

Notes

What's Left Behind. *Lieux de Mémoire* of Europe beyond Europe [p. 9]

- 1 J. Frank, *Dostoevsky. The stir of liberation, 1860-1865* (Princeton, 1986), 372.
- 2 Quoted by Frank, *Dostoevsky*, 376.
- 3 F. Dostoevsky, *Winter Notes on Summer Impressions* (Richmond, 2008); Frank, *Dostoevsky, 179-196*, 233-248.
- 4 J. Huizinga, *Amerika dagboek, 14 april-19 juni 1926*. Bezorgd door Anton van der Lem (Amsterdam, 1993).
- 5 C. von Schmidt-Phiseldek, *Europa und Amerika, oder die künftigen Verhältnisse der civilisirten Welt* (Kopenhagen, 1832 2nd edition).
- 6 Evelyn Waugh, 'The American Epoch in the Catholic Church', *Life Magazine* (19 September 1949).
- 7 P. Rietbergen, *Europe, A Cultural History* (London, 1998; 2013 3rd edition) 428-430.
- 8 *Ibidem*, 432.
- 9 P. Nora (ed.), *Les Lieux de Mémoire*, 7 vls. (Paris, 1984-1992); H.L. Wesseling et al. (eds.), *Plaatsen van Herinnering*, 4 vls. (Amsterdam, 2005); E. François and H. Schulze (eds.), *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, 3 vls. (München, 2001-2003); J. Tollebeek et al. (eds.), *België, een parcours van herinnering*, 2 vls. (Amsterdam, 2008).
- 10 The original French project included 'major sites' (the Eiffeltower), role models (Joan of Arc), books (Proust's *In Remembrance of Things Lost*) as well as topoi (*Mourir pour la patrie*, 'Give up one's life for his country') and institutions (the Archives).
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- 15 M. Espagne and M. Werner, 'Deutsch-Französischer Kulturtransfer im 18. Und 19. Jahrhundert. Zu einem neuen interdisziplinären Forschungsprogramm des CNRS', in *Francia* 13 (1985), 502-510.
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- 18 DaCosta Kaufmann and North, 'Introduction', 1-8.
- 19 A.L. Smith, *Colonial Memory and Postcolonial Europe. Maltese Settlers in Algeria and France* (Bloomington, 2006), 32.
- 20 Ed. Gocha R. Tsetskhladze, *Greek Colonisation: An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas* vol. II (Leiden/Boston, 2008); Ed. Saskia T. Roselaar, *Processes of Cultural Change and Integration in the Roman world* (Leiden/Boston, 2015).

21 P. Rietbergen, *Europa's India. Fascinatie en cultureel imperialisme, circa 1750-circa 2000* (Nijmegen, 2007).

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23 M.L. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London 1992) 4. For an introduction in this concept, see: Eds. B. Ashcroft, G. Griffiths and H. Tiffin, *Post-Colonial Studies. The Key Concepts*. 2. Edition (Abingdon, 2007), 48-49.

24 I. Sengupta, 'Locating lieux de memoire: A (post)colonial perspective', in *Memory, History and Colonialism. Engaging with Pierre Nora in Colonial and Postcolonial Contexts*, ed. I. Sengupta, German Historical Institute London – Bulletin, Suppl. 1 (London 2009), 1-8, there 8.

25 D. Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe. Post-colonial Thought and Difference*. Revised edition (Princeton, 2008), 17-46.

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I Colonial Memory

The Conqueror and the Archive; Social Struggles and Practices of Memorialization in Viceregal New Spain
[p. 26]

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2 P. Nora, 'Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*', *Representations* 26 (1989), 7-24, 23.

3 Seville also takes an important place in my own memories of Peter. On one splendid summer afternoon, we met on the river Guadalquivir to discuss the progress of my master thesis and drink *tinto de verano*. Living history and talking about the future, we laid the basis for a lasting friendship.

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5 M. Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, trans. L. Cosner (Chicago, 1992), 48.

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9 A. Erll, 'Remembering Across Time, Space, and Cultures: Premediation, Remediation, and the "Indian Mutiny"', in *Mediation, Remediation, and the Dynamics of Cultural Memory*, eds. A. Erll and A. Rigney (Berlin / New York, 2009), 109-38, 111.

10 J.E. Lemon, 'The Encomienda in Early New Spain' (Ph.D. diss, Emory University, 2000), 76-81.

- 11 A particularly insightful study of the role of knowledge in the administration of Spain's overseas empire is: A. Brendecke, *Imperium und Empirie: Funktionen des Wissens in der spanischen Kolonialherrschaft* (Köln, 2009).
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- 17 F. López de Gómara, *Historia general de las Indias y todo lo acaesido en ellas desde que se ganaron hasta agora y la conquista de Mexico, y de la Nueva España* (1553); B. Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* (1568); J. Suárez de Peralta, *Tratado del descubrimiento de las Indias* (1589).
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- 20 B. Yun Casalilla, *Marte contra Minerva: el precio del imperio español, c. 1450-1600* (Barcelona, 2004), 429-435. See also: L. Weckmann, *La herencia medieval de México*, vol. 1 (Mexico City, 1984), 176.
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- 22 'Relación del Marqués de Montesclaros. Mexico. 2 July 1607', in *Los virrey españoles en América durante el gobierno de la casa de Austria. México*, eds. L. Hanke and C. Rodríguez, vol. 2 (Madrid, 1977), 276-284, 282.
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- 24 'Relación del Marqués de Montesclaros. Mexico. 2 July 1607', in *Los virrey españoles*, eds. L. Hanke and C. Rodríguez, vol. 2 (Madrid, 1977), 276-284, 281.
- 25 'Carta del Conde de Monterrey sobre el gobierno eclesiástico. Mexico. 31 April 1604', in *Los virrey españoles en América durante el gobierno de la casa de Austria. México*, eds. L. Hanke and C. Rodríguez, vol. 2 (Madrid, 1977), 216-230.
- 26 Dorantes de Carranza, *Sumaria relación de las cosas de la Nueva España*, 51-62; 77-83.

