

THE ROLES OF THE CITY IN THE BOOKS OF CLIOHRES¹

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Abstract: Through an analysis of the approach to the concepts of frontiers and identities in four books of the CLIOHRES Network the authors of this article found a very up-to-date contribution to the broad understanding of urban history. The article suggests pondering about current paths of the specific research field of urban history, which is not easy to define. The city itself was not the object of research of the members of the network, but rather a space for analysis of more general questions. Although the focus on the city was often instrumental, the authors understood its paradigmatic function. The analysis highlighted intensive interest in spatial scales and questioning of the two key concepts of frontiers and identities simultaneously in interaction. The urban perspective was not felt as a reduction or limitation. Frontiers and identities played a key role, even if they were not in focus.

During the last two or three decades the research field of urban history went through considerable transformation. Some urban historians even speak about its semantic expansion. While classical urban historiography focused on the city and urban society as an object of analysis, current research very often studies past societies only through the optics of the life of cities. The microcosm of cities is explored as a showcase of the society or only as its sample, as a representation of the society of the period or of its mentality. These new approaches to urban studies are present in the books analyzed in the following pages.

Keywords: *cities; communities; culture; identities; frontiers; spatial scales; CLIOHRES Network*

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CLIOHRES (in full title “*Creating Links and Innovative Overviews for a New History Research Agenda for the Citizens of a Growing Europe*”) represents one of the largest functioning research networks in history and the humanities, which organized into six thematic work groups (TWG) had in focus very general issues of European history.² None of them was assigned to touch urban issues in any form; however three of the work groups did so. In four volumes urban perspective was dominant or at least important (Osmod – Cimdiņa 2007; François – Syrjämaa – Terho 2008; Pan-Montojo – Pedersen 2007; Klusáková – Teulières 2008). The idea of looking at how urban issues were tackled came about as a by-product of the frequency and content analysis of the first eighteen volumes of CLIOHRES asking how the two concepts of frontiers and identities were understood in the discourse of this research network. We should explain that this unusually large research network was composed of 180 members from 45 institutions. The size of the six thematic work groups oscillated between 25 and 33 members over the years, and usually about half of the members were doctoral students. Typical for CLIOHRES is the prevalence of input from universities from “peripheral” regions of Europe or of large European countries. Basically we can say that all EU countries, some non-EU states like Iceland, Norway and Switzerland, and a number of geographically European countries are represented. CLIOHRES also wished to reach beyond the frontiers of Europe, and therefore Turkish and South African partners are members of the project. Several CLIOHRES members have their origins outside Europe and “linked the network” with India, Japan and the USA. Characteristic for this project is the stability of a core membership together with the addition of some new doctoral students every year. By the definition of the project, the groups are fairly stable, but there is mobility among the doctoral students, who leave the project after they defend their dissertations, but often remain as external (back-up) members. The team of authors shows considerable stability, and in the three books we register more or less a similar territorial and chronological distribution of interests. Consequently, there is a certain territorial and temporal coherence in the definition of particular themes. As a result the groups profit from rather long-term collaboration, which is rehearsed in the published books by a rather stable or repetitive authorship. Nevertheless there are differences in the groups’ structure. While TWG1 focused on States

² More information about the network on <http://www.cliohres.net>

and Institutions is mostly masculine in membership, TWG4 on Gender and Labour is predominantly feminine. While TWG5 on Frontiers and Identities has many central European members, TWG2 (Power and Culture, including language, art and architecture) has a membership extending from the far North to the South-East of Europe. Members of TWG3 (Religious and Philosophical Concepts) have a common interest in the sociology of religion and similar methodological coherence also seems to characterize TWG4. On the other hand, for TWG6 – Europe and the World – it was probably most difficult to define the field of research, let alone speak about methodology. Researchers in TWG1 became interested in urban history while exploring the concept of community. The team of TWG2 studied interactions of culture and power; when they exposed their spatiality, they quite often did so in urban context. TWG5, focused on frontiers and identities, studied the concepts through the perspective of four spatial scales: local (urban), regional, national and supranational (European); thus the intersection of identities and their spaces of cities in regions and nations was studied in its third volume.

We present in this article analysis of the results of research and discussions which appear in texts published in collective books prepared by the three thematic work groups **from the perspective of intersection between cities, frontiers and identities only**, and ask how these concepts were approached, and thus what we can learn from the CLIOHRES experience. While we were reading the chapters and discussing the approaches to the twin concepts of frontiers and identities, we recognized that there are many ways of contributing to the debate, and that the concepts can be discussed without the explicit use of the terms, but, for our analysis of the discourse, only the explicit use of the terms is relevant. The analysis of any implicit use of the terms would become very complicated because its identification in the text depends on very subjective ways of reading. On the other hand, the explicit use of the terminology related to identity theory and border (frontier) studies confirms that the authors are using them, we suppose, with full awareness of their meaning, and that by the use of the terminology, they refer to particular theoretical discussions. Consequently we have decided to go first through the exercise of frequency analysis and as the next step focus on the broader contexts in which the concepts were used. In the next stage through the analysis of contexts, the understanding of identities, identifications, identity building, and of physical and symbolic frontiers was studied.

The books were analyzed using one method. Identical questions about the context in which the authors apply identity theories or reflect on border research were addressed to all chapters and to the introductions of the volumes of the thematic work groups. The goal of this inquiry was to disclose whether and how the words are used; whether they are related to concepts and correspond with varieties of approaches and larger contextual groups of meanings of types of identities and frontiers by authors whose primary interest was in states, institutions, culture, and power. The focus of the analysis was on the explicit use and on various links between explicit and implicit uses. Particularly interesting are those themes which did not by their definition oblige researchers to touch the concepts of frontiers and identities at all. Although we have followed only the explicit use of the terminology (as explained above), we have to add that in reality we are interested in the relationship between explicit-implicit uses. It appears that the implicit understanding of terms and problems of frontiers and identities by colleagues working in other fields of research is one of several basic motivations. Since the city or community appeared during this analysis as an overarching notion in these four cases we have decided to pay special attention to them and to this intersection of frontiers, identities and urban context.

