Edited by Gemma Blok and Jan Oosterholt

The Cultural Construction of Safety and Security

Imaginaries, Discourses and Philosophies that Shaped Modern Europe

Amsterdam University Press

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Introduction

Gemma Blok and Jan Oosterholt

Abstract

In contemporary societies, security has become a highly contested topic and is very difficult to define. The crucial question of what it means to provide security for citizens, to be or feel safe or to make someone or something secure, provokes a variety of answers. This introduction highlights the aims and intent of the volume *The Cultural Construction of Safety and Security*. We explain how the articles in the volume seek to contribute to the interdisciplinary effort of analysing security cultures by specifically bringing out the value of humanities research. Insights from history, art history, literary studies and philosophy can help in generating a deeper understanding of the norms, beliefs and emotions underlying perceptions of safety and security.

Keywords: safety and security, risk prevention, public health, interdisciplinarity

In February of 2020, during the first phase of the global Covid-19 crisis, lockdowns were announced in many countries, and citizens were encouraged to stay home as much as possible. Frustrating to many, this request was especially complicated for one particular social group: the homeless. 'I would stay home if I had one', they protested in desperation. Life became much harder for homeless persons in a world without walk-in shelters, department stores with public toilets, coffee bars or fast-food restaurants in which to sit and be warm for a while. Emergency night shelters were created, but this was not a solution for all. Some did not feel safe in these crowded places; being around other people felt unsafe to them, or they felt at risk of being infected as fellow occupants of the shelter would cough or did not observe the rules of hygiene. In several places, the homeless received 'survival

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packages' containing a tent and a sleeping bag. This would enable them to avoid shelters where situations were not safe.[1] Also, around the world, in times of COVID-related lockdowns, the homeless population became much more visible in public spaces and was policed more heavily than before.[2]

As this pandemic story shows, the desire for safety is both a basic need of human life, and one of modern society's most pressing challenges. Peace and security, 'the greatest of goods' according to the Austrian author Stefan Zweig, have been ambitions for individuals and societies since antiquity. Yet these ambitions are highly complicated, as could be observed during the Covid-19 crisis. The lockdowns, aimed at creating safety for the general public, created unsafe situations for homeless persons. Moreover, the collective wish to secure public health conflicted with the desire for individual freedom and agency. Furthermore, critics have argued that the far-reaching preventive public health measures that were taken by authorities to reduce the number of infections from Covid-19—the lockdowns, the coercion to be vaccinated, the proofs of vaccination or recovery that were required to participate in public life—in fact made them feel unsafe, manipulated and excluded by their own governments. Society became polarised by the 'War on Disease'—as historian Alex de Waal labels contemporary global public health practice and discourse.[3] In short, the pandemic showed that experiences and interpretations of what constitutes safety can differ greatly within society.

Preventing Risks

'Fighting' disease is but one aspect of contemporary collective efforts to produce safety. Not only are wars waged on disease, politicians have also declared wars on drugs, terror, crime and climate change. Meanwhile, cultural critics call the desire for safety an obsession, an addiction, a fantasy we live by. As sociologist Ulrich Beck famously stated in 1992, while humans have always been subjected to a level of risk—such as epidemics, crime, war

1 Sage Anderson, Gemma Blok, and Louise Fabian, eds, 'Marginalization and Space in Times of Covid-19: Lockdown Report HERA Project: Governing the Narcotic City', Spring 2020, https://narcotic.city/news/gonaci-lockdown-report/.

2 Umberto Bacchi and Rina Chandran, 'Homeless People "Treated as Criminals" Amid Coronavirus Lockdowns', *Reuters*, April 23, 2020, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-health-coronavirus-homelessness-featu-idUSKCN22527I.

3 Alex de Waal, *New Pandemics, Old Politics: Two Hundred Years of War on Disease and Its Alternatives* (Cambridge: Polity, 2021).

or natural disasters—societies in the twentieth century became exposed to new risks, such as climate change and pollution, that were the result of the modernisation process and the emergence of the welfare state.[4] Triggered by the nuclear disaster at Chernobyl in 1986, Beck argued that while technological advancements created unprecedented heights in terms of standards of living, they also generated unintended consequences and new and invisible 'threats' which could not fully be predicted. According to Beck, this situation created an increasing preoccupation with risk and future safety.

Since Beck coined the concept of the risk society, the twin issues of risk and safety have become leading topics in scientific and public debates on the nature of contemporary Western culture. In 2001, criminologist David Garland characterised American and British late-modern societies as 'cultures of control'; he argued that the modern crime control system was driven by the public and/or political longing for more punitive measures and more control of society and offenders.[5] The Dutch social psychologist Hans Boutellier states that this desire for control is reflective of an impossible desire: since the 1960s, citizens in the West have developed a wish to combine a maximum of personal freedom for self-development, self-expression and hedonistic pleasure, with a maximum of control and protection. Boutellier calls this a 'safety Utopia'.[6] The tone of the debate became more critical over the years, it seems, with the Hungarian-Canadian sociologist Frank Furedi arguing, for instance, that in the West 'safety has become a cultural obsession to the point that many institutions and policymakers have adopted the ideal of a "harm-free" world as a realistic objective, a fantasy perhaps most strikingly expressed through intolerance toward risk and accidents'.[7]

Whatever our valuations are of the desire for safety, we can observe that contemporary society is dominated by an awareness of risks, as well as by the urge to prevent these risks as much as possible.[8] Preventive policing and public health surveillance are merely examples of this. The overall

4 Ulrich Beck, *Risk Society: Toward a New Modernity* (London: Sage, 1992).

5 David Garland, *The Culture of Control. Crime and Social Order in Contemporary Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

6 Hans Boutellier, *De veiligheidsutopie: Hedendaags onbehagen en verlangen rond misdaad en straf* (The Hague: Boom Juridische Uitgevers, 2002); Hans Boutellier, *The Safety Utopia: Contemporary Discontent and Desire as to Crime and Punishment* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 2004).

7 Frank Furedi, 'The Paradox of Our Safety Addiction: How the Zero Risk Mentality Breeds a Culture of Anxiety and a Hunger for Authority', *The American Interest*, 2018, https://www.the-american-interest.com/v/frank-furedi/.

8 Beck, *Risk Society*.

tendency to prevent risks has been analysed as a securitisation process. It has been argued that the prophylactic or 'preventive gaze'[9] was caused by the terrorist threat that gripped the West after attacks on the United States in September 2001.[10] Governments used scenarios of danger and threat to justify defensive measures, such as the expansion of military forces.[11]

However, the preventive gaze had already been growing in the political arena in Western countries. For instance, during the Second Red Scare in America, in an effort to curb the perceived threat of Communism and anarchism, in 1947 President Harry S. Truman created a 'Federal Employees Loyalty Program', establishing political-loyalty review boards who determined the 'Americanism' of federal government employees. Millions of Americans underwent loyalty screening.[12] On the other side of the Atlantic, fear of terrorism in the German Bundesrepublik in the 1970s resulted in preventive screenings as well. German historian Eckart Conze has characterised the 1970s in West Germany as a period of striving for 'inner security', when laws were put in place to prevent members of radical organisations from working for the civil service.[13]

In the 1980s, as historian Wim de Jong and philosopher Litska Strikwerda have argued,[14] the precautionary paradigm was developed in response to the so-called urban crisis of the 1970s and 1980s. In many Western American and European cities, deindustrialisation resulted in high unemployment rates and left abandoned industrial properties in or close to inner cities. Urban residents left for suburban areas, empty houses and properties became homes to squatters and city centres fell prey to crime, poverty and decay. In this period, new precautionary practices were developed in urban policy, mental health care and policing, often going under the umbrella term of harm reduction, to restore citizens' experience of safety in the public space.

9 Rik Peeters, *The Preventive Gaze: How Prevention Transforms Our Understanding of the State* (Tilburg: Eleven International Publishing, 2013).

10 Lucia Zedner, 'Pre-crime and Post-criminology', *Theoretical Criminology* 11, no. 2 (2007): 261–81.

11 Jutta Weber and Katrin M. Kämpf, 'Technosecurity Cultures: Introduction', *Science as Culture* 29 (2020): 1–10.

12 Landon R.Y. Storrs, 'McCarthyism and the Second Red Scare', *Oxford Research Encyclopedia: American History*, 2015, https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.013.6.

13 Eckart Conze, *Die Suche nach Sicherheit: Eine Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland van 1949 bis in die Gegenwart* (Munich: Siedler, 2009).

14 Wim de Jong and Litska Strikwerda, 'Controlling Risks in the Safe City: The Rise of Preemptive Practices in Law Enforcement, Public Surveillance and Mental Health and Addiction Care (1970–2020)', *Urban Studies* 58, no. 12 (2021): 2514–30.

Close Reading Safety and Security: The Intent of This Volume

As Alan Collins writes in his introduction to *Contemporary Security Studies*, which looks at the rapidly developing academic field of security studies, 'core assumptions about what is to be secured, and how, have come to occupy our thoughts'.[15] Security has become a highly contested topic and is very difficult to define. The crucial question of what it means to provide security for citizens, to be or feel safe or to make someone or something secure, provokes a variety of answers. Originating from the field of international relations, since the late 1980s an impressive body of theory has been developed showing how traditional conceptualisations of security—such as a state keeping its citizens safe from foreign invasion, crime and terrorism—have been broadened to incorporate other areas of security—such as social security, health security, environmental security and cybersecurity. A new research field has emerged that is referred to as Critical Security Studies.[16] Within this field, conceptualisations of safety and security are no longer seen as static quantities. In the words of Eckart Conze, security 'is a social construct, a variable in the historical process. Different societies display very different notions of security and insecurity. And like these notions, social feelings of security or perceptions of security can change permanently'.[17]

In order to open up interdisciplinary perspectives for security research, the German political scientist Christopher Daase has introduced the concept of security cultures, understanding security and risk as social constructions based on norms and beliefs.[18] The aim of this volume is to contribute to this interdisciplinary effort by specifically highlighting the value of the humanities for generating a deeper understanding of the norms, beliefs and emotions underlying perceptions of safety and security. We believe that methods and data from (art) history, philosophy, literary studies and

15 Alan Collins, *Contemporary Security Studies*, 6th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 2; see also other recent contributions to security studies such as Regina Kreide and Andreas Langenohl, eds, *Conceptualizing Power in Dynamics of Securitization: Beyond State and International System* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2019); Peter Burgess, ed., *The Routledge Handbook of New Security Studies* (London: Routledge, 2012).

16 See, for instance, Columba Peoples and Nicholas Vaughan-Williams, *Critical Security Studies: An Introduction*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2014).

17 Eckart Conze, 'Security as a Culture: Reflections on a "Modern Political History" of the Federal Republic of Germany', *German Historical Institute London Bulletin* 28, no. 1 (2006): 5–34, at 12.

18 Christopher Daase, 'On Paradox and Pathologies: A Cultural Approach to Security', in *Transformations of Security Studies: Dialogues, Diversity and Discipline*, ed. Gabi Schlag, Julian Junk, and Christopher Daase (London: Routledge, 2016), 82–94.

human geography are highly relevant to look at ongoing debates on safety and security from a cultural constructivist point of view. Whose safety are we after, how has a safe society been defined, when and by whom; where do we locate safety, how do we envision it? A close reading of literary works, philosophical lines of thought, artworks, architecture and various other historical sources can contribute qualitative data and new insights on the fundamental questions and dilemmas involved in the advancement of safety and security. Next to imaginaries and discourses, the cultural dimensions of health or public order practices will be taken on board as well.[19] As feelings of safety and also unsafety are subjective indications, it is interesting to look into the cultural expressions of these emotions and see how and when these have been voiced and portrayed. What did various historical actors actually mean when they talked about (or visually expressed) safety or security? How were these concepts defined throughout history? Who are included and excluded from security practices and strategies?

In this volume, we bring together perspectives from the humanities to critically evaluate underlying cultural perceptions of safety and security that have shaped (early) modern European societies. The twelve chapters are based on collaborative work and reflect a wide range of topics, from early modern thought on safety and religious tolerance to twentieth-century drug use in public spaces.

Conceptualisations of (un)safety are expressed in literary, scientific and political discourse, in art and architecture, in urban policies, health care, and police practices, and in urban planning. The chapters are bound together by the ambition to demonstrate how safety and security are not just social or biological conditions we can aim to achieve, for instance through striving for safety from disease and crime.

The growing body of humanities scholarship on safety and security shows how these concepts are interpreted differently across societies, time periods, social groups and individuals. They have different meanings for various groups of people and have been defined and expressed in many ways across different places and times, with a big impact on society and everyday life. Safety is also a historical and cultural construct, in the sense that safety is not only being protected, but also the feeling of being protected from factors that cause harm. In the history of emotions, and the wider field of affect studies, the feeling of safety is less developed than its counterpart,

19 Peter Burgess, *The Future of Security Research in the Social Sciences and Humanities*. Discussion Paper of the Standing Committee for the Humanities (SCH), European Science Foundation, July 2014, 10, http://archives.esf.org/uploads/media/future_security_research.pdf.

fear.[20] In this volume, cultural representations of safety as well as unsafety will be explored.

According to the Dutch historian Beatrice de Graaf, in order to historicise security, we 'need to analyse how future conditions of safety were perceived and represented in different periods of time'.[21] On balance, security policy is aimed at a projected future, and in shaping this projected future, cultural products play an important role. Therefore, several chapters in this anthology offer a close reading of fiction, paintings, philosophical texts or architecture, analysing imaginaries of future safety expressed in them. In general, artistic representations of safety are crucial to our understanding of individual and collective perceptions and meanings of safety. To quote the Finnish scholars Elise Nykänen and Hanna Samola from their introduction to the anthology *Narratives of Fear and Safety* (2020), literary texts and other narrative media are 'cultural imaginings of worlds' that influence the social and collective emotions that frame our everyday experience.[22] Close reading of cultural products can also generate a deeper understanding of individual experiences of, and the ambivalences and dilemmas involved in, perceptions of safety and security. Finally, taking a close look at safekeeping at the urban level, as several chapters in the volume do, reveals how the desire to produce safety remains a 'compelling organiser of social life', as criminologist Alexandra Fanghanel aptly phrased it.[23] Urban planning and policing was informed to a large extent by perceptions of safe places, safe practices and safe people.

Structure and Content of the Volume

In the first section, 'Philosophical Conceptualisations of Safety', we take a deep dive into philosophical debates on concepts of safety and security. Eddo Evink ambitiously covers the long period from antiquity to the present day. Taking the concepts of *securitas* and *certitudo* as his points of departure, he demonstrates how the notions of security and certitude have a long and

20 On fear, see, for instance, Joanna Bourke, *Fear: A Cultural History* (London: Virago, 2006); Peter Stearns, *American Fear: The Causes and Consequences of High Anxiety* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

21 Beatrice de Graaf, 'De historisering van veiligheid: Introductie', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 125 (2012): 305–13, at 308–9 (quote translated by Gemma Blok).

22 Elise Nykänen and Hanna Samola, 'Introduction: Affective Spaces in European Literature and Other Narrative Media', in *Narratives of Fear and Safety*, ed. Kaisa Kaukiainen et al. (Tampere: Tampere University Press, 2020), 11–32.

23 Alexandra Fanghanel, 'The Trouble with Safety. Fear of Crime, Pollution and Subjectification in Public Space', *Theoretical Criminology* 20 (2016): 57–74, at 58.

somewhat complicated history that can be traced back to ancient Greece. Already in antiquity, and more pronouncedly after the fall of the Roman Empire, the term 'security' referred to the realm of the political—namely, the security or tranquillity of the city-state or 'nation' both in terms of physical security in times of conflict and also in the history of law. The concept of *certitudo* is closer to trust; it has been interpreted in a religious fashion as subjective trust in God, and it was explicitly opposed to rational security by Luther. Evink, however, argues that considerations of safety should reach beyond the modern false dilemma between subjective freedom and objective control, towards a better understanding of the complicated relationship between trust and security. Starting from the writings of the Czech phenomenologist Jan Patočka, he builds his plea for an integration of *certitudo* and *securitas* in a regime that protects as well as trusts its citizens.

Ana Alicia Carmona Aliaga continues this section with a close reading of the work of Pierre Bayle, fleshing out his arguments for religious tolerance. She demonstrates how this argument was linked to an analysis of the passions in Bayle's writings. Religious zeal, Bayle argued, not only resulted in persecutions and killings of 'heretics' but it also nurtured hatred in the hearts and minds of those who underwent forced conversions, for instance. Tom Giesbers, finally, offers a thorough and insightful analysis of the work of Fichte, and his ideas on the state as a guarantor of public safety. Fichte argued that political states should not only protect the properties but also the bodies of citizens, keeping them from bodily harm and maintaining their basic needs. Remarkably, Fichte put forward some extreme measures: he was in favour of a strong police force and of citizens carrying personal identity cards at all times. However, he also thought that reducing social and economic inequalities were essential to guaranteeing freedom and safety. His legacy lasts, Giesbers argues, in his articulation of the necessary co-dependency of freedom and safety: a state of 'free individuals' can only be realised, Fichte argued, when our properties and our bodies are safe from being abused.

In the next section, 'Security Cultures in History', we take a closer look at the emergence of modern security cultures and practices from a historical perspective. Beatrice de Graaf, a leading scholar in the field of historical security studies, demonstrates how in the early nineteenth century, in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars, a European collective security culture took shape, driven by a fear of revolution, radicalism and chaos. The encompassing security culture, De Graaf shows, was 'compounded in the newly adopted constitutions, and embodied in monarchical rule, supported by new, centralised police and intelligence forces'. Security was organised in a

top-down fashion, to exert surveillance over a population, against alleged foreign and domestic threats. We tend to situate this type of international security culture in later historical periods, but as De Graaf demonstrates, the roots lay much further back in time.

Taking a leap in time, Vincent Baptist takes us to the urban level, focussing on the Rotterdam 'pleasurescape' of the Schiedamsedijk during the interwar period. At the time, many Western nation-states had incorporated the reduction of vice into their policies and security practices, as a result of global anti-vice activism.[24] In Rotterdam, a lot of police activity was aimed at controlling the alleged unruly and criminal neighbourhood of the Schiedamsedijk. Using an innovative spatial approach based on visual and archival sources, which he calls 'deep mapping', Baptist contrasts external perceptions of this 'vice district' with internal perspectives, looking at the quotidian aspects of life in this particular area. This internal perspective is suggestive of a close-knit community that reinvented itself in the 1930s as a festive area for domestic tourism. Baptist observes an internally perceived safety versus an externally demanded security, but also argues that in the late 1930s, as the Schiedamsedijk was commodified, these opposing perceptions of safety were reconciled more than before. The fight against 'vice' faded into the background as the neighbourhood proved to be of economic interest to the city.

The next chapter, on heroin use in public spaces, by Gemma Blok, Peter-Paul Bänziger and Lisanne Walma, continues with an analysis of dealing with perceived disorder in urban settings in the late twentieth century. Using the policy responses to open drug scenes in Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Zurich as their case studies, the authors demonstrate that there was a difference in how local opiate users were treated, versus foreign heroin users present in these cities. For many policymakers and urban residents, drug use and trade represented a new 'threat' that was hard to manage. This new phenomenon of non-medical drug use did not respect national borders, nor did it respond to traditional local or state security approaches. The European security culture that had emerged since the early nineteenth century did not have a collective answer to this new transnational challenge, and heroin users who crossed national borders were increasingly repatriated or deported in the 1980s and 1990s.

