Is there anything original I can say, anything that is still unknown
or that hasn't been said? Who of us Russians (those, at least,
that read periodicals) does not know Europe twice as well
as Russia? I have put down 'twice' merely out of politeness,
I should probably have said 'ten times better'.
Fyodor Dostoevsky

Introduction. What's Left Behind.
The *Lieux de Mémoire* of Europe beyond Europe

Marjet Derks, Martijn Eickhoff, Remco Ensel and *Floris Meens*

Musings on Europe

How to approach 'Europe'? With great expectations, complacency or bitterness? It seems that Dostoevsky felt all three when he realized a long-cherished dream and visited Europe in 1862. His dream was to see with his own eyes all the enchanting places of memory he had longed for since childhood: Shakespeare's Verona, Berlin's Unter den Linden – that he knew from Nikolay Karamzin's travelogue – and Cologne's Cathedral that he remembered from architecture class, to cross the Alps and immerse himself in the world of Anne Radcliffe's gothic novels. He imagined Paris, the 'Mecca of all Russian tourists', before he even set foot on French soil. Parisian reality, however, evoked bitter stereotypical comments on the character of the *Parisiens.* All this is revealed in his *Winter Notes on Summer Impressions,* that Dostoevsky wrote back in Petersburg in 1863, engaging in a Russian favourite pastime: exploring their 'national individuality by comparing themselves with Europe'.[1] His travels had opened Dostoevsky's eyes to the human misery and loss of community spirit in modern Europe. Reporting on a visit to the second London World's Fair in Crystal Palace, Dostoevsky conjures up a disquieting image in his *Notes*:

> You observe these hundreds of thousands, these millions of people, obediently flowing here from all over the world – people coming with one thought, peacefully, unceasingly, and silently crowding into this colossal palace. This is some sort of Biblical illustration, some prophecy of the Apocalypse fulfilled before your eyes.[2]

The transcontinental writer/tourist transformed his childhood fantasies of 'the land of holy wonders' into a nightmare of modernity: the collapse of European civilization.[3]

Some sixty years later, Dutch historian Johan Huizinga travelled outside of Europe and this too resulted in observations of its culture and identity. Having published a book about the United States in 1918 (*Mensch en menigte in Amerika*) without visiting this continent, he finally went there in 1926. His Grand Tour was not just a cultural familiarization with the New World, but also an incentive to reflect about Europe. At first, Huizinga compared the towns he visited to those in Europe (finding similarities between Chapel Hill and his home town Groningen), but gradually he became impressed with American vitality. Notwithstanding all his negative remarks on modern mass culture and its speed as well as his defensiveness of Europe's cultural tradition, Huizinga noted that this was indeed the New World, a world that held the future that once belonged to Europe.[4]

Such remarks were by no means new. Whether written from a cultural, economic or political point of view, Europe's vigour – and with that, its identity – was doubted or downright disputed. Already in 1820, German-Danish philosopher, theologian and statesman Conrad von Schmidt-Phiseldek declared that the United States would soon be a new world power if European states did not succeed in overcoming their differences and unite.[5] Huizinga defended Europe's cultural tradition but doubted its chance of survival. Yet another European author visiting the United States publicly questioned the idea that Christianity is one of Europe's fundamental identifying characteristics. In 1948, British novelist Evelyn Waugh declared the time of Europe as the core of Christianity to be over. Confronted with Benedictine monasteries, flourishing parish life and the all-Catholic University of Notre Dame, Waugh felt touched by an allure that, for him, did not compare to similar places in Europe. Christian Europe represented the burdens of a civilization that had outlived itself. He posed the youth and vigor of the United States, particularly its religious vitality, against a dying Old World.[6]

These authors are just a few examples out of a long list of writers reflecting on Europe. Quite often, their reflections are of a disappointed, lamenting or downright negative nature. Although it is critical, cultural historian Peter Rietbergen's *Europe, a cultural history* contains none of these characteristics. Rather, in describing Europe's history as a series of continuities and changes, Rietbergen emphasizes what he sees as the unique features of European civilization, (Christian) tradition and particularly 'the idea of Europe':

