiques dealer, sculptor and painter. Moroder-Lusenberg had not only designed the figurines for the *Trachtensaal* in Bolzano but was also quite well-known in ethnographic museums. Among other things, he had also created and dressed figurines for the Nuremberg *Trachtensaal*.[33] On the other hand, he did not seem to find any such scope for design in Innsbruck. In Radinger's words, the "*Trachten*" were awaiting their resurrection in the new museum building while stowed away in chests (von Radinger 1912: 56). However, this building was not realized due to high costs and controversial discussions about the building site.

Anna Wöll's Tiroler Trachtenmuseum. Attraction, costume rental and course model – sale to the Volkskunstmuseum

The less the existing holdings would have been sufficient to furnish a *Trachtensaal*, the greater the museum's interest in a collection that already existed in Innsbruck – namely the "*Erste und größte Sammlung und Ausstellung historischer Trachten*" ('First and largest collection and exhibition of historical folk costumes')[34] of master tailor Anna Wöll (1863–1917), which – according to the judgement of her contemporaries – far surpassed the one at the museum in size and was on par with the one at the museum in Bolzano (Bozner N 1905: 4; Österreichische Alpenpost 1904: 508). Wöll showed over a hundred complete folk costumes from most parts of Tyrol on her premises at the Pfarrplatz for an entrance fee (Der Tiroler 1905: 3). Precisely because this Tiroler Trachtenmuseum (Innsbrucker N 1911: 5; and others) was regarded as an insider tip for 'strangers,' it was an attraction and was also visited by royal visitors (cf. Renk 1905: 19). In addition, Wöll lent folk costumes, costumes and theater objects for various occasions of city life (Tiroler A 1927: 10). Where the museums in Innsbruck and Bolzano were unable to help out, she provided pictorial evidence

kunst u. Gewerbe [27.01.1912] and the following detailed register, 159–192; Karton "Sammlung Wöll/Kostümverleih/Innsbruck/Trachten": Altes Trachteninventar (Männer) (Old Tracht inventory: men), Altes Trachteninventar (Weiber) (Old Tracht inventory: women). Cf. Menardi (1988: 147).

32 Cf. overview (see note 31): 159 ff.

33 See Moser-Ernst (2016) on Moroder. Cf. Selheim (2005: especially 30, 48–50) on Moroder's figurines in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum.

34 TFAM Innsbruck, Archiv, Aktenband III/2, Mappe III 2/2, "*Anna Wöll und Erben*" ('Anna Wöll and heirs').

for newly introduced "national costumes" for music bands and even took over their production and delivery (Bozner N 1913: 6).[35] After a 1911 decree of the imperial-royal Ministry for Public Works to stop or delay the disappearance of local folk costumes, Anna Wöll instructed women and girls from the Lech valley in a sewing course to restore their local costumes (Plattner 1999: 211).[36] Pieces from her collection probably served as models, such as were later shown on the Lechtal woman figurine in the Volkskunstmuseum. These pieces belonged to a popular costume of women's clothing worn sporadically until approximately 1880 and later also worn as a costume at folk costume festivals, a type of women's costume testifying to relative prosperity which by no means corresponds to the cliché of the 'peasant.' It shows Biedermeier influences and suggests that industrially produced fabrics were available early in the region, which was characterized by itinerant trade and temporary migration (cf. Colleselli 1955: 290). To the regret of local history activists, the so-called *Marketenderinnen* – young women who were neither authorized to shoot nor to make music who accompanied rifle men and music bands as an 'adornment' – were often not dressed in 'Old Lechtal fashion' but wore what was considered tasteless *Gschnasdirndeln* ('capricious costumes'; cf. Houze 2015[37]) with the latest high heels.[38] Probably also for this reason and not only because of its importance for the promotion of trade,[39] the Lechtal was regarded as an urgent region for courses. The fact that the target group could only be persuaded to take part in Wöll's course "under threat"[40] suggests a reserved relationship to the measures for the conservation of folk costumes promoted by the state.

However, Wöll also wanted to sell her collection and exhibition (i.e. her museum) early on. In 1906, she offered the holdings – for which, according to her, there were also foreign interested parties – for sale to the Volkskunst- und Gewerbemuseum, most likely not for the first time. However, the price was probably con-

35 With reference to the new outfits for the Tramin band.

36 Without reference to Wöll.

37 Who describes a "capricious element that we call 'Gschnas' in Vienna" (p. 162) and continues her explanation: "The word Gschnas […] is a Viennese colloquialism, which describes the act of pasting together worthless or inexpensive materials to make something ironic or amusing. It most likely derives from the verb schnatzen, to decorate oneself, or arrange one's hair. Toward the turn of the twentieth century in Vienna, Gschnas came to stand more generally for the subversive, disruptive, irreverent element of carnival" (p. 259).

38 Volksmusikarchiv Oberbayern, Bruckmühl, Collection Karl and Grete Horak, Ordner "Trachten/Tirol", Rubrik "Lechtal", records by Grete Horak, n.p.

39 The course took place in conjunction with the stucco school in Elbigenalp, run by the Gewerbeförderungsinstitut. Innsbrucker N (1911: 5).

40 As can be seen from the presentation based on files in Plattner (1999: 211 f.). The Innsbrucker N (1911: 5), however, reported an extraordinarily good success.

Figure 2:
Advertisement for Anna Wöll's *Sammlung echter alter Tiroler Trachten* (Collection of true old Tyrolean Folk Costumes). From: Anton Renk: Alt-Innsbruck. Herausgegeben von den Gasthofbesitzern der Altstadt. Mit Bildern von N. Lechner. Innsbruck 1905, n.p.

sidered too high.[41] In January 1914, Michael Haberlandt (1860–1940), the director of the imperial-royal Museum für österreichische Volkskunde ('Museum for Austrian Folklore Studies'), whom Wöll had already contacted in 1911,[42] wanted to spark the interest of local institutions for the purchase of what he felt was probably the largest systematic collection of its kind which contained numerous pieces that could hardly be procured any longer. Combining the interests of conservation and local history, he proposed to transfer the main stock of the collection to the Innsbruck museum as an urgently needed addition and to use duplicates as teaching aides for courses.[43] According to the state conservatory department, however, a purchase was not possible in Tyrol due to poor finances caused by the war. When Wöll's heirs

41 TFAM Innsbruck, Archiv, Aktenband III/2, Mappe III 2/2 "Anna Wöll und Erben" ('Anna Wöll and heirs'): Anna Wöll an Handels- und Gewerbekammer Innsbruck, September 24, 1906; Handels- und Gewerbekammer an Wöll, September 28, 1906; Wöll an Handels- und Gewerbekammer, September 28, 1906; there, 20,000 fl. are named as the purchase price.

42 Cf. Volkskundemuseum Wien, Archiv: Anna Wöll an k.k. Museum für österreichische Volkskunde, September 25, 1911. I thank Magdalena Puchberger and Elisabeth Egger for their hints.

43 TFAM Innsbruck, Archiv, Aktenband III/2, Mappe "Innsbruck Sammlung Wöll": Fortunat von Schubert-Soldern, k.k. Staatsdenkmalamt, an k.k. Landeskonservatorenamt in Innsbruck, February 14, 1914.

considered a sale to Munich after her death in 1917 – apparently, a negotiator from the Alpine museum in Munich had approached them – Haberlandt asked Radinger whether he was still interested in a division of the collection between the museum in Vienna and the one in Innsbruck as he had already suggested before the war.[44] Radinger confirmed his interest in Wöll's collection, even though he had been harboring doubts about its "love of authenticity" for a while.[45] The Tyrolean institutions finally agreed to a purchase on the condition that the collection would remain undivided in Innsbruck. In 1918, 1,795 costume pieces and other objects of folklore arrived at the museum for a price of 35,000 Kr paid from federal and state funds.[46] The federal government imposed the condition that the collection be inventoried, not sold abroad and no longer be adapted and lent out for folk costume festivals and the like.[47] However, pieces were to be lent to institutions that endeavored to preserve the national costumes.[48] The function and significance of the collection also changes with the transition from Wöll's 'museum' to the Innsbruck museum. The pieces largely lost their status as objects for loan. Their availability as costumes was strongly limited from then on. They changed from a '*Tracht*' which might have been worn previously as an ensemble at a ball into one which was inventoried and might later be exhibited. Another object version of '*Tracht*' (Schneider 2015: 528) emerged.[49] As will be demonstrated, the reference to the 'revival' of '*Tracht*,' however, which was already characteristic of Wöll's courses and outfits, was updated.

Transfer of care to Gertrud Pesendorfer. Administration of estates, *Trachtensaal*, images of *Tracht*

A court case from 1927 shows that not all Wöll's folk costumes had come to the museum. Some, worn out, worthless and in hopeless disorder, were assumed to have made their way into the collection of an Innsbruck theater maker (Tiroler A, 1927:

44 Ibid.: Franz von Wieser an k.k. Staatsdenkmalamt, July 11, 1914; von Wieser an Kammervorstehung Sr. k.u.k. Hoheit des Erzherzog Eugen, November 16, 1916; von Wieser an k.k. Staatsdenkmalamt, July 21, 1917; Michael Haberlandt an Karl von Radinger, June 10, 1917. The plan for a joint purchase is also mentioned ibid.: Haberlandt an k.k. Zentralkommission für Denkmalpflege in Wien, June 15, 1917.

45 Ibid.: Karl von Radinger an k.k. Zentralkommission für Denkmalpflege, July 1, 1917 [copy]. Cf. also ZÖV (1917: 88 f).

46 Cf. e.g. Volkskundemuseum Wien, Archiv: Karl von Radinger an Michael Haberlandt, July 20, 1917.

47 TFAM Innsbruck, Archiv, Aktenband III/2, Mappe "Innsbruck Sammlung Wöll": Fortunat von Schubert-Soldern, k.k. Staatsdenkmalamt, an k.k. Landeskonservatorat in Innsbruck, January 27, 1918.