The Scent of the Orient. The Prehistory of Poiret's Perfume 'Aladin'
[p. 33]

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- 2 See: M. Abdel-Halim, *Antoine Galland, sa vie et son œuvre* (Paris, 1964); Abdel-Halim made a typescript of large extracts from Galland's correspondence; for the textual history and reception of the *Thousand and one nights*,

- see: U. Marzolph and R. van Leeuwen, eds., *The Arabian nights encyclopedia*, 2 vols. (Santa Barbara, 2004).
- 3 F. Bauden and R. Waller, eds., *Le journal d'Antoine Galland (1646-1715); la période Parisienne; volume 1 (1708-1709)* (Leuven, 2011), p. 321.
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- 10 M.E. Davis, *Ballets russes style; Diaghilev's dancers and Paris fashion* (London, 2010); C. Spencer, *Leon Bakst* (New York, 1973).
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- 12 E. Packham, *Africa in War and Peace* (Hauppauge, NY, 2004), 4-5.
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- 16 A. Körner, *Politics of Culture in Liberal Italy. From Unification to Fascism* (New York, 2009), 1-20.
- 17 B. Tobia, *Una patria per gli Italiani: Spazi, itinerari, monumenti nell'Italia unita* (Rome, 1991); I. Porciani, *Una festa per la nazione: Rappresentazione dello Stato e spazi sociali nell'Italia unita* (Bologna, 1997); M. Isnenghi, ed., *I luoghi della memoria. Simboli e miti dell'Italia unita* (Rome, 1996).
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- 22 A. Triulzi, 'Adwa: from monument to document', in *Italian Colonialism. Legacy and Memory*, eds. J. Andall and D. Duncan, (Bern, 2005), 143-163.
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The Horror of Adwa and the Glory of Adua. Monuments of the Young Italian Nation-State in the Scramble for Africa [p. 40]

1 Open Letter of the 'Landeskommandant' of the Südtiroler Schützenbund, Paul Bacher, to The President of the Republic of Ethiopia Mr. Girma Woldegiorgis The Prime Minister of the Republic of Ethiopia Mr. Meles Zenawi, published on <http://www.schuetzen.com/> June 25, 2008.

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- 18 G. Finaldi, *Italian National Identity in the Scramble for Africa. Italy's African Wars in the Era of Nation-building, 1870-1900* (Bern, 2009), 295-298.
- 19 V. Caruso and I. Domenico, *Il monumento alla batteria Masotto e alle batterie siciliane, Adua 1 marzo 1896* (Messina, 2014).
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- 26 B. Sòrgoni, *Etnografia e colonialismo: l'Eritrea e l'Etiopia di Alberto Pollera (1873-1939)* (Turin, 2001), 126-129.
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- 29 Q. Bosca, *Cronistoria della campagna italo-etiope dal 2 ottobre 1935 al 18 maggio 1936* (Rome, 1937), 23.
- 30 K. von Henneberg, 'Monuments, Public Space, and the Memory of Empire in Modern Italy', *History and Memory* 16 (2004): 37-85.
- 31 A. Triulzi, 'Adwa: from monument to document', in *Italian Colonialism. Legacy and Memory*, eds. J. Andall and D. Duncan, (Bern, 2005), 143-163.
- 32 V. Caruso and I. Domenico, *Il monumento alla batteria Masotto e alle batterie siciliane, Adua 1 marzo 1896* (Messina, 2014).
- 33 N. Labanca, 'History and Memory of Italian Colonialism Today', in *Italian Colonialism. Legacy and Memory*, eds. J. Andall & D. Duncan, (Bern, 2005), 29-46.
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1 With thanks to Pieter Deschoolmeester (city archives Blankenberge), Claudia Vermaut (city archives Ostend), Marjan De Smet and Mathilde Vandaele.

2 See amongst others: R. Mantels, *Geleerd in de tropen. Leuven, Congo en de wetenschap, 1885-1960* (Louvain, 2007), and D. Verbeke, 'Gecontesteerd koloniaal erfgoed', online: <http://users.telenet.be/brecht/stage/index.html>. The story is told in the short film *Sikitiko* (2010) by P. de Vos.

3 M.G. Stanard, 'King Leopold's bust: a story of monuments, culture, and memory in colonial Europe', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 12 (2011), online. He states that 'although monuments to Belgium's second monarch appear to us today as unambiguously imperial, their meaning is anything but straightforward', and that 'monuments to this major figure of European imperialism are not necessarily colonial at all'.

4 J. van Lennep, 'Statues and monuments of Brussels, pre-1914', in *The statues and monuments of Brussels*, ed. Patrick Derom (Antwerp / Brussels, 2000), 11-180, 140-142.

5 An overview can be found in L. Catherine, *Wandelen naar Kongo. Koloniaal erfgoed in Brussel en België* (Berchem, 2006). Catherine is deeply involved in the struggle against colonialism and its heritage, and with his book he explicitly wants to give ammunition to those who want to challenge 'the official colonial historiography'.

6 *La Belgique militaire. Organe de la Défense Nationale*, 18 September 1921: 'en chassant les Arabes, ils ont libéré l'Afrique tropicale.'

7 F. de Callatay, 'Le monument du Congo de Thomas Vinçotte', *Bulletin des Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* 61 (1996): 197-224; J. van Lennep, 'Statues and Monuments of Brussels, pre-1914', in *The statues and monuments of Brussels*, ed. Patrick Derom (Antwerp-Brussels, 2000), 11-180, 140; M. Couttenier, *Congo tentoongesteld: een geschiedenis van de Belgische antropologie en het museum van Tervuren (1882-1925)* (Louvain, 2005), 315.

8 L. Catherine, *Wandelen naar Kongo. Kolo-*

niaal erfgoed in Brussel en België (Berchem, 2006), 73-74.

9 According to some Lippens and De Bruyne were lovers. Walter Pauli wrote: 'Vandaag weten we dat Lippens en De Bruyne wellicht twee homo's waren. Twee mannen die het beu waren om hier hun aard te moeten loochenen. Die in Kongo vrijer konden ademen, en ook vrijer konden vrijen. Twee minnaars die liever samen stierven dan de ander alleen achter te laten.' What this romantic image is based upon remains somewhat unclear, even though De Bruyne's biographer has indeed suggested that he was a homosexual. Anyway, this interpretation, supported by Lucas Catherine, has led to a manifestation against homophobic violence on the site (on May 17th, 2012). See (including the quote from Pauli): R. Belemans and R. Daenen, 'Moeten er nog helden zijn? Over het dynamische heldenparadigma', *Faro. Tijdschrift over Cultureel Erfgoed* 5 (2012): 5-15, 14.