> Christianity and Christian culture together slowly became the norm of all things, the challenging and at the same time restrictive context for ideas and actions; for a long time, they were the most influential factors in the process which shaped 'Europe' out of a geographical coincidence […].[7]

This 'idea' stands out, although, as Rietbergen adds, the influence of Christianity, both as a culture and as a religion, and the knowledge of classical Antiquity and its traditions have been slowly declining. Furthermore, this 'idea of Europe' has continually been shaped by self-definitions measured against others, the 'outside world'. Different skin colours, diverging cultural expressions and religious beliefs have been cornerstones of constructions of identity and alterity.[8] Von Schmidt-Philsedek, Huizinga, Waugh and Dostoesvky, along with numerous others, seem to prove Rietbergen's point. 'Europe beyond Europe' refers to these relations between Europe and the outer-European world and in particular to these reciprocal processes and their related imaginings.

Europe's entangled histories and memories

What's Left Behind deals with the changing ideas about Europe and European identity. It is the result of a project that examined a range of interacting imaginings of Europe, in and beyond the continent. We deliberately begin the methodological introduction of the volume with a discussion of Pierre Nora's seven-part series of French *lieux de mémoire* and a successive range of national projects that, each in their own way, trace how national memory is built on a set of meaningful artifacts.[9] It is difficult to imagine a recent historical concept that has been more successful and fruitful than Nora's *lieu de mémoire*, a concept that moreover has been appropriated and interpreted by academics from different backgrounds as well as professionals active in cultural institutions at their discretion. The success of the approach has resulted in an exciting, sometimes untamed collection of publications packed with topographies and topoi of national memory.[10]

The aim of *What's left behind* is to connect the concept of *lieux de mémoire*, originally developed as a way to understand the rise and fall of European national culture, with the outer-European world, thus giving it a new transnational, transcultural and transcontinental blend. Nora's initial project and the notions of cultural transfer and entangled history invite us to look beyond the borders of the nation. Nora understands the emergence of national places of memory in light of the disintegration of social mnemonic communities (*milieux de mémoire*), where memory was experienced and transmitted in the form of local rituals, oral diffusion and everyday social practices. These local mnemonic communities supposedly vanished as part of the process of modernization and, as Nora suggests, were succeeded by national mnemonic communities that use state institutions such as school, army and museum.[11]

In brief, we lost the *milieux de mémoire*, and received the *lieux de mémoire* in return. Nora saw a second rupture of social memory at the end of the

20th century. It was then that the national frameworks in turn lost their obvious cognitive and moral authority. This second rupture inspired Nora to set up his somewhat nostalgic project on the national 'remembrance of things past'. The observation of a disintegrating national mnemonic community could have been an incentive to look beyond the borders, but Nora's *lieux* are invariably situated and conceptualized within the boundaries of the French state. Sites of colonial memory located outside France are not included – no Dien Bien Phu, no Algeria – nor are sites that would allow a more polysemous view of the national past. Later Dutch and Belgian projects benefited from these criticisms and included artifacts from colonial memory: monuments that recall colonial victories, museums, a Caribbean plantation, and a monument to the fallen peacekeepers in Rwanda.[12]

The question arises whether the concept of places of memory can also work at the supranational level of Europe. In fact, the quests for artifacts of symbolic unity (e.g. flag, anthem) as well as references to an assumed shared past (e.g. Charlemagne) were part of the project of European integration all along. The essays in this volume do not exactly deal with topics such as the top-down formation of a European canon, nor do they address the cultural politics of the European Union. For us as historians, Europe cannot be reduced to permanent features. Neither the territory, nor the content, nor the 'community' of 'Europe' are fixed at the outset. Neither is 'Europe' a top ten of cultural highlights or only a political concept imposed from above.[13] Following Gerard Delanty's 'The European Heritage from a Critical Cosmopolitan Perspective', we propose to examine Europe as a multiform cultural construction that transcends older Grand Narratives.[14] As Dostoevsky's reminiscences show, Europe exists in specific recurring narratives, topoi and historically established conceptualizations that are contained in the stories, collective fantasies and ideologies of people worldwide. Europe means a lot of – although certainly not always the same – things to many people, even within the so-called conventional geographical boundaries.