48 Ibid.: k.k. Statthalterei für Tirol und Vorarlberg an k.k. Landeskonservatorat für Denkmalpflege, January 21, 1918.

49 Schneider takes on the term "*Objektversion*" ('object version') from Annemarie Mol. It emphasizes that, in his words, there is more than one object, but less than many. Who or what participates in certain practices determines how an object version is designed (Schneider 2015: 528).

10).[50] However, the pieces that reached the museum were probably in no better condition, as statements by Josef Ringers (1893–1973) suggest. Ringler, an art historian like Radinger and museum director from 1928 onwards, reported that the *Tracht* collection had suffered considerable damage due to many years of provisional storage and a lack of specialist care. Gertrud Pesendorfer, he wrote, had been entrusted to restore them as quickly as possible (Ringler 1962: 90 f.). Like the history of the museum, Pesendorfer's biography also shows close links to the milieu of the national and *völkisch* (a term referring to ethnicity, subsequently frequently used in National Socialism) gymnastics and protection clubs (Bodner 2017: 360–362). Pesendorfer, the daughter of a cheese merchant who was also a German Freedom Party councilor, grew up in Wilten near Innsbruck and had already developed an interest in collecting folk costumes and images of folk costumes in her younger years. After attending the secondary school for girls and the commercial school as well as the commercial college, she could only pursue her interest in art history to a limited degree at university. However, she was not content with being the wife of Ekkehard Pesendorfer (1885–1955), the lawyer and local prominent figure in the Greater German People's Party. The mother of two daughters came to the museum after the state government took over its sponsorship in 1926 and a separate building was to be adapted for the presentation of the holdings: The Theresianum, a former Franciscan monastery and imperial-royal secondary school at the Hofkirche. Ringler's predecessor (an unpopular one from his point of view), Karl Moeser (1877–1963), the governor's archive official, had employed several assistants, including Pesendorfer as a secretary, to cope with the upcoming work until the opening of the Tiroler Volkskunstmuseum in 1929. However, Moeser bequeathed more than just a clerk to take care of the bookkeeping and accounting to his successor: Because Moeser – unlike Ringler later – had not felt competent in the area of folk costume, he had "transferred the care," as Ringler put it, of the collection of folk costumes and linen to Pesendorfer (Ringler 1962: 77). 'Care' can be associated with caring for something in need, if not something in distress, a "*Pflegefall*" ('nursing case'), as Weissengruber (2009) puts it and of contemporary notions of 'care' as 'women's work.' 'Transfer' or 'transference' may let today's readers initially think of psychoanalysis, in which the classic understanding of the term means a repetition, a new edition of an old object relationship: Fantasies, feelings and affects in relation to a person in the past update themselves in the relationship to the analyst (Greenson 1973: 163). Transferring this understanding to the institution of the museum, Karl-Josef Pazzini spoke of collections as "material arranged according to different points of view that came to us which made us think of fate" (Pazzini 2001: 49 f.): What Tapper, Meyer, Wöll and others collected and the object relationships inscribed in it is updated in a new context. The material

50 This refers to the head of the Tiroler Bühne, August Klingenschmid.

is accepted, used and modified by Pesendorfer, the caregiver. According to Pazzini, the prior experiences of those formerly involved can no longer be recovered. It is, therefore, about the administration of the estate and, thus, about an orientation of the material and its formation (Pazzini 2001: 50).

In 1929, Pesendorfer described her approach to the collection of folk costumes by referring to a democratization of collecting: The delight in the good old things had long since ceased to be just a passion of a few collectors but had seized larger circles (Pesendorfer 1929: 76). The offers of urban antique dealers, photographers and art institutions testified to this. A look at her portfolio of *Trachtennotizen* ('folk costume notes'), in which inventories and purchases are documented, shows that she was also thinking about collecting in the museum's narrower context. She excerpted by hand on the first sheet inserted in it a passage from a 1914 essay on the history of the Museum für deutsche Volkstrachten und Erzeugnisse des Hausgewerbes ('Museum for German Folk Costumes and Products of the Cottage Industry') in Berlin (founded in 1889). According to this passage, it was interesting to see how so many men who believed in the greatest financial soundness in their professions were possessed by a reckless optimism with regard to the museum.[51] She was referring to Rudolf Virchow (1821–1902), who considered debt to be a good binding agent to keep the committee together, and August von Heyden (1827–1897), who stated that a museum administration that did not incur debt had missed its profession.[52] Did Pesendorfer also see it that way or did she distance herself from such founders/men? She had already bought another collection for the museum on Moeser's behalf – that of the Viennese factory owner Josef Salzer Sen. (1846–1923).[53] The pieces in it – mainly those with a connection to South Tyrol – were to serve as objects of reserve, barter and sale. The purchase, like later acquisitions on the regional market, was characterized by the obligation to realize the *Trachtensaal* already planned by Radinger – and to be able to represent as many 'valley types' as possible. The accumulation of further objects and the associated increase in expenditure connected with it seemed all the more urgent as Pesendorfer had culled a number of pieces that she considered worthless from the collection or classified them as inappropriate for exhibition purposes, with attributes such as fragmented, machine-sewn, defective, worn out, faded, dirty, moth-eaten and non-Tyrolean.[54] While ordering the holdings,

51 "*Interessant war zu sehen, wie so viele Männer, die in ihrem Berufe auf grösste finanzielle Solidität hielten, in bezug auf das Museum von einem leichtsinnigen Optimismus besessen waren*." TFAM Innsbruck, Archiv, Mappe "Trachtennotizen", Bl. 1 ("Interessant war zu sehen…"); Minden (1914: 347).

52 Ibid.

53 TFAM Innsbruck, Archiv, Mappe "Trachtennotizen": Konvolut "Sammlung Salzer."

54 Ibid., Trachteninventar (see note 31); Karton "Sammlung Wöll/Kostümverleih/Innsbruck/Trachten": Verzeichnis "Volkskunde: Miederleibln. Sammlung Wöll" [38 S.], e.g. No. W 267, W 334, W 301, W 313, W 221, W 225, W 231, W 265.

she sought the advice of two lending institutions and a folk costume club official – an expanded folkloristic knowledge milieu comes into view here. On Ringler's behalf, Pesendorfer copied and rewrote Radinger's object-based index into an index based on serial numbers.[55] The category 'folklore"' under which '*Tracht*' had so far been classified, was gradually dissolved. The category now appeared as either '*Tracht*' or a more detailed term (e.g. '*Lederhosen*'). '*Tracht*,' thus, received more autonomous contours as a collection area. The folklore museum that had once been planned, thus, remained definitely a folk art museum.

When Radinger presented his concept for a *Trachtensaal* in 1908/09, the Nuremberg model opened in 1905 had already been followed by a further example, the *Trachtensaal* of the Bomann Museum in Celle (cf. Hauser 2015; Westermaier 2016: 105). When, two decades later, a hall of folk costumes was to be realized – such as had already been thought of in the region at the Ferdinandeum and realized at the museum in Bolzano – one lagged behind a bit in history, as Johanna Westermaier has put it – but it was perhaps for this very reason receptive to this kind of museum presentation (Westermaier 2016: 107). The fact that it was the office clerk Pesendorfer who set up the *Trachtensaal* (Ringler 1962: 91) – of which Ringler leaves no doubt in retrospect – testifies to an astonishingly broad spectrum of tasks. The portfolio containing the notes on folk costumes mentioned above indicates that while Pesendorfer did not design the *Taltypen* ('valley types') on her own, she was, nevertheless, in charge and sought agreement with Ringler in the selection of the pieces required for it from the holdings.[56]

Ringler and Pesendorfer commissioned the academic sculptor Virgil Rainer (1871–1948) to carve sixty to seventy figurines for the hall in order to be able to present the types.[57] In addition to folk costume prints, he also received photographs of the figurines at the museum in Bolzano.[58] Their creator, Moroder-Lusenberg, who may also have previously applied for the Innsbruck commission,[59] does not seem to have served as a model for Rainer. Moroder-Lusenberg's "*Manequini*" – of which a single one (a "Bride from Gröden") was adopted in the Innsbruck hall – were carefully sanded and primed (cf. Moser-Ernst 2016: 266–273). In 1939, however, their smooth and glossy colored surface was leached away and re-carved in Bolzano as

55 TFAM Innsbruck, Archiv, Karton "Inventare divers": Aktenvermerk Josef Ringler an Landesrat Prof. Dr. Hans Gamper, August 17, 1953.

56 TFAM Innsbruck, archive, folder "Trachtennotizen".

57 On Rainer, cf. Steiner (1991), on the figurines ibid. (28, 31 f., 83–93). A historical-critical presentation on the life and work has not been undertaken to date.

58 TFAM Innsbruck, archive, folder "Trachtennotizen": Confirmation Virgil Rainer to Gertrud Pesendorfer, December 24, 1927.

59 Moser-Ernst (2016: 266) suspects Moroder's participation in a competition. According to current knowledge, the museum files only reveal that several carving samples were obtained. Specific clues to Moroder samples have not been found so far.

they were, in Merlet's words, supposed to once again become wooden figures and no longer arouse the slightly eerie feeling that befell one in a wax figure cabinet – the formerly so popular panopticon. It was precisely this naturalism (Merlet 1951: 414), perceived as ghostly, that Rainer apparently did not even want to begin to let arise in Innsbruck a decade before.[60] His figures, partly painted, varnished in oil on tempera and skillfully balanced in weight,[61] portray people to whom he ascribed a face, a physiognomy typical of the valley, and party people with a connection to the museum such as Pesendorfer. The varnished heads have a dignified, artisanal air, but the carvings are discernible and, thus, make them seem more expressive than those by Moroder.[62] Oskar Seyffert (1862–1940) – Director of the Landesmuseum für Sächsische Volkskunst ('State Museum of Saxon Folk Art') in Dresden – said that such figures, warm with life, would seldom succeed as well as in Innsbruck. He himself, therefore, decided ultimately against modelled heads in Dresden in order not to create a kind of panopticon, in his words, an exhibition in which immobile faces kept staring or smiling at him and that the latter was even more unbearable than the former (Seyffert 1929: 460).