Thematic Work Group 1: Communities, Identities and Frontiers

By the definition of the project the researchers of TWG1 – *States, Legislation and Institutions* did not have to deal with cities or with the theory of identity and border studies. We presumed, however, they could hardly avoid touching identities and frontiers as these are inherent aspects of states. They are defined by legislation and protected by institutions. Surprisingly, cities became very important for the team as well. In its second book, the team decided to explore as a connecting theme for states, legislation and institutions the problems of communities and jurisdictions from Antiquity to present day (Pan-Monjo – Pedersen 2007). The frequency analysis also suggested that the book devoted to communities was more theoretically embedded and conceptualized than the other books produced by the same team, and thus also more important for the understanding of the concept of frontiers and identities. It appears that the concept of identity, quite marginal, had more importance for the research group than the concept of frontier.

As shown by the incidence of intersections, focus on communities announces that the concept itself is the intersection. A community has to have its name, its identity, and it is allocated in clearly defined space: it has its frontier.

Identities and Communities

In the introduction, the editors devoted particular interest to the terminology and to the understanding of the concept of community as it is used in the academic discourse of the period. Taking into account the theoretical background formulated by the editors, we are not surprised that in many respects the chapters by their very nature touch upon the issue of identities, since “communities” are directly linked with them. From the perspective of the implication of the theory of identity and exploration of the processes of the construction of collective identities, the discussion focused on communities is obviously most relevant for those interested in urban studies.

The book is divided evenly into two sections – *Representations* and *Jurisdictions*. If we continue to explore the results of the frequency analysis and go into more depth, we look in detail at the chapters with important incidences of terms related to identity studies. We have to deal with five chapters and the introduction (about half of the book) concentrated in the section *Representations*. First the editors’ introduction written by Juan Pan-Montojo and Frederik Pedersen demonstrates the considerable incidence of terms related to identities, which appear in the context of the theoretical framework of the concept of “community,” for which the role of identity is determinant (in the same way as is the role of frontiers and identities in relation to space). The authors have chosen as their point of departure the concept of the construction of social networks, the construction of collective identities and of alterity (as in the construct “we/us”), “textual communities” or “imagined communities (links, identities).” The introduction’s theoretical framework is delimited by works of Z. Bauman (community), F. Barth (ethnic groups and boundaries), A. Cohen (symbolic construction of community) and of B. Stock (“textual communities”).

Elsewhere in their introduction the editors present the book more in detail. In this context they again refer to the issue of identities (once more, in the context of community). They refer, for example, to linguistic barriers, which have identified particular Greek spokesmen; further reference is made to: ancient identities, ethnic, or ethno-national identities, recognizable identities (which differentiate social groups among urban immigrants), attractive or

new identities, and a shared sense of identity, which is inevitably connected to certain joint and common jurisdictions. All this, according to the authors of the introduction, leads often, in the given context of legal institutions which aim to solve conflicts, to modifications of frontiers and the identities of particular communities.

A contribution which is absolutely prominent from the perspective of the application of the concept of identity (as it represents one full third of incidences of the term in this book) is a theoretically embedded, informed analysis of the criteria of Greekness and alterity (non-Greekness) as used by Thucydides in the examples of the various ethnicities of the period (Macedonians, Chalkidians, Thracians, Scythians, Illyrians...) by Ioannis Xydopoulos (2007). The author has used the term identity first of all in the context of shared identity, ethnic identity, pan-Hellenic identity, linguistic identity, Greek identity, personal and professional identity (of Thucydides himself), national identification or “culturally based collective identity.” Xydopoulos refers to the theoretical concepts of communities formulated by Anthony Cohen (symbolic construction of communities) and those of Catherine Morgan (concerning ethnic community in classical Greece). When he speaks about ethnic identification in the context of Greek polis, he refers first of all to criteria defined by Anthony Smith (ethnic origin of nations) or to the studies of J. M. Hall or E. Hall.

The second chapter which presents an operationalization of the category of identity is written by Marianna D. Christopoulos (2007) and entitled *Greek Communities Abroad*. It is a theoretically well argued analysis of the organization of a Greek immigrant community in an alien environment. Greeks were fleeing from Ottomans and settling in Trieste, which was declared a free port by the Habsburgs in the 18th century. In general the author focused on the issue of the integration of immigrants into a foreign urban society. In this article the term identity was mentioned in various, mainly, ethnic connotations. Thus, we learn about “Greek identity,” “national-religious identity,” “diasporic” or “public” identities, professional identity, “new (local) identity,” etc. Methodologically, the author operationalizes the concept of “community” as understood by A. Cohen (symbolic construction of communities), G. Hillary and L. W. Warner.

The third relevant chapter was written by Zoltán Györe (2007) and represents an example of the positive relationships of two different ethnic and national communities in a description of collaboration in the field of cultural activities, specifically Hungarians and Serbs staging and producing theatre.

The term identity was used in the following contexts: “a variety of community identities,” “shared in collective identities,” “their ethnic and religious identity,” “the transition from ethnic identities to national communities” and “the strengthening of national identities.” Without any doubt the emphasis on national ethnic identities prevails in this text, as we can see in it also a contribution of the theatre to the nationalization of urban social life. Methodologically, compared with the preceding chapters, this one is not more deeply embedded in more general historical-sociological or anthropological concepts and was focused on a descriptive analysis of the problem.

The last two chapters, which use the category identity, concern Spanish history. In the chapter offered by Florencia Peyrou (2007), the focus is on Spanish republicanism as an “imagined society,” a representation which has, in an extraordinary way, influenced the development of liberalism in Spain and in a decisive manner contributed to popular mobilization. The author has used the term identity predominantly in derived contexts. Directly the term identity was used only in references to Cohen’s understanding of community as a system of values “which provide its members with a sense of identity.” In other cases, Peyrou uses mainly the term “identified”— which means who or what identified with whom or with what. However, the chapter is very remarkable for the way Peyrou theoretically grasps the problem in focus and defines her field of interest. Along with older sociological concepts (those of Tönnies, MacIver, Elias, etc.), and the classical ideas of A. Cohen (symbolic construction of communities), she has used first of all the concept of “imagined community” as in the formulation of B. Anderson in his analysis of nationalism.