In this volume, however, we cross these borders. Particular attention is paid to the cultural transfer between locations, continents, communities and individuals. Michele Espagne and Michael Werner coined the concept of cultural transfer.[15] Originally focusing on German-French cultural exchanges in the 18th and 19th century, the concept has been extended to indicate cultural exchanges within, outside and with Europe. It forces us to rethink relationships between the center and the periphery, incoming and outgoing parties, processes of canonization and the related cultural hierarchies. The movements of objects, images, practices and ideas were not unidirectional – they never are. They are first decontextualized and then recontextualized, domesticated or 'localized'. As Peter Burke states, they are 'translated'.[16] Their significance changes during the process of transfer and therefore we need to think from a perspective of entangled histories, *his-*

toires croisées.[17] This volume is based on the premise that cultural exchange is not the exchange of definite objects, images, practices and ideas (in this case: of Europe), but rather exists in their relentless reinterpretation, rethinking, re-clustering and re-signification.[18]

We are convinced that a historical perspective on these continuing dynamic and multi-levelled imaginings will lead to a better understanding of our perceptions of Europe's changing role and position in the world. 'What's left behind' can be understood as a provocative reference to the process of change that is sometimes understood as a process of decline. In this book we have chosen a thematic approach. The first three themes, colonialism, religion and contact zones, enable us to elaborate on the cultural transfers that constitute the connection between Europe and the rest of the World. The final part, 'Europe (de)constructed', builds on this knowledge while showing how Europe as a concept was and is indeed a multiform and ever-changing cultural construction.

Colonial memory

No process has influenced the *lieux de mémoire* of Europe beyond Europe more than colonialism. As Andrea Smith noted, 'colonialism was in many ways a foundational project charting the course of several European countries'.[19] However, the custom of colonization dates back further than the genesis of the European nation-states. As the Latin origin of the term colonization (*colere,* to inhabit) rightly suggests, antiquity witnessed many transcultural contacts between Europe and other parts of the world that, however, cannot be equated with the colonialism in modern times. Various ancient Greek city-states established colonies throughout the Mediterranean, while the Roman Empire conquered large parts of Northern Africa and West-Asia.[20] Contacts between Europe and other places were still of great importance during the Middle Ages, but the Spanish conquest of the Canary Islands from 1402 onwards marked the beginning of a profound shift. Europeans had begun their systematic acquisition, exploitation, maintenance and expansion of non-European regions, known today as colonialism.

Colonialism not only meant the entering of 'new' worlds by Europeans. These new worlds and Europe were connected in complex networks that covered various parts of the world. The first part of this volume focuses on sites of memory in Europe related to the colonial world. In his paper, Nino Vallen takes an innovative approach to analyzing the *Patronato*-section of the Spanish Archive of the Council of the Indies in Sevilla. He does not examine the archive as a current site of memory, but explores how it functioned as the axis of the transcultural legal and communicative system between European and outer-European Spain from the early 1520s

onwards. Inhabitants of the viceroyalty of New Spain used the archive to validate their qualities as *conquistadores*, trying to gain royal grace or favor, not only for themselves but for future generations as well. Vallen argues that these sons and grandsons of conquerors used conventional European literary narratives and models, thus not only writing themselves into the story of the *conquista*, but also claiming to be part of the Europe that their forebears had left behind in doing so. The archive therefore became a vital part of the functioning of the colonial system as a *lieu de mémoire* in the 16th- and 17th-century Spanish Empire.