Probably only 49 of Rainer's figurines were initially presented in four free-standing iron showcases in a vaulted room supported by three pillars, located on the ground floor of the South Wing and measuring 225 square meters, at the opening in 1929 (cf. Colleselli 1969: 5). Just as in Bolzano, although with less local differentiation, regional types from the German- and Ladin-speaking Tyrol were shown.[63] Contrary to Radinger's intentions, the Trentino did not play a role. While Moroder-Lusenberg had collected and assembled clothing for the figurines himself, Rainer largely adapted to the pieces selected by the museum, including those that had been purchased from Moroder.[64] The rarer the pieces from different collections

60 See also Selheim (2005: 55).

61 Cf. Volkskundemuseum Graz, Archiv: Ringler an Viktor Geramb, October 12, 1936, quoted in Orač-Stipperger (2016: 45). Like Moroder-Lusenberg (cf. Moser-Ernst 2016: 273), Ringler emphasized the preserving, moth repelling qualities of the Swiss stone pine.

62 Eisch-Angus (2016: 20) and Westermaier (2016: 108) emphasize the comparatively friendly, pleasing and more artistic character compared to the *Trachtensaal* in Graz; on the expressiveness in Rainer's work compared to Moroder, see Moser-Ernst (2016: 266). Information on the specific design in Innsbruck can be found in Volkskundemuseum Graz, archive: Ringler to Viktor Geramb, October 12, 1936, quoted in Orač-Stipperger (2016: 45).

63 TFAM Innsbruck, Archiv, Ordner "OG 2 Spiegel". In addition to valley types, Pesendorfer's classification also included the figures "*Duxer Kraxentrager, Meraner Saltner and Fuhrmann.*" TFAM Innsbruck, Archiv, Mappe "Trachtennotizen", Entwurf "Aufstellung der Trachten nach Tälern". In 1932, the museum in Bolzano underwent a significant redesign which was intended to relativize the significance of 'German culture.'

64 Rainer himself probably only purchased a folk costume for the museum in one case. He portrayed the last owner and his wife on the request of the descendants. TFAM Innsbruck, Archiv, Mappe "Trachtennotizen": among others, Ambros Rohracher to Virgil Rainer, January 15, 1928.

Figure 3: View into the "*Trachtensaal*" ('Hall of Folk Costumes'), photograph taken in 1962 (before the restructuring by Franz Colleselli, ca. 1969). The Lechtal Woman can be seen from behind in the showcase on the left. TFAM Innsbruck, Archiv, Negativsammlung, Neg.-Nr. 114.

had been dated in the index, the more difficult, even impossible it would have been to select for the hall what Pesendorfer called the earliest that was possible as a complete ensemble and the one that spoke most clearly for each valley (Pesendorfer 1929: 80). The 'Lechtal Woman,' for instance – which was probably modelled on Pesendorfer also due to her family history in the region – is wearing pieces from the Wöll collection (partly machine-sewn) as well as purchases made locally and from antiques traders. They are Biedermeier clothes from around 1830 to 1900 (Steiner 1991: 93). Hardly any sources were available for the time before 1800; the image of the 'Lechtal Women's Costumes' were shaped by graphic series of the 19th century (cf. Colleselli 1955: 283), such as the museum began to collect more and more of at the time. A *Bildersammlung* ('image collection') was created within the *Trachtensammlung* (Meißl 1932: 5).

As a collector and experienced reader of images of folk costumes, Pesendorfer knew and wrote that there was no completely uniform costume for all inhabitants of a region as far as this could be ascertained at all. It had been, as she formulates it in a remarkably source-critical insight, the appearance of images of folk costumes and their labelling which had established and spread the concept of a traditional nation-

al costume (Pesendorfer 1932: 339).[65] In the hall, therefore, a wealth of graphics and individual pieces, therefore, relativized the 'authority' of the figurines.[66] However, or precisely because of this, the museum itself wanted to establish authority. Following 'originals' selected by Pesendorfer, the academic painter Rudolf Lehnert (1893–1932) designed 'official' costume sheets on historical valley costumes which some would have liked to develop into a "corpus of Alpine costume" together with other Austrian folklore museums.[67] In addition and simultaneously to this form of contingency management, a second aspect catches the eye: Lehnert, a representative of *Neue Sachlichkeit* ('New Objectivity') in Tyrol, presented the folk costume ensembles with a cool, dissecting gaze, disassembled into individual parts and laid out next to each other, detached from everything physical. Putting the objective in the foreground seemed to be part of Ringler's intellectual habits. He, thus, demanded a study of folk costume grounded in what he called objective observation and established a corresponding research bureaucracy (Ringler 1962: 77).[68] However, the third aspect to be mentioned is the demand to animate folk costumes, which seems to contradict the de-animating objective gaze) (cf. e.g. Neuner-Schatz 2018: 133 f.). One did not want to guard dead and painstakingly preserved witnesses of a bygone time, according to Ringler and Pesendorfer's criticism of the museum, which, at the same time, allowed them to develop a Utopia of the museum as an educational institution (of folk costume) that gave living inspiration for new things to form (Pesendorfer 1929: 86).[69] And at least one museum guest, the writer Friedrich von Minkus, felt infected by this liveliness. He reported that one arrived from death through the former monastery cloister with its wrought-iron grave crosses right into the middle of the warmest life, in the hall of folk costumes, because these were still alive in Tyrol today. Wall to wall with the tombs of Emperor Maximilian and Andreas Hofer in the Hofkirche, Rainer, who was known as a creator of death masks, had, therefore, created a monument to the folk costumes, he wrote – but not a tomb (von Minkus 1929: 89 f.).

65 Among the graphic series collected at the TFAM are those by Johann Georg Schedler/Schädler (1777–1866), Jakob Placidus Altmutter (1780–1819/20), Karl von Lutterotti (1793–1872), Alois Kirchebner (1823–1868), from the lithographic institute of Carl Alexander Czichna (1807–1867) and from Franz von Lipperheide's "*Blätter für Kostümkunde.*"

66 In this context, Menardi (1988: 149) points to the lack of depots and Colleselli (1969: 5) mentions the production of abundance as an aspect of exhibition practice at the time.

67 TFAM Innsbruck, Archiv, Kartenschrank "Tracht", Lade 9, 10: Trachtentafeln by Rudolf Lehnert, continued by Robert Saurwein u.a.; Ordner "Kuratorium Protokolle" [1929–69]: Bericht über das Geschäftsjahr 1931; Mappe "Trachten Notizen" [Ringler]: Josef Ringler an Arthur Haberlandt, 10.1.1934. See Kraus (1999: 150–154, 275) as an introduction on Lehnert as a protagonist of a regionally specific version of "*Neue Sachlichkeit.*"

68 Cf. also Ringler (1935a: 392).

69 See te Heesen (2012: 105–124) on the interplay between museum criticism and museum Utopia.

Museum makes (anti-) fashion. Beginnings of folk costume consulting and renewal in the 1930s

According to Martin Lindner, the contemporary ideology of life, which here joins company with contingency and an objective habitus,[70] revolves around the perception of a crisis. It was recognized in the fact that the old 'form' begins to inhibit dynamic life and the new 'form' has not yet emerged (Lindner 1994: 5). As far as the 'old form' is concerned, it continued to be collected by the museum. As late as 1934, Ringler drew up a downright 'campaign plan' to bring further antiques to the museum together with Pesendorfer and others in the wake of the folk costume movement.[71] Nevertheless, collecting antiques had negative connotations: Traders and lending institutions held Ringler responsible for a melting together of the local traditions (Ringler 1935a: 392). Pesendorfer criticized the folk costume associations, since these antiquarians of folk costume care, as she put it, would only provide folk costumes with a pseudo-life during historical parades (Pesendorfer 1952: 2). The museum lent its own pieces for this purpose as props only in exceptional cases.[72] But was and did the museum not also remain precisely that what it did not want to be: a setting of history that had frozen over, with labelled showpieces and mummified celebrities, with moth-eaten costumes?[73] It is instructive to look here into the history of the clothing reform movement, which had reached a climax at the beginning of the century in the intersection of medical, hygienic, artistic and sociopolitical discourses. Initially, certain simple basic forms attributed to 'folk costumes' were still of some interest there. At the latest, after the First World War, however, '*Tracht*' had only been considered as an orientation aid and a moral authority (cf. Deneke 1991: 69, 71, 74). In 1939 (in order to anticipate the time of National Socialism), Heinz Zeiss, the hygienist and 'geomedicist,' wrote that the folk costumes at the Nuremberg and Innsbruck museums often violated all the laws of physiology and hygiene in an unbelievable manner and that, as modern work clothing, they were harmful to health (Zeiss 1939: 4).[74] The old forms had, therefore, outlived their time. They were considered obsolete not only in terms of practicality and hygiene but also aesthetically.

On the other hand, a decade earlier, the aforementioned museum guest had experienced the Innsbruck hall as alive because folk costumes in Tyrol even formed a compromise with bob hairstyles and motorcycles (von Minkus 1929: 89). They also

70 Lethen (2009) raises awareness for the interplay of the three aspects.

71 Volkskundemuseum Wien, Archiv: Josef Ringler an Arthur Haberlandt, April 9, 1934; cited by Johler (2017: 107). I thank Birgit Johler for the reference.

72 See, for instance, Tiroler A (1930: 7).

73 In this vein, a critic, in a discussion about war memorials, referred to Tyrol as a whole as a "museum": Tiroler A (1928: 5).