The fifth and last chapter in the second book presented by TWG1, which is of interest for our analysis, is the chapter *Reconstructing “Communities” and Uniting “Classes”* by Juan Pan-Montojo (2007). This chapter is devoted to the origins of *agrarismo* (agrarianism) and social mobilization in Spain in the context of the European intellectual traditions of the 19th century. The author has focused on a search for causes which explain the failure of this political project in Spain in the period. The incidence of the term identity is prevalingly “class identities” (5), “communitarian identities (national, racial, local or professional)” (2), finally “regional identities” and “identity of countryside.” Methodologically the author derives his arguments from Bauman’s and Cohen’s definitions of communities (symbolic construction of communities) and, further, from the intellectual and political heritage of the 19th century as it corresponds with the declared intention of the chapter.

We can thus conclude that particularly the first part of the second book (*Representations*) performs an ample operationalization of the category of identity. Through the definitions, explorations, and theoretical justifications of the category of communities and ethnic communities (Bauman, Cohen, Barth and Anderson) the discussed chapters have highlighted the focus on the community as social and political space.

Frontiers and Communities

For the authors, the concept of frontiers was even more marginal than identity, and mostly in its political and territorial understanding. Firstly, the authors used alternatively the two English words for describing physical barriers or demarcation lines between territories – border or frontier, without differentiating between the two. Second is the context of cultural borders or frontiers. Thirdly there appears the symbolic meaning of frontier, understanding the limits of political power, legal systems or the limits of the influence of intellectual streams. Interesting are of course those situations when these understandings occur all together in one chapter.

The focus on communities in the second volume on *States, Legislations, Institutions*, led the research group to explore social and political relations on the local scale, and thus yet another dimension of the understanding of borders is taken on board. The community, often identical with a city or town, was also defined by its borders (Ann Katherine Isaacs on the example of Italian city-state), but it was not homogeneous; there were social spaces within the community separated by territorial or symbolic frontiers. The social functions of parish boundaries are explored, and the role of symbolic barriers of common lands and collective institutions in the competition of ideologies, as neither rural communities are homogeneous (Pan-Montojo 2007). Although they focus on very different historical periods, Ioannis Xydopoulos and Marianna D. Christopoulos show that the definition of the community's border is not given once and forever. The social borders within a certain community have to be perceived by the community in order to be relevant, and there is a valuable relationship to the larger territorial units to which the community belongs. The definition of territorial borders is also related to geographical and ethnic aspects. It is a construct which is also not given once and forever (Xydopoulos 2007; Christopoulos 2007).

Frontiers and Identities in Intersections

In conclusion, we can summarize that from the perspective of operating with the terms frontier/s and identity/ies, this thematic work group, which focused on states, legislations, and institutions, the most considerable progress was displayed in the second book (*Communities in European History: Representations, Jurisdictions, Conflicts*). Thanks to its conceptual framework, it partially approached the research field of frontiers and identities on one side, while on the other, suggested the link to urban studies. At the same time we cannot confirm any reciprocal influence or inspirations between the thematic work groups, which would be visible through the immediate results of their research demonstrated, in this case, by a stereotypical narrowing of the contents of identities to ethnic or national collective identities, and on a mainly territorial understanding of frontiers and borders, although they do appear to various degrees in such a guise. We can, however, identify themes for future collaborative research which originate from those situations where the two concepts were used together: (1) the role of the border/frontier for the constitution of group identity or the identity of a community, particularly an ethnic community (Xydopoulos 2007); (2) the role of the relationship between the boundary and consciousness of identity for the constitution of community, or of a social group (Christopoulos 2007); (3) the social role of new “imagined communities” in the context of strengthening national identity, and the creation of new barriers between so far collaborating social groups (Györe 2007); (4) changes in state borders as a cause of crises of identity or the emergence of multiple identities and relationship between (national) identity and the existence of (nation) states (Györe 2007); and last but not least (5) the appreciation of the importance of cultural borders as a theme of scientific interest, when identities and cultural interactions are in the focus (Reboton 2008). In these themes we can again find many correlations with the directions taken by the authors of books discussed further in this article.

Thematic Work Group 2: Culture and Power on Frontiers and Identities in Cities

Two other books we have explored were produced by the research team of work group Power and Culture, who also were not assigned by the contract to focus on either cities, frontiers, or identities. However culture implicitly is about both. In the analysis of the discourse we approached the two concepts of power

and culture as interwoven in a similar way as were the themes of frontiers and identities. As in the case of first work group, this research team also discovered that the urban perspective is important and revealing for the study of relationships and interactions between culture and power.

The second book (Osmond – Cimdiņa 2007) is very interesting from the aspect of frontiers and identities as it announces a major interest in identities first, and second, since it reveals an interesting methodological trend of the group, which is implicitly present in the chapters. It is the problem of the spatialization of processes in the cultural life of societies and in the sphere of power, which appears first of all in urban societies, where the trappings of power were on display for centuries.

The third book (François – Syrjämaa – Terho) proves that the team of authors found during their work on the previous book a certain common methodological framework, with particular attention to identity construction. In the third book they declared their interest in research under the methodological label of “the spatial turn.” The adherence to reflecting this last large methodological turn in historiography is represented explicitly in an extensive, in-depth and developed introduction by the editors and, subsequently, by references to it in nearly all chapters. This common interest and adoption of the perspective of a discourse, based in cultural (humanist) geography and in sociological and philosophical discourses, was inspired by Henri Lefebvre and particularly his *La production de l'espace* (1974). It is represented by a focus on the construction of place (space), and is interconnecting all chapters and demonstrated in references.

During the work on the second book it appeared that the issues of identities have a spatial dimension, and the same is true for the frontier building factor; we could observe there the growing importance of the concept of frontiers. Many authors needed to touch the issue of borders, boundaries or frontiers. Some use the words arbitrarily; some feel that there is a difference in the contents. The issue of frontiers has gradually overshadowed the theme of identities, and the theme of spatiality was chosen for the third book. Consequently the frequency of the term identity and its cognates in the third book devoted to the creation, perception and living in the space pointed to the spatial dimensions and links of identity with space, which are usually defined by some kind of borders, boundaries or frontiers, and by a certain identity. Frequency analysis disclosed the terminological diversity and confirmed the complete shift of interests – from identities to frontiers – announced in the second volume.