Colonial expansion not only resulted in the archiving of the (fictional) deeds of European settlers and their posterity. (Colonial) contacts between Europe and the Middle East, Asia and Africa also prompted a fascination for 'things Eastern'. Historians have profoundly studied the textual and visual aspects of Orientalism, but have slightly neglected the aspect of scent. Presenting the sense of smell as one of the strongest stimuli for memory, Richard van Leeuwen fills this historiographical gap. His account of the 1919 perfume 'Aladin' by the famous Parisian couturier Paul Poiret shows how, from the beginning of the 18th century onwards, many Europeans were spellbound by a collection of Arabic tales known as *Mille et une nuits*. This title was chosen by the French orientalist Antoine Galland who recorded several stories told to him by a Syrian priest. Van Leeuwen implicitly follows Peter Rietbergen's critique on Edward Said's study *Orientalism* (1978), even if both are aware of the functioning of Orientalism as a part of discourses of colonial domination and cultural superiority.[21] He consequently interprets Galland's 1712 publication of 'Aladdin' and Poiret's subsequent perfume as evidence of sincere European concern for and internalization of Eastern aesthetics.

The heydays of Orientalism in the middle of the 19th century concurred with the emergence of nationalism and the birth of several European nation-states such as Belgium, Germany and Italy. This severely altered the political meaning of colonialism. Outer-European possessions bore significance because several nation-states aspired to become one of Europe's Great Powers. With Asia and South America already divided and dominated by traditional European forces such as the British, French and Spanish Empires, this fight for prestige led to the 'Scramble for Africa'. In his contribution, Floris Meens shows how vital African possessions were for the young Italian Kingdom, especially since these would deflect attention from Italy's internal struggles. The colonial war with the Abyssinian Empire, however, ended in Italian defeat twice. Analyzing Italy's public remembrance of those losses, Meens uncovers how several politicians tried to radically eliminate Africa from the national memory. Unsurprisingly, when Mussolini succeeded in subjugating the Abyssinians in the 1930s, the Italian defeats of the late 19th century were hardly mentioned. As Meens shows,

however, even the fascists' collapse and the Ethiopian independence did not significantly change Italian remembrance of its colonial past. The monuments celebrating Italy's 20th century's success in Africa have remained, while the African triumphs of the late 19th century are kept under wraps.

Europe's difficult and sometimes uncomfortable dealing with its colonial past is the subject of Tom Verschaffel's paper as well. He reflects on the current Belgian debate about monuments dedicated to its former colony of Congo (1908-1960). The discussion is particularly focused on the sites of memory that feature the Belgian King Leopold II as the protagonist. Since *Congo Belge* was Leopold's personal project until the beginning of the 20th century, Belgium has relatively few monuments remembering its colonial past in an abstract or general way. Verschaffel thus concentrates on two monuments by the sea, one in Ostend, depicting the King, and another in Blankenberge, portraying two Belgian soldiers fighting in Africa. Originally, colonial references were removed from the Blankenberge monument after a fierce argument. But after the destruction of the monument by the Germans during the First World War the site was restored including references to Belgium's colonial power. The Ostend statue of Leopold shows the same historical development. Verschaffel associates this process with a growing national involvement with the colonial enterprise, which also resulted in the construction of many new colonial monuments. Even after Congo became independent in 1960, former Belgian colonials who returned to Europe cherished memories of the colonial system. However, criticism grew stronger and many places of colonial remembrance were literally attacked. In conclusion, Verschaffel encourages Belgium – and with it all former European colonial powers – not to leave the outer-European world behind and to keep incorporating the colonial past in its national memory.

At the end of the 19th century imperialism was not only important for young nation-states like Italy and Belgium. It was also crucial for a traditional colonial power like The Netherlands. As Robert-Jan Wille shows, the Dutch university-town of Leiden planned to concentrate some of its scientific institutes around the 'Great Ruin', a site in the city center that already functioned as a national *lieu de mémoire*. Wille argues that Leiden attempted to exploit this place as a means to assemble the national colonial collections of the already existing museums and societies with some local laboratories. The famous Dutch architect Pierre Cuypers created a neo-gothic and neo-renaissance design that would suit the practical aspects of the museum, but would also fit its cultural political function. Wille indicates that the eventual failure to establish a national science complex that would have glorified Leiden as a site of national learning and colonial accumulation was due to disagreements between the scientists on the one hand and the withdrawal of government support on the other.