74 I thank Simone Egger for this hint.

formed compromises with youthfulness, emancipation and freedom of movement – and with modern fashion. However, Ringler and Pesendorfer had only conditionally agreed to such an idea of '*Tracht*' as a modern formation of compromise with modernity. They granted that fashion had preserved valuable items, such as *Lederne*, the *Lodenjoppe* and especially the *Dirndl* (Pesendorfer 1938: 8).[75] The latter, once a peasant working dress for maids, it had become fashionable as a house, summer and holiday dress since the late 19th century in urban, tourist and popular culture contexts. Clothes reformers had occasionally recommended sewing it oneself to match one's individual features.[76] In the eyes of folk costume keepers such as Ringler and Pesendorfer, however, fashion had not developed a new form adequate to the time but had abused folk costumes. According to a contemporary observer, the hall of folk costumes seemed all the more to have the task of branding all the kitsch that had been alleged to be Tyrol costume (Stifter 1930: 17). The criticism of fashion, masquerade and especially of the *Gschnas* – the playful, amusing bricolage of supposedly worthless elements of different provenance from which something ironically aesthetic, perhaps subversive, emerges, with moments of disguise, role play and othering is always present with Ringler and Pesendorfer.[77] The museum presented itself as anti-*Gschnas*.

Ringler and Pesendorfer, similar to other activists in the renewal of folk costume, sought a third way between the conservation of folk costumes and folk costumes as fashion. The museum became a field for experimentation on this. After its opening in 1929, it took over the folk costume holdings of the Ferdinandeum and was established as a central costume advice center, in competition with other actors, from 1930/31.[78] Compared to similar trends throughout Austria, the activities in Innsbruck initially had a special feature. In many cases, it was necessary to advise rifle companies and music bands. Here, one was interested in a double homogenization: Because the numerous 'local costumes' would have led to a fragmentation of the image of folk costumes even in the valleys that had once had a relatively uniform folk costume, Ringler demanded the 'return' to this old unity. In order to take action against the *Gschnasdirndln* of the *Marketenderinnen*, Pesendorfer was to develop women's costumes which were intended to adapt more closely to traditions as well as to safeguard 'morality.' In terms of color and patterns, material and often also cut, these dresses were adapted to men's costumes, that is, subordinated. An

75 Similarly, Ringler (1935b: 3 f.) on the *Dirndl*.

76 Cf. fundamentally Fischer (1994) as well as – linking historical and contemporary aspects – Egger (2008). Cf. Deneke (1991: 69) on the production as a dress of one's own.

77 Cf. Houze (2015: 278) on the principle of *Gschnas*.

78 Today, the card index of the TFAM contains 146 objects under "*Tracht*" as well as 19 *Tracht* images which the Ferdinandeum gave to the Volkskunstmuseum as permanent loans in the course of an exchange of objects in 1930. Further consultations at the time were carried out by the Verein für Heimatpflege.

initial area of application was – the same as with Wöll's sewing course – in the Lechtal/Außerfern region. Pesendorfer did not reactivate the 'Old Lechtal' form, but an emphatically 'simple' form from around 1750 to 1800.[79] From a point of view of the cut of the clothes, the result was more similar to the *Dirndl* fashion. This applies even more to the valley *Dirndl* costumes which Ringler and Pesendorfer wanted to establish as 'true folk costumes' in the mid-1930s, especially because the folk costumes of the rifle companies may only be uniforms after all.[80] The simple basic cut of the *Dirndl* – the skirt attached to the corset – was generally introduced for women's costumes. Specific colors, patterns and ornaments were to facilitate a regional typologization.

Ringler and Pesendorfer certainly tried to deliver costume historical arguments to legitimize their proposals. They established a temporal order and defined certain points of the tradition as particularly 'early' or 'mature' but, in any case, as particularly 'genuine' and, therefore, worthy of continuation.[81] Which points these were remained contingent in each case. 'Certainty' was produced more on a rhetorical level, especially by reference to the collection of folk costumes. As a treasure trove of true folk wealth (Pesendorfer 1930: 6), it was intended to guarantee that something new was created in close connection with the old (Ringler 1935b: 4), but, as a breeding ground for the good and old (Pesendorfer 1930: 6), would also allow the old not to be slavishly imitated. Inspired not least by Viktor (von) Geramb in Graz, the contrast between organic and organized, 'grown' and 'made' known from the romantic aesthetics of genius was, thus, transferred to the arts and crafts (cf. e.g. Ringler 1935b: 4).[82] More so than Ringler, Pesendorfer also emphasized her (anti-academically connoted) proximity to the peasant population which she (popular among costume scholars) did not want to be understood as passive recipients of 'sunken cultural assets' ('gesunkenes Kulturgut,' a term from Hans Naumann). She projected the unmistakable security in the ability to see the viable germs, for which Ringler gave her credit (Ringler 1935c: 18), onto the peasants of yore: They had always hit the right note, had drawn from their own in a natural way and had shaped their own from that which they inherited in a free and interrelated manner. This had happened

79 Cf. for more detail Bodner (2017: 365 f.). The "*Lechtaler Chronik*" by Johann Anton Falger (1791–1876) served as a reference.

80 TFAM Innsbruck, Bibliothek, ZA VII-149: Josef Ringler: Tracht und Mode [unpublished manuscript of a slide lecture in the Innsbruck Urania, April 22, 1936], n.p.

81 See Keller-Drescher (2015: 177) on the relationship between the scholarships of costume and folk costume.

82 Cf. e.g. Williams (2015: 174) on the contrast between 'made' and 'grown' in the aesthetics of genius; see Reckwitz (2012: 146–149) on the transfer to arts and crafts in the Arts and Crafts movement.

Figure 4:
"Lechtal Women's Folk Costume." Renewal designs by Gertrud Pesendorfer, published in "Neue Deutsche Bauerntrachten: Tirol" (early 1938), n.p.

relatively unconsciously, without a look in the mirror – one of the smallest pieces of inventory in their farmhouse, as Pesendorfer pointed out (1929: 85 f.).[83]

Such discourses point out not least the economic and political conditions of their time: Three Innsbruck department stores rejected Ringler's polemics against traditional clothing stock as damaging to business and anti-Semitic. One could not keep bringing back the same styles and patterns for the *Dirndl* for decades, they countered in 1935, because it corresponded to the psyche of the woman to demand a change, albeit an insignificant one, again and again. They declared that they had more experience in this area than Dr. Ringler and knew better what consumers were looking for – as their success proved.[84] Soon afterwards, the Gewerbeförderungsinstitut ('Institute for the Promotion of Business') published a booklet with an introduction by Ringer titled "*Neue Tiroler Trachten*" ('New Tyrol Folk Costumes'), in which he also considered the psyche of women (here, as keepers of old forms) and through which he wanted to make his designs fashionable (Tiroler Gewerbe-

83 See also Neuner-Schatz (2018: 134 f.) on the "*Unverbildeten*."

84 Open letter to Dr. Ringler (Tiroler A 1935: 18). One of the undersigned department stores was "Bauer & Schwarz," aryanized in 1938, in the Maria-Theresienstraße.

förderungsinstitut 1935). Pesendorfer's designs for the "Lodenbaur" company which were created at the same time are highlighted as 'genuine' in the company's folk costume fashion brochures by a certificate from the Volkskunstmuseum.[85] At the latest in early 1938, still before the '*Anschluss*' when Pesendorfer published her book "*Neue Deutsche Bauerntrachten: Tirol*" ('New German Peasant Costumes: Tirol'), published by Callwey in Munich, the 'political' economic difference to Ringler became apparent: While he regarded uniformly dressed rifle companies in the *Ständestaat* ('corporative state') as a resource for the improvement of the mass aesthetics of patriotic celebrations, she had distanced herself early from this kind of patriotism and had demanded a peasant costume of the future that was rooted in the *Gemeinschaft* ('community'). After the '*Anschluss*,' she interpreted the fact that her contract with the museum had not already been renewed at the end of 1932 as an affront due to her proximity to the NSDAP which was illegal in the *Ständestaat*. This made the demand for reparations possible, which were indeed made after Ringler's dismissal. However, after 1932, she had continued to work in close connection with the museum, from which she even took over the agenda for new folk costumes and *Dirndl* dresses as a private trader (Tiroler Heimatblätter 1937). This makes one all the more hesitant to separate too strictly between an Austro-Fascist and an illegal National Socialist version of folk costume renewal.[86] This should also be emphasized because the concept of the museum already contradicted, at least in a latent manner, the official ideological guidelines at the time of its opening in 1929, but even more intensively so in the *Ständestaat*. Against the background of the separation of South Tyrol from Austria, as defined in the Peace Treaty of Saint-Germain (1919), Ringler had described the museum in 1929 as a mirror image of many centuries of genuine German folk culture in the "*Südmark*" (Ringler 1929: 5)[87] – using a descriptive battle cry. The fact that the museum was setting a monument to the so-called ethnic unity of the German Tyrol North and South of the Brenner Pass was also linked to the presentation of the holdings that was oriented at the valleys, both in the *Trachtensaal* and elsewhere in reports on the opening (Stifter 1930: 17). Using organic metaphors, von Minkus, the aforementioned visitor to the *Trachtensaal*, wrote of the valleys as valley arteries which all came from the same chamber of the heart: From German South Tyrol, with its microcosmic strongholds of Germanic sentiment (von Minkus 1929: 89). The Trentino, where fashion was said to penetrate everywhere, was constructed by protectors of the homeland as a contrast to this (e.g. R.S. 1927: 143). Tendencies that had already become apparent before

85 Among others, Lodenbaur Trachtenkleidung: Bodenständige Tiroler Trachten Dirndln I u. II [two brochures, undated, after 1936]. See Johler and Puchberger (2013: 88–90) on similar certification practices at the folklore museums in Graz and Vienna.

86 Cf. Bodner (2017: 369, 371 f.) on this in detail.

87 My emphasis. See above, note 29, on the Südmark.

1938 continued in the so-called "Searching for the Germanic people in South Tyrol" (Schwinn 1989) for the SS ancestral heritage, in which Pesendorfer and Ringler participated (cf. Dow 2018).[88] In the years before the '*Anschluss*,' however, Austria had sought an ally against Hitler in Mussolini. It seemed all the more important to exercise restraint in the question of South Tyrol.