In the second book there is a move towards a stronger linkage of the concepts of culture and power to the issue of identities, which is demonstrated by putting the term in the book's title, along with ideology and representations as the three connecting themes of culture and power. The two aspects of the relationships between "large" and "small" cultural entities and their interaction in the spaces of contacts of the two are identified as the practice of analysis. Repeatedly the editors declare their adherence to the anthropological understanding of power and culture (with reference to Bhikhu Parekh as an authority) and underline their processual nature (Osmond – Cimdiņa 2007a: IX). When we ask where, how and by whom the concept of identity was used explicitly, we obtain totally different results from the one given in the introduction. Even those who were not linked with the concept of identity in the introduction did use it and did relate it for instance to the issues of tradition and national memory (Ojārs Lāms), and to social identity, while speaking of the identity of city, space and landscape (Sinem Türkoğlu Önge, Candaş Bilisel and Rafael Gil Salinas). On the other hand, six of the twelve chapters of the second book link their themes of research with the idea of frontiers. This term appears in one way or another more often than the term identity, which was one of the three announced key problems of the second book. This confirms the axiom about the interconnectedness of the identities with frontiers, or that identities create frontiers in self-defence.

Consequently in this team's third book, the main goal was to explore in historical perspective the way interconnections between society and space were created and how they influenced each other. The authors formulated their goals based on the analytical possibilities of historians. This means to study the processes of construction and appropriation of space. The concept of lived space, which emerges as a construct (sometimes only as a result of *bricolage* or patchwork), is implicitly linked to the concepts of identity and frontier. The space has its name, it is defined and it has its image, its identity, through which it is assigned to larger or higher ranked units. As such, it has also its defined beginning and end, its frontiers. The editors Pieter François, Taina Syrjämaa and Henri Terho formulated very carefully their introduction to this volume. They shaped it as a common methodological declaration of intentions for the entire book (François – Syrjämaa – Terho 2008a). The team has chosen one dominant referential author for all chapters, Henri Lefebvre and particularly his book *The production of space*, which after having been translated and published in English in 1991 began to influence the academic discourse in cultural

studies, and is linked to the so-called spatial turn in history. Although it is not articulated in the introduction, the book's authors work explicitly with the concept of identities. It can be perceived as implicitly incorporated into the volume's programme. The ideas about place/space emerging by being used, lived and "read" by inhabitants and visitors, and thus also the identity of town, place, space being created, implies the fact that the identity is at stake.

Having on mind perspective of urban studies we would like to learn how intensively the agenda of frontiers and identities is present in discussed volumes of TWG2, and how the interconnection of the two concepts with cities is presented. As was said, we are considering all incidences in the frequency analysis, but in the consideration of broader contexts we mostly focus on the cases of significant incidences (five times and more). However, for the books of TWG2, the cases of one exclusive formulation were of importance and had to be considered in order to obtain the result responding to the programme of the books.

Identities

The authors are mostly dealing with collective identities, which on the grounds of contents analysis we can identify as three broader contexts: (1) social identity, (2) cultural identity with the linguistic one included, and (3) intertwined national and state identity with political, and national with confessional. These may be forming in particular cases four particular contexts.

Social Identity is viewed firstly through the interpretation of social groups in representative societies. The definition of social roles has many forms beginning with negotiation and ending with conflict (Nicoară 2006). In focus is the representation of central power – royal, imperial or dictatorial. Toader Nicoară reflects on the complexity of the academic discussion starting with Ernst Kantorowicz, Marc Bloch, Max Weber, continuing with Gustav Le Bon, Émile Durkheim, Marcel Mauss, Roger Chartier, Bronisław Geremek, and ending with Michel Vovelle, Reinhart Koselleck, Alain Corbin, Louis Marin and Carlo Ginzburg. The author understands historical representations as a partially autonomous field of research, the central theme of which is the representation of power. However, the contents and the concept of identity are not analyzed, the article can be read as a representation of the methodological background of the research group.

Cities, understood as socially organized spaces, can be viewed as a contribution to the concept of social identity. Serpil Özaloglu, in the third volume, thematized the identity of urban space in connection to modernity

and experiences of an individual dedicated to the relationship of the inhabitants of Ankara to their city. The identity of space is viewed in connection with personal independence, and modernity is linked to individuality. Influenced by Henri Lefebvre's *Production of Space*, Özalöglü identifies as criteria for the modernity of an individual the necessary anonymity of everyday life in a large city. She views the traditional social web as a constraint. It is the control of the family, of neighbours or of other traditional social relations, which have to disappear in a truly modern urban society. The fragmentation of social identities in modern urban life is one important aspect to which the author refers (Özalöglü 2008). Further, Özalöglü continues in referring to Lefebvre and J. Chevalier, stressing the importance of an appropriated and identified space (social space) for the identity of the society. She accepts and develops the thesis that a society cannot gain identity without establishing a social space first of all. Özalöglü shows here that she has a broader referential framework in confrontation with the concept of identity affecting everyday life in a modern city, also with inspirations from Maurice Halbwachs (social memory) and Michel De Certeau (everyday life), and others. Social space seems to be identified here with public space, thus public activities contribute to the acceleration of building a collective identity, in this case attached to the capital city as the symbol of the republic (Özalöglü 2008: 21). The author does not articulate the problem of the division of social spaces within the city, but while she differentiates identified spaces, she speaks about: residential area/district, shopping places/area, picnic area, park, neighbourhood – their separation, delimitation and bordering are implicit in the text.