10 Blankenberge, Stadsarchief: dossier monument De Bruyne en Lippens: correspondence.

11 *L'ex-sous-officier. Journal bi-mensuel. Organe officiel de la Fédération Royale des Ex-Sous-Officiers de l'Armée Belge*, 15-12-1894.

12 Blankenberge, Stadsarchief: dossier monument De Bruyne en Lippens: letter from the Ministry of Agriculture, Direction of Fine Arts, 18-12-1898: 'l'immensité du décor de la mer et du ciel loin de l'écraser ne peut que le faire valoir'.

13 *La Belgique militaire. Organe de la Défense Nationale*, 18-09-1921: 'un noble exemple des vertus et des services que l'armée belge n'a cessé de prodiguer à notre œuvre coloniale' (665).

14 E. Bilé, *Blankenberge, een rijk verleden, een schone toekomst* (Blankenberge, 1971), 163.

15 Blankenberge, City archives: file monument De Bruyne and Lippens: letter from the Ministry of Agriculture, Direction of Fine Arts, 18 October 1898: 'ce groupe ne répond pas à la pensée du comité exécutif qui entend glorifier l'acte de solidarité héroïque posé par De Bruyne et non la protection apportée aux nègres par l'œuvre du Congo'.

16 *La Belgique militaire. Organe de la Défense Nationale*, 18-09-1921.

17 *Bulletin communal de la ville d'Ostende*,

1913, 465: city council session 20-05-1913: 'sa protection quasi paternelle pour la chère ville d'Ostende'.

18 *Bulletin communal de la ville d'Ostende*, 1913, 564: city council session 17-06-1913: 'la grandiose réalisation de l'Oeuvre du Congo'; 'une source inépuisable de richesse'; 'Souverain pacifique dont le long règne n'a eu qu'un but: la Grandeur de la Patrie'

19 *Gemeentebblad der Stad Oostende*, 1929, 165: city council session 01-04-1927.

20 *Gemeentebblad der Stad Oostende*, 1929, 118: city council session 14-04-1929: 'in den winter blootgesteld zijn aan verzanding en beschadiging'.

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22 *Gemeentebblad der Stad Oostende*, 1929, 165: city council session 15-03-1929: 'De werkende klas van Oostende heeft weinig te danken aan Leopold II.'

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The Fabrication of Memory.
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1 An earlier version of this material can be found in P.S. Hawkins, 'Naming Names: The Art of Memory and the NAMES Project AIDS Quilt', *Critical Inquiry* 19:4 (1993): 752-779. I am grateful to the University of Chicago and the *CI* editors for its reuse here. See also my related essay on the Quilt, 'Stitches in Time', *Yale Review* 83:3 (1995): 1-15.

2 See A. Borg, *War Memorials: From Antiquity to the Present* (London, 1991).

3 P. Tauber, 'Monument Maker', *New York Times Magazine* (24-02-1990), <http://www.nytimes.com/1991/02/24/magazine/monument-maker.html>.

4 For Lin's intention that the Wall be read like an ancient epic, see: J.L. Swerdlow, 'To Heal a Nation', *National Geographic* 167 (May 1985): 571. About the arrangement of the names on the granite tablets, see: Tauber, 'Monument Maker'. Photographic images of the Wall can be found at: <https://www.google.com/search?q=vietnam+veterans+memorial&biw=1094&bih>.

5 Swerdlow, 'To Heal a Nation', 571.

6 S. Lopes, *The Wall: Images and Offerings from the Vietnam Veterans Memorial* (New York, 1987).

7 C. Blair, M.S. Jepperson, and E. Pucci, Jr.,

'Public Memorializing in Post-Modernity: the Vietnam Veterans Memorial as a Prototype', *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 77 (1991): 263-88. Although the authors mention the NAMES Quilt only in passing as 'an important successor' of the VWM, their study provides reasons for linking the two memorials more closely on the basis of the 'refusal of universal models' and 'embrace of pluralistic objectives' (266-7).

8 For these Cleve Jones quotes and an excellent account of the Quilt's origins and relationship both to the VWM and quilting, see: M. Sturken, 'Conversations with the Dead: Bearing Witness in the AIDS Memorial Quilt', in *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering* (Berkeley, 1997), 183-219. See also: P. Mainardi, *Quilts: the Great American Art* (San Pedro, 1998).

9 *E pluribus enum*, 'one out of many', was the motto proposed for the first Great Seal of the United States by John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson in 1776.

10 For myriad images of the NAMES Project Quilt – both of individual panels and of larger displays – see: <https://www.google.com/search?q=NAMES+Project+Quilt++images&biw=1094&bih=562&tbm=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ei=prcVVZH2BKnfsAS38oKgDw&ved=0CDQQ7Ak&dpr=0.9>.

11 See E. Hess, 'Vietnam: Memorials of Misfortune', in *Unwinding the Vietnam War: From War into Peace*, ed. Reese Williams (Seattle, 1987), 262-79.

12 C. Jones, 'Address Given at the Lincoln Memorial', unpublished material distributed by the NAMES Project. The larger quote can be found in my 'Naming Names', 760.

13 On the ritual, quasi-liturgical practices that accompanied the Washington displays of the Quilt, see: C. Ruskin, *The Quilt: Stories from the Names Project* (New York, 1988), 137-45; and *Common Threads* [video recording]: *Stories from the Quilt* (New York: Distributed by New Yorker Video, 2004); J. Weinberg, 'Advertisement for the Dead', *Ambition & Love in Modern American Art* (New Haven, 2001), 242-74; T. Peter morial as a Prototype', D. Mohr, 'Text(ile): Reading the NAMES Project's AIDS Quilt', *Gay Ideas: Outing and Other Controversies* (Boston, 1992), 105-28.