The third section, 'Narratives and Imaginaries of Safety', demonstrates how imagining and dreaming of safety has a long tradition as a way of coping

24 Jessica R. Pliley and Robert Kramm, eds, *Global Anti-Vice Activism 1890–1950: Fighting Drinks, Drugs, and 'Immorality'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

with insecurities. During the political and religious upheaval and wars of the seventeenth century, as art historian Nils Büttner shows, Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) painted many idyllic landscapes, often with windmills in them. These paintings can be regarded as expressions of patriotism, as they certainly were in nineteenth-century Dutch nationalist historiographies. But, as Büttner argues, the artworks can also be interpreted as 'counter-images', painted in reaction to constant threat, to keep the spirits up in difficult times and to focus on a safer future.

Also relating to wartime insecurities are the famous writings of Stefan Zweig. On the eve of the Second World War, he published his novel *Beware of Pity* (1939), depicting the world on the eve of the First World War. According to the analysis offered by literary scholar Frederik Van Dam, in spite of Zweig's professed nostalgia for the security this lost world had to offer, with its bureaucratic institutions and technological networks, his novel of 1939 also touches upon insecurities inherent in them: the temptations and anxieties that were generated by the pressure for upward mobility and by new technologies. Arriving closer to present times, in twentieth-century Oslo and Belfast, as historian of architecture Roos van Strien argues, modern architecture reflected dreams and perceptions of future safety in reaction to terrorist threat. The new Government Quarter in Oslo, for instance, was meant to represent Norwegian national identity, with an emphasis on openness and unity and building on relations of trust and safety, according to authorities.

The volume closes with a section on 'Narratives and Imaginaries of Unsafety'. Art historian Sigrid Ruby deconstructs the ambivalent safety promise of the domestic space. In early modern visual culture, the home was often depicted as an unsafe place, where men beat their wives, extramarital sexual encounters were common and lavish drinking took place. Close reading paintings by Pieter de Hooch, Ruby argues that these represented an aesthetic strategy she calls 'poetics of insecurity', after literary scholar Johannes Voelz. This concept refers to a cultural imaginary that reverses accepted meanings of security and insecurity so as to attract attention from the reader or viewer. These pictures, however, had a clear didactic and moralistic purpose. They were meant to convey the message that both domestic and social disorder were the result of escaping gender roles and abolishing self-control.

In the next chapter, literary scholar Jan Oosterholt analyses a nineteenth-century Dutch social novel published in 1844, Jan de Vries' *De verborgenheden van Amsterdam* ('The Mysteries of Amsterdam'), which was an adaptation of the French social novel *Les Mystères de Paris* by Eugène Sue. De Vries

portrays certain poorer areas of Amsterdam as unsafe places filled with riffraff—no-go areas of poverty, alcoholism and crime. The novel suggests that idlers and beggars should be removed from the city to make it a safer place. However, De Vries' fiction is not simply a call for the repression of unruly elements among the lower classes; it also speaks to the fears of the middle-class bourgeois intended audience of the novel, for a loss of status. Oosterholt makes a strong case for reading literary texts as 'barometers' of cultural perceptions of (un)safety.

In the final chapter of this volume, philosopher and historian Femke Kok contributes to the analysis of feelings of unsafety by Martha Nussbaum by analysing Hungarian writer Magda Szabó's novel *Iza's Ballad*. The novel, Kok argues, illustrates an important aspect of the nature or phenomenology of feelings of unsafety: the experience of being at a loss for words. Not being able to speak out generates a feeling of being locked in a speechless head, not being able to enter into human interaction, undermining a sense of trust, confidence and certainty: it makes a person feel unsafe. There is not always the choice or possibility to negotiate our emotions, as Nussbaum states. Literary texts can create an awareness of this important aspect of the nature of emotions and a new dimension to philosophical theories on what it means to feel safe.

Secularisation and Moralisation of Safety and Security

In combination, the twelve chapters on safety and security, taking a *longue durée* approach, push forth several important realisations. First, while the role of religion in providing a sense of safety became less dominant in secularising societies, the desire for safety remained highly linked to moralisations. During the Middle Ages and early modern period, as Jean Delumeau and others have described, fears of death and of damnation were powerful realities, used as disciplinary tools for children and adults alike.[25] In reaction to the emotional anxieties of famine, epidemics and the exhaustions of war and combat, widespread beliefs in witchcraft, at least partly sanctioned by the Church, were means of alleviating insecurity. Religious and political leaders explicitly legitimised the persecution of 'heretics' with the promise of peace, social order and safety, associating civil peace with

25 Jean Delumeau, *Sin and Fear: The Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture, 13th–18th Centuries* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991); William G. Naphy and Penny Roberts, eds, *Fear in Early Modern Society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997).

religious unity. On a more positive note, however, religion also offered a sense of what, among others, Thomas Aquinas and Martin Luther have called 'certitudo': certainty in faith, the safety of being protected by a god who knows us better than we can know ourselves; a belief in God's grace.[26]

During the early modern period, Pierre Bayle, among others, started to defend religious tolerance as a security strategy, arguing that religious zeal and intolerance generated disorder, hatred and crime. Enlightenment thinkers carried Bayle's progressive plea for a separation of church and state into the next centuries as a dominant mode of political thought. With the rise of the nation-state, 'security' became the prerogative of national governance, and the role of the Church was gradually limited to the realm of public life. According to the German philosopher Johann Gottlieb Fichte, a pioneer in conceptualising the state as an organiser of public safety, the state should be safe and non-moralistic.

However, as several chapters in this volume show, in the secularist discourses, practices and imaginaries of safety and security of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the desire for safety often does operate in a moralistic fashion, with exclusionary effects in its production of deviancy, the 'Other' being defined as a safety threat. Feelings of fear and the desire for safety can be used and abused politically, for instance in moral crusades against 'vice', as several chapters in this volume highlight. Safe places were often defined and perceived in opposition to unsafe places, and unsafe places were represented as filled with lower class 'riff-raff', foreign drug dealers, prostitutes, alcoholics and criminals. This type of scapegoating has been analysed by Ulrich Beck as an intrinsic part of twentieth-century risk societies, but it clearly has longer historical roots and can be construed as a way of dealing with insecurity and emotional anxieties.

Another recurring theme in many of the chapters is the ambivalence in perceptions of safety with regard to the human 'passions', emotions or desires. On the one hand, experiencing individual agency and having the freedom to express emotions, to be heard, to express one's subjectivity and vitality, are aspects of the cultural discourse on feeling safe. On the other hand, controlling 'passions', emotions and desires is often seen as a strategy towards achieving social order and safety. The fundamental conflict between control and freedom of the 'passions' is also acted out within the individual, as is beautifully illustrated and illuminated by literary narratives such as Zweig's novel *Beware of Pity* (1939). In this novel, which is set in the

26 Susan E. Schreiner, 'Certainty and Security in Martin Luther's Theology', *Oxford Research Encyclopedia: Religion*, 2017, https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199340378.013.348.

early twentieth century, new technologies such as the telegram, train and car offer humanity in the modern age a new sense of mastery and trust in the future, making people feel safe and secure. At the same time, these new technologies offer new temptations, tapping into human's desires and 'primitive instincts'. Driving a car really fast, for instance, can awaken unconscious desires and loosen the sense of emotional connection with one's secured and regulated life.

Evink, in his chapter on the historical and contemporary aspects of the concept of safety, proposes an alternative framing of the fundamental modern dilemma between freedom and control. He suggests that we focus more on *certitudo*, not in a religious sense of certainty of faith, but as 'the relations of trust in which we live'. This trust in the 'natural and social structures in which we live', as he phrases it, needs to be supported and maintained. We should be really careful not to replace trust by control. In striving to keep citizens safe and protected, we should protect this basic trust instead of replacing it by security. The tension can thus, he argues, be articulated as a 'tension between a security in service of trust and a security that replaces and thus destroys trust'.[27]

Similar arguments can be found in other recent publications from the humanities. Historian Beatrice de Graaf, for instance, also mentions trust as a key issue for security cultures: the basis of social control should be trust in the very citizens that governments aim to keep safe. Institutionalised distrust, she argues, puts an axe to the roots of our democratic rule of law. 'Without trust, societies fall apart', Elise Nykänen and Hanna Samola write in their anthology *Narratives of Fear and Safety*. It is the 'glue that makes social integration and cooperation possible'.[28] As part of the critical reflection on security cultures in the past and present, a strong suggestion thus seems to emanate from the humanities to focus more on trust. 'The scare stories that we continually transmit to one another indicate that society feels uncomfortable with itself', state Nykänen and Samola, quoting Frank Furedi. One way of countering the dominance of 'scare stories', as part of political or media discourse in society, as well as in being objects of academic research, may be to explicitly look for and analyse 'safe stories', as this volume aims to present: conceptualisations and subjective expressions of being and feeling safe, even if these are often expressed in direct reference to unsafety.

27 See Chapter 1 in this volume, by Eddo Evink, 'Security, Certainty, Trust: Historical and Contemporary Aspects of the Concept of Safety', p. 39.

28 Nykänen and Samola, 'Introduction', 14.

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Section 1

Philosophical Conceptualisations of Safety

1 Security, Certainty, Trust

Historical and Contemporary Aspects of the Concept of Safety

Eddo Evink

Abstract
In this chapter I focus on a deep and nuanced insight into the concept of safety. I choose three approaches: (1) an etymological and conceptual-historical analysis of the terms *securitas* and *certitudo*; (2) an existential-phenomenological analysis of safety as a basic human experience and need; (3) a hermeneutical and post-phenomenological understanding of contemporary threats to safety in a high-technological society. The main conclusion is that considerations of safety should reach beyond the modern false dilemma between subjective freedom and objective control, towards a better understanding of the complicated relationship between trust and security.

Keywords: safety, security, certainty, trust, phenomenology, Jan Patočka

Introduction

The main question of this contribution is a typically philosophical one: What is safety? There are many ways to answer such a general question. I shall combine a few different approaches in order to gain historical and philosophical insight into the concept of safety. The concept will turn out to be quite versatile in relation to certainty and security and to function in quite different domains.

This chapter will discuss three approaches in historical and systematic order. The first section will highlight conceptual-historical and etymological research in the historical terminology of 'safety', going back to the Latin words *securitas* and *certitudo*. Second, a phenomenological analysis will

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show how safety is a primordial aspect of all human experiences. Third, and in line with the second section, from a cultural and political perspective and in a hermeneutical or post-phenomenological style, I shall discuss some threats to safety in the digital world of today. Together, these lines of thought will provide a deeper comprehension of the complex character of contemporary questions of safety.

A Conceptual History of Safety

A recurrent theme in the conceptual history of safety is the distinction between *securitas* and *certitudo*: security and certitude or certainty. In this conceptual history, safety is thus connected to certainty, although that seems to be a different topic. The connection between certainty and safety can be clarified if we look at the German translation of *securitas*, *Sicherheit*, which is close to the Dutch *zekerheid* (certainty), and which is usually translated as certainty. Although certainty is mainly discussed in the context of epistemological certainty, it is often related to safety, especially in premodern times.[1]

Let us start with the Latin term *securitas*, which was first used in Neoplatonism, in the first century BCE, as a translation of the Greek *ataraxia*. Its first meaning comes from the combination of *se cura* or *sine cura*, which means 'without concern'. It refers to a state of mind or a state of being and is often used by Stoics like Cicero and Seneca, who were looking for a way of life without concern, a way of life that was to be found through emotional distance. A different use of *securitas* can be found in political contexts, where it refers to safety in the sense of an absence of danger. In this manner, *securitas* is often mentioned in relation to the *Pax Romana*. Later, in late antiquity, a development can be seen towards several meanings of *securitas*: certainty of knowledge, certainty of moral convictions, certainty of faith and political safety.[2]

The other term, *certitudo*, is relatively younger and was first used in late antiquity, for example in later texts of Neoplatonism, and from there it was adopted by Augustine. From an etymological perspective, *certitudo*

1 Several studies have been written on this etymological issue. I shall mainly refer to Andrea Schrimm-Heins, who wrote the most profound study on this topic, and who also discusses other studies on this terminology: Andrea Schrimm-Heins, 'Gewissheit und Sicherheit: Geschichte und Bedeutungswandel der Begriffe certitudo und securitas', *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte* 1, no. 34 (1991): 123–213; 2, no. 35 (1992): 115–213.

2 Schrimm-Heins, 'Gewissheit und Sicherheit', 1:133–40.

is related to the verb *cernere*, which means 'to make a distinction' or 'to decide', a translation of the Greek *krinein*. The perfect tense of *cernere* is *certus*: that which is decided or certain. In late Christian antiquity, *certitudo* is adopted as a word for the certainty of faith, as an alternative for *securitas*, and thereafter other meanings were derived from this notion. Nevertheless, even in Christian antiquity, *securitas* can be found much more frequently than *certitudo*.[3]

In early medieval thought, *certitudo* becomes the main term, including many kinds of certainty, all founded in the certainty of faith. *Securitas* was now mainly used as a synonym or alternative for *certitudo*, although it was sometimes put in opposition to the latter. In that respect, the true faith of *certitudo* is opposed to the false, vain and arrogant feeling of certainty in *securitas*, which then sometimes even comes close to *superbia*, or pride, although that is exceptional. After the fall of the Roman Empire, *securitas* becomes a political and juridical term, meaning security by protection; the term is mainly used in juridical documents and political treaties.

In the Middle Ages, *certitudo* turns into an important theological concept, especially in the work of Thomas Aquinas. In his philosophy and theology, Thomas is looking for a broad and richly detailed understanding of human life and reality in a synthesis that is ultimately based on faith. In many respects, Aquinas' philosophy is quite different from Augustine's thought, but they agree on the importance of the concept of *certitudo*. Aquinas elaborates on many different distinctions in its meanings, all thought together in synthesis: philosophical, moral, juridical and theological certainty, all combined in the highest certainty of faith. Aquinas also distinguishes several degrees between uncertainty and absolute certainty. The deepest or most profound certainty is the certainty of faith in something that lies beyond our understanding. This is not only a theoretical certainty of the truth of Christian dogmatism, but the safety of being guarded and taken care of by a god who knows us better than we can know ourselves.[4]

After Thomas, this synthesis is lost, step by step. Among others, Duns Scotus and William of Occam emphasise the distinction between the certitude of faith and of knowledge. This distinction develops in early modern thought towards the separation of different sorts of *certitudo*: faith, knowledge and action. In theology, during the sixteenth-century Reformation, Martin Luther creates a strict opposition of rationality and faith; *certitudo* is restricted to certainty of personal faith and is placed in

3 Schrimm-Heins, 'Gewissheit und Sicherheit', 1:141–48.

4 Schrimm-Heins, 'Gewissheit und Sicherheit', 1:152–82.

opposition to *securitas*, the false certainty of self-assurance. Certainty in faith becomes an individual conviction that has its own problematic aspect. Especially in Calvinism, the certainty of faith becomes fragile in the highly contested question of predestination.

In philosophy, René Descartes also makes a strict opposition of rationality and faith, though with a different outcome. Here, *certitudo* becomes certainty of knowledge: an objective certainty based on evidential intuition. According to Descartes, all knowledge is in need of a new foundation, which he finds in thought itself. Through the well-known thought experiment of methodical doubt, Descartes reaches certainty of self-assurance in rational thought. After Descartes, however, this certainty is constantly contested in modern philosophy.

Also in ethics, the probable certainty of morality is problematised, and philosophers feel the need of a new foundation. They try to find such a foundation in natural law. Schrimm-Heins refers mainly to Samuel Pufendorf in this respect. Certainty in morality is no longer based in a divine world order; it is now pursued in natural law, based on rational principles, rooted in human nature. But from the beginning of early modern thought, this notion of certainty has been contested as well.[5]

We can thus see several conceptual developments in early modern thought. There are distinctions of different sorts of certainty that can no longer be taken together in the unity of the medieval worldview. This unity also falls apart in a different sense: certainty becomes a matter of the individual. In addition, it is no longer given, but needs to be found. The search for certainty becomes one of the main questions of modern thought.[6]

Connected with these developments, the ancient notion of *securitas*, although contested by Protestantism in the domain of faith, rises again in the context of political philosophy. Thomas Hobbes plays an important role in this regard. With the religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as his backdrop, Hobbes states that the modern state needs to secure the safety of its citizens. This search for political security is one of the

5 Schrimm-Heins, 'Gewissheit und Sicherheit', 1:182–213, 2:115–70.

6 The suggestion that, in a process of secularisation, the Christian *certitudo* is replaced in modernity by *securitas*, is denied by Schrimm-Heins, 'Gewissheit und Sicherheit', 2:171. The Protestant opposition between *certitudo* and *securitas* is part of a broader development that replaces the certainty of a divine order by the much smaller and contested certainty of both faith and knowledge. The strict opposition of *securitas* and *certitudo* is itself an early modern phenomenon, it is part of the decline of a broader notion of *certitudo*, together with the rise of the modern distinction between subject and object.

responses to the falling apart of the medieval divine world order. Security has become a matter of human self-maintenance.

In early modern political thought, the political state is made by individuals who want to secure their future safety and well-being—in Hobbes' view, as a negation of the natural state of war between all men. This idea of a social gathering of individuals has been the subject of other elaborations as well. According to Hugo Grotius, humans have a natural inclination towards community, and in the view of Samuel Pufendorf, humans have a natural need to live together. Pufendorf combines the notions of *securitas* and *certitudo moralis*: political security and moral certainty.[7]

As already mentioned above, the falling apart of the medieval world order is related to the rise of the human individual as the central position of thought, and to the modern subject-object split: all the things in the world are taken as standing before us, humans, as objects of our knowledge and technical control. Accordingly, in modern political philosophy, society is seen as a number of individuals, which results in a tension between individual freedom and dominance. In terms of security, this means that the individual citizen needs protection by the state but can be dominated and oppressed by the state as well. How to solve this problem has become the subject of many reflections in political philosophy by Locke, Rousseau and many others.

For modern philosophy and modern society, therefore, *security* has become the dominant term to think of safety. Security is at the heart of the ambivalence between individual freedom and dominance or control. On the one hand, we need control over nature and over our situation, in order to be free. To be assured of this freedom, we need a government that secures our freedom. But on the other hand, the rules of government should not limit our freedom with excessive surveillance and control. Many of the contemporary reflections on security are still caught within this modern dilemma between freedom and control.

In the nineteenth century, this dilemma takes different shapes, in several respects, that are related to the growing complexity of modern society. Because of this complexity, individuals and society as a whole are confronted with more and more risks. In addition, there is a larger range of security: in politics, we see a growth of state responsibility, which includes not only security of life maintenance, but also social security. This complexity is accompanied by several characteristics. The rise of liberalism is one of them. Its main idea is that the inevitable uncertainty of human

7 Schrimm-Heins, 'Gewissheit und Sicherheit', 2:171–97.

life is a condition of individual freedom. Liberalists prefer freedom above control, they want a state of justice instead of a police state. The tendency to see security as a matter of individual choice is also reflected in the rise of insurance companies. As a counterpart, socialist movements plea for more social security. In addition, in the nineteenth century we also see the development of human sciences and social sciences that make the human being and its behaviour the object of scientific research. In the long term, this makes it possible to develop ever newer and more efficient methods of security.