Epilogue: The educative formation of folk costume

As this article has shown, the object versions (Schneider 2015: 528) of '*Tracht*' also changed with the changing concepts of the museum. In the context of the foundation and crisis of the trade museum, folk costumes first came into view as a questionable aesthetic pattern, but also as a showpiece in the expanding world of exhibitions.[89] Early approaches to a transition from the 'conservation of folk costume' to 'revitalization' existed in Tyrol in the context of tourism promotion and with references to regional cultural-historical museums. When the interests of the collection increasingly shifted to 'folk art,' 'peasant life' and 'German Tyrolean' in a second phase of museum development after 1900, folk costumes increasingly attracted interest as antiques. The emergence of the *Trachtensammlung* was subject to the mechanisms and fashions of the antiques market[90] and was by no means beyond political tendencies. It was part of the process of profiling the collection's own focal points in competition with other museums (such as the Ferdinandeum) and was integrated into a broader field of cooperating and competing actors from the fields of heritage protection and rifle companies, Alpine associations and folk costume associations. In a third phase, which began with the end of the First World War and led to the adaptation of a building, Ringler placed importance on what he called fulfilling Radinger's plans (Ringler 1962: 73). Two decades later, however, the predecessor's at least rudimentary openness to fashion and *Welsches* (the Italian) was lacking. The folklore museum had finally (?) become a folk art museum. Pesendorfer, together with Ringler and Rainer, realized a highly condensed and ambiguous hall of folk costumes under time pressure and in what Pazzini called the haste of closing (2001: 57). The pieces exhibited in it were often inherited from Anna Wöll. Now they were intended to be out of reach of economic cycles and renounce masquerades. The museum also strove for a renewal of folk costumes, similar to Wöll and the heritage protection movement – and before it, the *Trachtencomité* and the rifle companies. In the mid- and late 1930s, its 'new folk costumes' were a resource for earlier and a re-

88 For the joint participation of Pesendorfer and Ringler in the "Alpenländische Forschungsgemeinschaft" before 1938, see esp. Wedekind (2003: 268).

89 See te Heesen (2012: 48–72, 73–89) on the aspects "museum foundation" and "expansion of exhibition."

90 As Andrea Hauser has impressively described (Hauser 2015).

serve for later authoritarian regimes.[91] A strict separation was made between two, in fact, related spheres of modernity: Between department store and museum, between profit and education (cf. König 2015: 278 f.). All the more, the *Trachtensaal* was to punish and banish *Kitsch* and *Gschnas*. The reference to museum 'originals' shown there was part of a museum critique at the same time as of a museum Utopia: The museum was not to be a "tomb" but an educational institution that would provide living inspiration for new creations (Pesendorfer 1929: 86).

"*Die Trachten bilden*" – the educative formation of folk costumes: The admittedly very German (cf. Bollenbeck 1994) title of this contribution is intended to indicate that '*Tracht*' does not simply exist but takes on a (more or less fixed and reversible) form in a process. When '*Tracht*' came upon[92] the museum as a collection item, it inherited administration art, travelogues and collection initiatives by painters and lithographic institutions, tourism professionals, associations and lending institutions.[93] The renewal of '*Tracht*' at the museum showed the ambivalent aspiration of this institution to desire 'word' and 'object' equally (Pazzini 2001, 53 f.). The fact that individual pieces were also inventoried in Innsbruck as dependent parts of an ensemble points to the effectiveness of '*Tracht*' as a concept being an idea of seemingly homogenous, regionally typological clothing (cf. Schneider 2015, 532). Even if the fragmentary remains of real historical clothing that came to the museum could be resistant to their use and commissioning for the production of meaning,[94] as part of the staging of objects in the *Trachtensaal* they were intended to make the idea of '*Tracht*' plausible (cf. Pazzini 2001: 53 f.). In a mediating position between 'word' and 'object,' folklore traditionally thought of the 'image' and, in connection with it, the (not only etymologically related) dimension of 'education' (cf. Keller-Drescher 2015: 172).[95] Some facets of this have appeared in this article. Thus, the question of whether antiques were suitable as an aesthetic 'model' for the creation of something new was a topic. The search for 'simple basic forms' tended towards the idea and ideology of an 'archetype' that could be found and reactivated as something essential and significant. This was associated in Pesendorfer's work with the 'idol' of the peasants of the past who (previously condemned for having 'fallen away' from

91 Mitchell Ash's scientific-historical concept on the "exchange of resources" and the "ensemble of resources" which can be mutually mobilized was taken up by Birgit Johler and Magdalena Puchberger in their examinations of the Österreichischen Museum für Volkskunde ('The Austrian Museum of Folk Life and Folk Art') in Vienna. Cf. e.g. Johler and Puchberger (2016, especially 213, 216–219).

92 Based on Pazzini (2001: 49).

93 Cf. Keller-Drescher (2015: 172) on folklore studies as the heir of '*Tracht*.'

94 This can be deduced from classifications such as "*mottig*" ('moth-eaten') and "*nicht-tirolerisch*" ('non-Tyrolean') in the inventory book. See note 54.

95 See Pazzini (1992) on the relationship between '*Bild*' ('image') and '*Bildung*' ('education') and on the facets mentioned below.

Figure 5: Conservator Peter Haag, Tyrolean Folk Art Museum Innsbruck, adjusting the otter skin cap of the "Lechtal Woman." Photo: Reinhard Bodner, July 10, 2014.

their old folk costumes) supposedly had possessed taste and creative power precisely because of their non-educatedness – allegedly unreflected, without needing a 'mirror image.' However, Pesendorfer knew that the folk costumes at the museum were folk costumes in the mirror (Burckhardt-Seebass 1987). She did not consider "Tracht images" to be documentary material for the study of folk costume, but rather to be artistic-subjective images of a *Tracht* which were subject to temporal fashions (Pesendorfer 1932: 338 f.), not 'depictions' but 'imaginations.' Which, of course, also led her to encourage new artistic works: Lehnert's costume panels, for instance, with which something of the stylistic ambivalences of the "*Neue Sachlichkeit*" ('New Objectivity') (Eisch-Angus 2016: 21) was also introduced into the Innsbruck museum's handling of folk costumes, and Rainer's figurines, which were praised as warm with life (von Minkus 1929: 89 f.; Seyffert 1929: 460). Apparently, this warmth of life was not the same as the much criticized naturalistic, lifelike impression of wax figures, reminiscent of death masks by Moroder-Lusenberg, among others. If a *Trachtensaal* was not to be such a tomb (von Minkus 1929: 89 f.), then the dead were taboo in them. Indeed, according to Karl-Josef Pazzini, the museum always seeks to educate the dead in a communicative process that includes the audience. As he writes, we educate the dead, we form the dead for ourselves, we let the dead educate us, ac-

cording to our imaginations, around the remains. The fact that work is being done on the image of the dead makes it easier to understand them – and makes it more difficult for them to haunt us (Pazzini 2001: 195).

The Tyrolean Folk Art Museum is currently working on the image of Pesendorfer, among others, in the current project. It would seem that the former museum director does not find it all that difficult to become a revenant from time to time based on an episode from the summer of 2013. Just as Lucifer allegedly rummaged around in his storage box as a costume from popular theatre (cf. Menardi and Berger 2015: 343), the 'Lechtal woman' seemed to come alive in 2013 – or at least something about her. During an earthquake measuring 3.7 on the Richter scale, the otter skin cap slipped into her right (!) eye, as a museum employee reported. Otherwise, everything had remained quiet and unchanged in the entire house, but Pesendorfer supposedly still haunted it. The hood was then fixed to the head of the figurine with a nail to prevent her from 'turning a blind eye.'[96]

Folklore scholars today are increasingly critical of earlier teachers, educators and sculptors of an anti-democratic orientation such as Pesendorfer and Ringer – and for good reason. As has been shown, the museum did not really think of the 'people' as aesthetically self-learning, self-educating, as active though not necessarily creative.[97] It was concerned with directing and controlling the practice of resource sharing with authoritarian political regimes. A critical-historical look at this seems all the more appropriate as the concept of *Tracht* with its enduring fascination – despite all scientific attempts at deconstruction (cf. Keller-Drescher 2015: 180) – is once again increasingly integrated into conservative-national political styles. However, we do not only encounter *Tracht* here; it proves to be relatively democratizable and has often detached from a caretaking orthodoxy. Nonetheless, one can leave it at the mere exorcism of the '*Tracht*' devil from folklore studies. I find it desirable to have a more intensive debate on folk costumes, at least at certain points, in an extended public sphere, which brings together actors from practice, politics and research and involves them in controversies. My experience to date with this is that – as Christine Burckhardt-Seebass has emphasized – one can learn more and different things from those who wear folk costumes today than from printed sources (Burckhardt-Seebass 1987: n.p.), for example, about the aesthetic appeal of their eye-catching clothes, the happiness when wearing them and the sense of feeling at home in its joyful and fearful ambivalence (cf. Marsel 2016). However, Burckhardt-Seebass has also made it

96 Keeping in mind that "being blind in the right eye" in German means to deliberately not take actions from a political far right movement.

97 As Kaspar Maase has phrased it in his lecture "'Volk und Kunst': ein Thema des 18. Jahrhunderts als Gegenstand 'positiver Anthropologie' im 21. Jahrhundert?" for the conference "'Wie kann man nur dazu forschen?' Themenpolitik in der Europäischen Ethnologie," University of Innsbruck, November 3–5, 2017.

clear that in this way, not all can be learned. The precise, slow look into the history of the handling of folk costumes allows aspects to emerge that often remain invisible and unreflected in practice. Knowledge about this can help to keep the existing framework for ideas in constant motion, or to break it up (Pazzini 1992:47), in other words, to understand the (educative) formation of folk costumes in a subversive sense, which is also inherent in the concept of education. In case of success, which one can hope for, this can perhaps, as Burckhardt-Seebass puts it, open up room for maneuver, more freedom, for all those involved (Burckhardt-Seebass 1987: n.p.).