If Christianity can be seen as one of the most influential factors in the processes that shaped 'Europe' – as Rietbergen states – it comes to no surprise that many *lieux de mémoire* of Europe outside of the continent are related to religion in one way or another. The first contacts between Europeans and people outside their continent were based on economical and commercial motivations, which interacted with religion and politics. Especially religion, whether it was in the form of Catholic or Protestant missionary activities in Latin America, Asia and Africa, migration of persecuted or deprived religious minorities from the European nations, or liberal and tolerant Protestant ideas, had a lasting spiritual and material impact outside of the continent. Yet, religious and cultural boundaries cannot be drawn on a map, they are constructs and should be studied from a cross-cultural perspective.[22] Almost from the beginning, religious relationships have been marked by reciprocity, as various authors in this volume argue. Learning about native cultures and languages was necessary for European friars to render Christianity comprehensible to indigenous people. Hence, Christian ideas and practices took on a distinctive character in the New World. Consequently, local varieties of imported European beliefs and new Christian or para-Christian religious communities emerged. All of these religious practices have also had a great impact on European consciousness.

These reciprocities feature in the second part of this volume, which focuses on 'religion'. Willem Frijhoff explores the concept of tolerance, often presented as a distinct and unique European product. Was (religious) tolerance a typically Dutch attitude, introduced in America by the Dutch themselves? Was it an American value developed in the specific conditions of American society? Or was it perhaps something in between, neither typically Dutch nor essentially American, but rather the fruit of a historical process of community-building? In a plea for a conceptual perspective of 'the transatlantic', Frijhoff perceives tolerance rather as a travelling idea that was part of an on-going multiform transatlantic exchange, thus dissociating from conceptions of European one-way communication.

In a similar line of thinking, Marjet Derks depicts Grailville (Ohio), nowadays a spiritual retreat centre but originally the product of European female conversion initiatives. Rather than being a long-lasting site of European input, it has functioned as the often melancholy-driven projection screen of travelling European and American imaginations of Christian authenticity and purity. Embodying travel, migration and concepts of religious connectedness and of cosmopolitanism, it was characterized by a flow of ideas and practices moving not just from Europe to America, but also back in the opposite direction.

For ages, a much larger city has played a similar role. As Peter Raedts

shows, the meaning of Jerusalem was much more than just a geographical site in the Middle East. Not only did it function as the idealized destination of crusaders and pilgrims, it also represented an imagined eternal *lieu de mémoire* of 'Christian Europe' itself outside of Europe. In addition, it has been a motif for other religions as well, thus functioning as a site for continuous cultural-religious transfer. Changing geopolitical circumstances have constantly redefined these idealizations, even up until the present time.

While Christians traveling to Jerusalem encountered Jews and Muslims on their way, transcultural contact took place in Spain as well. In his contribution, Henk Driessen elaborates on the existence of convivial ethnic and religious groups, not as the prototypical Northern European product of Enlightenment (cosmopolitism and tolerance), but rather as the outcome of transcultural processes in Mediterranean harbor towns. Convivencia, the concept that is regularly used to define the relatively harmonious cohabitation of different religious groups in medieval Iberia, was resurrected during the second half of the 19th century, when liberal cosmopolitism was widespread in the Mediterranean. The notion not only allowed different groups to live together peacefully, but also enabled a smooth communication with Western Europe. By showing convivencia to be the ideological foundation of contemporary Mediterranean examples of multiculturalism, Driessen shows how it has become a *lieu de mémoire* interconnecting Europe with other parts of the world.