14 <http://greatseal.com/mottoes/unum.html>; <http://www.ushistory.org/documents/pledge.html>.

15 <http://www.aidsquilt.org/about/the-names-project-foundation>.

Encounters Erased: tracing Indo-Dutch connected histories and their textual echoes, c. 1630-1670
[p. 155]

1 The term 'Hindu' will be used sparingly. The Dutch authors discussed in this article predominantly (but not exclusively) described Vaisnava mythology, in particular those of the ten avatars of Vishnu as drawn from versions of the Bhāgavata and Harivaṃśa Purāṇas, but believed themselves to be referring to a more complete religious complex. For complications associated with the term, see: D. Lorenzen, 'Who Invented Hinduism?', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 41:4 (1999): 630-59.

2 The original manuscript currently resides in the Norbertine monastery at Postel, Belgium. A copy, made in 1962 by Piet Pott, can be consulted in the Leiden University Library as KITLV manuscript H771. A critical edition of the manuscript was recently published with an English translation: C. Stolte, *Philip Angel's Deex-Autaers: Vaisnava Mythology from Manuscript to Book Market in the Context of the Dutch East India Company, c. 1600-1672* (New Delhi, 2012).

3 Leiden University, Bibliotheca Publica Latina, Mss 2881, 't Leven der Heydense Benjanen'. These passages have also been included in the recent edition cited above.

4 Stolte, *Philip Angel's Deex-Autaers*, 312.

5 Ibid.

6 For an elaboration of the former point, see: P. Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters: A History of European Reactions to Indian Art* (Chicago, 1977).

7 O. Dapper, *Asia, of een Naukeurige Beschijving van het Rijk des Grooten Mogols en een groot gedeelte van Indien* (Amsterdam, 1672).

8 Stolte, *Philip Angel's Deex-Autaers*, 318.

9 B.G. Gokhale, *Surat in the Seventeenth Century: a Study of Urban History of Premodern India* (London and Malmö, 1979), 75.

- 10 Few international travel guides mention Dabhoi today, and this author has not been able to locate one that mentions the Karnali temple.
- 11 Stolte, *Philip Angel's Deex-Autaers*, 109.
- 12 The first to point to a common source for Baldaeus and Dapper's parts on Indian religions was De Jong in 1917. Charpentier first pointed to a specific manuscript, a copy of Angel's manuscript currently in the British Library as the anonymous Sloane Manuscript 3290. Pott put Angel's name to this common source but was unaware of Charpentier's findings. Respectively: Ph. Baldaeus, *Afgoderye der Oost-Indische Heydenen*, ed. A.J. De Jong (Den Haag, 1917); J. Charpentier, 'The Brit. Mus. Ms. Sloane 3290, The Common Source of Baldaeus and Dapper', in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, University of London*, 3:3 (1924): 413-420; P.H. Pott, *Naar Wijder Horizon: Kaleidoscoop op ons beeld van de buitenwereld* (The Hague, 1962), 58.
- 13 Ph. Baldaeus, *Afgoderye der Oost-Indische Heydenen, zijnde een ware en nauwkeurige verhandeling van den godsdienst der Indostansche, Choromandelse, Malabarsche en Cheylonsche heydenen, hoe dezelve af-gebeelt en geëert werden* (Amsterdam, 1672). For a more elaborate account of the way Dapper and Baldaeus dealt with Angel's text, see: Stolte, *Philip Angel's Deex-Autaers*, 84-98.
- 14 D. de Wever, ed., *Rijklof van Goens' Javaanse Reyse* (Amsterdam, 1995).
- 15 G. Carolinus, *Het Hedendaagse Heydendom, of Beschrijving van den Godsdienst der Heidenen, so als die nu en enige jaren herwaarts in de drie deelen van de Oude bekende Wereld, namelijk Asia, Africa en enige gewesten van Europa bevonden is en noch geoeffent word... alles uit verscheide Auteurs te samen getrocken* (Amsterdam, 1661).
- 16 Stolte, *Philip Angel's Deex-Autaers*, 96.
- 17 A. Kircher, *China Monumentis Illustrata* (Antwerp, 1667); A. Rogerius, *De open-deure tot het verborgen heydendom ofte waerachtigh vertoogh van het leven ende zeden; mitsgaders de religie, ende godsdienst der Bramines, op de cust Chormandel, ende de landen daar ontrent* (Leiden, 1651).
- 18 'Getrocken uyt der heidenen wetboek zelf.' Dapper, *Asia*, 84.
- 19 BL, SMC 1820, *Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais*, anonymous. Identified and published by Jarl Charpentier as *The Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais* (Brit. Mus. Ms. Sloane 1820) of Father Jacobo Fenicio, S.J., edited with an introduction and notes by Jarl Charpentier (Uppsala, 1933).
- 20 Angel departed from Gamron (Bander Abbas) on 20 September 1655. The journey to Surat would have taken around six weeks in that season. Angel finished his manuscript in 1657, which year is mentioned in the text. There is no record of his departure for Batavia, but given that the manuscript was dedicated to Hartsink on 26 March 1658, this allows for a maximum of two years in Surat.
- 21 For an elaboration of this point, see C. Stolte, 'Onbekend en Onbemind: over de 'anonimiteit' van lokale medewerkers in zeventiende-eeuws India', in ed. Lodewijk Wagenaar, *Aan de Overkant. Ontmoetingen in dienst van de VOC en WIC (1600-1800)* (Leiden, 2015), 207-26.
- 22 A few authors do go into his local contacts: D.F. Lach and E.J. van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe: A Century of Advance*, vols. 2-3 (Chicago, 1998), 102-30; S. Arasaratnam, 'Protestant Christianity and South Indian Hinduism, 1630-1730: Some Confrontations in Society and Belief', *Indian Church History Review* 15:1 (1981): 7-33.
- 23 A. Rogerius, *De Open-deure tot het Verborgen Heydendom door Abraham Rogerius*, ed. W. Caland (Den Haag, 1915), xxxvi.
- 24 *Ibid.*, 16-7.
- 25 Ph. Baldaeus, *Naauwkeurige beschryvinge van Malabar en Choromandel, der zelve aangrenzende ryken, en het machtige eyland Ceylon; Nevens een omstandige en grondigh door-zochte ontdekking en wederlegginge van de afgoderye der Oost-Indische heydenen* (Amsterdam, 1672), 192.
- 26 *Ibid.*, 193.
- 27 M. Beumer, 'Philippus Baldaeus en Gerrit Mosopatam: een buitengewoon portret', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 47:2-3 (1999): 144-173.
- 28 For other examples of this world of seventeenth century interaction, see: J. Gommans, 'Nederlandse schilders in de Oost: Een hypothese', in *Het Verre Gezicht. Politiek en relaties tussen Nederland en Azië, Afrika en Amerika: Opstellen aangeboden aan prof. dr.*