There are several social scientists who have recognised all this in their studies of long-term developments in the theory and practice of society and its security. In his book *The Civilizing Process*, Norbert Elias describes the growing complexity of modern civilisation and how this complexity has profoundly changed being human. He shows how this change is reflected in increasing psychical sensibility and how the need for safety has resulted in the internalising of many ethical norms.[8]

Perhaps even more important in the context of safety is the work of Michel Foucault. Under the heading of 'biopolitics', Foucault analyses how the development of new domains of research in the human and social sciences is related to the rise of interferences and regulations that shape the governance of state populations. In medical, juridical, penitential, educational, governmental and other practices, knowledge, research and control are meticulously combined and lead to various forms of power and discipline that shape the modern individual. In these analyses, Foucault tends to emphasise the element of control. Only in his later work did he search for a new understanding of individual freedom.[9]

During the twentieth century, new technological inventions have accelerated these developments even more, which has led to the awareness that it is hard to control modern technology and that our technological society is susceptible to ever larger dangers. Within the modern subject-object frame of thought, technology is first seen as a set of tools in the hands of free subjects—tools that then surprisingly tend to dominate people who become themselves objects of manipulation and control, in modern factories, in bureaucratisation, and so on. Continuously, freedom

8 Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, rev. ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000).

9 Michel Foucault, *'Society Must Be Defended': Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975–1976* (New York: Picador, 2003); Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France 1977–1978* (New York: Picador, 2009); Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978–1979* (New York: Picador, 2010).

and control are considered as opposed to each other but also entangled in dialectical tensions. As a consequence of the dominating tendencies of new technologies, the call for security is heard louder and louder—and the modern dilemma between freedom and control becomes increasingly pressing and problematic. The product of this dilemma is now well known as the *Risikogesellschaft* or risk society.[10]

Given the dilemmas that are inherent in the modern notion of security, chained as society is to the tensions between individual freedom and control, it is not surprising that a way out of the dilemma is sought in a fundamentally new understanding of safety. One way to do this is to fall back on the idea of *certitudo*, through which safety can be understood in a way that is closer to trust than to control. Several studies do rely on this notion of *certitudo*, referring to early modern or premodern ideas of safety that are related to the trust that can be found in faith.[11] However, if one tries to find support for this approach in the Protestant opposition between *certitudo* and *securitas*, it is not clear how that trust of faith can be combined with practical-political notions of safety. Moreover, it is doubtful how much support such an approach may expect in a secularised society. The same goes for conceptual alternatives for modern security that suggest relying on a medieval idea of *certitudo*, as can be found in Thomas or Augustine, and in which several conceptions of certainty and safety can be considered together. In such an approach, *certitudo* and *securitas* can go together, but they are still based on a Christian faith that has lost much of its appeal in contemporary culture. If one tries to rely on historical analyses, one might as well go back to the ancient Stoic idea of *securitas* that aims more for detachment than for control.[12]

Historical-conceptual and etymological studies can give helpful insight into the roots, prospects and restrictions of our conceptual understanding of safety. But for a critical assessment and renewal of the conceptions of safety this historical approach is of limited value. It needs to be complemented by other methods, of which phenomenological analyses are the most promising. The question then is: How do we experience safety?

10 Ulrich Beck, *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity* (Los Angeles: Sage, 1992).

11 Werner Conze, 'Sicherheit, Schutz', in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*, vol. 5, ed. Otto Brunner, Werner Conze and Reinhart Koselleck (Stuttgart, 1984), 831–62; Franz-Xaver Kaufmann, *Sicherheit als soziologisches und sozialpolitisches Problem* (Stuttgart: Enke, 1973); Beatrice de Graaf, 'De historisering van veiligheid', *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 125, no. 3 (2012): 305–13.

12 This last approach would actually be quite close to Heidegger's idea of *Gelassenheit*, cf. Martin Heidegger, *Gelassenheit* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2003).

A Phenomenology of Certainty and Safety

How do we experience safety and certainty? In philosophy, certainty is first and foremost thought of as epistemological certainty, the certainty of knowledge. As we have seen, in early modern philosophy, certainty changed from something bestowed within a divine order to something that has been lost and that needs to be found again—or, it was never really there (but needs to be found anyway). Related to the upsurge of modern individuality and the already mentioned subject-object split, certainty is often sought in the act of thinking and in the thinking ego itself. This split is the epistemological counterpart of the modern idea of safety as security: certainty can be found in the free-thinking subject that calculates and controls, in its knowledge and reflection, the objects across from it.

The most famous elaboration of this idea can be found in René Descartes' *cogito ergo sum*. Descartes uses a methodical doubt to reach unquestionable certainty. He doubts everything, and the only thing that is left then, is the act of doubting. Since I cannot doubt the fact that I doubt, and doubting is a form of thinking, there is always the certainty of the act of thinking: *cogito*, *I think*. Certainty seems to be found here through the ultimate *un*certainty of methodical doubt.

One might ask, however, if such a radical doubt is really possible. In a way, it is possible, but only as an abstract thought experiment that presupposes other certainties. At the heart of the turn towards the rational certainty of calculation and control, one can find traces of a pre-rational certainty that needs to be understood in terms of surrender and trust. Testimony of this can be found in Descartes' own text, in the opening sentences of his *Metaphysical Meditations*:

> Some years ago I was struck by the large number of falsehoods that I had accepted as true in my childhood, and by the highly doubtful nature of the whole edifice that I had subsequently based on them. I realised that it was necessary, once in the course of my life, to demolish everything completely and start again right from the foundations if I wanted to establish anything at all in the sciences that was stable and likely to last. But the task looked an enormous one, and I began to wait until I should reach a mature enough age to *ensure* that no subsequent time of life would be more suitable for tackling such inquiries. This led me to put the project off for so long that I would now be to blame if by pondering over it any further I wasted the time still left for carrying it out. So today *I have expressly rid my mind of all worries* and arranged for myself a *clear stretch*

> *of free time*. I am here quite alone, and at last I will devote myself sincerely and without reservation to the general demolition of my opinions.[13]

The emphasised words in this quote highlight what Descartes tells us implicitly: even the most radical thought experiment that demolishes all certainties can only be undertaken in safe circumstances when you have found the free time to do this and when you have put all your worries aside. In other words, it is only possible to perform a thought experiment of radical doubt of all alleged certainties if this is allowed by the certainties of the situation and of the conditions of the experiment.

A similar point is brought forward much later by Ludwig Wittgenstein in his *On Certainty*: thinking about certainties, Wittgenstein states, presupposes a system, a coherence of ideas; it also presupposes the reliability of a shared language and other conditions of thought that are part of the language game and of the practices and life forms in which we perform the act of thinking. Thinking or doubting the certainties of our ideas and propositions presupposes the certainty of what cannot be articulated well in propositions. Wittgenstein formulates this concisely in one of the fragments of *On Certainty*: 'If you tried to doubt everything, you would not get as far as doubting anything. The game of doubting itself presupposes certainty'.[14]

Presuppositions like these are analysed profoundly in phenomenology. Ironically, this mode of thought was started by Edmund Husserl in an effort to find an absolute certain foundation of scientific thought with a methodical doubt that is a variation of Descartes' method. Husserl proposes to put all our explicit and implicit judgements of what we experience between brackets and to focus only on the way things show themselves to us. What is left, then, is all the phenomena that appear to us, including the *way* they appear to us.

Phenomenology is the careful analysis of these appearances, mainly focusing on the inevitable structures that constitute our experiences, like time, space, sensory perceptions, intersubjective relations and so on. Husserl tried to find in these necessary structures a secure and indisputable foundation of knowledge. Such a foundation could only be found in the consciousness to which all phenomena appear. Husserl presupposed that every element of these structures of our experiences could be reflected upon as an object of thought and expressed in a proposition.

13 René Descartes, *Meditations on First Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 23.

14 Ludwig Wittgenstein, *On Certainty* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1975), 18e, fr. 115.

This last view was criticised by several second-generation phenomenologists such as Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty. Heidegger contends, on the basis of his analysis of how phenomena appear to us, that human beings are themselves part of the world that appears, in a way that cannot be completely understood and conceptualised. Our spatial and cultural perspectives inevitably have their blind spots. In addition, Merleau-Ponty claims that our bodily perception and experience are partly opaque and function unconsciously. My body knows how to walk the stairs and how to orient itself in the world in routine manners that I can never unveil in my reflections.

These analyses are further elaborated on by the Czech phenomenologist Jan Patočka. In insightful discussions of the texts of his teacher Husserl, Patočka tries to show how the appearance of phenomena cannot only be seen as appearance for human consciousness, but rather appearance needs to be understood first of all as that which, in a context or horizon, only partly and implicitly appears with the phenomena. The human subject and its body, its mindset, its psychical, social and cultural networks of references, all are part of this world and implicitly (but opaquely) appear with the phenomena. So, everything appears within a horizon that can never be surveyed, a horizon in which we ourselves participate. The horizon and the world cannot be reduced to human consciousness, as Husserl would have it—the world has primacy over the human being.[15]

According to Patočka, humans are always already in the world, but in a slightly different way than how this is described by Heidegger. Patočka distinguishes three basic movements by which humans exist in the world, three movements of interaction between humans and the world: these are rooting, self-maintenance and freedom.[16]

The first movement is perhaps the most important one for this essay. It is the movement of anchoring or rooting, by which we are embedded in the structures and networks of the world in which we live. According to Patočka, we are not randomly thrown into the world, as Heidegger claimed, but we

15 In phenomenological terminology: the transcendental *epochè* and reduction open up a field of appearing; according to Husserl, this field of appearing is consciousness, because everything appears before a consciousness; in Patočka's view, the field of appearing is the world, as a network of references and relations, in which consciousness participates and in which it is always already embedded; cf. Jan Patočka, *Die Bewegung der menschlichen Existenz: Phänomenologische Schriften II* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1990), 267–309; Jan Patočka, *Vom Erscheinen als solchem: Texte aus dem Nachlaß* (Freiburg: Karl Alber, 2000); Jan Patočka, 'Husserl's Transcendental Turn: The Phenomenological Reduction in *The Idea of Phenomenology* and in *Ideas* I', in *Jan Patočka: Philosophy and Selected Writings*, ed. Erazim Kohák (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 207–22; Jan Patočka, 'Cartesianism and Phenomenology', in Kohák, *Jan Patočka*, 285–326.

16 Jan Patočka, *Body, Community, Language, World* (Chicago: Open Court, 1998), 147–61.

fit in the natural world in which our body knows how to move and orient itself. And we are—in most cases, fortunately—accepted in the social world of our family and friends. Acceptance is a necessary precondition for our existence. We cannot live without this acceptance, without being, at least in a minimal way, at home in the world.

However, this being received in the world has its counterpart—its flipside. What also belongs to this anchoring is the opposition between what is familiar and what is strange, between the trustworthy and the eventually dangerous, between the safe and the unsafe. The safe home in which we live might be endangered by an earthquake, by war, by burglary, by an accident.

The above represents a most profound understanding of safety and unsafety in human life. Already on a pre-reflective and unconscious level, safety is one of the most basic needs of humans, along with food and sleep. Therefore, as is acknowledged by most, if not all, anthropologists and psychologists, safety is a basic need of human life, and of course a more profound need than an epistemological certainty that may overcome doubt. The certainty that is discussed in the philosophical texts and debates is based on and rooted in this more existential safety, that our existence pre-reflectively and unconsciously is dependent on. This existential safety, which is in principle naturally given but also contested and endangered, we can call trust.

What we have here is a very basic notion of trust. It is not a trust we decide to give to others; it is a trust that is inextricably linked to our human existence. With this trust comes a sort of surrender to our environment, which is at this stage a passive surrender that implies that our life finds its meaning in relation to others. This trust lies at the root of all our experiences.

The second movement of human life that Patočka detects is the movement of self-maintenance. This is a more active movement. People have to work, to cultivate food, build houses and so forth in order to stay alive. That includes measures to keep the situation and environment of this life safe. This is where safety as *security* comes in: the planned actions we take to protect ourselves, our family and relatives and our belongings. As long as humanity exists, it has needed this self-protection, so this is also natural. But it is something we consciously create ourselves with the technical means we have at our disposal.

The third movement is the movement that makes us really human, according to Patočka. It is the moment of breakthrough or truth that questions the usual structures, practices and worldviews in which we live. Since these structures and perspectives are not self-evident, and they need to be transcended. We have to question their reliability and

reevaluate them. This is a radical questioning, of which Descartes' doubt is only an example. In Patočka's view, contrary to Descartes, we will never find an ultimate truth or ultimate certainty in our quest for a justification of our beliefs. We are too historically and culturally determined to find indubitable answers. Such is our human condition: we cannot survey the world and our lives as a totality. On the one hand, our condition makes our views and convictions profoundly uncertain. On the other hand, the above does not imply that our beliefs are arbitrary or irrelevant. They do matter to us. But uncertainty is the condition of our freedom to question every opinion, which is directly linked to the fact that no worldview, no religious conviction and no political ideal can claim absolute and indisputable certainty.

This uncertainty does not lead to relativism or scepticism because the values and ideas that we still have are not dependent on an absolute certain foundation. They can still be justified and substantiated by argumentation in discussions that are not meaningless and that are possible because there is this free space of discussion, one of the major features that distinguish democracies from dictatorship.

If we elaborate now on this existential phenomenology, with its distinction of three movements of life, in order to get an alternative conceptual view of safety and security, it is important to realise that (a) the first two movements of existence need to be thought together, but (b) these movements also function on different levels. On the one hand, the pre-reflective trust and safety of our belonging to the world and of our living together in the first movement of rooting needs protection by risk calculation and rationally planned action—which are practised in the second movement. On the other hand, the measures of calculation and regulation can never guarantee safety, and, equally important, the measures can only to some extent regulate the interplay between humans and the world that is performed in a trust that precedes any regulation.

Therefore, the first step towards a better understanding of safety is the realisation that trust is basic, and that security is secondary: we need measures of security to defend, protect and secure the relations of trust in which we live. The second step is to realise that it is not just a group of single individuals that needs protection, but the social and natural structures and networks by which we are related. The ontological primacy of the world over individuals indicates that safety should not be thought first of all as the safety of individuals, but that individual safety is dependent on the safety of the structures and relations in which people are embedded. The calculated regulations of security should always be developed in service

of the relations of trust that make us human. Security control should not replace trust but protect it.

Taking the aforementioned steps does not liberate us from the modern dilemma between freedom and control, but the dilemma can be better understood. The dilemma is not a matter of human beings as individuals who are either free controlling subjects or controlled objects. It is better to rephrase this dilemma as the tension between, on the one hand, a primordial and pre-reflective trust and, on the other hand, a policy of security. Trust and security cannot exist without each other. Trust in the natural and social structures in which we live needs to be supported and maintained. The measures of security that we take to defend and support our safety can only work because they are rooted in these structures of trust that are implicitly taken for granted. But the actual actions and procedures by which we try to stay safe often tend to replace trust by control. The tension can thus also be articulated as a tension between a security in service of trust and a security that replaces and thus destroys trust. In the traditional modern understanding of security, there is often too much calculation and control, and too little respect for the trust that is actually presupposed by security measures.

The existential trust that resides in what Patočka called the first movement of human existence is often experienced unconsciously as a self-evident and implicit layer of our lives. Today, many aspects of these opaque and pre-conscious structures of our existence are more and more influenced by the newest technologies. How do we cope with these recent developments? How do safety, trust and security relate on this level of technological influence? This will be discussed in the next section.

A Post-phenomenological View on New Technologies

Patočka has written several texts on modern civilisation as a technological civilisation. In his writings on technology, he follows Heidegger's monolithic view of technology as *Gestell*, as one all-encompassing system that frames all our thoughts and actions in the manner of calculation and control. Heidegger is very critical of this *Gestell*, but he can hardly point to a way out of it. We mainly have to wait for better times and deal with the present with an attitude of *Gelassenheit*, and in the meantime only art might give us another, less calculating view on the world. Patočka pleads for another moral and active attitude. He states that in such a technological civilisation of *Gestell*, a moral decision can have the character of sacrifice. This sacrifice

is based on values instead of calculations and cannot be well explained in a reasoning that is only targeting effectiveness and efficiency.[17]

However, his approach to modern technology is too broad and too monolithic for application in concrete analyses of technological developments and devices. A better alternative can be found in the post-phenomenological approach of philosophers like Don Ihde and Peter-Paul Verbeek, who prefer to focus on more detailed analyses of how technical devices actually work and how we relate to them. In their work, they show how the actual use and effects of new technologies are often different from what was expected and from the goals for which they were designed. In addition, our ethical judgements and evaluations of new technological possibilities also often tend to change once the new technologies are at work. Both technology and ethics tend to be more flexible than we would expect at first sight.[18]

It is even better to combine both approaches. Since our worldly interconnections are more and more mediated by technological systems, we need both the existential-phenomenological view of the connections between humans and the world, and the post-phenomenological analyses of technology, for a good understanding of the impact of technology on our experience and comprehension of safety.

In the existential-phenomenological approach, as it was explained above, we can find a primacy of the world over individual existence. We humans still tend to think of ourselves as individuals who to a large extent make our own decisions and control our actions. But this is only partly true. We would do better to understand ourselves as a bundle of relations that are in many ways plugged into complicated networks. For instance, when we think, we often have the idea that we do something in our heads and then speak about it. But it would be better to see thinking as participating in thoughts that go around. Thinking does not take place in our heads but between people or groups of people. Thoughts are transmitted through all kinds of channels and shared by many people. The way these channels are designed influences the way we think. To give another example: our moods

17 Jan Patočka, 'The Dangers of Technicization in Science According to E. Husserl and the Essence of Technology as Danger According to M. Heidegger', in Kohák, *Jan Patočka*, 327–39; Jan Patočka, 'Séminaire sur l'ère technique', in *Liberté et sacrifice: Écrits politiques* (Grenoble: Millon, 1990), 277–324.

18 Don Ihde, *Technology and the Lifeworld: From Garden to Earth* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990); Don Ihde, *Postphenomenology and Technoscience: The Peking University Lectures* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2009); Peter-Paul Verbeek, *What Things Do: Philosophical Reflections on Technology, Agency, and Design* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2005).

are not only ways of feeling our personal being or how we are at a specific moment. Moods are often more like ways of tuning into the atmosphere around us. This atmosphere can also be technically manipulated, for instance by controlling the smell in a supermarket.

In short, we are not persons who first exist on our own and then relate to others. The rooting or anchoring that embed us in the world make us completely dependent on the connections that shape us, that make us who we are. We are, before any reflection, and in many respects even unconsciously, always already adapting to the situation in which we find ourselves.

The point now is that today all the relations between us and things and people around us are more and more technically mediated—as was already indicated in the two examples given above. We turn on the light and the heat, we travel by planes, we chat with people in a different continent—today this is all everyday routine. The (at least partly) unconscious connections in which we tend to feel safe are increasingly mediated and manipulated by digital technology that impacts the way we think, feel, perceive and behave and therefore influences how and who we are. New technologies thus have an effect on our safety, often on an unconscious level. We need the post-phenomenological approach to investigate how exactly these new technologies function and which societal consequences they may have, as well as the existential-phenomenological analyses to understand how deep the technologies infiltrate the basic layers of our existence.

In recent years, it has become clear and well known in public opinion that social media tends to regulate, or at least influence, how we look at the world. Today, this influence can be directly linked to the rise of post-truth and fact-free politics, which can hardly make us feel safe. Moreover, the algorithms of Instagram, Facebook, Google and Amazon, among others, not only influence our perceptions and views, they also collect lots of knowledge about us. If you wear a Fitbit that measures your steps, your heartbeat, your sleep, your whereabouts and much more, then Apple, for instance, may know more about changes in your health than you do. The Big Data that is collected in ways we know little or nothing about is like the new petroleum of the multinationals.[19]

In the Middle Ages, as we have seen above, Thomas Aquinas believed that God knew us better and in a more profound way than we could understand ourselves—and, at least according to Aquinas, that was safe. Today, Google, Apple and Facebook may know us better than we know ourselves—and this

19 Shoshana Zuboff, *The Age of Surveillance Capitalism: The Fight for a Human Future at the New Frontier of Power* (New York: Public Affairs, 2019).

trend is now changing our feelings and ideas, including our feelings and ideas of safety. We are only just beginning to realise how all these permeations into the self have an impact on who we are and on how we live. Since these large companies are more interested in their financial profit than in our well-being, this interference is a new threat to the safety of human groups and individuals, a threat of an entirely new order.