In his paper on the so-called 'The Schmutzer-Iko sculptures', Paul Luykx elaborates on a specific religious *lieu de mémoire*, which, through transcultural and transcontinental processes, connects the Netherlands, Java and the Vatican, and, more specifically, the villages Ganjuran and Steyl. The statues that date from the 1920s are part of the Catholic strategy to adapt missionary work to the indigenous culture, or their perception of it, in order to better succeed in establishing the Catholic religion among non-Western people. As a result Christian images were translated using the visual culture of the Hindu-Javanese past. As such the statues are not only 'an experiment in adaptation' but also an example of the Catholic attack on Islam, using older indigenous means. Although the project failed, the statues still have a social function, as cult objects in Indonesia and museum objects in the Netherlands.

Contact zones

The third section of this volume, *The Lieux de Mémoire of Europe beyond Europe,* is dedicated to specific 'contact zones' in which Europe was perceived, defined and redefined all around the world during the colonial and post-colonial era. The term 'contact zone' was developed by Mary Louise Pratt in order to describe and analyze spaces where 'disparate cultures

meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of dominance and subordination, like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today'.[23] In such a context a *lieu de mémoire* related to Europe can only be multi-layered, conflicted and ever-changing.[24] After having introduced Christianity and colonialism as the most influential factors in the process in which imaginings of Europe arose on a global scale (and sometimes made it into *lieux de mémoire*), we deliberately chose to focus on local agency in this section of the book. This agency refers to the ability of people to resist, relate to or engage in imperial power. One of the big challenges in this field is to avoid Eurocentrism, the stance that European cultural assumptions or traditions are normal, natural or universal. The subaltern historian Dipesh Chakrabarty wrote his famous book *Provincializing Europe* in response to this Eurocentrism. He argues that the categories of European thought (including the concept of historicizing) are both indispensable and inadequate when writing about the non-European world. He stresses the importance of questioning the structure of narratives and of diversifying them by including multiple perspectives, ambivalences and contradictions. Additionally, he advocates for the translation of narratives across cultural and other semiotic systems.[25] This is often easier said than done. One has to be aware of the pitfalls of 'colonial determinism' and to acknowledge that the cultural expressions in the contact zones we consider here are not necessarily defined by, nor necessarily a representation of colonialism, even if colonial relations play, or have played a crucial role in shaping or transforming them.[26]

In his paper 'White people, or might be devils': Commemoration of the 1705 Dutch landing at Piramparnalli, Melville Island, North Australia', Eric Venbrux focuses on a *lieu de mémoire* of Europe beyond Europe that is a good example of post-colonial agency. The Tiwi people from North Australia have chosen the landing of Maarten van Delft in 1705 at Shark Bay as an important occasion to commemorate. Especially since 1995, when this landing was reenacted for the first time, the story of this early contact with Europeans is repatriated and strongly propagated in the Tiwi historical culture. Venbrux explains that the sudden attention for this event must be considered an aspect of the contemporary process of Tiwi history-making to assert their distinctive identity in the context of the nation and the world.

Peter Burke studies collective memory in Brazil in his paper 'Remembering and reconstructing the past in Brazil'. He focuses on three major processes or trends in Brazilian history: the republication, the nationalization, and the democratization of memory. By examining these moments of 'memory work' (analogous to Freud's 'dream work') Burke seems able to grasp the importance of the representations of encounters between the three main cultures that have made Brazil what it is today: the indigenous Amerindians, the Europeans, and the Africans. Like other countries,

Brazil has its literal and metaphorical 'places of memory', on which, however, little research has been done so far.

The paper 'Re-embarking for "Banten", the sultanate that never really surrendered' of Marieke Bloembergen and Martijn Eickhoff is a good example of getting beyond colonial determinism. In it they analyze how, in which forms and for whom Banten transformed into a site of memory and heritage in both Indonesia and the Netherlands. Banten was a powerful Sultanate on Java that in the 16th and 17th centuries became one of the biggest trade cities of Southeast Asia. It was completely destroyed by Dutch colonial force in the early 19th century. Bloembergen and Eickhoff conclude that, inspired by late 19th century nationalism and in the context of contemporary Dutch historical culture, 'Banten' primarily stands for the successful explorations of the De Houtman brothers in Southeast Asia. In Indonesia on the other hand 'Banten' is much more than a *lieu de mémoire* of Europe beyond Europe'. Once a strong trade centre – where the Dutch were one of many players – and a tolerant melting pot, it stands for unbroken – regional – heroic spirit going back to the early history of the sultans.