Leonard Blussé, eds. Thomas Lindblad and Alicia Schrikker (Franeker, 2011), 66-88; S. Subrahmanyam, *Courtly Encounters: Translating Courtliness and Violence in Early Modern Eurasia* (Cambridge, MA, 2012), 154-210.
29 Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations* 26 (1989): 7-24, 19.
30 *Ibid.*, 22.

Japanese World Maps between East and West
[p. 164]

1 M. Sato, 'Imagined Peripheries: the world and its peoples in Japanese cartographic imagination', in *Facing Each Other: the world's perception of Europe and Europe's perception of the world*, ed. A. Pagden (Aldershot, 2000), 367-93, 370-1.
2 K. Unno, 'Cartography in Japan', in *The History of Cartography*, vol. 2, no. 2, *Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies*, eds. J.B. Harley and D. Woodward (Chicago, 1994), 346-477, 369-73.
3 Sato, 'Imagined Peripheries', 369-70.
4 J.H. Loh, 'When Worlds Collide: art, cartography, and Japanese Nanban world map screens' (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2013), chapter 4.
5 J. Goss, *The Mapmaker's Art: a history of cartography* (London, 1993), 174-7; D. Crouch, ed., *Cartography IV* (London, 2009), 92-7; M.J. Wintle, 'Seeing Europe from Elsewhere: a continent in words and pictures', in *United in Visual Diversity: images and counter-images of Europe*, eds. B. Drechsel and C. Leggewie (Innsbruck, 2010), 199-213, 206.
6 Loh, 'When Worlds Collide'.
7 Unno, 'Cartography in Japan', 347, 377-80.
8 *Ibid.*, 405-10.
9 Loh, 'When Worlds Collide', chapter 5.
10 Unno, 'Cartography in Japan', 377 and 390.
11 H. Beukers, et al., eds., *Red-Hair Medicine: Dutch-Japanese medical relations* (Amsterdam, 1991).
12 Unno, 'Cartography in Japan', 432-43, 443.
13 I discussed this map and the *Bankoku* one in figure 1 briefly in: M.J. Wintle, ed., *Imagining Europe: Europe and European civilisation as*

seen from its margins and by the rest of the world (Brussels, 2008), 36-7.

14 The obvious should go on the record here: I rely on the maps partly because I cannot read the written Japanese texts. Fortunately the secondary sources in English concerning the principal cartographic events, as cited here in the notes, are quite extensive and reliable.
15 Unno, 'Cartography in Japan', 347, 349.
16 Sato, 'Imagined Peripheries', 368.
17 Unno, 'Cartography in Japan', 454.
18 Loh, 'When Worlds Collide'.
19 Unno, 'Cartography in Japan', 426-8, 439-40.
20 Useful comment on Shuyi Chen's blog, <http://blog.richmond.edu/lives-of-maps/2014/10/21/map-of-the-week-a-world-in-a-color-book/>, accessed 11-02-2015.
21 Sato, 'Imagined Peripheries', 373.
22 Kazutaka Unno, 'Cartography in Japan', 435.

iv Europe (De)constructed

Left Behind in Translation? The Image of Augustus in Asia Minor
[p. 176]

1 It is a pleasure to contribute to a volume in honour of Peter Rietbergen. His teaching and research has always crossed chronological and geographical boundaries. Even if this article stays firmly rooted in Roman history, I hope that the discussion of the links between political geography and identity may be of interest to him.
2 B. Salway, 'The Roman Empire: Augustus to Diocletian', in *Roman Europe*, ed. E. Bispham (Oxford, 2008), 69-108, 72-3.
3 Appian, *Civil War*, 5.1.1, with: O. Hekster and T. Kaizer, 'Mark Antony and the raid on Palmyra: reflections on Appian, *Bella Civilia* V.9.', *Latomus* 63 (2004): 70-80, with further references.
4 D. Petrain, 'The Archaeology of the Epigrams from the *Tabulae Iliacae*: Adaptation, Allusion, Alteration', *Mnemosyne* 65 (2012): 597-635, 600-614