Public spaces and their social identities are explored in the co-authored chapter about the Dolmabahçe Palace in Istanbul (Caner – Yoncacı 2008). Çağla Caner and Pelin Yoncacı focus on the social role of the Grand Ceremonial Hall and ground it in Lefebvre's concept about possible multiple (overlapping) identities of space in relation to their users, various social and cultural contexts and historical periods (Caner – Yoncacı 2008: 52). The authors also found inspiration in the writings of Walter Benjamin and Michel Foucault, as they stress the importance of the identity of actors for the identity of space, which is created while the space is being used, and while the users live the events taking place within the public space. They explore their argument in the case of the *Muayede* ceremony, which had a public character. Those who attended were members of the elite, statesmen, deemed worthy to be received by the Sultan, and foreign ambassadors, eminent guests and members of the royal family offered their

greetings to the Sultan according to a pre-determined arrangement. Some members of the families of officials serving the Sultan could observe the ceremony as well. Although the greeting ceremony included only upper-class members of society, there were people with various identities associated with such an elite group. The ceremony turned into a joint experience, just as the ceremonial hall turned into a shared, experienced space. The authors explore the visual perceptions of participants transmitted in written testimonies (memoirs) and show how their spatial experiences of the Hall vary according to the identity of the subject participating in the ceremony, their role in the ceremony, the place where they stood, or their position in respect to the regime. They conclude, inspired by Foucault, that the Grand Ceremonial Hall which was the space of power and the space of representation at one and the same time remained at the periphery of the “social space” of the Dolmabahçe Palace, while being located in the centre of its “material space.” (Caner – Yoncaci 2008: 64-66).

Space (i.e., the terrestrial one) does not exist by itself. It is socially identified, and thus it has also defined and described borders, and since by its nature it has its end, it has also temporal and social dimensions, along with the material (geographical) dimension. Caner and Yoncaci are conceptually close to the metaphor of communicating vessels of frontiers and identities, through which the approach to the field of research was defined in the opening volume of TWG5 (Ellis – Klusáková 2006: 101-135).

Quite a few authors explored the concept of spatiality in connection with social identity or group identity. It already appears in the perceptions of ceremonies in the Dolmabahçe Palace. Similarly Anu Lahtinen sees in the identification with space a demonstration of social identification. She has dedicated her study to the relationships of free owners with their estates as a demonstration of the identity construction of the aristocracy (nobility). She underlines the key role of landed property in the course of their social identity formation (Lahtinen 2008).

Jeroen Deploige explored the potential of a medieval city to stimulate the formation of group identities among its inhabitants. He founded his argument on the ideas of Martha Howell, who inspired by Lefebvre claimed the medieval city as a socially constructed space, which is, moreover, clearly bordered by fortifications and protected legally, and thus for its inhabitants marked by a substantial collective identity. Deploige analyzes the use or even better misuse of space. On one hand there is a special identity, a special protective-sacral

power of space and on the other hand a political power, which uses the violation of this protective-sacral power as a means of punishment. The medieval town is for Deploige a social space endowed by a particular identity, and the reality of its frontier is articulated explicitly (by city walls) as well as implicitly. The author refers to cultural anthropology and to cognitive psychology and neurosciences, for supporting his argument that emotions like rancour, anger or shame were not the performances of an anarchist or uncontrolled social behaviour, but were part of the formation of social identities. He also claims that the communal uprisings of the High Middle Ages contributed to the shaping of the communal space. "It was this evolution which also led to the development of a typical spatial communal infrastructure, with both practical and symbolic importance, of which market places, town gates, halls and belfries were going to become the main expressions." (Deploige 2008).

The concept of spatial representations of social identity was further developed by Guðmundur Hálfðanarson, while he opened the issue of redefinitions of private spaces in rural settlements. Even in the sparsely inhabited environment of rural Iceland, characterized by a difficult climate, its divisions and social functions played a very important role, which did disguise tensions and conflicts. The division (allocation) of the inhabited space takes the shape of physical obstacles, walls and barriers, as well as symbolic borders felt and perceived. If we apply a more detailed frequency analysis, we see the meticulous work with terms connected with spatiality, when the reason is not to avoid repetitions of terms and to achieve a high quality literary style. In focus is the inhabited space, where privacy has various levels: it is hierarchized, separated, perceived and also articulated. The space is divided by a more or less symbolic or felt "boundary," "border," "barrier," a more often symbolic than real "wall," particularly a "wall of silence," and implicitly the identified space is labelled as area, sphere, or zone (Hálfðanarson 2008: 117-118).

Cultural Identity was thematized by Ali Uzay Peker, particularly in his interpretation of reciprocal cultural stereotypes in reciprocal perceptions of Ottoman and Christian societies, which were based on the complex of values creating the cultural code of society, i.e., one's own identity (Peker 2006). Another perspective is offered through linguistic identity as a representation of cultural identity. This is based on a case study of the culture of an exiled community in the 20th century. Lavinia Stan defines three levels of identification for intellectuals: the first level represents those who refuse to integrate into the receiving society, feeling this to be an unachievable goal. They communicate in

their mother tongue and keep a unique linguistic identity. On the second level are those who master both languages – their native and that of the adopted society and have two cultural identities (double cultural identity). The third level represents those who quit their original linguistic identity and feel at home in the adopted culture. The addressees of their literary works are readers of the receiving society. This concept is presented by the example of Romanian exile in the USA as an opinion presented in historiography which was adopted and applied by the chapter's author. However, she does not develop it further and does not discuss it critically (Stan 2006: 150).

Rafael Gil Salinas offered yet another perspective on cultural identities. He studied the identification of space, through living the space and its labelling with the help of the *beaux arts*. Salinas views the works of art as related to the recent or remote past, and thus the city's inhabitants could identify through historical heroes with the higher collectivity, or, in the author's words, they "projected themselves into the civic space, determining the urban adornment of the city." Further Salinas writes: "in the 19th century, the socialization of city life and the active participation of the citizens began to be reflected in ornamentation." He shows how the statue becomes the instrument for the actors, who do not have to be the artists themselves, but also the inhabitants of the city, of the particular district as investors or sponsors of the work of art (Gil Salinas 2007). The artefact is often used instrumentally for political goals. The context is blurred; it is not a purely cultural identity which is at stake; it is a mixture of all kinds of feelings of belongingness or appropriation of the space.

National Identity is approached differently according to the type of the evolution of the modern nation. The concept is studied in the second volume by Guðmundur Hálfðanarson and Ólafur Rastrick. They deal with the revision and re-interpretation of historiographical approaches to the process of construction of national identity in a case study of 19th-century Iceland, where the interpretation of national history and literature and art itself were central in national emancipation, unification and the construction of national identity. The authors point to the consciousness of cultural identity amongst the population and consequently on instrumentally used state cultural politics, which is in the 20th century interconnected with official historiography. The authors present Icelandic historiography as entering the mainstream discussion initiated by Benedict Anderson and Ernest Gellner (Hálfðanarson – Rastrick 2006: 102).