The impact of these developments in modern media and technologies can again be elucidated by Patočka's idea of the three movements of human life. As explained above, modern technologies infiltrate and reshape the structures by which we are rooted in the world; they thus influence the first movement of human existence. The control and nudging of human behaviour by technology takes place in the second movement of human action. To put it more precisely and to the point: these technologies are introduced by human action, but they have become increasingly autonomous via algorithms that exceed the speed and measures of human calculation to extreme degrees. Technologies more and more have become actors themselves.[20]

This also involves the third movement of breakthrough and truth. In this movement, humans have the capacity to transcend the common structures and practices of life and critically question them. Final answers to the philosophical questions of truth, justice and reality cannot be given, but it is this uncertainty that opens the possibilities of criticism, reflection and innovation that may guarantee human freedom. One of the main characteristics of democracy is that this openness is built into the political culture and infrastructure by, for example, juridical constitutions and the division of powers. The functioning and institutionalisation of this third movement is also affected by the new technologies. Political action can be shaped through new forms of communication. But the debates and discussions that are inherent in democratic culture are also threatened by the effects of fake news and extreme polarisation. Technologies that claim to be built in order to connect and unite may also divide.

How safe are we? How can we protect ourselves against the abuse of all the data collected from us, an abuse that has turned us into information commodities? How can we resist or at least influence the nudging of our most basic earthly relations? These questions are too broad, of course, for a simple answer and solution. Possible answers can be found in personal awareness, governmental regulations, as well as the development and use of

20 This is a good reason to include Actor-Network-Theory in this approach, but for now this would lead beyond the limits of this article.

alternative communication technologies. In this article, I only mention this example of digital technology in social media to underscore the importance of a view of human existence that understands humans as always implanted in natural and social connections. Only then can we start to have some insight into how technology and media influence us and shape us and how we might find some security and protection against them.

One more comparison may underscore the scale and impact of these new communication technologies and their influence on our safety. New medical technologies have given us more influence and also more responsibility over how and when people are born, live and die. As a result, euthanasia is a new and complicated ethical issue. Compare this issue to trying to control algorithms that involve unconscious psychological influences, channelling of information and even racial profiling—if we try to ethically regulate these algorithms, then we try to control by conscious, planned and measured regulations how we may be influenced on pre-reflective and unconscious levels. Security by control and regulation then infiltrates the trust rooted in the most basic layers of our human existence. This complication may even surpass the ethical issues of something like euthanasia.

In conclusion, safety and trust are basic human needs that are directly related to the most fundamental and pre-reflective layers of our existence. The control of security should protect this basic trust instead of replacing it with security. Today, however, new technological inventions have more and more intruded into these basic unconscious levels of our lives. This intrusion makes the need for a careful security even more important. Our understanding of this need for safety should not get stuck in the modern dilemma between subjective freedom and objective control; safety needs to be conceptualised as the complicated dilemma between trust and security.

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2 Tolerance: A Safety Policy in Pierre Bayle's Thought

Ana Alicia Carmona Aliaga

Abstract

For the French philosopher Pierre Bayle, civil safety was a matter of erasing religious conflicts, which constituted the main threat to countries' political peace. In the *Commentaire philosophique* (1686), he developed a theory of tolerance which also addressed the question of state security and the religious elements that endangered it. The question of safety will serve both as a justification and as a limitation of this theory of tolerance. In this sense, achieving social peace (and thus lasting safety for the kingdom) requires control, by both the religious confessions and the civil powers, of the passions that lead to persecutions and conversions and thus to disorder and social insecurity.

Keywords: safety, security, tolerance, intolerance, passions

For the French philosopher Pierre Bayle (1647–1706), civil safety was first and foremost a matter of erasing religious conflicts, which in turn constituted the main threat to countries' political peace. In order to understand why the philosopher pointed to religious conflicts as a huge safety problem, we need first to know the context. For starters, it would be fair to say that religious conflicts marked the author's era.

Bayle lived in the second half of the seventeenth century, a period marked by religious persecutions in France, from where Bayle originated. The reign of Louis XIV was marked by religious persecutions against Calvinists. During this time, Protestants were the target of repression and persecutions because

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of their confession.[1] The Calvinist minority, to which Bayle belonged, saw its rights increasingly reduced until the Edict of Fontainebleau in 1685 was issued. This edict put an end to the Edict of Nantes that had established, even if for less than a century, religious tolerance for Protestants in France. With the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, therefore, the Calvinist minority officially disappeared from the state and the public sphere.[2]

The most significant example of these persecutions is probably the so-called *dragonnades*. These were military campaigns during which Protestants had to host French soldiers (called dragons) who exerted pressure on them, even employing violence, to obtain their conversion.[3] At

1 See Élisabeth Labrousse, *Essai sur la Révocation de l'édit de Nantes: Une foi, une loi, un roi?* (Paris: Labor et Fides, 1985), 167–95. The author talks about the crusade-like atmosphere against Calvinists in France: 'l'atmosphère de croissade anti-protestante qui régnait en France depuis des années' (169).

2 The Edict of Fontainebleau establishes indeed that Calvinism was no longer tolerated in France because there were almost no more Calvinists in the kingdom, so the measures of toleration had became useless: 'Nous voyons présentement avec la juste reconnaissance que nous devons à Dieu, que nos soins ont eu la fin que nous nous sommes proposée, puisque la meilleure et la plus grande partie de nos Sujets de ladite R.P.R. ont embrassé la Catholique. Et d'autant qu'au moyen de ce, l'exécution de l'Edit de Nantes, et de tout ce qui a été ordonné en faveur de ladite R.P.R. demeure inutile'. Édit de Fontainebleau, Gallica https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b86224359/f5.item (accessed 22 November 2021). The RPR, or *Religion Prétendue Réformé* (so-called reformed religion), was the pejorative name that French Catholics used for Calvinists. Of course, the argument exposed in the edict was just a pretext to privilege Catholicism. Even though many Huguenots converted to Catholicism, there was false conversions. Bayle advises the Catholic authorities about this: 'comme il vous a fallu une campagne pour extorquer des signatures, il vous en faudra quelques-autres pour obliger les gens à assister à la Messe' (FC, 2:343); 'I hope you aren't finished and just as you needed a military campaign to extort signatures, you will need a few others to oblige people to go to Mass'. Charlotte Stanley and John Laursen, 'Pierre Bayle's *The Condition of Wholly Catholic France under the Reign of Louis the Great* (1686)', *History of European Ideas* 40 (July 2013): 337–38. Only the *Commentaire philosophique* and *Ce que c'est que la France toute catholique sous le règne de Louis le grand* have been translated in English. All the translations for these texts will be taken from: Pierre Bayle, *Pierre Bayle's 'Philosophical Commentary': A Modern Translation and Critical Interpretation*, ed. Amie Godman Tannenbaum, American University Studies 19 (New York: P. Lang, 1987); Charlotte Stanley and John Laursen, 'Pierre Bayle's *The Condition*', 312–59. For the other texts, all the translations are my own. For the French version, I cite the texts following the electronic edition of his complete works published by Garnier, following Pierre Bayle, *Oeuvres diverses*, éd par Pierre Des Maizeaux, La Haye, P. Husson et al. (Paris: Garnier, 2012). I will cite these texts using the initials of each work, the volume in which it is found in the *Oeuvres diverses* and the page number. CG: *Critique générale de l'Histoire du calvinisme de M. Maimbourg*; FC: *Ce que c'est que la France toute catholique sous le règne de Louis le Grand*; CP: *Commentaire philosophique sur ces paroles de Jésus-Christ: Contrain-les d'entrer*; SCP: *Supplément du Commentaire philosophique*; RQP: *Réponse aux question d'un Provincial*.

3 See François Bluche, *Dictionnaire du Grand Siècle 1589–1715* (Paris: Fayard, 1990), 79–80.

that time, Bayle was already exiled in Holland, but his family was still in France[4] and he closely followed the news arriving from there regarding persecutions and his co-religionists.[5]

It is only natural, in this context, that Bayle considered religious persecution and intolerance as a threat that prevents people (of any religion) from living in a safe society. The philosopher constantly criticises, more or less directly, these practices in his texts. The first appearance of Bayle's arguments in defence of tolerance are found in *Critique Générale de l'Histoire du calvinisme de M. Maimbourg* and its continuation, *Nouvelles lettres critique de l'auteur de la Critique générale*.

The climax of his theory of tolerance and criticism of French policies came after the Edict of Fontainebleau. In 1686, Bayle published *Ce que c'est que la France toute catholique sous le règne de Louis le Grand*, a pamphlet in which he strongly criticises the political persecution developed by Louis XIV, and later in the same year the first two parts of his *Commentaire philosophique*. The third part of the *Commentaire* appeared in 1687 and its *Supplément* in 1688. In the *Commentaire*, Bayle attempts to disarticulate the Catholic argument that justified religious persecutions based on Augustine's interpretation of Christ's parable in Luke 14:23.[6]

The question of tolerance in Bayle's work is one of the subjects most studied by the philosopher's critics, giving rise to an abundant literature on the topic. Authors have compared Bayle's theory with that of his contemporaries, especially Locke. Scholars have pointed out that Bayle's concept of tolerance is wider because it includes groups that Locke excludes.[7] Indeed,

4 Bayle was born in a Huguenot family in a small town in southern France that now bears his name: Carla-Bayle. His father and older brother were both Huguenot pastors there. In his youth, Bayle converted to Catholicism for a little less than a year and a half. His return to Calvinism classified him as *relaps*, and he had to go into exile. After staying in Geneva and then in different cities in France under anonymity, Bayle moved in October 1681 to the Netherlands, where he lived until his death. His brother was left to die in prison in 1685 as retaliation against the philosopher's writings. For Bayle's biography, see Hubert Bost, *Pierre Bayle historien, critique et moraliste* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006).

5 Bost, *Pierre Bayle*, 262.

6 'And the Lord said unto the servant, Go out into the highways and hedges, and compel them to come in, that my house may be full'.

7 See Fernando Bahr, 'John Locke y Pierre Bayle: Sobre la libertad de conciencia', *Tópicos* 12 (2004): 43–64; Sean O'Cathasaigh, 'Bayle and Locke on Toleration', in *De l'Humanisme aux Lumières, Bayle et le Protestantisme: Mélanges en l'honneur d'Élisabeth Labrousse* (Paris: Universitas Voltaire Foundation, 1996); and Élisabeth Labrousse, *Notes sur Bayle* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1987), 122, who affirms Bayle's theory is more inclusive than other eighteenth-century theories.

while Locke excludes Muslims, Catholics and atheists from toleration, Bayle opens it to anyone that respects the civil laws.[8]

Scholars have also analysed the link between tolerance and the rights of the conscience, essential in Bayle's tolerance theory, and the philosopher's considerations on faith and the role of religion and its usefulness in society. For Élisabeth Labrousse, Bayle's tolerance theory is the consequence of his defence of the rights of conscience[9] which is rooted in a moral and theological imperative. Hubert Bost studies the ethical implications of Bayle's theory and the link between law, politics and religion.[10] Gianluca Mori sees an evolution in Bayle's definition of conscience and in his considerations about the right of the errant conscience that leads Bayle to show his real thought: an atheist rationalism and the affirmation that any religion only brings chaos to societies.[11] Also in this sense, Antony McKenna points out that the rational morality that underlies Baylean toleration necessarily denies the idea of religion and dogmas because of the incompatibilities they imply.[12] For others like S. Brogi, the rules defending tolerance maintain their coherence even in the defence of the intolerance of the intolerant.[13]

Despite these interpretations, scholars agree that the safety of the state is a fundamental argument for Bayle and that this safety clearly limits what is tolerable. However, critics interpret differently the forms that this tolerant society could or should take. Some authors emphasise that Bayle constantly reminds us of the dangers that religion poses to societies. They evoke the need to separate religion and politics as well as the hypothetical feasibility and benefits of a society of atheists.[14]

Not forgetting these issues, mainly those related to the threat that religion can pose to societies and the state form, this chapter aims to address the

8 See John Locke, *Locke on Toleration*, edited by Richard Vernon; *A Letter Concerning Toleration*, trans. Michael Silverthorne (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 35–36, where the philosopher establishes the groups that cannot be tolerated.

9 Élisabeth Labrousse, *Pierre Bayle: Hétérodoxie et rigorisme* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1996), 544–90.

10 See Bost, *Pierre Bayle*, 217–28.

11 Gianluca Mori, *Bayle philosophe* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1999), 273–320.

12 Antony McKenna, 'Pierre Bayle: Le pyrrhonisme et la foi', *Archives de Philosophie* 81, no. 4 (November 2018): 729–48.

13 Brogi Stefano, 'La tolérance et la règle d'or: Bayle face à la conscience de l'athée et du persécuteur', *Prospettiva EP* 37, no. 1–2 (2014): 63–78.

14 Jean-Michel Gros, 'La tolérance et le problème théologico-politique', in *Pierre Bayle dans la république des lettres: Philosophie, religion, critique*, ed. Antony McKenna and Gianni Paganini (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2004); Mori, 'Politique et religion dans l'oeuvre de Bayle', in *Pierre Bayle et le politique*, ed. Xavier Daverat, Antony McKenna and Université Montesquieu-Bordeaux IV, Vie des Huguenots 68 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2014), 79–95.

question of tolerance and intolerance in Bayle's work as a problem related to the human passions, the true motors of the world and societies—as critics have also highlighted[15]—and more specifically to the way in which they can be conveyed by religious beliefs in contexts of intolerance, endangering the security of the state.

In this article, I mainly follow the argumentations on the *Commentaire philosophique*, the text where Bayle developed his theory of tolerance more extensively. I analyse how, for Bayle, state security with regard to religious disorders passes through a policy of civil tolerance. I then discuss how this tolerance is in turn defined by an approach to the question of the passions excited in such a context.[16]

Tolerance and Safety or *'Sûreté de l'État'*

Before continuing, there are a few points I shall make clear about the relationship I establish between tolerance and safety in Bayle's work. First, when I talk about tolerance in this article, I focus on civil tolerance, which is the goal that Bayle pursues with his texts[17] and the one needed in order to obtain safety for its citizens. What is being implied here is that there is no political or civil persecution for religious reasons. Even if non-persecution were to have an impact on a more peaceful or less violent cohabitation of different religions, there would still be religious controversy. What Bayle criticises above all in his denunciation of intolerance is the use of violence by the secular arm for religious reasons:

> Is falsehood to be overcome by any other arms than those of truth? Is not attacking errors with blows of a stick the same absurdity as attacking bastions with syllogisms and harangues? Sovereigns, therefore, to do their

15 In addition to the works already cited, see Lorenzo Bianchi, 'Passioni necessarie e passioni causa di errori in P. Bayle', in *Tra antichi e moderni: Antropologia e stato tra disciplinamento e morale privata*, ed. I. Cappiello (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1990), 137–69; Lorenzo Bianchi, 'Il y a d'autres principes qui font agir l'homme: Mœurs et passions humaines dans l'Éclaircissement sur les athées', in *Les 'Éclaircissements' de Pierre Bayle*, ed. Hubert Bost and Antony McKenna (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2010); Labrousse, *Pierre Bayle*, 69–125.

16 This study is part of my PhD dissertation in which I analyse the role of human passions in Bayle's work and more particularly the role they play in constructing societies.

17 A tolerance system for whom? Indeed, when Bayle wrote the *Philosophical Commentary*, the Edict of Fontainebleau was already in effect and Calvinism was no longer allowed in France. Stefano Brogi affirms that the philosopher addresses his theory of toleration to his co-religionist in Holland. See Pierre Bayle, *Commentario filosofico sulla tolleranza* (Turin: Einaudi, 2018), L.

> duty properly, should not send out their soldiers, their executioners, their bailiffs, their sergeants, their allies, against those who teach doctrines different from their own. They should unleash their ministers, their professors at them with order to undertake with all their might, the refutation of the other doctrine; but if these means are not sufficient to disarm their adversaries or bring them over to the religion of the country, they should leave them in peace, and for the rest, content themselves with their obeying the municipal and civil laws of the state.[18]

The right and the duty of sovereigns is to maintain social order. Thus, they must leave alone those confessions that do not threaten the security of the state. Of course, as many critics of the philosopher have pointed out, Bayle's political theory, based on the defence of royal absolutism, allows the sovereign to decide what religion or religions can or cannot be tolerated in the kingdom. Arbitrary as it might be,[19] for Bayle this decision is part of the prerogative of the ruler as long as that ruler does not force the conscience of their subjects, leaving them the option of converting to the national religion or exile. In this context, which allows the ruler to maintain a unique religion, why would tolerance be needed?

Despite his outrageous defence of absolutism and despite subjects' submission to royal decisions, Bayle continued to defend the rights of the Huguenots—the French Calvinists—to be tolerated in France and to defend the idea of tolerance in general.[20]

18 Bayle, *Pierre Bayle's 'Philosophical Commentary'*, 128. 'La fausseté doit-elle être combatuë par d'autres armes que par celles de la vérité? Combattre des erreurs à coups de bâton, n'est-ce pas la même absurdité que de se battre contre des bastions avec des harangues et des sillogismes. Ainsi les Souverains, pour bien faire leur devoir, ne doivent pas envoïer leurs Soldats, leurs bourreaux, leurs huissiers, leurs sergens et leurs satellites, contre ceux qui enseignent une autre doctrine que la leur; ils doivent lâcher contre eux leur Théologiens, leurs Ministres, et leurs Professeurs, et leur donner ordre de travailler de toutes leurs forces à la réfutation de l'autre doctrine; mais si par ce moïen ils ne peuvent pas désarmer ceux qui l'enseignent, ni les obliger à se conformer à la doctrine du païs, ils doivent les laisser en repos, et se contenter que quant au reste ils obéïssent aux loix municipales et politiques' (CP, 2:412).

19 As Antony McKenna indicates, to forbid a religion 'It is not even necessary that social disorder created by a given faith be real; the disorder may be provoked by the superstitious fears of the majority who take a dislike to that faith and disturb social order by unjustly persecuting it'. Antony McKenna, 'Pierre Bayle: Free Thought and Freedom of Conscience', *Reformation & Renaissance Review* 14, no. 1 (April 2012): 92.

20 In fact, for Bayle, the absolute king must rise above religious differences to impose order. Thus, absolutism and tolerance are related concepts for the philosopher. See Bayle, *Commentario filosofico sulla tolleranza*, XLIII.