In his paper 'The Fabrication of Memory: the NAMES Project AIDS Quilt' Peter S. Hawkins shows how, in the late 1980s, a new way to remember, console, and transform public opinion manifested itself in the United States. The founder of this project, Cleve Jones, decided to 'name the names' of those who had died of AIDS in the same way in which fallen soldiers are honored in postwar Europe and the United States. But instead of writing these names on an official, concrete and fixed monument, Jones initiated a format whereby the names of the victims were sprayed on panels that together made up a continually growing quilt. In this way the Quilt became the ultimate collage – building on the traditional military culture of memorialization – that is open for everybody, constantly reformed and reinvented, and starts wherever you want it to start.

The last two authors of this section stress the importance of studying contact zones of colonial times. In the paper 'Encounters Erased: tracing Indo-Dutch connected histories and their textual echoes, c. 1630-1670' Carolien Stolte examines the treatises that three Dutch authors – Philip Angel, Philippus Baldaeus, and Abraham Rogerius – wrote on South Asia in the 17th century after having spent time in that region. Arguing that these accounts contain more than just an early Orientalist discourse, Stolte explores the motives of the publishers to delocalize and decontextualize such works, and offers some suggestions for reconstructing the sites and individuals through whom such information had been gathered. Through this approach the echoes of a much richer world of Indo-Dutch collaboration appears.

Finally, in his paper 'Japanese world maps between East and West', Michael Wintle shows how interest in Japanese cartography generally tends

to focus on the European impact from the 16th century onwards. Wintle, however, sees this mapmaking as a *lieu de mémoire* of transcultural interactions. By approaching these materials with a more open attitude, he arrives at the idea that Japanese mapmaking was often an exquisitely hybrid process. The import of Portuguese surveying techniques and European Renaissance world maps in the 16th and 17th centuries was accompanied by a process through which the Japanese cartographers appropriated the incoming information. Furthermore, the information went two ways, also informing the West about the East. Wintle's contribution proves the significance of Mary Louise Pratt's concept of 'contact zones' for understanding the reciprocal relationship between Europe and the Outer-European world, and the *lieux de mémoire* of Europe beyond Europe that resulted from it.

Europe (de)constructed

From a historian's point of view 'Europe' is and has always been defined by its indefinite boundaries and changing identity through time. Debates about the origins of Europe as a viable political and cultural concept are relevant but there is an ingrained danger in assuming that, compared to other parts of the world, Europe goes uncontested.[27] The majority of present-day inhabitants of the EU often see their continental identity to be at best an addition to their more intimate national or regional affiliations. Contemporary strong identities are indeed – still – projected onto the nation. At the same time it would be presumptuous to deny the reality and endurance of Europe as an impetus for ideologies, collective dreams and (hate) fantasies.[28] The refugee crisis of 2015 has shown once again the compelling essence of 'Europe' while simultaneously internal cracks have come to the surface. The formal boundaries of the European Union do not always comply with the refugee's vision of their preferred destination. In that vision, Europe would not only provide immediate security but also fulfill their wider dreams. North-western Europe in particular represented their aspirations. On the other hand, so-called 'EU solidarity', for which the Nobel Prize Committee bestowed the European Union its Peace Prize in 2012, came under great pressure because of the crisis. According to Katya Adler's assessment, European policy turned out to be a chimera.[29] Nonetheless, the crisis has demonstrated the political and discursive reality of Europe.