- 5 Petrain, 'The Archaeology of the Epigrams', 610-1, referring to Suetonius, *Augustus* 18.1 and 50; Dio 51.16.5 and Pliny, *Natural History* 37.10.
- 6 J. Isager, 'Alexander the Great in Roman Literature from Pompey to Vespasian', in *Alexander the Great: Reality and Myth*, ed. J. Carlsen (Rome, 1993), 75-84, 79.
- 7 M. Squire, *The Iliad in a Nutshell: Visualizing Epic on the Tabulae Iliacae* (Oxford/New York, 2011), 58-60.
- 8 Cf. A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge, 2008), 315-355.
- 9 F. Millar, *The Roman Near East. 31 BC-AD 337* (Cambridge, MA, 1993) remains seminal. The term 'Parthian Near West' was coined by: R. Fowler, 'Most Fortunate Roots': Tradition and legitimacy in Parthian royal ideology', in *Imaginary Kings. Royal Images in the Ancient Near East, Greece and Rome*, eds. O. Hekster and R. Fowler (Stuttgart, 2005), 125-155, 128.
- 10 S. Matterns, 'The defeat of Crassus and the Just War', *The Classical World* 96 (2003): 387-396, with references.
- 11 B. Campbell, 'War and diplomacy: Rome and Parthia, 31 BC-AD 235', *War and Society in the Roman World*, eds. John Rich and Graham Shipley (London/New York, 1993), 213-240, 214-220.
- 12 Ch. B. Rose, 'The Parthians in Augustan Rome', *American Journal of Archaeology* 109 (2005): 21-75, 22, with nn. 9-10 for further references.
- 13 Suetonius, *Life of Augustus*, 29.2; Dio 54.8.3; Ovid, *Fasti*, 5.569-96; M. Spannagel, *Exemplaria Principis. Untersuchungen zu Entstehung und Ausstattung des Augustusforums* (Heidelberg, 1998), 41-72; J. Rich, '"Augustus" Parthian honours, the temple of Mars Ultor and the arch in the Forum Romanum', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 56 (1988): 71-128.
- 14 *Roman Imperial Coinage* (London, 1984) vol. I, 82 no. 505-510; *Roman Provincial Coinage* (London, 1992), 2216-20; B. Burrell, *Neokoroi. Greek Cities and Roman Emperors* (Boston, 2004), 17-22; Rose, 'The Parthians in Augustan Rome', 24-25; B. Weisser, 'Pergamum as paradigm', in *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*, eds. Ch. Howgego, V. Heuchert and A. Burnett (Oxford, 2005), 135-142, 135-136.
- 15 Rose, 'The Parthians in Augustan Rome', 54-57, 57.
- 16 H. Halfmann, *Itinera Principum. Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im Römischen Reich* (Stuttgart, 1986), 154-158.
- 17 J. Munk Højte, *Roman Imperial Statue Bases from Augustus to Commodus* (Aarhus, 2005), figs. C1, G1.
- 18 See still: S. Price, *Rituals and Power. The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge, 1984), notwithstanding the criticism by: I. Gradel, *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion* (Oxford, 2002).
- 19 O. Hekster, *Emperors and Ancestors. Roman Rulers and the Constraints of Tradition* (Oxford, 2015), 117, 243-245.
- 20 S. Price, 'Local mythologies in the Greek East', in *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*, 115-124, 122-123.
- 21 A. Burnett, 'The Augustan Revolution Seen from the Mints of the Provinces', *Journal of Roman Studies* 101 (2011): 1-30, 14, with references.
- 22 On the RGDA, see now especially: P. Arena, *Augusto. Res Gestae. I miei atti* (Bari, 2014) and A. Cooley, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti. Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Cambridge, 2009).
- 23 Suetonius, *Life of Augustus*, 101.4; Dio Cassius, 56.33.1.
- 24 A recent very fragmentary Greek inscription has been identified by: P. Thonemann, 'A copy of Augustus' Res Gestae at Sardis', *Historia* 61 (2012): 280-288 as part of a further unknown copy of the Res Gestae – the first recorded outside of Galatia.
- 25 Cooley, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, 26-29.
- 26 Thonemann, 'A copy of Augustus' Res Gestae at Sardis', 287-288.
- 27 Cooley, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, 6-18, with Thonemann, 'A copy of Augustus' Res Gestae at Sardis', 288 proposing that the Sardis copy of the Res Gestae would have been placed on the municipal temple of Augustus there.
- 28 Virgil's *Aeneid* book I.279.

Pierre Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, and a New Attitude towards the Islam [p. 183]

- 1 P. Hazard, *La crise de la conscience européenne, 1680-1715* (Paris, 1935; edition of 1961), 15-18.
- 2 L. van Lieshout, *The Making of Pierre Bayle's Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* (Amsterdam/Utrecht, 2001), 176.
- 3 *Ibid.*, 73, 177 and 251.
- 4 See E. Said, *Orientalism*, (London, 1978) and the cultural-historical observations concerning the concepts 'Orient' and 'orientalisme' in the valedictory speech: *Tekenen des Tijds* by W.J. van der Dussen, Open Universiteit (Heerlen, 2005).
- 5 J. Israel, *Contested Enlightenment. Philosophy, Modernity and the Emancipation of Man, 1670-1752* (Oxford, 2006), chapter 24.
- 6 See also: P. Joxe's, 'Bayle, 'Mahomet' et l'Islam', in *Le Rayonnement de Bayle*, ed. Ph. De Robert (with Claudine Pailhès and Hubert Bost) (Oxford, 2010), 165-172.
- 7 A precept that in fact is not so difficult for the Asiatic races as it is for those of the North, and which would have meant that the Willibrords and Bonifaces would certainly have stranded. Nevertheless it is problematic in all wine-producing countries, and from ancient and modern history we know that the beverage does not displease the Orientals.
- 8 I will only add here that they have numerous fine precepts concerning the obligations of individual persons towards their fellow-creatures, precepts that even lay down the rules for civilized behavior. They have also put down in writing how one should behave towards a sovereign, and one of their maxims states that it is never permitted to kill him, or to speak evil of him with the pretext that he is a tyrant.
- 9 The *remarques* M, N, O and P.
- 10 Admittedly, the kings of France have spread Christianity to the land of the Frisians and the Saxons in Muhammadan fashion. They have used the same violence for the propagation of their faith in the North. The self-same methods have been applied against sects that dared condemn the Pope. In India they act in the same way, if they are given the

chance, and from all this it is clear that no charges against Mohammed can be distilled from the circumstance that he spread his religion by coercion.

- 11 Bayle devotes an important article to the philosopher Averroes and also the entry Takkidin is interesting for its treatment of the influence of philosophy upon the Islam.
- 12 The first three authors wonder whether the document is perhaps counterfeit, but Claudius Salmasius maintains that it is definitely authentic; see notes 138, 139, 149 and 143 going with *remarque* AA.
- 13 On account of their religious doctrine the Muslims are obliged to use violence to destroy other religions, but nevertheless they have been tolerating those for many centuries. The Christians have only been ordered to preach and to teach, but yet from time immemorial they have extirpated by fire and sword all those who do not adhere to their faith.
- 14 It can be stated as a fact that, if the Western Christians would have been in charge in Asia instead of the Saracens and Turks, there would now be no trace left of the Greek Church and that they would not have tolerated the Islam, as those unbelievers have actually done with respect to the Christians.
- 15 For this conclusion see *remarque* AA: 'La conclusion de tout ceci est que les hommes se conduisent peu selon leurs principes. Voilà les Turcs qui tolèrent toutes sortes de religions, quoique l'Alcoran leur ordonne de persécuter les infidèles, et voilà les chrétiens qui ne font que persécuter quoique l'évangile le leur défende.'
- 16 P. Joxe, 'Bayle, 'Mahomet' et l'Islam', 168; cfr. N. Striker, *Die maskierte Theologie von Pierre Bayle* (Berlin/New York, 2003).
- 17 P. Rétat, 'Les notes du 'Dictionnaire' de Bayle', in *Les notes de Voltaire. Une écriture polyphonique*, ed. N. Cronk and C. Mervaud (Oxford, 2003), 41, and: H. Bost, *Pierre Bayle* (Paris, 2006), 404-406.
- 18 J. Israel, 'Bayle's double Image during the Enlightenment', in *Pierre Bayle (1647-1706. Le Philosophe de Rotterdam, Philosophy, Religion and Reception*, ed. W. van Bunge and H. Bots (Leiden/Boston, 2008), 135-151.
- 19 J. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment* (Oxford, 2001), 702-703.
- 20 Used to being in a state of permanent