In any case, this argument does not affect the need for tolerance or civil safety in multi-confessional societies. Also, for Bayle, once the religious division has appeared, it is impossible to return to religious unity. Whatever benefits religious division might bring to society or the obstinacy with which some people seek religious unity, that possibility is nothing but a chimera for the philosopher:

> I prefer to say that unity and agreement among men would be an invaluable blessing, especially agreement among Christians upon the same profession of faith. But this is a thing more to be wished than hoped for because difference in opinions seems to be man's inherent infelicity, as long as his understanding is so limited and his heart so inordinate. This evil should be reduced to the narrowest possible limits, and certainly the way to do this is by mutually tolerating each other, either in the same communion (if the nature of the differences will permit) or at least in the same city.[21]

Faced with the impossibility of eliminating the diversity of faiths, tolerance is necessary to end the civil disorder that intolerance brings and thus to assure the 'sûreté' of the state. To establish clearly what the conception of safety is that we are studying here, it is important to highlight that Bayle uses this term when talking about social peace and its meaning. In seventeenth-century French, 'sûreté' is 'Esloignement de tout peril; estat de celuy qui n'a rien à craindre'.[22] Literally: 'Distance from all perils, the state of one who has nothing to fear', so it fits the contemporary meaning of 'safety': 'a state in which or a place where you are safe and not in danger or at risk'.[23] As we will see, the English version will sometimes translate 'sûreté' as security and sometimes as surety. Of course, in order to ensure the safety of subjects, concrete security policies need to be implemented by governors. Nevertheless, the final

21 Bayle, *Pierre Bayle's 'Philosophical Commentary'*, 141. 'ce serait une belle chose que l'accord de tous les hommes, ou du moins de tous les Chrétiens à la même profession de Foi. Mais comme c'est une chose plus à souhaiter qu'à espérer, comme la diversité d'opinions semble être un apanage inséparable de l'homme, tandis qu'il aura l'esprit aussi borné et le cœur aussi déréglé qu'il l'a, il faut réduire ce mal au plus petit désordre qu'il sera possible; et c'est sans doute de se tolérer les uns les autres, ou dans une même Communion, si la qualité des erreurs le soufre, ou du moins dans les mêmes Villes' (CP, 2:418).

22 *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 1st ed. (Paris: Coignard, 1694).

23 *Cambridge Dictionary*, https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/safety (accessed 30 May 2023).

goal of tolerance would be to create a society where believers can be and feel safe regardless of their faith.[24]

Tolerance Theory: A Peace and Safety Policy

We can see that, in such a state of affairs, the best option to ensure peace in the state is tolerance because tolerance would allow societies to develop peacefully. Bayle states:

> What we should wish is that all men were of the same religion, but since this is never likely to happen, the next best thing is to induce them to tolerate one another. [...] If people would take this course, the diversity of persuasions, of churches, and worship would no more breed disorder in cities or societies, than the diversities of shops in a fair where every honest dealer sells his wares without cutting his neighbour's market.[25]

Bayle conducts an analysis of the political implications that policies of tolerance or intolerance could have on peace in states. He shows how intolerance constitutes an important threat not only to his confession but also to the entire society because it leads to the disruption of social peace and causes disorders. His position is clear; it is not tolerance that brings chaos to societies:

> If the multiplicity of religions prejudices the state, it is uniquely because one did not want to tolerate the other, but rather to swallow up the other by methods of persecution. *Hinc prima mali labes*: that is the source of all evil. If each one would have the toleration which I support, there would

24 *Sûreté* comes from the Latin word *securitas* in the sense of absence of danger. Although *sûreté* can also mean confidence, it is related to the idea of security as the rules that are adopted in this sense and it was originally used in commerce as an insurance. Although *sécurité*, which etymologically is also *securitas*, is also related to the idea of no danger as it also means a calm, confident and peaceful state of mind. See Le Robert, *Dictionnaire historique de la langue française* (Paris: Dictionnaires Le Robert, 2010), 2066 and 2227; *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 1st ed. On the evolution of *securitas* and its relation to the notions represented by both *sûreté* and *sécurité*, and above all its political use in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see the article by Eddo Evink in this volume.

25 Bayle, *Pierre Bayle's 'Philosophical Commentary'*, 141. 'Si cela était [la tolérance], la diversité de créances, de Temples, et de cultes ne ferait pas plus de désordre dans les Villes et dans les sociétés, que la diversité de Boutiques dans une foire, où chaque marchand honnête homme vend ce qu'il a sans traverser la vente d'un autre' (CP, 2:418).

> be the same harmony in a state composed of ten different religions as there is in a town where several kinds of artisans contribute to each other's mutual support.[26]

Indeed it is intolerance that jeopardises the peace of the nation and the subjects' safety. The philosopher is clear: How can we compare the diversity of religions that tolerance would bring with the vexations that Protestants support in France every day, without being able to achieve religious unity?

> As to that monstrous hodgepodge of sects disfiguring religion which they claim is born of tolerance, I answer that it is still a smaller evil and less shameful to Christianity than massacres, gallows, dragoons and all the cruel executions by which the Church of Rome has continually endeavoured to conserve unity, without being able to achieve it.[27]

Of course, the moral argument made by Bayle concerning how Huguenots were suffering is not strong enough to stop persecutions wanted by the governors. Indeed, religious intolerance also had a political justification. During this period, the more widespread political theory, also present in the court of Louis XIV, associated civil peace with religious unity and was summed up in the moto 'une foi, une loi, un roi': one faith, one law, one king.

Bayle criticised this theory[28] and reminded the French authorities of the very real political dangers of persecution. The philosopher gives the example of nations ruined by religious persecutions:

26 Bayle, *Pierre Bayle's 'Philosophical Commentary'*, 135. 'si la multiplicité de Religions nuit à un état, c'est uniquement parce que l'une ne veut pas tolérer l'autre, mais l'engloutir par la voie des persécutions. *Hinc prima mali labes*, c'est là l'origine du mal. Si chacun avait la tolérance que je soutiens, il y aurait la même concorde dans un état divisé en dix Religions, que dans une Ville où les diverses espèces d'Artisans s'entre-supportent mutuellement' (CP, 2:415). Jean-Michel Gros interpretates this citation as the confirmation that religion causes nothing but disorder, see Gros, 'La tolérance et le problème théologico-politique', 421. We will approach this question in the next part of the essay. Bayle wasn't the only one that affirmed this idea. Indeed, some years earlier, the Calvinist minister Pierre Jurieu, who was Bayle's protector and later enemy, affirmed in his book *The Politics of the Clergy of France* (*La politique du clergé de France*) the same idea. But Jurieu didn't intent to expand toleration as Bayle did. See Bayle, *Commentario filosofico sulla tolleranza*, XII.

27 Bayle, *Pierre Bayle's 'Philosophical Commentary'*, 140. 'Quant à cette énorme bigarrure de Sectes défigurantes la Religion qu'on prétend qui naît de la tolérance, je dis qu'elle est un moindre mal et moins honteux au Christianisme que les massacres, les gibets, les Dragonneries, et toutes les cruelles exécutions, au moyen de quoi l'Église Romaine a tâché de conserver l'unité, sans en pouvoir venir à bout' (CP, 2:418).

28 See CG, 2:72.

> Politics provides a thousand good reasons for proving that it is advantageous for a state to suffer several religions, and the experience of the Habsburgs, which fell into a kind of pitiful annihilation, by dint of wanting to suffer only one, shows that this unity of religion, which is so much vaunted, is of no use to the prosperity of a kingdom. The Habsburgs, suffering from only one religion, may have been ruined without any resources, if the Protestants do not keep it from falling into ruin; and France, which has suffered two religions up to now, has risen to such a high point of glory that it does whatever it wants throughout Europe.[29]

While tolerance will assure the safety of the state and finish with the disorders of intolerance: 'Thus, it is toleration which would save the world from all this evil; it is the spirit of persecution which promotes it'.[30]

Intolerance means uncertainty and insecurity for the state. Thus, tolerance would be preferable to its opposite, thanks to the safety it would bring to the state. Not only that, safety is at the same time an argument to defend tolerance and the rule to measure its limits on a civil sphere. Disorder and unrest are precisely the red line that should not be crossed. Bayle developed a grand theory of tolerance: everything is tolerable, and even atheists and heretics could be included,[31] excepting what threatens the security and stability of the state, the social peace: 'as I have already said, it is not the falseness of opinions to which we must pay attention when we want to know if they should be tolerated in a state, but to the opposition they have with regard to the public peace and security'.[32]

29 CG, 2:78: 'La Politique fournit mille belles raisons, pour prouver qu'il est avantageux à un Etat de souffrir plusieurs Religions, et l'expérience de la Maison d'Autriche, qui est tombée dans une espece d'anéantissement pitoyable, à force de n'en vouloir souffrir qu'une, fait voir que cette unité de Religion, qu'on nous vante tant, ne sert de gueres pour la prospérité d'un Royaume. La Maison d'Autriche ne souffrant qu'une Religion, s'est ruïnée peut-être sans ressource, si les Protestans ne la soûtiennent dans le penchant de sa ruïne; et la France qui en a souffert deux jusques ici, est montée à un si haut point de gloire, qu'elle fait tout ce qu'elle veut par toute l'Europe'.

30 Bayle, *Pierre Bayle's 'Philosophical Commentary'*, 136. 'C'est donc la tolérance qui épargnerait au monde tout ce mal; c'est l'esprit persécutant qui le lui apporte' (CP, 2:416).

31 Bayle's position in the *Commentaire* regarding the atheist is actually ambiguous. Although he seems to deny them the tolerance, a more in-depth lecture shows that nothing really justifies the intolerance of atheists as is shown in his latter production and highlighted by the critics. See, for example, Bayle, *Commentario filosofico sulla tolleranza*, XLV–XLVI; Labrousse, *Notes sur Bayle*, 121–22. McKenna, 'Pierre Bayle: Free Thought and Freedom of Conscience', 93.

32 Bayle, *Pierre Bayle's 'Philosophical Commentary'*, 129. 'car comme je l'ai déja dit, ce n'est pas à la fausseté des opinions qu'il faut prendre garde, quand on veut savoir si elles doivent être tolérées dans un Etat, mais à l'opposition qu'elles ont à la tranquilité et à la sûreté publique' (CP, 2:412).

Indeed, Bayle is strict about this. Any religion or confession putting at risk the stability or security or even the solid foundation of the nation should not be tolerated: 'What course then must the sovereign take when he sees a new doctor rise up in his dominions? [...] He must wait a little to see if he is an insurgent who wants to aggrandise himself and his party by way of civil wars. If this is the case, he merits no toleration. He must be exterminated even if he is persuaded that the doctrine he teaches is divine'.[33]

Protecting the state from disorders and chaos is actually one of the most important duties of governors. They must safeguard the social peace against the elements that can threaten its stability:

> [S]overeigns, having an essential and inalienable right of enacting laws for the preservation of the republic and the society over which they rule, may ordain without distinction that all who endanger the public peace by doctrines tending to sedition, theft, murder, perjury, etc. be punished according to the nature of their crimes. Accordingly, any sect which strikes at the foundation of humans society and bursts the bands of the public surety [...] deserves to be immediately cut off by the sword of the magistrate.[34]

Control Passions to Achieve Tolerance

It seems clear, therefore, that in any multi-faith society that remains so despite persecution of the religious minorities, the only policy that can ensure safety is tolerance. Now, as Jean-Michel Gros affirms, the problem with tolerance, as Bayle intends, is that it is impractical.[35] At the end of his

33 Bayle, *Pierre Bayle's 'Philosophical Commentary'*, 137. 'Qu'y a-t-il donc à faire, lors qu'un Souverain apprend qu'il s'élève dans son pays quelque nouveau Docteur? [...] il faut attendre que l'on ait vu si c'est un factieux qui veuille s'agrandir par la voie des guerres civiles; en ce cas il ne mérite nulle tolérance; il faut l'exterminer, quand même il serait persuadé qui ce qu'il enseigne est divin' (CP, 2:416).

34 Pierre Bayle, *A Philosophical Commentary on These Words of the Gospel, Luke 14:23, 'Compel Them to Come In, That My House May Be Full'*, ed. John Kilcullen and Chandran Kukathas (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2005), 166. 'les Souverains aïant un droit essentiel et inalienable de faire des loix, pour la conservation de la République et de la société à laquelle ils commandent, peuvent ordonner sans distinction, que tous ceux qui troubleront le repos public, par des doctrines qui portent à la sédition, au vol, au meurtre, au parjure, seront punis selon l'exigence des cas; et ainsi toute Secte qui s'en prend aux loix des sociétez, et qui rompt les liens de la sûreté publique, [...] mérite d'être incessamment exterminée par le glaive du Magistrat' (CP, 2:412).

35 Gros, 'La tolérance et le problème théologico-politique', 429.

career and life, Bayle criticises Christianity as an intolerant religion, which made tolerance impractical and, as we have seen, thereby endangers society. Therefore, the question would be how to achieve the tolerance that seems the only, yet impossible, solution to the disorders caused by intolerance.

Bayle repeats it constantly: religious persecutions supported by the public power, such as those encouraged by Louis XIV, which constrain the forced conversion of believers only bring more chaos and disorder to society. That is because these politics raise some particular human passions:

> There are, then, many a crime as consequence of this constraint chosen in execution of the commands of God, for does anyone believe that this does not excite a thousand passions both in the souls of those who suffer and in the souls of those who make others suffer? Does not this exasperate the minds, kindle a deadly hatred in the hearts of some against others, force them to slander each other, and become mutually more wicked than they were before? […] If people reflect upon this dispassionately, I am assured they will agree that nothing is more proper to banish from the heart that evangelistic tranquillity, that calm of the human and disorderly passions which is so conformable to the spirit of piety, and which makes Christian virtues germinate so well.[36]

That is what intolerance causes. Coercion, by its own nature, which forces wills and consciences, awakens in a stronger way the negative passions of believers towards each other. Not only is it useless against true conversions, but it is also worse than the state it claims to fight or 'solve' because, by awakening these passions, people develop hatred towards, fear of and violence against others' religions. Any religious persecutions executed by the civil power will just bring more disorder by the exaltations of human passions.

In the same way, the main danger that Bayle points out regarding religion in general is the same that he criticised in his first text about tolerance

36 Bayle, *Pierre Bayle's 'Philosophical Commentary'*, 60. 'Voilà donc bien des crimes à la suite de cette contrainte qu'on a choisie, en exécution des commandements de Dieu; car croit-on que cela n'excite pas mille passions et dans l'âme de ceux qui soufrent, et dans l'âme de ceux qui font souffrir? Cela n'aigrit-il pas les esprits? Cela n'allume-t-il point la haine dans le cœur les uns contre les autres; cela n'engage-t-il pas à médire cruellement les uns des autres, et à se faire encore mutuellement plus méchant qu'on n'est? […] Qu'on y songe un peu froidement, je m'assûre qu'on conviendra que rien n'est plus propre à bannir du cœur cette tranquilité Evangélique, ce calme des passions humaines et déréglées qui est si conforme à l'esprit de la piété, et qui fait tant germer les vertus Chretiennes' (CP, 2:381).

regarding the persecutors. Bayle's arguments stand above all against extreme zeal, which he calls false zeal, used as a reason to justify intolerance. Addressed against the other faiths, this passion, directly related to religion,[37] justifies for believers the choice to persecute believers of other faiths:

> I have shown you that this principle of conscience is often the cause of an infinite number of crimes, and it is certain that a man who would have been only slightly vindictive if he had had no religion, becomes a tiger when a false zeal takes hold of his conscience. There is no slander that he does not allow himself, no violence, no fury that he does not believe he has the right to excite in order to make his sect flourish on the ruins of others. This is so well known that it would be useless to insist on it.[38]

Thus, what is now clear is the threat that intolerance poses to the safety of the state through exalted evil passions. False zeal convinces the believer, any believer—part of the official church or member of the government, but also an individual person—of the need to act and, under the Augustinian premise, legitimises all kinds of actions and crimes committed for the defence of the faith:

> This manifestly shows that the doctrine of persecutors founded on the words *compel them to come*, opens the door to a thousand dreadful conflagrations in which the party of truth would suffer the most and this without any legitimate ground for complaint.[39]

37 See Chrystel Bernat and Frédéric Gabriel, 'Sémantique et herméneutique d'une passion de dieu', in *Critique du zèle: Fidélités et radicalités confessionnelles: France, XVe–XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Chrystel Barnat and Frédéric Gabriel (Paris: Beauchesne, 2013), 11–18.

38 RQP, 3:497: 'Je vous ai montré que ce principe de conscience est souvent la cause d'une infinité de crimes, et il est sûr que tel homme qui n'auroit été que médiocrement vindicatif s'il n'eût point eu de Religion, devient un tigre lors qu'un faux zèle s'empare de sa conscience. Il n'y a point de calomnie qu'il ne se permette, point de violence, point de fureur qu'il ne se croïe en droit d'exciter pour faire fleurir sa secte sur les ruïnes des autres. Cela est si connu qu'il seroit très-inutile d'y insister'. At the end of his life, Bayle accused any religion, and more particularly Christianity, of being guilty of this false zeal. Any religion would then be dangerous for society. The question I study here is how to ensure safety in a society characterised by a diversity of religions and fight against the dangers caused by intolerance. So we will not approach here the problem of the specific relation that religion should have with political power, but this is, of course, a problem related to tolerance.

39 Bayle, *Pierre Bayle's 'Philosophical Commentary'*, 193. 'Cela montre manifestement que la doctrine des Persécuteurs fondée par eux sur les paroles, Contrain-les d'entrer, ouvre la porte à mille combustions furieuses, dans lesquelles le parti de la vérité soufriroit le plus, et cela sans pouvoir se plaindre légitimement' (CP, 2:443).

If persecutions are justified by the conversions they obtain, every crime committed for this purpose would be justified. Thus any kind of criminal behaviour that fights against heresy (what each individual considers to be heresy) would become good, even murder: 'Thus the same murder taken individually, which would be essentially criminal, if it were not done for the advantage of religion, ceases to be a crime as soon as it is committed for the ruin of a sect'.[40] Justifying coercion to achieve conversions not only blurs the boundaries of what can be considered criminal. It also runs counter to any kind of moral or social norm, as for example with regard to the duties that family members have towards each other. According to the philosopher, the obligations of parents towards their children and of children towards their parents could also be denied under the argument of *compelle intrare*.[41] Ultimately, following the arguments of the persecutions would turn the world into total chaos:

> But since each party believes itself to be the Orthodox, it is clear if Jesus Christ has commanded persecution, each sect would think itself obliged to obey Him by persecuting all the rest with the utmost rigour until they constrained them to conform to their own profession of faith. Thus, one would see continual warfare either in the streets of cities or in the countryside, or between nations of differing opinions, and Christianity would be nothing but a perpetual hell for all those who love peace and for those who happened to find themselves on the weaker side.[42]

The same reason that explains the general critique of religions and Christianity reveals the element that is key to implementing a politics of tolerance. Indeed, if these exalted passions, and especially the false zeal, caused by intolerance are the main element that jeopardises society, it seems obvious that they need to be controlled to guarantee the safety of the subjects.

Bayle affirms this need in the *Commentaire*:

40 SCP, 2:552: 'Ainsi le même meurtre pris individuellement, qui seroit essentiellement criminel, s'il n'étoit pas fait pour l'avantage de la Religion, cesse d'être un crime dès qu'il est commis pour la ruïne d'une Secte'.

41 See SCP, 2:550.

42 Bayle, *Pierre Bayle's 'Philosophical Commentary'*, 84. 'Mais comme chaque partie se croit orthodoxe, il est clair que si Jésus-Christ avoit commandé la persécution, chaque secte se croiroit obligée de lui obéir, en persécutant à outrance toutes les autres, jusques à ce qu'elle les eût contraintes à se conformer à sa profession de Foi: ainsi l'on verroit une guerre continuelle soit dans les ruës des Villes, soit dans les campagnes, soit entre les nations de diférent sentiment, et le Christianisme ne seroit qu'un Enfer perpétuel pour ceux qui aiment le repos, et pour ceux qui se trouveroient le parti foible' (Pierre Bayle, *Œuvres diverses*, first part, chapter 10, 2:391).