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Hairy orders: Human hair and orders*

Abstract: This article delivers an overview of cultural studies perspectives on human hair. The central thesis is that human hair is of great importance for the making and maintenance of social orders – especially regarding gender. It will be shown which research has already been generated in this field and where further research, respectively, societal debates can be initiated. Historical abstracts are used to illustrate the discourses in which hair has been discussed and that these discourses are often still dominant. In addition, current debates on hair in the media will be discussed and it will be argued that precisely because of the great interest in the subject its examination through cultural studies is indispensable.

Keywords: hair, body hair, hirsute, gender, discourse power, scientific history, cultural studies

Introduction

Body positivity is currently on everybody's lips. This movement is not only about celebrating non-thin, non-perfect bodies but also about simply showing 'natural' bodies. In addition to cellulite and stretch marks, hairy female legs, hairy armpits and an unshaved bikini line are also part of it. A movement such as body positivity is of interest for cultural studies insofar as it does not only permit conclusions to be drawn about bodies and gender,[1] i.e. ultimately of identities, and corresponding (ideal) imaginations are questioned. A discussion on hair, as it is undertaken in this article, must be put precisely in this context. While body positivity is not in the foreground here, I would still like to use it to approach the scientific examination of hair and take up initial theoretical considerations.

The body positivity movement, which is particularly documented and discussed in social media, is based on the imperative of loving one's body as it is. The fact that such an imperative is not without problems is increasingly becoming part of

* German version in *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde/Archives Suisses des Traditions Populaires* 2018, 114 (1): 41–55. Translated by Stefanie Everke Buchanan.

1 When it comes to gender issues, the terms 'man' and 'woman' must be used. These are not understood as rigid terms but as instruments for making the argumentation presented comprehensible. No absolute truth value is attributed to them. This handling of terms corresponds to Derrida's understanding of Strauss' bricolage (cf. Derrida 1972: 430).

a more critical discussion and examination of the phenomenon (Brenneisen 2017; Sastre 2014). It is pointed out, for example, that the movement is mainly taken up by white women who conform to the prevailing ideas of beauty and that this does not constitute a celebration of a diversity of bodies. On the contrary, bodies that do not comply with the norm are excluded under the guise of an open, 'love-yourself' and 'be-your-own-person' attitude, or active fat shaming might even be practiced.[2] Furthermore, under the imperative of 'love-yourself,' it is easy to assign blame to the individual: If everything is beautiful, it is the individual's fault if they do not succeed in accepting themselves. This inherent logic is problematic to the extent that structures which lead to uncertainties are completely ignored, even if it is based on the demand for constant work on the self.

If one follows Michel Foucault's remarks on disciplinary power and the microphysics of power, body ideals are consequentially to be understood as products of power (1976: 173–292). Like a net, this power covers each and every individual who is thereby involved in its production and reproduction. This is accompanied by a penal system which has a normative effect. Anything that does not comply with the norm is stigmatized as a deviation and punished. At the same time, individuals are subject to constant pressure, which leads to the reproduction of values, norms and ideals. According to Foucault, the body is, thus, to be understood not only as the target and object of power but also as its instrument. This power must be understood as internalized, whereby the 'own' and the 'other' can be controlled (Gugutzer 2004: 59–63). Susan Bordo, who conceives of the body as a medium of culture in her works in gender studies, detaches Foucault's remarks from their historical frame and transfers them to today's handling of female bodies. She concludes that categories such as diet, make-up and fashion are central to the organization of women's bodies in time and space (Bordo 1997: 91). I conceive of human hair as such an organizing category, even if, unlike Bordo's examples, it is not only a cultural product but also biologically a part of the human body. It is imperative to discuss the extent to which this tension and the traditional dichotomy of 'nature' and 'culture' can be applied when writing about hair. On the one hand, this dichotomy must be critically questioned regarding an examination of orders since it, too, is 'made' and used to implement naturalizations which quickly lead to a biological determinism. On the other hand, bodies always move at the interface of 'nature' and 'culture,' respectively, connect both spheres with each other. The human body is material, flesh and blood, and can, thus, be classified as belonging to the sphere of 'nature.' Through culture-specific practices and techniques, certain body ideals are produced, others stigmatized. These historically, culturally and socially shaped bodies can be assigned to 'culture.' Bodies are, therefore, not constants in human existence. This shows that

2 There is a wealth of blog posts or articles on this, mostly from US platforms; see Shackelford (2017).

a strict separation of the two spheres is not empirically possible and does not seem appropriate for an examination of human hair.

This article shows how orders are created by means of human hair, by its presence or absence. The work on the self with the aim of creating certain body ideals serves as an instrument to explain why there is always work with and on hair and what meaning has to be attributed to this work, namely, the maintenance or disturbance of order. The focus is on the examination of female bodies and hair in the 19th to the 21st century.[3] I understand this contribution as an overview that shows which theoretical tools can be used for a cultural-scientific study of human hair and which questions need to be pursued in doing so.[4] In order to be able to accomplish this, I will first reflect on the state of research. Next, the connection between hair, bodies, gender and order moves into the foreground. In the concluding remarks, I provide a short summary and emphasize the importance and opportunities of a scientific examination of hair, particularly in times of social media and body positivity.

Hair in History and in Cultural Studies

The different meanings of human hair in different social contexts have been relatively well researched. In 2002, the *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde* ('Swiss Archives of Folklore Studies') published a digression on hair in culture and cultural studies by cultural anthropologist Regina Bendix. She points out that while hair was only a marginal topic of research in folklore studies and ethnology, it was more likely to be a subject in medical and cultural research, as Bendix called them (2002: 223). As examples, she mentions the connection between popular belief and hair as well as the meaning of hairstyles and beards (Bendix 2002: 223f.). Bendix aims to explain with her research overview why hair was not a dominant topic in cultural studies for a long time. She notes that it was only through the theoretical approaches of the 20th century, for example, functionalist ones, that hair could be researched in terms of its communicative and symbolic meaning (Bendix 2002: 226). The digression ends with a number of questions, such as the extent to which experiences that everybody has with and through hair can be grasped in cultural studies, or the extent to which experiences are part of an epistemological interest in folklore studies (Bendix 2002: 231). Even though a lot has happened in the humanities and the social sciences in the fifteen years since the article was published, not all of Bendix's questions can be answered unequivocally yet. Only one thing is certain: Hair is part of the epistemological interest in cultural studies.

3 Examples of the handling of male hair and its connotations are roughly sketched, but specific thematic fields, such as the meaning of male baldness or hairlessness in certain sports disciplines such as bodybuilding, are not discussed in detail. This would go beyond the scope of this article.

4 This text is based on a seminar paper written by the author as part of her studies in Popular Cultures (Spano 2015) and on her master thesis in history (Spano 2016).

The object of this epistemological interest, however, must not be limited to the hair on the head but must also become, beyond the beard, the hair on the body. It has not been conclusively established why it is usually the hair on the head that is the focus of analysis. At times, it has been stated in the literature that the hair on the head is more visible than body hair and that there was shame concerning this subject (cf. Bendix 2002: 224). Nina Bolt, who has written a cultural history of hair, states that pubic hair particularly also had a history, but that this history was not visible (Bolt 2001: 85). A history of hair, therefore, usually reads as a history of certain hairstyles or hair removal. In my opinion, the former can be understood as a history of fashion and trends, in the sense that fashionable phenomena can always be broken down into social, cultural and political ideas and structures that have led to the specific trend. This interaction between predominant sociocultural contexts and emerging phenomena becomes particularly apparent when one reads the history of human hair as a history of hair removal.[5] In the United States, women began to remove body hair during the 1920s because fashion showed more skin than before. The neck, for example, which was now exposed to view due to the fashionable bob style, was shaved (Toerien and Wilkinson 2003: 333). Leg shaving only began in the 1940s, when bare legs and transparent nylon stockings became fashionable. This explanation is conclusive and may well make sense in interaction with the emergence of a particular product. If one considers, however, that male legs in various historical epochs were also exposed to the gaze of the public, fashion phenomena cannot be exclusively used to explain new hair trends.[6]

The practice of hair removal emerging in the 1920s can be read as a kind of demarcation between man and woman, since sociopolitical developments up to the end of the Second World War resulted in an approximation of the genders (Bolt 2001: 82f.). At the same time, however, Bolt remarks that it was a matter of keeping women sexually under control, as the non-hairy body of a woman was reminiscent of a child's body before puberty, i.e. before the onset of sexual maturity (Bolt 2001: 89). Thus, female sexuality was negated and male sexuality brought to the fore. This argument is regularly used to explain the increasingly popular complete removal of female pubic hair, fueled by pornography. The moment of control is also to be equated with an uncovering or visualization of the female pudenda, as female genitals are covered by hair and, thus, belong to the hidden (cf. Sargeant 2008: 43). The removal of this hair can therefore be read as a visualization within the framework of submission to the male gaze (cf. Sargeant 2008, 49).

5 The following section refers to Bolt (2001, 82–89), unless indicated otherwise.

6 I am not aware of a specific men's fashion resulting in hair removal from certain parts of the body. The hairless female body is not a trend of the most recent times and the connotation man – hairy, woman – hairless has existed for decades, if not centuries.

Explaining hair removal aesthetically and sexually is problematic, in so far as hair itself has always been regarded as a sexually charged symbol, especially female head hair, which is regarded as seductive in various cultural areas (cf. Junkerjürgen 2009: 12). As such, it is a central element of narratives of flirtation – think, for instance, of the hair flip, the energetic throwing back of the hair.[7] It is the conscious staging of a sexually charged symbol. Psychoanalysis particularly has explored the connection between human hair and sexual symbolism; in it, hair was regarded as a symbol of the unconscious or as the object of perversions and fetishes (cf. Junkerjürgen 2009: 238–240).