Ojārs Lāms develops the theme of cultural/national Identity, which was explored by Hálfdanarson and Rastrick in the previous book. The author contributes to the argument that cultural identification is built and strengthened through a narrative with nation building contents and studies the forms of strengthening of national identity through literary images. Lāms shows this in the case of Latvian cultural identity built by intellectuals through the instrumental use of epics (Lāms 2007).

The construction of national identity was also studied through the expression in the project of the modernization of the capital city. The identity of the city is related to modernity and the republican idea through monumental constructions which are identified with it and become its symbols. The spatial dimension of nation building is used as a tool in identification and is defined by its frontiers; its definitions are historical, meaningful and contain symbols. This concept appeared explicitly in the chapters written by Sinem Türkoğlu Önge and Cânâ Bilsel and was not so strongly mentioned in two other chapters. All four are dedicated to the Turkish experience (particularly in Türkoğlu Önge 2007 and in Bilsel 2007).

Identification with the state can be formulated politically as primordially the identification with a certain regime and its ideology. Thus we find case studies dealing with the concept of political identity developed through ideological and aesthetic education. Mónica Olivares studied, in the example of Franco's Spain, the targeted influence of totalitarian political power on the identity of an individual. Similarly, Jonathan Osmond worked with the concept in the example of the "dictatorial regime" in the GDR and the instrumental use of socialist realism (i.e., artistic or broadly cultural production), which was supposed to become an integral part of collective identity (Olivares 2006; in a similar way Osmond 2006).

Political identity instrumentally used to strengthen the state identity is the theme studied by Kimmo Ahonen. The contents of the collective identity of a particular state unit's society emerge as a result of the targeted influence of democratic political power. The reader is invited to follow the idea in the example of American anticommunism being an element, which became an integral part of American identity. The author discusses reflections of this opinion in historiography. The text does not disclose the author's attitude towards the concept of identity. Ahonen does not identify with the revisionist stream of American historiography, which he discusses in the chapter (Ahonen 2006).

The argument is developed further in the focus of interconnections of identity with the nation state and confession, which are viewed through their spatial representations. In the chapter offered by Pieter François we find the two expressed in spatialized perceptions of British travelogues about Belgium. The author of the analysis looks into the contents of identity. He shows the interest of travelers in mentalities, which were viewed with either positive or negative connotations. The travelers saw many positive values, not least in the political system, but, on the other hand it was difficult for them to cope with the Catholicism of Belgians. This appears as a very significant attribute with negative connotations. The travelers attributed to Catholicism its space within the national space of the Belgians. This hierarchization and structured aspect of space implies that there were borders between those spaces, linear or zonal. Belgium as a new identity emerged in 1830 through its separation from the kingdom of the Netherlands. Thus identity emerged from the construction of borders between the two states, but also through the influence of Catholicism. The traveling Britons, who visited mainly cities and residences of their counterparts thus became involved in the social life – not in the political life, attempted to delimit a Protestant space within Belgian space, which they perceived as Catholic. This confessionalization had a spatial dimension (confession was territorialized, the space appropriated), and what the author discusses is one very important type of symbolic frontier. In the case of this chapter the border of the space defined by Catholicism and Protestantism is in focus, and it is not a value-free space, but, to the contrary, one with strong connotations (François 2008).

Frontiers

Several authors primarily use the concept of frontier, while identity is secondary or only implied. In the second volume frontiers appear in five broader contexts; first we find them as the necessary boundary to cross between academic disciplines (Launaro 2007). Secondly, frontiers separate political powers in the chapters of Anett Puskár, Peer Henrik Hansen and Çağla Caner. They speak about living on the frontier of two world powers, about border defence systems, frontier principalities, authority. They put into a binary opposition peripheral (or frontier/border) region and central region. The border or frontier region has the same meaning and it has some negative connotations (Puskár 2007; Hansen 2007; Caner 2007). The third context presents borders separating town/city and countryside. Here the border confirms the dichotomy

of urban and rural culture. This concept is used also by Caner and by Sinem Türkoğlu Önge (2007). Alessandro Launaro explores the relationship between a rural landscape characterized by a specific settlement and a built environment and cities in Italy in Roman times. The landscape embodies a notion about the visible territory which has defined the border, therefore the notion of frontier is also discussed. Frontiers or borders separating civilizations are considered when *ribats* (Islamic frontier castles which were used to protect the borders of Islamic lands) are mentioned. In the course of expansion these lost their meaning (Önge, M. 2007). But they still presented barriers which disguised, in terms of the functioning reality, the civilizational frontier. These types of landmarks are in fact blurring the borders. It is well known that borders on the map have often little in common with existing reality and the functioning frontiers of civilization. Although the author does not use the notion identity when he uses the notion civilization, it is all about cultural identity. And, lastly, borders give hierarchies to spaces, dividing spaces and landscapes. If Mustafa Önge represents caravans which could travel only a limited distance each day, and the route had to be consequently divided into stages, he shows that thus the space of Islamic culture is labelled and structured (Önge, M. 2007: 51). Jeroen Deploige presented a territorial frontier being simultaneously social and identity forming, in his case study focused on medieval Bruges (Deploige 2008). For Guðmundur Hálfðanarson the symbolic wall of silence is the social frontier separating private spaces in an Icelandic rural homestead (Hálfðanarson 2008). The two concepts appear linked together in the approach of Alessandro Launaro, Çağla Caner and Cână Bilsel. Only Launaro considers the symbolic border (one between academic disciplines); in five other chapters the physical, spatial border was considered. A more intensive awareness of connections between the identification of space, its fulfilment by ideological symbols and the inevitable result in its definition or delimitation can be found in Bilsel's approach, which develops explicitly and simultaneously both concepts.