doubt and to formulating such doubts ingeniously, he was not able to dissolve those doubts and as he did not find the evident and irrefutable truths people so often speak of, he remained uncertain. Heaven was clouded for him and he did not succeed in dissipating the fog. It was not that he completely lacked faith, but on various points his faith was brittle.

See: M. Silvera, *Corrispondenza da Rotterdam, 1685-1709* (Amsterdam/Maarssen, 2000), 245, letter of 3 -01-1707, written a few days after his death on 28 December 1706. See also: *ibid.*, xlii-xliv.

21 See A. McKenna, 'Pierre Bayle in the twentieth Century', in *ibid.*, 253-267, 260-261: 'Bayle played a major role in the diffusion of a peculiar kind of Spinozism' and according to Israel the spinozistic materialism formed the mainstream within the Radical Enlightenment. It seems to me that in adopting this view Israel is going much too far. In this matter the publications of G. Mori could also be mentioned.

22 J. Israel, *Enlightenment Contested*, 617. This concerns especially Boulainvilliers in his *La Vie de Mahomed* (Amsterdam, 1730) and Voltaire.

23 See for instance: P. Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, with an article on J. Chardin, September 1686, art. viii; and even more so in the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée des Ouvrages des Savants de l'Europe*, the article about *La Vie de Mahomed*, 1732., t. 8, sec. partie, art. 5. This periodical contains many articles about the Middle-East.

The Beauties of a Continent. Historical Images of Europe in Smaller and Bigger Data [p. 190]

1 *Nieuwe Tilburgsche Courant* (7-2-1931).

2 *Leeuwarder nieuwsblad* (29-12-1928).

3 *Het Vaderland* (10-04-1929).

4 *De Waarheid* (27-06-1957).

5 *Friese koerier* (05-06-1964).

6 <http://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten>.

7 J. van Eijnatten, J. Verheul, T. Pieters, 'Ts Tools: Using Texcavator to Map Public Discourse', *Ts: Tijdschrift voor Tijdschriftstudies* 35 (2014): 59-65 (<http://dspace.library.uu.nl/handle/1874/304584>).

8 *Nieuwe Tilburgsche Courant* (15-04-1935).

9 E.g. 'Het lot van schoonheidskoninginnen', *Veritas. Katholiek 14-daagsch blad voor Maastricht* (04-03-1939).

10 'Mysterieuze verdwijning op de "Paris". Is Frank Vosper over boord gevallen?', *De Telegraaf* (07-03-1937).

11 *Soerabaijasch Handelsblad* (19-04-1929).

12 *Het Vaderland* (5-2-1931).

13 *Algemeen Handelsblad* (28-06-1931).

14 *Soerabaijasch Handelsblad* (29-03-1930).

15 *Algemeen Handelsblad* (24-10-1930).

16 *Algemeen Handelsblad* (10-07-1930).

17 *Voorwaarts* (08-07-1930).

18 *Algemeen Handelsblad* (2-12-1930).

19 *De Telegraaf* (27-01-1931).

20 *De Telegraaf* (25-01-1931).

21 *Amigoe di Curacao* (02-07-1927).

22 *De Sumatra post* 10(-6-1931).

23 *De Sumatra post* (2-3-1931).

24 *De Indische Courant* (21-01-1931).

25 *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad* (11-05-1937).

26 *Algemeen Handelsblad* (26-05-1930).

27 *Algemeen Handelsblad* (21-7-1930).

28 *De Tijd* (28-11-1930).

29 *Algemeen Handelsblad* (01-04-1930).

30 *Algemeen Handelsblad* (14-6-1931).

31 *Algemeen Handelsblad* (29-03-1930).

32 *De Telegraaf* (01-05-1931).

33 Cf. Sabine Wilke, *From Kafka to Sebald. Modernism and Narrative Form* (New York, 2012).

34 *Soerabaijasch Handelsblad* (15-07-1933).

35 *Algemeen Handelsblad* (29-09-1931). For Eelsing, see <http://resources.huylgens.knaw.nl/zendingoverzeesekerken/Repertorium-VanNederlandseZending-EnMissie-archieven1800-1960/gids/bijlage/bijlage2> (consulted 05-12-2014).

Postcolonial Memories. Frantz Fanon in/on Europe [p. 199]

1 'Fuck Europe'. M. Renault, *Frantz Fanon. De l'anticolonialisme à la critique postcoloniale* (Paris, 2011), 182.

2 'You need to use your imagination to understand that: your imagination, or your memory.' F. Fanon, *Les damnés de la terre* (Paris, 2002), 295.