This brief historical outline shows that the emergence of certain hairstyles or work on the body is embedded into dominant structures and ideas and that they must be interpreted in this context. The same applies to the cultural location of body work: In Muslim communities, it is the norm that pubic hair is removed, however, not for sexual-aesthetic reasons but for hygienic ones (Morris 2008: 192f.). The argument of hygiene is also widespread in Western European societies. At the beginning of the 20th century, the removal of female body hair was still justified mainly on the grounds of hygiene. One of the reasons why women's hair was addressed in a context of hygiene was that for a long time, advertising for female depilatory products could not speak of shaving because this practice had a male connotation and was to be carried out exclusively by men. Thus, hygiene became the defining legitimation for female depilatory practices. Today, this argument is considered largely outdated in medical terms (cf. Gottschalk et al. 2012: 63f.). Nevertheless, this discourse is still dominant in the media, advertising and everyday thinking and is important for ideas of cleanliness. These are relatively old ideas which are, among others, closely linked to the taboo of menstruation (cf. Djuren 2005). Furthermore, there is a connection with the idea of the 'dirty' body orifices, due to which women are generally regarded as dirtier than men (cf. Toerien and Wilkinson 2003: 339). Sociologists Merran Toerrien and Sue Wilkinson write that: "[…] in contemporary Western culture, only women's body hair is routinely treated as cause for disgust, much like other body products (such as blood, faeces, sweat or odours) that are thought to be unclean" (2003: 338). That female body hair should be more unhygienic than male is irritating, but it shows that these discourses are not primarily about hygiene but about predominant and overlapping images of female bodies and cleanliness. The arbitrary relationship between hygiene and body hair becomes apparent not least in a current example: In 2015, when full beards became increasingly fashionable among men again, there was a study on everybody's lips which described beards as unhygienic catapults for bacteria. Bacteria were detected in them which are otherwise only found in toilets.[8] The rapid spread of this study has hardly led to

7 More on the hair-flip in Weitz (2004: 92–95).

8 There is a wealth of articles on this, e.g. *Apotheken-Umschau* (2017).

a decrease of the trend for beards, even though the lack of hygiene has apparently been scientifically proven. In contrast to this, the idea of the hygienic precariousness of female body hair persists. These examples show how selectively science can be used to legitimize sociocultural ideas. In turn, old discourses feed into these evaluations whereby ideas of women's bodies and their underlying power structures are continuously reproduced.

Hair and body

Since the end of the 20th century, body ideals no longer refer to clothed bodies but to naked ones (cf. Posch 2001: 84f.). This has led to the emergence of new physicalities and techniques around the body (cf. Posch 2001: 84f.). As early as the Renaissance, beauty has been linked to the female body as a form of social normalization (cf. Burkart 2000: 69). From the 19th century onwards, hair became important for the concept of female beauty; it was even regarded as its substitute (cf. Weitz 2004: 12). If one looks at texts from this century, its significance quickly becomes apparent. Women's beauty is always discussed, for example, in medical or ethnological studies dealing with human hair and its 'abnormal' growth. Concepts of beauty had and have not only something to do with the bodies themselves but also with hair.

Hair, be it body or head hair, continues to have both a personal and a social meaning today (cf. Firth 1973: 271). This becomes apparent when one takes a look at current discussions. It seems as if the fascination for this topic has even increased in recent years.[9] Questions, for instance, about whether it is necessary to remove pubic hair are repeatedly discussed in the media and always lead to lively discussions.[10] Furthermore, hair continues to be an important starting point for questions about normative bodies or ideas inscribed in them, be it in relation to gender or different ethnic groups. In the course of the Black Lives Matter movement, for instance, black hair is discussed as "ethnic hair." Discussions about the appropriation of 'typical black' hairstyles by 'non-black' people show that not all hair is equal. Depending on how and by whom hair is worn, it, respectively, its wearers experience different valuations.

We do something with our hair almost every day; we style, wash and dye it, let it grow, cut it off or shave it. These practices are not only carried out in the sense of work on the self but also as a representation towards the outside and are, therefore, important for the production of identity. Think, for example, of the youth movements of the last sixty years: For hippies, long hair was a sign of naturalness and a break with the appearance of the parent generation; in the 1970s and 1980s, punks

9 To name an example: Summer series in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (2017) around the topic of hair.

10 One example from the *Tages-Anzeiger* is an article which was reposted in the summer of the following year because there was a lot to discuss (Aeschbach 2017).

emphasized their rejection of dominant values (and hairstyles) with unnatural hair colors (cf. Junkerjürgen 2009: 260). Or one may think of not shaving female body hair as a form of empowerment and rejection of the male gaze.

Aside from these subjectively and socially significant attributions of hair, the question of biology also arises. Since hair always grows back, it can never be completely discarded. In contrast to clothes, make-up or accessories, which are also associated with practices that contribute to the creation of identity, hair always remains on our bodies, be it only as stubble to remind us that it is about time to undergo depilation again. What is striking is that in the discussions held in blogs, YouTube videos or newspaper articles, the phase between being hairy and being shaved often remains unmentioned. This is interesting in so far as this in-between is characteristic for the handling of hair. If one considers the presence or absence of hair as a symbol of belonging to one gender and compares it to other symbols, such as a piece of clothing, the moment of in-between is missing: Either a body wears a skirt or not and is, therefore, categorized as female or male. In addition, the intermediate phase undergoes a different valuation depending on whether male or female hair is concerned. Media theorist Mahret Kupka, who specializes in body, fashion and performance, states in her essay on beards that a clean shaven, therefore, depilated man remains a man (2014: 69). After all, he was not beardless but only shaved, which indicated the possibility of a beard (Kupka 2014: 69). If one follows this line of argument, it is less the annoying stubble that is in the foreground. The stubble serves more as a reminder that one will soon need to devote oneself to work on one's own body again. Thus, the importance of hair is underlined. For women, on the other hand, stubble is usually assessed differently.

Hair and gender

One of the main axes of the valuation of hair growth is a person's gender. It is still one of the most important categories of order in social structures. Stereotypical ideas of gender assume that male bodies are hairier than female bodies.[11] A hairy male body is juxtaposed with a hairless female one (cf. Toerien, Wilkinson, and Choi 2005 399). The German cultural sociologist Günter Burkart writes that the growth of a beard is male and that women should look hairless in the face and on the body, and that artificial purity was beautiful and 'feminine' (Burkart 2000: 81). It quickly becomes apparent that such ideas are greatly simplified, since there are many men who are more hairless than others as well as women who are hairier. Hair

11 Charles Darwin, in his work on human origins, defined the absence of hair as a secondary gender characteristic, as women in all parts of the world were less hairy than men. In the following, he describes hirsute women as ridiculously ugly. Cf. Darwin ([1871] 1919: 679f.).

is something human, but borders of gender identities are drawn over its visibility or absence (cf. Biddle-Perry 2008: 99).

The hair on the head is fundamentally positively loaded, which is why its loss is regarded as something negative (cf. Firth 1973: 287). This is almost contrary to the handling of body hair; for it is not only women who remove it but increasingly also men. Manufacturers of depilatory products for hair removal are discovering men more and more as consumers with high purchasing power and advertise a "Rasur ohne Limits" (shave without limits) (cf. Gillette 2017). A body razor, for instance, is advertised by stating that men are skeptical about body shaving because they were not sure that their face razor would be doing a good job (cf. Gillette 2017). Disposing of hair seems to be almost a given need (be it a natural or cultural one) for which only the appropriate product is missing. What is interesting to note is that the connection between men and hair removal is usually examined in literature from the perspective of athletes. In this context, depilated bodies and hair removal are considered as a hypermasculine body habitus characterized by strength and fitness (Antoni-Komar 2006: 84). The practice of male body depilation, thus, becomes a symbol of a "super-masculinity" (Antoni-Komar 2006: 84). This attribution transfers the idea of hair being a sign of masculinity and strength to the depilated male body (cf. Firth 1973: 265), especially since in sport it is located in a stereotyped sphere attributed to the male. Depilation, thus, serves the (over-) emphasis of masculinity and has an identity forming function. Hair removal for women is mandatory for the production of a socially acceptable femininity, whereas for men, it constitutes an option. Men do not forfeit their gender identity by depilation: It is exponentiated, while women must always defend and reproduce their gender identity when letting their hair remain.

It, thus, becomes clear that a body which eludes stereotypical ideas can no longer be unambiguously classified into the system of man/woman. A look back at history helps to illustrate this more precisely: One of the most striking disturbances of the gender order through hair is the beard in women. This is because body hair, as Rebecca Herzig writes, constitutes a kind of guideline for the classification of bodies. The Professor for Gender and Sexuality Studies has carried out extensive research on the removal of body hair (cf. Herzig 2015). She says: "Body hair was thought to be a visible guide to the sexes: when nature was functioning properly, men had body hair and women did not" (Herzig 2000: 53). What is interesting here is the expression of functioning nature. This implies a double disturbance: On the one hand, a disturbance of nature (biology) leads to women having hair and men not having hair. On the other hand, these forms of hairiness result in a disturbance of the gender order interpreted as a natural and biological given.

Bearded women, however, have always been met with great interest in Western cultures (cf. Herzig 2000: 52). There are legends about bearded women who have

been accorded special status and a wealth of images, paintings and articles both of a scientific and a non-scientific nature which bear witness to this fascination. During the 19th and 20th century, so-called "Haarmenschen" (hair people) and bearded women were presented for entertainment in circuses or "freak shows."[12] Among the best-known bearded women are Julia Pastrana and Krao. Pastrana, originally from Mexico, a good singer and dancer, fluent in English and Spanish (cf. Fuchs 1917: 16f.), was the focus of numerous scientific studies. She was described as intelligent and well proportioned, which would make her a good woman if it were not for the hair (Fuchs 1917: 16f.). Such descriptions of hairy women or bearded women are common during this period. The meaning of their bodies and ideas of femininity can be identified well when looking at pictorial material. Figures 2 and 3 show advertisements for exhibitions in which Krao was shown. The two pictures differ strongly in Krao's depiction. What they have in common, however, is the eroticization of the body, which was customary for depictions of hairy women at the time.

Figure 1 shows one of the best-known pictures of Julia Pastrana. The plate comes from an essay by Max Bartels. The German physician and anthropologist had studied human hair intensively and complied various forms of abnormal human hair. The plate shows 1) an elderly lady with typical male facial hair, 2) a twelve-year-old girl with excessive, respectively, abnormal dorsal hair, 3) Julia Pastrana, 4) Shew-Maong, an Asian man with excessive hair growth, 5) Adrian, a Russian "Haarmensch" (hair man), or "dog man" and 6) his alleged son Fedor (Bartels 1876).