The concept of living the space articulated by Lefebvre, which suffuses and integrates the book, contains the idea of frontier. Space is appropriated by somebody, or assigned to somebody, and gains identity. The lived space is a social space, located in time and in a three-dimensional environment (space, milieu). If the authors discuss space defined in the said manner, they are necessarily leading on to a frontier discourse, even though, in the major part of the chapters, the frontier remains implicit and sometimes not even given the name. Furthermore, in some chapters identity remains not named (implicit), although

the socially organized space is a space which has its identity. The most frequently used term in the third book, common to all chapters – space – is the term which in our terrestrial world contains/implies both identity and frontier. Maybe only outer-space/beyond-space/cosmic space is endless.

Interconnection of the Twin Concepts with the Notion of Cities

Explicit and coupled mention of the concepts of frontiers and identities is more than rare in the books of this research group. For the moment it seems that the concept of identity was the most appealing theme for the working group Power and Culture at the beginning of the project. Gradually the concept of the spatialization of cultural (i.e., social) phenomena took the lead. Identity and identification appeared in contexts which firstly link identity with state, nation, and politics; next come social identities and thirdly cultural (art, language) and civilizational ones. Obviously the researchers were aware that identities have spatial and temporal dimensions, and consequently they have interconnected identities to frontiers. In the end we must say logically the intersection of the concepts of frontiers, identities, and also culture and power was taking place in cities. Authors have shown that the research field is very complex – a frontier between urban and rural societies is a cultural border, and social, as well as, in some societies, also ethnic/national. On the other hand, the cultural (religious, ethnic or linguistic) border does not always copy the political one. Although the authors do not explicitly work with the two concepts as a couple, having an interest in these concepts we can find them everywhere. The analysis raises a question about the possibility of further work with the concept of fragmented identities, with the hierarchization of identities, and with the overlapping of identities and, in consequence, also of frontiers.

Thematic Work Group 5: Frontiers and Identities on Cities

Identities and Cities

If we explore in a more detailed way the “urban” volume of TWG5, we find that the strongly articulated interest in cities implies for the authors the notion of identity, and they mostly do not feel obliged to explore it explicitly and in detail, moreover as it was done in the introduction to the volume and in the first two volumes of the same team. Based on the results of a frequency analysis we can say that almost half of all the articles (there are 21 in the volume) do not treat identities at all, or just a little, compared to frontiers. There are two exceptions

in this volume, namely the introduction and Jaroslav Ira's article, which both are aimed explicitly at identities (Ira 2008; Klusáková – Teulières 2008a). Mostly they are used in the sense of regional, local or territorial identity, such as place identity or city identity, and national, state and ethnic identity. These results confirm the focus of volume III on urban space in regional, national and supranational contexts. Regarding the problems of terminology, TWG5 agreed on the possible irrelevancy of the term nationality in pre-modern ages. Instead, terms in the sense of ethnic belonging were considered to be more relevant. The above-mentioned article by Jaroslav Ira deals with identities represented, verbally presented and potentially formed, in historical monographs of Bohemian, Moravian and Galician towns, published between 1860 and 1900. A specific product of these monographs – a semantically-structured and multi-levelled project – is an oscillation between images of social identity (a city as a social group), of place identity (a city as a place) and of urban identity (a city as urban space). This chapter illustrates nicely how the problems of identities can be complex and multi-levelled. The need for a proper methodology to handle it seems obvious.

To sum up identities, it can be repeated that – with some exceptions – the authors reflected historical, sociological and anthropological discourses on identities, identification, stereotypes or images of the “other” as well as their interaction and dynamic character, and they did so in an interdisciplinary approach.

Frontiers and Cities

The concept of identity proved to be a challenging task in terms of its content and meaning, whereas the concept of frontiers challenged the authors more in the lexical field. Creating, dismantling, crossing, or maintaining and anxiously guarding frontiers, and, last but not least, their ties to identities are the subjects of the presented volumes. But what sort of frontiers? Some contributors discuss physical (natural, regional or state) borders, including frontier regions, others prefer the metaphorical meaning of this term and talk about cultural, linguistic, religious borders, or the borders of groups defined in cultural, linguistic, ethnical or religious terms, or imagined frontiers between local citizens and immigrants. In most cases, however, physical and metaphorical boundaries are inseparable phenomena. They coexist, having identical or different trajectories. To indicate one or another type of frontier, the authors use a variety of terms, such as border, boundary, frontier, limit, barrier, wall,

pale, margin, and others. With no exception the authors distinguish between different types of frontiers and examine what the ties between them are, if any. The concrete use of the term is, however, up to every author, and there is no unified approach in this sense. The editors suggest using the term border for physical frontiers and the term frontier for symbolic ones. Yet this method is not followed for a number of reasons. Perhaps the strongest argument for transgressing this rule is the need for a fluent and reader-friendly text. In those parts of the text where frontiers appear frequently, the use of identical terms would be classified as a stylistic lapse. Therefore, it was only plausible to use different words in places where the repetition of words would spoil the overall reading experience.

Let us focus now on a frequency analysis of several types of frontiers. In the aforesaid volume at least some occurrence of frontiers-related terms can be found in all articles, but in six of them there are only a few cases of use. The most frequent meaning is related to an institutional border/frontier, e.g., border crossing, border guard, border stone, etc. Mostly it represents the physical expression of the border/frontier, such as walls or fortifications. Further, it is used in the sense of a local – internal – border/frontier, such as a regional border/frontier, also a European one, or the frontier between urban and rural. Also, it can be found as symbolic, metaphorical, mental, psychological, ethnic, or confessional borders/frontiers/limits, for instance, of time or professional. Last but not least, there are political, state, military, or administrative borders/frontiers. With regard to the aims of the authors in this volume, which is an innovation of the research, we can see these results as a confirmation of TWG5's efforts to expand the common understanding of frontiers previously limited to the political, state, military, or administrative. They gave space to frontiers/borders of different kinds, such as local, regional, or symbolic and metaphorical.

Returning to frontiers, we can moderate our criticism of terminology by arguing that the unique terminology and usage of frontiers/borders-related terms was not the task of TWG5. Instead, the members of TWG5 drew attention to different kinds of frontiers/borders emphasizing their interconnection with identities. This task – with some exceptions in mind – can be pronounced as tackled. In several case studies it was also shown that identities are not stable, and that symbolic frontiers are not simply fixed; rather they move, shift and transform in relationship to identities.