> The other thing I wish to say is that our giving things very hard names for the sole purpose of creating a disgust for them, generally speaking, goes beyond the scope of our decision. So-and-so, we say, utters insufferable blasphemies and dishonours the majesty of God in the most sacrilegious manner. And what does all this mount to when considered soberly and without prejudice? It means that concerning the manner of speaking honourably of God, he has conceptions different from our own.[43]

This 'prejudice' that we need to put aside in order to consider other religions is 'passion' in Bayle's original text. While prejudices, such as the religion in which we have been raised, are central to movements of intolerance, the most important thing is to judge the other without passion, which means that in considering this difference in religion we must be empty of the hatred or anger that intolerance arouses. The problem is not the prejudice itself, but the way we feel it, as in this case if we feel insulted by the way other forms of religion address God.[44]

We have to be able to control our passions, and above all those excited by intolerance, if we want to look at other faiths. That way, most of the oppositions between faiths will not be that terrible. It is not surprising, in this context, that Bayle advises taking a stand against exalted religious evangelists who incite these passions. Hence, tolerance requires control of the evil passions caused by intolerance and which provoke insecurity. But, is it possible to use them otherwise to achieve, or at least attempt to achieve, tolerance?

Although Bayle does not develop this point in detail, it is possible to trace through his texts a possible use of passions for the purpose of tolerance. He actually gives us an example of the good use of passions in a tolerant system:

> All that could naturally proceed from it [tolerance] would be an honest emulation of those who would distinguish themselves by piety, good works and understanding. [...] Now it is obvious that such a fine emulation as this would cause infinite public blessings, and consequently toleration is the thing in the world best fitted for restoring the Golden Age [...] What

43 Bayle, *Pierre Bayle's 'Philosophical Commentary'*, 139. 'L'autre chose que je veux dire est que nous nous faisons des grands mots pour donner de l'horeur de certaines choses, qui passent bien souven la portée de nos décisions. Un tel, disons-nous, prononce des blasphêmes insuportables, et déshonore la Majesté de Dieu, de la maniere du monde la plus sacrilége. Qu'est-ce que c'est, après l'avoir examiné mûrement et sans passion? C'est qu'il a sur les manieres de parler de Dieu honorablement, d'autres idées que nous' (CP, 2:417).

44 An approach to this question can be found in Labrousse, *Pierre Bayle*, 69–102.

> is it then that prevents this beautiful concern, formed from voices and sounds differing from one another? It is that one of the two religions wants to exercise a cruel tyranny over minds and force the other to sacrifice their consciences to it. It is that kings foment this unjust partiality and hand over the secular arm to the furious and tumultuous outcries of a populace of monks and clergymen: in a word, all the disorder arises not from toleration but from the lack of it.[45]

Nor should it be forgotten that Bayle came to know from the inside a society more tolerant than the French after he settled in Rotterdam in 1681. In this sense, could Dutch society have been a model of tolerance for Bayle? For Hans Bots, it seems clear that living in the Netherlands shaped Bayle's view of toleration.[46] Marta García-Alonso sees Dutch society as the model that Bayle would have used to think about his theory of toleration and the relationship that could be established between religion and politics in that society.[47]

If intolerance implies the arousing of exalted passions leading to social conflicts, tolerance is not devoid of passions. They are just excited differently and for the purpose of good competition, as we just saw. It can thus be said that it is possible to have a policy of passions that is played out through tolerance as well as intolerance. Thus, tolerance as a safety policy would pass throughout specific security measures that implied a control of religious passions related to intolerance that can be harmful for the peace of the state and its members.

In this sense, tolerance would not only ward off the real danger posed by the social phenomena of intolerance. It could also contribute, although this of course depends on the subjectivity of each individual and the particular social interactions that the state cannot control, to a greater sense of security

45 Bayle, *Pierre Bayle's 'Philosophical Commentary'*, 135–36. 'Tout ce qu'il pourroit y avoir, ce seroit une honnête émulation à qui plus se signaleroit en piété, en bonnes mœurs, en science; [...] or il est manifeste qu'une si belle émulation seroit cause d'une infinité de biens, et par conséquent la tolérance est la chose du monde la plus propre à ramener le siecle d'or, [...] Qu'est-ce donc qui empêche ce beau concert formé de voix et de tons si différens l'un de l'autre? C'est que l'une des deux Religions veut exercer une tirannie cruelle sur les esprits, et forcer les autres à lui sacrifier leur conscience; c'est que les Rois fomentent cette injuste partialité, et livrent le bras séculier aux désirs furieux et tumultueux d'une populace de Moines et de Clercs: en un mot tout le désordre ient non pas de la tolérance, mais de la non-tolérance' (CP, 2:415).

46 See Hans Bots, 'Pierre Bayle et l'ambiguïté de ses sentiments d'exilé en Hollande', in *Le rayonnement de Bayle* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2010), 27–42. The author also discusses Bayle's relationship with his host country.

47 Marta García-Alonso, 'Bayle's Political Doctrine: A Proposal to Articulate Tolerance and Sovereignty', *History of European Ideas* 43, no. 4 (2017): 331–44.

on the part of believers. Bayle's outlook is as striking for its depth as for the modern relevance of its subject. One does not need to look very far to find how his message resonates with the world we live in today.

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3 The Shackles of Freedom

The Modern Philosophical Notion of Public Safety

Tom Giesbers

Abstract
Although Fichte's ethical position is egalitarian and based on absolute freedom, his philosophy of right is fundamentally aimed at substantialising a conception of the state that facilitates a feeling of public safety. Public safety becomes the foundational problem of the state, because individual ethical practices cannot by themselves establish it. Even Fichte's attempt to demonstrate the validity of human rights is presented as a matter of 'securing' these rights. It was Fichte's strict separation of ethical and political discourse that led safety, or the feeling of (un)safety, to become a political end in itself, perhaps the main political intuition, which is all too easily separated from the human action that it was originally supposed to guarantee, rather than curtail.

Keywords: public safety, Fichte, German idealism, philosophy of right, political philosophy

The Emergence of Public Safety within a Complex History of Security

Michel Foucault claimed that there is no specific age of security that has emerged in the twentieth century, but rather a long and complex history, *histories* in fact, of complicity between legality and security.[1] He would certainly agree that this complicity in fact stems from earlier centuries.

1 Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2009), 7–8.

Blok, G. & J. Oosterholt (eds.), *The Cultural Construction of Safety and Security: Imaginaries, Discourses and Philosophies that Shaped Modern Europe*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press 2023
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In recent decades, we have suddenly found ourselves in a world that is, in large parts, organised around security.

This chapter concerns itself with a very specific emergence, of an age of *safety*, perhaps, in which political theory and practice is explicitly put forward in order to provide a general approach to politics that puts *safety first*, in the way the state approaches its citizens and even how citizens approach one another. The complex history of security that Foucault discusses offers insight into the ways in which political practices have, for a long time, covertly promoted security. *Safety*, security's seemingly friendly public face, forms a specific moment within this complex history, a specific moment in which governmental concerns were directly related to citizens, rather than a constructed idea of 'enemies'.

I will illuminate the historical contours of this specific moment, by focusing on its emergence within the nineteenth century through the political philosophy of *Johann Gottlieb Fichte*, which offers the first coherent account of the state if it is organised as a guarantor of public safety and articulates many of the key political intuitions that would become a staple of public safety discourse. From the theoretical concerns and extremities that Fichte articulates, we can understand what guides this historical moment, even in later centuries.

Foucault observes that security does not work well unless it is given freedom.[2] This emphasis on what I will call *the co-dependency of security* (*specifically safety*) *and freedom* shows us exactly why Fichte's philosophical justification of this co-dependency is a key moment in transposing from an earlier discourse that primarily considers citizens as *objects* of public safety. Fichte's transcendental philosophy considers the exertion of our freedom only in terms of determined actions, which, in turn, depend on the external limits that we seek to evade or overturn. These external limits form the impetus for any concrete thought or action and encroach on the fundamental freedom of the human being, understood in a proto-Sartrean sense.[3] Historically, this notion of freedom, which he inextricably ties to his notion of safety, constitutes one of the most impactful definitions of freedom, which specifically sought to express and advance the political implications of the French Revolution. As Fichte admitted, his system was deeply inspired by this political event.[4]

2 Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*, 48.

3 Daniel Breazeale, 'How to Make an Existentialist? In Search of a Shortcut from Fichte to Sartre', in *Fichte and the Phenomenological Tradition*, ed. Violetta L. Waibel, Daniel Breazeale, and Tom Rockmore (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 277–312.

4 As related by Isaac Nakhimovsky, *The Closed Commercial State: Perpetual Peace and Commercial Society from Rousseau to Fichte* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011), 10.

More than any other philosopher that we tend to describe as a political philosopher who is typical to the Enlightenment, even more so than Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Fichte is radically opposed to any conception of the state that bends to religious, aristocratic or economic power. In the essay *Zurückforderung der Denkfreiheit von den Fürsten Europens, die sie bisher unterdrückten* (1793) Fichte berates Immanuel Kant's idea of the supposedly benign monarch, which was a thinly veiled reference to Frederick the Great. This monarch lacked transparency and acted paternalistically, in Fichte's own analysis. This monarch restricts an inalienable right of the human being, Fichte argues, *the right to think freely*.[5] The command to obey above all assumes that the monarch knows best, has considered all options in the best interest of the people, *and yet* does not deign to submit that reasoning to the people's judgement. Fichte's essay, addressing the political leaders of the world in a highly condescending tone, is an attempt to shame monarchs into serving the people, rather than serving their own interests, by guaranteeing the right to think freely. Attempts to subsume the monarch to the will of the people were not exceptional in this period, yet Fichte's essay is one of the most vehement and philosophically scrupulous examples. As we will see, this rigorous approach to political structures led Fichte to put forward a variant of the co-dependency of freedom and security that Foucault found in the modern age: a co-dependency of freedom and *public safety*. This co-dependency is also expressed in the title to this chapter, 'the shackles of freedom', an expression I have, in a slightly paraphrased form, borrowed from one of Fichte's lectures.[6] According to Fichte, the core workings of freedom occur in tandem with an almost mechanical process which we would generally not describe as free.

Due to the aforementioned *revolutionary* tendency for restructuring society, and his active disdain for established partisan interests, Fichte's political philosophy was an important inspiration for the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party in the mid-twentieth century, a political party that argued for a neo-state based only on the needs of the people.[7] At the same time, Frederick Beiser has described Fichte's attitude towards socio-political transformation as *reformist* in the face of revolution.[8] In order to understand

5 Johann Gottlieb Fichte, *Gesamtausgabe der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, ed. Reinhard Lauth (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1966), 1:3, 182–83.

6 Fichte, *Gesamtausgabe*, 1:3, 41.

7 Much is often made of the impact of Fichtean nationalism on the Ba'ath Party, but Fichte's other political views are likely to have had just as big an impact. Stefan Wild, 'National Socialism in the Arab Near East between 1933 and 1939', *Die Welt des Islams* 25, no. 1/4 (1985): 130.

8 Frederick Beiser, *Enlightenment, Revolution, Romanticism: The Genesis of Modern German Political Thought 1790–1800* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 76, 80.

how Fichte can be both a proto-socialist revolutionary and a reformist, we will need to examine the way in which Fichte structures his arguments, which we do in the fourth section, titled 'Fichte's Concept of Safety within the Context of His Political Philosophy'.

The key texts to understanding Fichte's political philosophy are his book *Grundlage des Naturrechts* (1796–97), which also functioned as a handbook during his lectures, and a later book that functioned as an appendix to the earlier book, *Der geschlossene Handelsstaat* (1800), in which he outlines the implications of his political philosophy for international trade.

Many scholarly accounts of the *Grundlage* understandably focus heavily on its most obstinate feature for uninitiated readers, the transcendental justification of right. However, there has been no extensive study of the significance of safety in Fichte's political philosophy, which we will offer in the section 'A Taxonomy of "Safety"', by looking at key terminology and the way in which Fichte's references to safety function within the overall philosophical framework.

Some further exploration of the significance of Fichte's approach to right is required to fully understand why safety is such an integral part of a theory of right that aims to establish universal freedom, which we will do in the section 'Fichte's Concept of Safety within the Context of His Political Philosophy'.

First we must place Fichte's approach in its historical context, by considering the way in which Fichte's contemporaries might have contributed to his approach to safety, in the section 'Fichte's Influences in Conceptualising Public Safety'. There is a wider sense in which Fichte fits into the natural right tradition, which I cannot explore within the confines of this chapter. Once we have gained an understanding of the way in which safety functions within Fichte's political philosophy (in the sections 'A Taxonomy of "Safety"' and 'Fichte's Concept of Safety within the Context of His Political Philosophy'), we will draw some conclusions about the historical significance of this concept of safety in the sections 'The Later Fichte and Safety' and 'Conclusions and Implications'.[9]

9 I am unable to discuss many important contributions to the understanding of Fichte's political philosophy, several of which I have benefitted from, such as James Clarke, 'Fichte's Transcendental Justification of Human Rights', in *Fichte and Transcendental Philosophy* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014) 242-256; Luc Ferry and Alain Renaut, 'Kant and Fichte', in *New French Thought: Political Philosophy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 73-81; Gabriel Gottlieb, 'Fichte's Philosophy of Right', in *The Bloomsbury Handbook of Fichte* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020), 119-137; David James, *Fichte's Social and Political Philosophy: Property and Virtue* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Yves Radrizzani, 'Fichte's Philosophy of

Fichte's Influences in Conceptualising Public Safety

In order to understand the context and novelty of Fichte's concept of safety, we must first consider how Fichte's direct contemporaries understood the wider discourse of security, and how they adapted it, leading to Fichte's introduction of the idea of public safety. Or, to put the question in another way, what intensification or modification in the discourse of security precipitated Fichte's approach to public safety?

Immanuel Kant and Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi were enormously important philosophical influences for Fichte. Their publications in the 1780s and early 1790s were likely formative in Fichte's approach to safety and therefore merit consideration.[10] In 1782, Jacobi published *Etwas Lessing gesagt hat*, one of his most overtly political writings. Here, he mentions the 'the security [Sicherheit] of property'.[11] Jacobi held a liberal concept of property, derived from Adam Smith, and believed, following this liberal tradition, that one of the most important tasks of the state was to safeguard private property.[12] With this, he connected the concept of property directly to safety.

Fichte directly engaged with this liberal concept of property, and redefined it to also include one's own body, extending the task of the state to ensuring the safety of every individual. This includes safeguarding this particular property from bodily harm and maintaining its basic needs. For Fichte, the body is the site of our actions as autonomous beings, and must remain our own at all times if we are to function as such.[13] This is an example of how Fichte's reformist approach is at the same time revolutionary: by also extending the liberal principle that the state must ensure the safety of

History', in: *The Bloomsbury Handbook of Fichte* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020), 277-292; Günther Zöller, 'Freedom, Right, and Law. Fichte's Late Political Philosophy', in *The Bloomsbury Handbook of Fichte* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020), 261-276. I am unaware of any works that discuss Fichte's concept of public safety extensively.

10 Fichte was too young to be substantially influenced by, for instance, Jacobi's political writings published in the 1770s.

11 'Sicherheit des Eigenthums, in dem ausgedehntesten Verstande, und schlechterdings im allerhöchsten Grade, so für Alle wie für Einen, so für Einen wie für Alle; *unverletzliche durchgängige Gerechtigkeit, ohne irgend einen Zwang zu irgend einem andern Ende*, wäre, diesemnach, jenes *Mittel* und sein *Nahme*, welches sicher, unveränderlich und offenbar, wie bey gesellschaftlichen Thieren der Instinkt, den Menschen dahin leiten könnte, wo sich das Beste von allen und das Beste eines jeden unwidersprechlich vereinigte'. Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi, *Werke*, vol. 4.1, ed. Catia Goretzki and Walter Jaeschke (Hamburg: Frommann-Holzboog, 2006), 310.

12 For an extended analysis of Jacobi's economic position, see Klaus Hammacher and Hans Hirsch, *Die Wirtschaftspolitik des Philosophen F.h. Jacobi* (Leiden: Brill Rodopi, 1993).

13 Fichte, *Gesamtausgabe*, 1:3, 405.

property to include human bodies, Fichte derives many new tasks for the state to perpetually guarantee the safety of its citizens.

Since he considered himself a Kantian, Fichte paid special attention to anything Kant published. In an essay, *Idee zu einer allgemeinen Geschichte in weltbürgerlicher Absicht* (1784), Kant briefly discusses 'the cosmopolitan condition of the public safety of the state [öffentlichen Staatssicherheit]'.[14] While this expression semantically prefigures Fichte's later reference to public safety (see 'Fichte's Concept of Safety within the Context of His Political Philosophy', below), *Zum ewigen Frieden* (1795) was by far the more influential of Kant's essays for Fichte's political philosophy, which Fichte reviewed, in a text which he also used to put forward some of his ideas on the state and international relations, before publishing an extensive treatise in 1796.

In the essay, Kant frames the state of nature as one where human beings harm each other, necessitating a constitution for 'the sake of their own safety [Sicherheit]', through which 'everyone is safe [gesichert] in their rights'.[15] Since it basically reflects Fichte's thoughts on the state of nature as leading to harm in a community of people, it is possible that this passage suggested to Fichte that safety, explicitly construed as a relationship between citizens, is, in a way, the core function of the state. In *Die Metaphysik der Sitten* (1796) Kant made a claim that further develops this thought: 'Whoever steals makes the property of all insecure. He steals

14 'Was also der zwecklose Zustand der wilden That, daß er nämlich alle Naturanlagen in unserer Gattung zurück hielt, aber endlich durch die Übel, worin er diese versetzte, sie nöthigte, aus diesem Zustande hinaus und in eine bürgerliche Verfassung zu treten, in welcher alle jene Keime entwickelt werden können, das thut auch die barbarische Freiheit der schon gestifteten Staaten, nämlich: daß durch die Verwendung aller Kräfte der gemeinen Wesen auf Rüstungen gegen einander, durch die Verwüstungen, die der Krieg anrichtet, noch mehr aber durch die Nothwendigkeit sich beständig in Bereitschaft dazu zu erhalten zwar die völlige Entwicklung der Naturanlagen in ihrem Fortgange gehemmt wird, dagegen aber auch die Übel, die daraus entspringen, unsere Gattung nöthigen, zu dem an sich heilsamen Widerstande vieler Staaten neben einander, der aus ihrer Freiheit entspringt, ein Gesetz des Gleichgewichts auszufinden und eine vereinigte Gewalt, die demselben Nachdruck giebt, mithin einen weltbürgerlichen Zustand der öffentlichen Staatssicherheit einzuführen, der nicht ohne alle Gefahr sei, damit die Kräfte der Menschheit nicht einschlafen, aber doch auch nicht ohne ein Princip der Gleichheit ihrer wechselseitigen Wirkung und Gegenwirkung, damit sie einander nicht zerstören'. Immanuel Kant, *Kant's gesammelte Schriften* (Berlin: Reimer, 1900) 8:26. Hereafter AA, for *Akademieausgabe*.

15 'Völker als Staaten können wie einzelne Menschen beurtheilt werden, die sich in ihrem Naturzustande (d. i. in der Unabhängigkeit von äußern Gesetzen) schon durch ihr Nebeneinandersein lädiren, und deren jeder um seiner Sicherheit willen von dem andern fordern kann und soll, mit ihm in eine der bürgerlichen ähnliche Verfassung zu treten, wo jedem sein Recht gesichert werden kann'. *AA*, 8:354.

from himself (according to the right of retribution) the safety (Sicherheit) of all possible property'.[16]

While this certainly seems similar to Fichte's approach to public safety and property, it most likely did not significantly impact the core of his political philosophy, since Kant's treatise on ethics (which was actually more of a treatise on politics) was published, in two parts, at virtually the same time as Fichte's principal political treatise. What this passage and the former passage in *Zum ewigen Frieden* do indicate is that Kant was developing his political thought along a similar track, towards a conception of safety as a set of relations between citizens, mediated by the state. Since Fichte considered himself a Kantian, it is best to charitably attribute this conception of security to the shared Kantian framework.