The beard in a woman was read as a disturbance of the gender order, as counternature. However, it was not enough to deny her beauty or femininity. The ability to give birth to a child seems to have stood above the body hair in the interpretation of a body as female or not female. This was particularly evident in the case which is often discussed of a Swiss woman who had a certificate of femininity issued. The case was published in the *Lancet*, a renowned medical journal, by Dr. Chowne (Chowne 1852: 421). It was widely received in scientific circles and achieved an enormous distribution in the following years. Chowne describes the following (Chowne 1852: 421): The twenty-year-old Swiss woman had a beard and hair in places where otherwise only men had hair. Whenever she went to an unknown place, she covered her face with a handkerchief so that the police would not think she was a man in women's clothes. Anything not covered by the handkerchief, she shaved. Otherwise, "[her] occupations and dispositions are all womanly" (Chowne 1852: 421) and she was described as having nice female breasts.[13] Because of her appearance, however, the priest who was to marry her was confused, whereupon she asked to be issued a certificate confirming her sex. Chowne wrote that the young Swiss woman had been

12 See Becker (2014: esp. 322–331) and Durbach (2010) for literature on "freak shows".

13 "The breast large, fair, and strictly feminine" (Chowne 1852: 421).

Figure 1:
Plate from an essay by Max Bartels, 1876
(Bartels 1876: 130).

Figure 2:
Advertising poster, 1886
(Durbach 2010: 110).

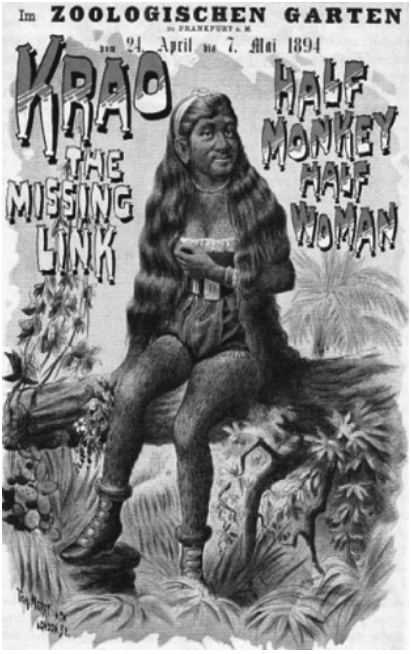

Figure 3:
Advertising poster for an exhibition with Krao, the hairy woman in the Zoologischer Garten in Frankfurt, 1894 (Becker 2014: 330).

five months pregnant when he saw her. Thus, he had never doubted that she was really a woman.

The fact of the pregnancy allowed Chowne to place the Swiss woman he described in the sphere of the female despite her beard. In a medical context, hair lost its importance for the ascription of gender. This example shows, to a certain extent, not only the arbitrariness of categories of order, but also the complexity of social orders. Different categories overlap, some gain the upper hand above others or even lead to exponentiations of otherness. This can be shown clearly in the case of Julia Pastrana: For the 19th/20th century, she was different not only because of her gender but also because of her non-European origin and her excessive hairiness. Such phenomena are important for the maintenance of order because disturbance defines order; through it, order can be constantly reproduced. Foucault must again be mentioned in connection with this: A body that does not fit into the order is to be made suitable through the normatizing penal system. Its non-adaptation is accepted in so far as its extraordinariness defines the order.

Examples of this can also be found when one observes reactions that women receive who do not submit to the depilatory regime. Kristina, a young German woman, spoke in various media formats about her experiment of not depilating herself for a year. She reports choking noises as expressions of disgust, surprised or frightened glances that she received (cf. Krenz 2016). Such defamations and distancing must be regarded as a punishment in so far as they are not only an expression of aesthetic preferences but also a means of maintaining a *status quo*.

Not removing hair as a refusal is one way of conquering room to maneuver and creating alternative social realities (cf. Akashe-Böhme 1993: 101f.). Such counter concepts are accompanied by stigmatization or the loss of an award of attractiveness. The active or passive reproduction of norms serves to control and maintain social orders such as the gender hierarchy. If this reproduction ceases, supremacy and stability are in danger. Thus, especially in advertising, the importance of depilation for women's beauty, desirability and attractiveness is underlined. A large number of examples from pop culture could be found to show that a female body which is to appear attractive is hairless, be it in medieval films or zombie serials:[14] Legs and armpits are always shaved and smooth, eyebrows perfectly plucked in shape, hair on the upper lip or pubic hair not visible at all. It should also not be forgotten that in advertising for depilatory products, women's bodies are always already hairless; it is

14 There are several blogs which, for instance, deal with *Game of Thrones* and the body hair that is shown or not shown, for example, xojane (2017) or The Madisons (2017).

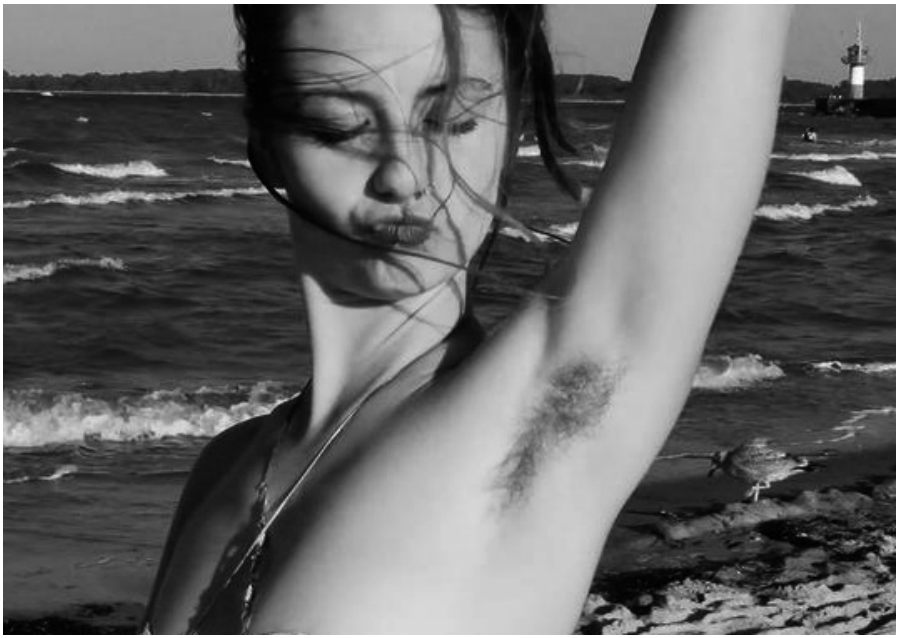

Figure 4: Kristina shows her hairy armpits. Cosmotinaut-Blog: www. cosmotinaut.com/2016/11/24/hairysteadygo (Screenshot, January 25, 2018).

Figure 5: Kristina's bikini line. Cosmotinaut-Blog: www.cosmotinaut.com/2016/11/24/hairysteadygo (Screenshot, January 25, 2018).

Figure 6:
Arvida Byström for Adidas. Instagram Arvida Byström: www. instagram. com/p/BZd1cbNggu7/?taken-by=arvidabystrom (January 14, 2018).

a smooth leg that is shaved, waxed or epilated.[15] The female body presented to us in media formats is, in most cases, a made, depilated body.[16]

There have been increasing efforts lately to also show hairy bodies. The German sports brand Adidas has recently hired the Swedish artist Arvida Byström as a model (Byström 2017). In the picture, she is wearing a chiffon dress in a delicate color, a pink shirt and socks as well as Adidas trainers. Byström's hairy leg is in the center of the picture.

As Byström writes on her Instagram account, she received "a lot of nasty comments" due to this shooting (Byström 2017).[17] It is difficult to determine why brands such as Adidas have discovered female body hair for themselves. Generally speaking, there is a trend towards *different* bodies, towards diversity. The extent to which Adidas actually fulfils this aspiration remains to be seen regarding the remarks about body positivity. Nevertheless, the question remains whether Adidas was really after a form of empowerment, after a celebration of different bodies and different kinds of beauty.[18] This can be denied in so far as body hair cannot be categorized

15 Gillette offers shaving tutorials on YouTube. The legs and armpits that are shaved are completely hairless. See www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ukz7ZeXgLBk (accessed September 23, 2017); www.youtube.com/watch?v=ALb0hz69cp8 (accessed September 23, 2017).

16 This is increasingly also true for the male body.

17 The fact that Arvida Byström experienced threats and defamation due to this campaign was discussed intensively in German and English language media. See, for example, Siddique (2017) and *stern* (2017).

18 The author contacted Adidas and Arvida Byström in January 2018 in order to receive an answer to the question about the motive for the cooperation. No reply had been received by the time this article was submitted.

in such an understanding of 'diverse' bodies since these are not *per se* something 'different.' Rather, one could suspect that Arvida Byström's leg hair was used to generate attention. The comments and reactions confirm this. Far from the motives for the staging of the hairy leg; what this photo has triggered is telling for the social handling of hair.

Conclusion

The aim of my contribution was not a complete treatise on the question of hair and orders. It was my intention to discuss the context, by means of highlights and historical outlines, to the extent that connecting points for further research and discussion could be sketched. Hair is interesting for people, and it would seem as if this interest was experiencing an upswing. It seems to be *en vogue*, as the example of the Adidas campaign shows, not only in the thematization of current trends in hairstyle and body hair but also in discussions about cultures, ethnicities and gender. This is exciting and welcome. However, it is precisely the medial thematization of hair that requires a diligent examination. As has been shown, hair can be used in various ways. A cultural scientific discussion of such phenomena is indispensable, especially in times in which content spreads extremely rapidly and can be changed just as quickly and in which bodies are subordinated to stereotypical, heteronormative categories. This makes it possible to make structures visible which are usually left out in common media formats.

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