Cities, Frontiers and Identities – Interconnections of the Key Concepts

Most important for the research group was to identify the interactions between frontiers and identities; however from the urban studies perspective it is also interesting to single out the third link – the city. The interconnection of the key concepts announced as a program of TWG 5 can be found in the texts at different levels: a) no interconnection, which means that articles attend exclusively to one of the themes; b) obligatory interconnection when authors deal with both subjects, but separately and do not interconnect them. According to our frequency analysis, this approach could appear as a balanced representation of both terms. Hence another criterion must be taken into account to differentiate it from c) conceptual interconnection, that is, an analysis of explicit occurrences of both terms in relation to each other. Still, it is necessary to read the texts attentively and single out contexts in which related terms appear. Only this multifaceted approach can help to uncover the depth of the theoretical and methodological embedding of the key terms by individual authors. The volume *Cities in Regions and Nations* offers research on frontiers and identities in the contextual scale of a city and a region. In the introduction, the editors let readers take part in a TWG5 debate on key terms, for instance on a region, and show the interconnection of both concepts in the articles and in the thematic sections into which the volume is subdivided. The first chapter deals with several methodological concepts and theoretical tools used in urban history, for instance a theory of liminality, which opens new interdisciplinary perspectives for historians. It is shown that frontiers – both institutional and symbolic – are very important in the humanities because they are essential tools in the study of social divisions, the segmentation of roles and the construction of collective identity. The second chapter observes the dichotomy of public/private as typical for modern societies and focuses on the case-study of post-1945 Krakow. It displays the deformed situation of a socialist city where the frontiers of the private were purposely not respected and intentionally broken as public life was damaged. In the text explicit occurrences of the terms frontiers and identities are rare, and in a relational sense they are not used at all. Indeed, the key terms are present only implicitly. The author might not have considered drawing attention to this fact as necessary. Frontiers between private and public are related to the problem of the individual's identification with a place called home.

The third chapter studies frontiers and identities in connection with sexual behaviour and its regulation, in other words, with the moral territory in a city

and in the countryside. The fourth chapter gives a historical example of a social frontier, the medieval exclusion of women from religious sanctuaries, in the case of the sanctuary of Saint Cuthbert in Durham. The fact that social frontiers form identities is well known; unfortunately, in this article the idea is not developed. This is also the case with the following chapter on Brussels in the 15th and 16th centuries. It concerns the internal frontiers of a city, mainly not physically expressed, which were created from above, by the City Council, by the rule *divide et impera*. The absence of identities in this analysis is explained by the difficulties of relating this kind of frontier to the formation of specific social identities. Also, the sixth chapter on the evolution of urban oligarchies in Irish towns 1350-1534 does not incorporate the conceptual interconnection of frontiers and identities. *Fortification Territories: Fragmentation and Hierarchization of Parisian Spaces in the 19th Century* is one of the articles which pay more attention asymmetrically to one of the themes, to frontiers in this case, which implicitly strengthen identification – understood as the hierarchization of spaces. The chapter investigating both concepts, interconnected in the case of early modern Hungarian towns, is attentive to the formation of social, ethnic and religious identities (and frontiers) and their changes. It also takes into account external events such as wars.

The following article also interconnects both concepts and gives an example of Ottoman urban space from the Jewish inhabitants' points of view, using a specific kind of source, namely *responsa* literature. The aim of the author was to illustrate different types of identity from the Jewish perspective, with special emphasis on the fact that Jewishness (which may be understood in religious, ethnic, and cultural terms) was only one method of self-identification. The chapter dealing with ethnic, social and mental frontiers within interwar Latvian society, with special regard to urban space, specifically Riga through the lens of German inhabitants, is based on autobiographical sources. The emphasis on mental frontiers within society implies that the theme of identities and the concepts are used in conjunction.

Similarly the analysis of place identity involves the two concepts. Kiev is presented as being changed by First World War experience – through Polish and Czech spatial stories. Frontiers and identities are interconnected when the new organization of a city in war (building and removing barriers) changes its identity. Another article is also on the war experience of a city, in this case, Krakow under Nazi occupation. It focuses on the reception of the violent changes brought about by the Germanization of everyday life by Polish inhabitants. The

identity theme is not articulated, but it can be found implicitly in the search for a sense of one's own space in an occupied city. Nevertheless, frontiers and identities are not interconnected. The fifteenth chapter concerns interactions between peasant and urban spaces in communist Poland and avers that such a heterogeneous space as a city could assimilate peasant immigrants without a distinct change of itself, or without any kind of ruralization. Frontiers and identities are reflected in the problem of immigrant identity within the limits of urban space, but their interconnections are not explicitly highlighted here. The last chapter questions the public use of history and cultural heritage in building collective identities, comparing three cases – Czech, Slovak and French – and their particular strategies of revival. The theme of frontiers is expressed in the form of the frontier between urban and rural spaces, between core and peripheries. Identities are present in the need of rural cities to identify themselves with a larger region, with a national community, or with a supranational one, e.g., European. The interconnection is noted in the text indirectly.

To sum up, the missing articulations and conceptual interconnections in the case studies are partly compensated for in the final conclusion. There the relationships are made visible, pointed at, and the disparate articles are linked together.

General Conclusive Remarks

The findings of this collaborative analytical exercise offer the reader a possibility of comparison of approaches of the researchers in the four books in focus. It also displays the limits and benefits of frequency and contents analysis. Even if the academic discussion is carried on in English as our *lingua franca*, the explanation of methodological approaches and terminological clarity is still important, as it clarifies the position in the research field. What is obvious, regardless of methodology, is that the authors saw in urban perspective a paradigm, the explicit articulation of spatial scales and the play with spatial scales permitted them to work with the key concepts (state, institution, community, power, culture) and frontiers and identities simultaneously in interaction, although often in the text of the particular chapters in an implicit manner. The urban perspective was not felt as a reduction or limitation. Frontiers and identities played a key role, even if they were not in focus. To study them explicitly in interaction even in an urban context where it has been shown that these are an obviously a “communicating vessel” remains a very demanding task on the agenda of historians.

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