Two other claims of influence on Fichte's focus on security and safety have been put forward by scholars. Werner Conze makes a convincing claim that Wilhelm von Humboldt's attempts to reduce the main organising principle of the state to security was what led Fichte to systematically develop this point in his philosophy of right, although there is no textual evidence in explicit support of this claim.[17] Ostensibly, Fichte's and Humboldt's texts seem to be written too closely together, and they offer arguments that are too similar for there to have been no internal discussion. However, this claim is complicated by the fact that Humboldt's text, *Ideen zu einem Versuch, die Grenzen der Wirksamkeit des Staats zu bestimmen* was written in 1792 but not published until 1851, well after Fichte's death, making it difficult to locate the point of transmission, since Fichte could not have read Humboldt's text in print. On the other hand, Humboldt was in close contact with Fichte in Jena from 1794 to 1797, the years in which Fichte was most closely developing his political treatise, and it is therefore likely that the idea of organising the function of the state around security was impressed on Fichte during this time.

As we have seen, influences like Kant's and Jacobi's liberal conceptions of property most likely already impressed on Fichte the importance of *security* for political philosophy. Humboldt could have imparted the idea of making *safety* the central point of focus in political philosophy. In order to better

16 'Wer da stiehlt, macht aller Anderer Eigenthum unsicher; er beraubt sich also (nach dem Recht der Wiedervergeltung) der Sicherheit alles möglichen Eigenthums; er hat nichts und kann auch nichts erwerben, will aber doch leben; welches nun nicht anders möglich ist, als daß ihn Andere ernähren'. *AA*, 6:333.

17 Werner Conze, 'Sicherheit, Schutz', in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*, vol. 5 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cota, 1984), 852.

understand Humboldt's conception of safety, we will briefly consider his central definitions:

> *Safe* [Sicher] I call that citizen in a state, when they are not, by foreign interventions [fremde Eingriffe], disturbed in the exertion of the rights extended to them, which concern their person or their possessions. *Safety* [Sicherheit], consequently, when the manifestation is not too short, and though that perhaps seems unclear, is *certitude* [Gewissheit] *of lawful freedom*.[18]

Like Fichte, Humboldt organises his notion of the state around safety, and ties it directly to freedom: 'without safety, no freedom'.[19] It should be noted that Humboldt's conceptual construction of safety is wholly based on foreign interventions, not necessarily on a state of safety between citizens, and can therefore perhaps be better classified under the broader discourse of security.[20] Unlike Fichte, Humboldt adds an undefined minimum magnitude, below which safety cannot be said to have occurred, which introduces a purely subjective measure of safety, which Fichte does share, and which makes this more specifically part of the discourse of safety as something that is felt by citizens. It is this specific feature which makes the transmission of Humboldt's approach to safety to Fichte's political philosophy extremely likely (see Evink's contribution to this volume for an analysis of the relationship between safety and trust).[21]

18 '*Sicher* nenne ich die Bürger in einem Staat, wenn sie in der Ausübung der ihnen zustehenden Rechte, dieselben mögen nun ihre Person, oder ihr Eigenthum betreffen, nicht durch fremde Eingriffe gestört werden; *Sicherheit* folglich—wenn der Ausdruck nicht zu kurz, und vielleicht dadurch undeutlich scheint, *Gewissheit der gesetzmässigen Freiheit*'. Wilhelm von Humboldt, *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 7 (Berlin: Reimer, 1854), 99. I have translated 'Gewissheit' as 'certitude' rather than 'certainly' in order to avoid the epistemic connotations of the latter.

19 'Ohne Sicherheit vermag der Mensch weder seine Kräfte auszubilden, noch die Frucht derselben zu geniessen; denn ohne Sicherheit ist keine Freiheit'. Humboldt, *Gesammelte Werke*, 41.

20 This aspect of Humboldt's approach is not fully recognised by Rigakos et al., who focus more on the role of the police. George S. Rigakos, John L. McMullan, Joshua Johnson, and Gulden Ozcan, eds., *A General Police System for an Account of the Development of the Police throughout the Enlightenment Age* (Ottawa: Red Quill, 2009), 18–20.

21 A second claim to substantial influence on Fichte is made by Anthony La Vopa, in his biographical study of Fichte. La Vopa argues that Fichte was significantly influenced by the idea of a penal code which is attuned to self-interest, as put forward in Cesare Beccaria's *Dei delitti e delle pene* (Monaco, 1764). Another similarity with Fichte's approach can be found in what has been described as Beccaria's 'twinning of liberty and security'. While certainly not impossible, I have found no textual support for this claim. It seems more likely that Fichte was influenced by Humboldt, in terms of the co-dependency of freedom and security, and developed his views

Fichte was a fervent reader of his contemporaries, particularly those he knew and worked with in Jena. It is likely that some of the key points of inspiration stem from select contemporaries, such as Gottlieb Hufeland, Carl Christian Erhard Schmid and Salomon Maimon.

Gottlieb Hufeland had, in his 1790 *Lehrbuch des Naturrechts*, argued that safety (Sicherheit) is the goal of the state.[22] We have seen a similar claim with Humboldt, but Hufeland also distinguishes external and internal safety, wherein the latter concerns 'members' (Mittgliede) of the state, acknowledging that citizens must also be safe from one another. Hufeland further argues that this internal safety means that only the state can maintain the rights of citizens.[23] This may, in practice, imply a highly involved police system, like Fichte envisions, but it remains unclear whether Hufeland would follow Fichte to this extent.

Hufeland's *Lehrbuch* and also Schmid's *Grundriß des Naturrechts* (1795) represent the Kantian approach to political philosophy, which sees the moral law as the foundation of law. Maimon's essay *Über die ersten Gründe des Naturrechts* (1794) on the other hand, although certainly inspired by Kant, explicitly separated natural law from both positive law and morality, and is likely what impressed on Fichte that a theory of right must stand on its own (see 'Fichte's Concept of Safety within the Context of His Political Philosophy', below).[24]

At the very least, the references to safety by Kant and Humboldt show that Fichte's close contemporaries, minds he respected, considered safety to be an important function of the state. Consequently, authors like Hufeland suggested that safety also concerns relationships between citizens, in addition to external enemies.

We must see Fichte as the most transformative contributor to an ongoing project of Kantian political philosophy, which had its orthodox wing (Hufeland, Schmid) and its progressive wing (Maimon). There is, however, no indication that safety was, for any of these authors, applied in a consistent way to the relationship between citizens *as a primary social problem* to be solved by the state. This, as we will see in the next section, is Fichte's main

on crime as a result of his concept of public safety among citizens. Anthony La Vopa, *Fichte: The Self and the Calling of Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 310. Rigakos et al., *A General Police System*, 15.

22 'Erhaltung des volkommnen Rechte heißt auch *Sichterheit*'. Gottlieb Hufeland, *Lehrsätze des Naturrechts*, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt, 1795), 207. At this time, a first edition of this work is unavailable for inspection.

23 Hufeland, *Lehrsätze*, 238.

24 La Vopa, *Fichte*, 306.

contribution to the development of the concept of safety, which made it possible to comprehensively apply it to statecraft.

A Taxonomy of 'Safety'

The lemma on 'Sicherung' in the seminal *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe* describes 'Sicherheit' as an abstraction which arises in the seventeenth century and slowly becomes a normative concept through affirmative use.[25] Safety, which I argue should be considered a subset of this overall development, functions as a proto-normative concept for Fichte, which ensures the possibility of citizens operating as genuine ethical actors who are not continually afraid of the imminent collapse of the social contract. Safety is proto-normative because it functions as a *condition of possibility* for citizenship. However, if we disentangle ourselves from the argumentative complexity of Fichte's account, his applications of safety clearly carry prescriptive semantic content because they are associated with the well-being of citizens and the degree to which they are able to manifest as free actors within the state. Public safety is then only proto-normative within the narrow delineations between right and ethics that Fichte upholds (see 'Fichte's Concept of Safety within the Context of His Political Philosophy', below).

As I have put forward, Fichte's notion of safety (which is how I have chosen to translate 'Sicherung' here, considering its distinct semantic content) represents a special moment in a broader history of security. Of course, this distinct semantic context can be placed within a larger political context. Fichte was, for instance, acutely aware of the specific formulations used in revolutionary declarations. The 1776 United States *Declaration of Independence*, for instance, mentions 'securing' 'certain unalienable rights', and the French *Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen de 1789* mentions 'Sûreté' as one of the natural human rights.[26] These two momentously influential political declarations represent a becoming-normative of security, separate from the traditional context of external security from enemies, and form an important background to Fichte's articulation of safety. Fichte paid lip service to these declarations in many of his essays, for instance in *Zurückforderung der Denkfreiheit von den Fürsten Europens, die sie bisher unterdrückten* (1793), where he speaks

25 Conze, 'Sicherheit', 831.

26 Conze, 'Sicherheit', 849.

about 'safeguarding [beschützen]' our 'inalienable rights [unveräußerliche Menschenrechte]'.[27]

A close reading of several key passages in Fichte's political treatises will provide some elucidation of the way in which he conceives of safety. In the *Grundlage des Naturrechts* (1796–97) Fichte codifies his terminology relatively early on, after he has introduced the concept of right and has demonstrated the applicability of right. He then offers a systematic application of the concept of right. As it turns out, this application necessitates a concept of safety. It should be noted that no international relations are extensively discussed until the end of the work. From this structuring of the book, it is abundantly evident that the concept of safety is distinct from the way in which security has been traditionally discussed, in terms of an external enemy in an extra-national sense. For this reason, I have found it necessary to translate Fichte's use of 'Sicherheit' as 'safety' rather than 'security'. Although this distinction in English would only become linguistically established after the new semantic content had permeated political discourse, I believe that it is a helpful distinction, which further highlights the change in the concept that Fichte theorised, and contrasts it to most of the earlier history of the concept of security.[28]

The concept of safety is introduced as a solution to the question of how one should offer a 'guarantee [Garantie] for the future safety [Sicherheit]' of all of a person's rights.[29] It is formulated in the following way:

> To guarantee someone the safety of his rights means: to make it impossible to violate those rights, to the degree that he becomes convinced of this impossibility.[30]

It is important to recognise the significance of the latter part of this definition: rights are safe only when an *individual* is *convinced* of the impossibility of their being violated. This places the recognition of safety within the

27 Fichte, *Gesamtausgabe*, I:1 (1964), 180.

28 The most recent English translation by Michael Baur opts for a uniform translation to 'security'. It is remarkable that the nineteenth-century Fichte translator Adolph Ernst Kroeger chose 'safety' when Fichte is referring to a 'Sicherheit' between citizens. This suggests a deeper understanding of the significance of Fichte's contributions to the discourse of public safety. Adolph Ernst Kroeger, *The Science of Rights* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1869), 148.

29 Fichte, *Gesamtausgabe*, I:3, 398.

30 'Jemanden die Gewähr leisten für die Sicherheit seiner Rechte heißt: es sich unmöglich machen, dieselben anzugreifen, so daß er von dieser Unmöglichkeit überzeugt seyn müsse'. Fichte, *Gesamtausgabe*, I:3, 399.

judgement of the citizen, not the state. This is wholly consistent with Fichte's attempts to formulate a political philosophy which places the citizen at the centre of all political processes.

By utilising the word 'impossibility' Fichte also introduces the uncompromising *ideal* component for which he has become famous: while the *concept* of safety is recognisable by all, the *realisation* of safety can occur under no other conditions than those where all citizens have recognised that it is impossible to have their rights violated. Such, Fichte recognises, are the conditions of realising a mere concept in the sensible world: they hinge significantly on individual recognition.[31]

Fichte makes it clear that the *guarantee* cannot just hold for the relationship between the citizen and the state of which they are a subject (the context of the traditional use of security), but also between them and *all persons with whom they could ever enter into a community*.[32] It is this interpersonal guarantee that becomes Fichte's main concern, which he terms 'mutual safety' (gegenseitige Sicherheit) a component of 'public safety' (öffentliche Sicherheit) which is the only criterion for judging criminal offences ('no man can be the [moral] judge of another').[33] Referring to safety as *public* strikes at the essence of Fichte's approach to safety: it is found among the judgement of citizens in relationship to one another.

It is within these constraints that Fichte's rather severe conception of safety takes shape. When he rhetorically asks himself how this guarantee can be given to a person, he answers that '*the law must be a power*':

> The law itself must be the supreme force and the supreme force must be the law. Both are one and the same, and I must, when subjecting myself to it, be able to be convinced that this is the case, that it is completely impossible for a force outside of the law to be directed against me.[34]

At the heart of this conception of safety we once again find the exertion of individual will, in this case described as a force which threatens to block another individual's possibility to act according to their will if it means

31 Fichte, *Gesamtausgabe*, I:3, 399.

32 Fichte, *Gesamtausgabe*, I:3, 399.

33 'Kein Mensch kann, und keiner soll hierüber der Richter des andern seyn' (62). Fichte, *Gesamtausgabe*, I:4 (1970), 59, 60, 62.

34 *'Das Gesez muß eine Macht seyn'*. 'Das Gesez selbst muß die Obergewalt, die Obergewalt muß das Gesez seyn, beide Eins und eben dasselbe: und ich muß bei meiner Unterwerfung mich überzeugen können, daß es so ist; daß es völlig unmöglich sey, daß je eine Gewalt, ausser der des Gesetzes, sich gegen mich richte'. Fichte, *Gesamtausgabe*, I:3, 399.

that your own safety is (or seems, as it concerns a conviction) threatened. This places an enormous weight on the laws of the state, which is similar to some forms of seventeenth-century contractarianism. For example, Fichte argues that the state must quell gatherings of people so large that they could counteract or cancel the force that the police might exert, which would endanger public safety by cancelling the ability of the police to enforce the law.[35] The state must not only carefully consider how to formulate its laws in order to maximise the free actions of every individual in the state, it must also be able to make a show of force, a police force at the ready, in order to convince its citizens that they need fear no other forces than the state.[36]

Applications of the law must ring true, not merely to the legislator, but especially to the citizens, since they are the final judge of whether public safety has been attained. As Fichte remarks, this recognition also has another side because citizens must first *freely commit* to following the law as an extension of their own free will, not because they are arbitrarily compelled to do so.[37] This, in turn, would require, even to this day, a paradigm shift in the way in which civic duties are taught to children. Fichte certainly had thoughts on this subject in his pedagogic writings, but these are not articulated in this political treatise, in which he mainly focuses on the tasks of the state in the realisation of public safety, on which a citizen 'can always safely [sicher] depend'.[38]

By way of a demonstration of how central this terminology is in this work, the terms 'Sicherheit' and 'Sicherung' appear on twenty-eight pages of the *Grundlage*, the word 'Garantie' on twenty-one pages, and varying versions of 'geschüzt' on ten pages. Although its significance is not explicitly defined until the section on the application of right, this terminology permeates the book from start to finish.

The question that Fichte faces after defining his terms is how this sense of safety, bound up in the efficacy of the law, must apply to a real state, particularly in the sense that it must remain possible for society to be dissolved if the law is unable to function efficaciously in providing public safety.[39] We can perhaps observe this possibility as a type of civil intuition in today's society: when the feeling arises that the state cannot or will not guarantee the safety of its citizens, dissent and riots can occur, in effect a

35 Fichte, *Gesamtausgabe*, I:4, 88.

36 In fact, Fichte's notion of police is much broader than our own, encompassing both local administration and surveillance.

37 Fichte, *Gesamtausgabe*, I:3, 399.

38 'sich immer sicher verlassen könnte'. Fichte, *Gesamtausgabe*, I:3, 399.

39 Fichte, *Gesamtausgabe*, I:3, 402.

symptom of the distrust in the efficacy of the law as a safeguard of individual rights and, if we follow Fichte's reasoning, a precursor to the possibility of the dissolution of the state.

Fichte, however, does not believe that single occurrences of the inefficacy of the law necessarily need to result in the collapse of the state. He argues that it is actually not singular occurrences of injustice that facilitate the collapse of society, but rather an injustice to *all* citizens.[40] Since the public safety that laws provide is aimed at an equilibrium that curtails everyone's freedom just enough to facilitate the maximum amount of freedom for all, singular injustices are taken to be mere exceptions, while universal injustice is cause for dissolution.

In terms of international right, Fichte argues that the foundational issue is that states must mutually guarantee the safety of one another's citizens within their borders.[41] Failure to do so is grounds for war. It is important to recognise that in making this claim, Fichte effectively subsumes the existing political discourse on security under his concept of public safety. While his use historically might be a subset of a larger discourse on security, he himself believes that issues of international security can only be judged as potential dangers to public safety, specifically to the duties of the state in guaranteeing that safety when its citizens travel internationally.

In the appendix to the *Grundlage*, published separately as *Der geschlossene Handelsstaat* (1800), Fichte elaborates on political economy. One way in which the state must guarantee public safety is by ensuring that the money in circulation is made of durable material, so a citizen can never suddenly lose his or her buying power.[42] Concerning international trade he comes to the conclusion that, in order to guarantee public safety, a state cannot be dependent on trade with another state, hence the state must be a self-sufficient 'closed state'.[43]

Public safety therefore also implies economic tasks for the state that we tend to associate with social-democratic economies, or at least places significant strictures on free trade, which puts Fichte at odds with the tradition of liberalism. It is for these reasons that Frederick Beiser has described this text on political economy as 'one of the pioneering tracts of modern socialism'.[44]

40 Fichte, *Gesamtausgabe*, I:3, 402.

41 Fichte, *Gesamtausgabe*, I:4, 152-154.

42 Fichte, *Gesamtausgabe*, I:7 (1988), 82.

43 'geschlossene Staat'. Fichte, *Gesamtausgabe*, I:7, 108.

44 Beiser, *Enlightenment*, 59.

Fichte even argues that those who cannot find work have the fullest right to rob and steal, in order to create their own safety, by amassing a fortune.[45] After all, the state has failed to guarantee their basic safety, and they have, in effect, returned to their original right, their state of nature: society is null and void for them. This example demonstrates that occasional failure cannot become a systemic failure. Following Fichte's formulation of public safety, we can conclude that a state that fails to provide work or sustenance to *some* of its citizens could also lose the trust of *all* of its citizens, since they could easily have been in the same situation. What should the state do, in order to avoid rampant poverty? At the very least, it must regulate the availability of jobs so that unemployment does not arise, Fichte argues.[46]

Having examined Fichte's relationship with his contemporaries and having provided this brief outline of his concept of public safety within several specific fields (international politics and political economy), we can now place his concept of public safety within the context of his political philosophy.

Fichte's Concept of Safety within the Context of His Political Philosophy

In order to fully grasp the significance of safety within Fichte's political philosophy, we must understand which argumentative challenges Fichte sought to answer by introducing it. The Enlightenment had sparked a broad movement which sought to secularise academic disciplines. Within political theory, this secularisation meant separating political commitments from theological and theocratic commitments. For many political theorists, this implied that the state must be stripped of its moralistic excesses, in order to move away from the traditional wedding of statecraft to theology.