The four papers in this section explore similar ambivalent imaginings of Europe. In his article, 'Left behind in translation? The image of Augustus in Asia Minor', Olivier Hekster argues that as markers of identity the concepts of Ancient Rome and Europe coincided only incidentally. Based on his extensive knowledge of Roman numismatics, Hekster points out how Roman imperialism was accompanied by the rhetorical contrast of East

and West without leading to a self-identification with Europe. The concept of Europe was too geographically circumscribed to be attractive for an empire with universal ambitions.

As part of their imperial project, the Romans 'left behind' the first triumphal arch in Asia Minor. However, Imperial power worked both ways. Whereas in Rome the newly-wed monarch Augustus had to exercise caution, the East accepted the sole monarch without difficulty, 'which seems to have slowly transformed the Roman perception of emperor worship'. The *Res Gestae Divi Augusti,* enlisting 'the accomplishments of the deified Augustus', was sent into the conquered Eastern territories to communicate the imperial ambitions of the Roman Empire. But again, to some extent the message got translated and adapted to local preferences en route from west to east.

High culture is at the heart of the article 'Pierre Bayle's *Dictionnaire,* and a new attitude towards the Islam' by Hans Bots. At the end of the 17th century, an era for which the French historian Paul Hazard coined the term 'The Crisis of the European Mind', the philosopher Pierre Bayle embarked on a comparative study of Christianity and Islam. In his *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* and the accompanying *Remarques*, Bayle presents a remarkably balanced view of Islam and the figure of the prophet Muhammad. Huguenot Bayle, who went into exile in the Dutch Republic, parried various allegations against the Islam, such as their policy of religious coercion, by referring to the religious policy in France: 'In the Bartholomew-night of 1572 more blood had been shed than during the many years of the persecution of the Christians by the Saracens.' European intellectuals like Bayle took part in the aftermath and reassessment of the disintegration of a unified Christian Europe. Bots thus portrays a classic European Moment with an emerging continental Republic of Letters consisting of writers who were, perhaps paradoxically, able to translate their growing self-awareness into a praxis of cultural critique and a philosophy of tolerance. Precisely these concepts of course still form the core of debates on European values and identity nowadays.

In his contribution 'The beauties of a continent. Historical images of Europe in smaller and bigger data', Joris van Eijnatten tries to determine which images of Europe were prevalent in the 20th-century public sphere. Using digital humanities, his research strategy consists of a quantitative analysis and close reading of a corpus of digitized newspapers mentioning 'Miss Europe' in the 1930s. His first step in the research consists of counting references and the connected adjectives. The IBM programme SPSS Modeler allows a more sophisticated text analysis. One outcome shows Europe to have been a continent 'personified by competitions other than the Miss Europe elections'. In fact, a myriad of competitions drew the concept of Europe into the sphere of popular and mass culture, which may have

contributed to a growing familiarity with Europe as a generic term. Van Eijnatten comes to the surprising, although tentative, conclusion that for the Dutch of the 1930s the idea of Europe inspired more and more positive associations than would be the case for contemporary Dutch.

Finally, considering the psychiatrist and writer Frantz Fanon as a classic *lieu de mémoire*, Remco Ensel focuses on the history of European imaginings in the final phase of colonization and the first decade of independence. Looking back, Fanon reminds us of three moments in recent European history: first, the post-war period when pre-war pessimism mixed with post-war apocalyptic visions of an impending third world war, second, the 1960s thirdworldism and student activism and third, the recent debates on multicultural Europe. In all three instances, Fanon figures as a regular reference and as a signifier of a critical representation of Europe. Perhaps more importantly, through his work Fanon has contributed to such a critical re-evaluation of the European heritage. Both *Peau Noire, masques blancs* and *Les damnés de la terre* seem to provide the reader with the ammunition for a definite settlement with the avid pride and prejudices of 'Europe'. Since however Fanon's life and work is permeated with European intellectual culture, a more balanced judgment is necessary. Ensel argues it would be more appropriate to speak with respect to Fanon's approach of a series of translations and re-readings of the European canon, with his œuvre being part of an established tradition of profound cultural critique.