- 3 P. Nora ed., *Les Lieux de mémoire* (Paris 1984-1986).
- 4 M. Rothberg, 'Introduction: Between Memory and Memory: From Lieux de mémoire to Nœuds de mémoire', *Yale French Studies* 118/119 (2010): 3-12.
- 5 Cf. P. Nora, *Les Français d'Algérie*. Édition revue et augmentée. Avec un document inédit de Jacques Derrida (Paris, 2012; first French edition 1961); P. Nora, *Historien Public* (Paris, 2011), 33-141.
- 6 H.K. Bhabha, 'Foreword to the 1986 Edition', in *Black skin, white masks*, ed. F. Fanon (London/York, 2008), xi-xxxvii.
- 7 D. Caute, *Frantz Fanon* (London, 1970); P. Geismar, *Fanon* (New York, 1971); I.L. Gendzier, *Frantz Fanon. A Critical Study* (New York, 1973); A. Cherki, *Frantz Fanon. A Portrait* (first French edition 2000); D. Macey, *Frantz Fanon: A Biography* (New York/Verso, 2000). Renate Zehar compiled a bibliographic essay: *L'Oeuvre de Frantz Fanon* (Paris, 1970).
- 8 E. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York, 1993); H. Bhabha, 'Foreword; Framing Fanon', in *The Wretched of the Earth*, ed. F. Fanon (New York, 2004), viii-xli, translated from French by Richard Philcox. With commentary by Jean Paul Sartre and Homi Bhabha. See also Leila Aboulela's novel *The Translator* (1999) and Tom Wolfe's *A Man in Full* (1998).
- 9 J. Fanon, *Frantz Fanon. My Brother: Doctor, Playwright* (Lanham, 2014; originally published as: *Frantz Fanon. De la Martinique à l'Algérie et à l'Afrique*. Paris, 2004), 17.
- 10 D. Constantini, *Mission civilisatrice. Le rôle de l'histoire coloniale dans la construction de l'identité politique française* (Paris, 2008), 225. This is reminiscent of the famous essay by Roland Barthes on French military nationalism wherein a picture with a young black soldier (*un jeune nègre vêtu d'un uniforme français*) in the Paris-Match represents 'La France' as 'an empire that honours all its sons that serve the nation without distinction': R. Barthes, 'Le mythe, aujourd'hui', in: Idem, *Mythologiques* (Paris, 1957), 180-211.
- 11 'Un jour on a décidé de le tuer, parce que les Européens ils veulent tuer tous les Algériens.' In: F. Fanon, *Les damnés de la terre* (Paris, 2002), 259.
- 12 A. Ramdas and E. Said: 'Geen enkele Europese cultuur deze eeuw is zuiver', *De Groene Amsterdammer* (16-03-1994).
- 13 S. Bronwasser', *De Dood aan de keukentafel; recensie Overzichtstentoonstelling van de Finse Eija-Liisa Ahtila*, *De Volkskrant* (05-06-2008); Eija-Liisa Ahtila, *Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen K21, Düsseldorf*.
- 14 M. Rothberg, *On Being a Descendant: Implicated Subjects and the Legacies of Slavery*. *Lecture, Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht*, (21 and 22-06-2013). M. Rothberg, 'Multidirectional memory and the implicated subject: On Sebald and Kentridge', in *Performing Memory in Art and Popular Culture*, eds. Liedeke Plate and Anneke Smelik (New York/London, 2013), 39-58.
- 15 M. Luckhurst, *Caryl Churchill* (New York, 2015), 48.
- 16 H. Abdilahi Bulhan, *Frantz Fanon and the Psychology of Oppression* (New York, 1985), chapter 4: 'Fanon and Eurocentric Psychology'.
- 17 Fanon, *Black skins*, 100. D. Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: postcolonial thought and historical difference* (Princeton, 2000).
- 18 Macey, *Frantz Fanon*, 75.
- 19 Renault, *Frantz Fanon*, 179.
- 20 This is the chapter 5 'The Fact of Blackness' in the English translation; Macey, *Frantz Fanon*, 132.
- 21 Intro *Peau noire*.
- 22 M. Evans, *The Memory of the Resistance. French Opposition to the Algerian War (1954-192)* (Oxford/New York, 1997), 182; F. Fanon, *L'An v de la révolution algérienne (Sociologie d'une révolution)* (Paris, 1959).
- 23 M. Hewitson and M. D'Auria, *Europe in Crisis: Intellectuals and the European Idea, 1917-1957* (New York, 2012), 12; and T. Judt, *Postwar. A history of Europe since 1945* (New York, 2005), 7.
- 24 Macey, *Frantz Fanon*, 109.
- 25 M. Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory. Remembering the Holocaust in the age of decolonization* (Stanford, 2009); Cf L. Dubois, 'An Enslaved Enlightenment: Rethinking the Intellectual History of the French Atlantic', *Social History* 31 (2006): 1-14.
- 26 In English translation: F. Bolkestein, *The Intellectual Temptation: Dangerous Ideas in Politics* (Bloomington, 2013). In a newspaper clipping by Samuel de Lange (*NRC Handelsblad*, 07-05-1999) Fanon's alleged vision on

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violence is associated with Sorel, Malraux and 'the epigone' Régis Debray.

27 C. Janssen, 'Het geweld kwam van links', *de Volkskrant*, (03-05-2003); J.-H. Bakker, 'Wereld zonder geweld is gevaarlijke illusie', *AD/Rivierenland* (01-11-2008).

28 A Dutch early adopter of the 'postcolonial Fanon' is the journalist Anil Ramdas (1958-2012), although as he wrote, 'Surinam could not be compared to Algeria' and 'the white people we encountered were even nicer and more leftist than ourselves'. A. Ramdas, 'De rebellen van tegenwoordig', (19-05-2011), www.deburen.eu and Anil Ramdas, *De papegaai, de stier en de klimmende bougainvillea* (Amsterdam, 2000), 173-178. See also S. Sanders, *De Buitenwacht* (Amsterdam 1996).

29 F. Laroui, 'Ook Rachid en Fatima zijn Europeanen', *De Groene Amsterdammer* (25-08-2010).

30 Attention for *Peau noire* returns in the current documentary *Black Skin White Masks* (1995) by Isaac Julien and in the adaptation of the book for the stage by the Belgian director Ivan Vrambout. cf. on *Les damnés de la terre*, the documentary *Concerning Violence* (2014) by Göran Olsson.

31 H. Dabashi, *Can Non-Europeans think?*, (15-01-2013) <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2013/01/2013114142638797542.html>; and, idem, *Can Non-Europeans think?* (London, 2015).

32 T. Lemaire, *Twijfel aan Europa. Zijn de intellectuelen de vijanden van de Europese cultuur?* (Baarn, 1990).

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