Fichte briefly struggled to follow Kant's attempt to formulate the state according to the strictures of the moral law. Instead he chose to conceptualise the state as a supportive framework that enables and protects the ethical life of its citizens, offering no moral judgements, but rather strictures that guarantee public safety. As the neo-Kantian Wilhelm Windelband observed, to understand Kant is to go beyond Kant, which deftly applies to Fichte's approach: he departed from Kant's attempt to raise a state on the moral law

45 Fichte, *Gesamtausgabe*, I:7, 90.
46 Fichte, *Gesamtausgabe*, I:7, 89.

in order to preserve the ethical core of Kant's position, in order to safeguard the reality of ethically engaged citizens.[47]

Fichte argues that we should strive for a safe non-moralistic state, but that in actuality we are not in such a state. Virtually all states, even today, offer many covert moral judgements through their policies on a closer inspection. A strictly Fichtean response to this state of affairs might be that this is the case because we have lost sight of the state as a supportive framework which *facilitates* free ethical actors. On the other hand, many of today's democratic states strive for a degree of moral and religious pluralism which is in line with Fichte's prescriptions in the sense that these states attempt to keep the task of the state separate from any one morality or religion.

As in all of his normative accounts, Fichte's argumentative strategy is as peculiar as it is innovative, and it would serve as a model for Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel and, subsequently, Marxist approaches to normativity, all of which attempt to ground a progressive approach within a descriptive framework. The challenge here is to resist the temptation to offer an outright ideal formulation of the state because that would garner criticism on the ideal's utopic disconnectedness from real states, such as that this ideal formulation lacks concrete steps that outline the transition from the current to the ideal. We will return to the exact nature of Fichte's separation of ethics and the state later, but first we must consider the exact nature of Fichte's state, in order to understand how exactly he orchestrates and guarantees this separation.

Fichte did not approve of any monarchic Germanic state of his time. However, if he wanted to write an outright critique of these states, his book would undoubtedly have been intercepted by the state censor.[48] The transcendental philosophy that Kant had introduced offered a potent methodology of reconciling the ideal and the real in its various manifestations, not just in terms of the mental and the physical but, in the case of political theory, also for existing states and progressive ideals. In offering a fully transcendental account of right, Fichte was able to show that the Germanic states *already* operated on the basis of rational principles, but, at the same time, it also allowed him to argue for a more ideal political organisation of the state, which can be seen as an extension of these rational principles.

47 Wilhelm Windelband, *Präludien: Aufsätze und Reden zur Philosophie und ihrer Geschichte* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1883), vi.

48 Although certain academic positions entailed a waiver of state censorship, Kant had already run into trouble with the Prussian censor in 1794 and 1797, and it seems likely that Fichte wanted to avoid additional problems with the German states.

Although Fichte separates ethics and right, we can discern some of the uncompromising character of Kant's moral law in Fichte's conception of the state. Fichte's ethics are exceedingly more integrated within concrete practices and the development of the human being but his views of the state can be understood as an attempt to translate an uncompromising Kantianism to the strictures of the applicability of safety that we discussed in the previous section. This observation explains much of the severity of Fichte's political philosophy.

In building his theory of the state on the facilitation of citizens *as ethical actors*, Fichte drew on the specific natural right tradition of the Enlightenment while offering a transcendental foundation for these natural rights through his account of the way in which the human being perceives and acts, as put forward in his general theory of transcendental philosophy, which he called the *Wissenschaftslehre*. Formulated concisely, the argument is that we need to exercise these natural rights in order to have self-consciousness. A state that fails to safeguard these rights, fails at having the self-conscious citizens that legitimate the social contract upon which the state is based and invalidates the very reason for its existence.

Once individual autonomy is established and secured, Fichte argues for an individualism, leaving it up to individual citizens to give shape to their ethical life. In a sense, this is Fichte's way of resolving the basic presumption behind Kant's claim that even a 'people [Volk] of devils' can be pragmatic enough to find the required equilibrium of right to live together peacefully.[49]

In establishing such a pragmatic concept of right, free from morality, Fichte offers answers to some modern political intuitions. To what we would now call the libertarian mindset he grants the supposition that we are originally fully free to act as we please, but with the clarification that such an original right is a productive fiction that helps us conceptualise our needs within a social context.[50] He also grants that we can withdraw our support for the state and can thus technically withdraw from the social contract, but that this means that we also revert to original right, in which every other human

49 'Das Problem der Staatserrichtung ist, so hart wie es auch klingt, selbst für ein Volk von Teufeln (wenn sie nur Verstand haben) auflösbar und lautet so: "Eine Menge von vernünftigen Wesen, die insgesammt allgemeine Gesetze für ihre Erhaltung verlangen, deren jedes aber ingeheim sich davon auszunehmen geneigt ist, so zu ordnen und ihre Verfassung einzurichten, daß, obgleich sie in ihren Privatgesinnungen einander entgegen streben, diese einander doch so aufhalten, daß in ihrem öffentlichen Verhalten der Erfolg eben derselbe ist, als ob sie keine solche böse Gesinnungen hätten." Ein solches Problem muß auflöslich sein'. *AA*, 8:366.

50 Fichte, *Gesamtausgabe*, I:3, 404. For a recent account of Fichte's approach to fiction, see Benjamin Crowe, 'Fichte's Fictions Revisited', *Inquiry* 51, no. 3 (2008): 268–87.

being is also able to exert their will on us and that which we theretofore considered our property. That is why, Fichte shows, it is unproductive to leave the social contract, by taking your toys and going home, so to speak: the social contract, enforced by the state, is the very thing that secures property, overwriting the constant need to assert and defend our property.

Fichte's sharp distinction between ethics and politics must be found in this fine nuance: when our individual ethical approach cannot operate efficaciously, the state steps in, in order to establish public safety. In this way, Fichte offers a modern philosophical amendment to ethical theory: since efficacy is limited for individual actions, there is also a limit to individual ethical accomplishments, amongst which is the safety of the public at large. Put plainly: it cannot be the responsibility of individual citizens to guarantee something as broad as public safety in something as large as a state. Since we need public safety in order to be autonomous citizens, without constantly being distracted by sustenance and property, we need an organising principle to guarantee public safety, which is what is traditionally called positive (or applied) right.

The degree to which public safety must be guaranteed forces Fichte to put forward some extreme measures, at least for his time. Hegel draws our attention to the fact that Fichte was the first theorist who argued that citizens should carry identity cards at all times.[51] Fichte even foresaw uses of this card beyond our current implementation. For instance, the identity card logs our bodily movements, not just from state to state, but also from city to city, registering our general whereabouts at all times. In Fichte's ideal state our whereabouts are, up to the point of regional transit, transparent to the police, which aids in eliminating crime altogether.[52] This is an apt illustration of Fichte's paradoxical conception of a free society. Since we can only be free citizens if our property, which includes our own body, is safe from misuse, the state must establish an elaborate police force which aims to *fully eliminate crime* through *absolute transparency*.[53] While there are many more tasks that the police must accomplish in order to reach this goal, the identity card is the paradigmatic example of Fichte's conception of the police force. Complex questions about privacy and its ultimate aim could be raised here, which I will avoid due to the confines of this chapter.

51 Rigakos et al., *A General Police System*, shows that Hegel's claim is incorrect. In the seventeenth century, William Petty already called for a seal that every adult should carry on their persons, see p. 6.

52 Fichte, *Gesamtausgabe*, I:4, 87.

53 Fichte, *Gesamtausgabe*, I:4, 92–93.

We might also interrogate Fichte's conception of crime here. Current sociological analyses of crime explain the phenomenon as resulting from social inequality which, broadly speaking, by itself would also be considered as a problem for the attainment of a universally free society in Fichte's political philosophy. We might then offer an immanent criticism of Fichte in the following way: it is not the police state that is essential for guaranteeing freedom, but rather egalitarian social and economic policies, to which Fichte is, coincidentally, also committed. In other words, considering our current understanding of crime, Fichte's conception of what is effectively a police state is actually less important according to his own principles.

As we have seen, for Fichte the phenomenon of safety functions as a non-incremental condition which, when met, realises the ideal of a truly free citizen. Perhaps, in surveying our current political landscape, Fichte would argue that this is why intensifications of public safety always feel restraining, rather than liberating: safety is always aimed at an ideal state that fully guarantees freedom for all its citizens, but fails if it does anything *but* that. From Fichte's perspective, the state is always an *emergency state* (Nothstaat), with an ever-increasing and more constraining level of public safety, *until* the rights of every citizen can be guaranteed.[54] Today the idea of an emergency state stirs up many negative associations surrounding the abuse of emergency power. However, we might better understand Fichte's use of this term as a challenge, a challenge to consider the fact that our states *can* and *must* be improved, if they are to truly guarantee egalitarian freedom.

The Later Fichte and Safety

After his dismissal from his post in Jena, Fichte drank deeply from the well of transcendental philosophy, and only intermittently returned to the subject of right. One might ask whether this led him to further develop the key components of his political philosophy. One might also wonder whether his personal encounter with the political upheavals of the early nineteenth century changed his mind (see De Graaf's contribution to this volume). Three of these returns should be considered in this respect: 1805, 1807 and 1812.

In 1805, Fichte presented a private lecture course called *Die Principien der Gottes- Sitten- und Rechtslehre*. This lecture course was a follow-up to three earlier lecture courses on the *Wissenschaftslehre*, and it unfailingly

54 'The sole source of every evil in our emergency states [Nothstaaten] is *disorder* and the impossibility of creating order'. Fichte, *Gesamtausgabe*, I:4, 92.

repeats the unparalleled level of philosophical complexity of these prequels. Fichte offers remarks on how the perspective of the *Wissenschaftslehre* would apply to religion, ethics and right. Here he once again affirms the distinction between right and ethics, claiming that the doctrine of right is actually a *doctrine of nature*, in that it merely deals with human beings as forces that interact with one another in the same way as forces of nature interact.[55]

A few years later, in 1807, when Napoleon marched his army through the German states, Fichte lectured in order to realise a new political ideal: a unified German state that could withstand the French troops. However new this idea was in his political philosophy, it did not lead to a restructuring of his ideas on freedom, nor did this political event influence these ideas. Instead, he reiterates his earlier argumentative strategy: the safety of one state is tied to the safety of another state, and citizens want 'stability, safety and independence from blind and capricious nature'.[56]

When he finally gained a stable university post in the newly established university of Berlin, Fichte lectured on his *Rechtslehre* in 1812, reiterating that the highest goal of the state is our maintenance and safety, which must be attained before ethical life can emerge.[57]

We can conclude that, although Fichte's concept of public safety seems to have emerged within a limited timeframe, he was committed to it until his death.

Conclusions and Implications

Fichte is the first to articulate a *necessary* relationship between freedom and safety when considering the possibility of a state of free individuals. This position was extremely influential and contributed significantly to the way in which the phenomenon of 'public safety' entered society. In the scope of this chapter I cannot explore this influence beyond what I have

55 'Um zu zeigen, daß hier nicht [perge perge] auch Sie gleich beim ersten Schritte vorzubereiten [perge perge] die Erinnerung, daß nach uns die Sittenlehre ein freies Handeln, die Rechtslehre überhaupt gar kein Handeln, sondern ein *Seyn*, einen stehenden [und] festen Zustand, zum Objekte hat: nemlich das stehende Verhältniß von mehrern vernünftigen Individuen, als Naturkräften, zu einander. Die Rechtslehre ist nach uns überhault nicht SittenPhilosophie, sondern sie ist NaturPhilosophie'. Fichte, *Gesamtausgabe*, II:7, 379.

56 'will Festigheit, Sicherheit, und Unabhängigkeit von der blinden und schwankenden Natur'. Fichte, *Gesamtausgabe*, I:10, 109, 188.

57 Fichte, *Gesamtausgabe*, IV:6, 67.

already drawn the reader's attention to, such as Hegel's political philosophy and the Arab Socialist Party.

In order to provide some historical context to Fichte's concept of safety, we can draw on the work of conceptual historian Reinhart Koselleck, who proposed that concepts 'extend into the future'.[58] This often means that, as applications across various disciplines and social fields are established, a concept loses much of its original context, in this case Fichte's conceptual rigour and systematicity, and enters into new contexts solely under its basic conceptual constraints. In the case of the notion of safety, as applied to citizens, we have retained much of the severity and the antagonistic relationship between safety and freedom. Koselleck's definition of an historical concept works well to describe this specific development: 'A word becomes a concept when the fullness of a political-social coherence of meaning and experience in which a word is used collectively enters into a word'.[59] Put another way: it is extensive historical use rather than emergent definitions that define a concept. It is for that reason that, when we use the word 'Sicherheit' today, we do not think of Fichte's ideal state or the condition of the absolute freedom of citizens, but of a fundamental conflict between state and citizen, related to general conflict surrounding human rights (the French Revolution) and state overreach (fascism).

There are many ways in which we live in a Fichtean age of politics. For one, we still maintain the separation between ethics and politics. As a result of his approach to public safety, Fichte has articulated a fundamental aspect of the relationship that we have with the future: when there is a real possibility of unsafety, our ability to make ethical decisions is significantly impaired, and perhaps even completely overshadowed. We should consider Fichte's co-dependency of freedom and safety as a significant insight into an approach to politics that has recently become the subject of much criticism: a politics of fear, exception or emergency power, the ubiquity of capitalist realism, all of which impair the way in which citizens are able to conceive of themselves as ethical actors through a looming unsafety, be it politically constructed or realistically present.

Although many of his political proposals have become commonplace, Fichte draws our attention to the significance of the safety as a judgement among civilians, in the service of which severe policies can be enacted, as long as they are presented as safety measures. More importantly, Fichte

58 Reinhart Koselleck, ed., *Historische Semantik und Begriffsgeschichte*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1979), 24.

59 Koselleck, *Historische Semantik*, 29.

shows that this sense of public safety is essentially a *subjective* judgement, which opens up a wide world of political public relations.

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About the Author

Tom Giesbers obtained his PhD at Utrecht University in 2017, with his dissertation *The Wall or the Door: German Realism around 1800*, which covered many of the key controversies around Kantian philosophy (pantheism, nihilism, atheism) and explored a group of Jacobian realists who took up arms in them. He has also published on this topic in the *Jacobi Wörterbuch Online* (forthcoming) and the *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie* (2020). He is an assistant professor in philosophy at the Dutch Open University, in the Humanities department. Much of his research focuses on special topics which cross the boundary between theory and practice, particularly in classical German philosophy. Some recent publications have focused on Jacobi's and Fichte's concepts of drive (2020), Fichte's concept of death (forthcoming) and Kant's epistemology of illusion (forthcoming).

Section 2

Security Cultures in History

4 The Invention of Collective Security after 1815

Beatrice de Graaf

Abstract
In uncertain times—be it terrorist attacks or the Covid-19 pandemic—the national security state is called for. The rise of such a security dispositive, however inevitable, urgent and immediate it may present itself, is rather a modern-day invention. In this chapter we trace the rise of the national security state since the Enlightenment and the Napoleonic Age, when a dispositive of national policies and rule emerged out of the chaos of the Napoleonic Wars. This new security culture was territorial, national and internationally intertwined at the same time, and it was legitimised not by popular vote, but by the promise of peace, security and prosperity, and by the support of fellow monarchs within the Concert of Europe.

Keywords: security cultures, Europe, nineteenth century, post-Napoleonic, nationalism

The Old Menin Gate

This chapter starts with and reflects on the ruins of Europe that remained in the twilight of Napoleon's reign over the continent. More than two hundred years ago, Europe was liberated from the yoke of Napoleonic occupation and oppression. The Napoleonic Wars had cost about four million men and boys their lives in Europe alone, while another million had been killed in the colonies. Still more were scarred for life by injuries and trauma, not to mention the socio-economic devastation and financial crisis in which the

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continent had landed.[1] For historian David Bell, the battles of 1790–1815 could therefore be termed a 'total war'.[2] These wars still belonged to the 'age of men', when wars were waged with infantry and cavalry. The 'age of machines and technology', with its industrial capacities to destroy, had not yet dawned, but that did not make the socio-economic, military and especially human wages of war any less catastrophic or total.[3] The wars not only destroyed millions of lives on the battlefields—they upended economies, revenues and financial budgets, as well. Napoleon's campaigns and occupations had been paid for on the backs of the countries that the Grande Armée invaded. The troops were billeted; for example after its defeat near Jena, Prussia had to pay 311 million francs for the maintenance of the French military. The Habsburg Empire had to pay up as well. In countries like Italy and the Low Countries (between 1806 and 1810, after which the Kingdom of Holland was entirely incorporated into the French Empire) about one-half of their taxes went straight to Paris.[4] During the final years of the war, population growth ground to a halt, or even contracted slightly in the cities. In Amsterdam, children were abandoned almost daily by mothers who could no longer support their families. Gangs of children roamed the city in search of food and when the call went out for new conscripts, riots increased.[5] Trade on the coasts had been disrupted by the Continental System and the loss of overseas markets had robbed the continent of sales and raw materials. As one German citizen reported, 'Everyone, even those who do not hear the

1 This first paragraph is a short summary of part of Chapter 2 in Beatrice de Graaf, *Fighting Terror after Napoleon: How Europe Became Secure after 1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020); see also, Charles Esdaile, *Napoleon's Wars: An International History, 1803–1815* (London: Allen Lane, 2007); Gunther Rothenberg, *The Art of Warfare in the Age of Napoleon* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), 81 and Appendices I and II, 247–55.

2 David Bell, *The First Total War: Napoleon, Europe and the Birth of Warfare as We Know It* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007).

3 Alan Forrest, Karen Hagemann, and Jane Rendall, 'Nations in Arms, People at War', in *Soldiers, Citizens and Civilians: Experiences and Perceptions of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, 1790–1820*, ed. Alan Forrest, Karen Hagemann, and Jane Rendall (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 1–19.

4 Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000* (New York: Random House, 1989), 132–33; Simon Schama, 'The Exigencies of War and the Politics of Taxation in the Netherlands 1795–1810', in *War and Economic Development: Essays in Memory of David Joslin*, ed. J. de Winter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 103–37, here: 111, 117, 128; or see the oft-cited Geoffrey Bruun, *Europe and the French Imperium, 1799–1814* (New York: Harper, 1938).

5 See Johan Joor, *De Adelaar en het Lam: Onrust, opruiing en onwilligheid in Nederland ten tijde van het Koninkrijk Holland en de Inlijving bij het Franse Keizerrijk (1806–1813)* (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 2000).

resounding drums of war, feel themselves oppressed, half numb, hopeless, and reduced to desperation'.[6]

Given this backdrop of death and despair, the victory of the Seventh Coalition swept a tide of relief and exultation over Europe. This was a victory on paper, concluded with a range of ambitious treaties. It was also a victory in stone, as new fortresses and defence walls were erected throughout the continent, and a victory in culture, literature and in society. New monuments, poems, songs and novels were produced, praising the courage of Tsar Alexander, the supreme commander of the Allied forces, the Duke of Wellington and the numerous princes and generals, including the Dutch Prince of Orange, who made this victory possible.

This chapter opens with one such manifestation of national and cultural pride over the restoration of independence and expression of joy over the regained security: the restoration of the old Menin Gate in the city walls around Ypres. In 1815, this city became part of the Dutch defence line, the so-called 'bulwark of Europe' against France, after Belgium was incorporated in the new United Kingdom of the Netherlands, with the hereditary Prince of Orange, son of Stadholder William V, as the first king of the Netherlands. The importance of European cooperation was manifest symbolically in stone and masonry from 1815 onward. The new and refurbished fortifications were the most visible result and artefact of that enduring European struggle against terror. These fortifications were meant to represent power and protection, explicitly professing the European spirit of order and peace in which they were grounded. The Allied heads of states appointed King William I as 'mason master in charge' for the execution of this 'defence bulwark of Europe', and he took his commission extremely seriously. One of his first tasks after 1814 was to initiate the reconstruction and expansion of the fortresses along the southern frontier, which were transformed into what was to be called the 'Wellington Barrier' (because Wellington was the one supervising the projects on behalf of the Quadruple Alliance). Upon completion of the fortresses, King William applied the finishing touch: he removed the white marble stele that the famous French engineer Vauban had built into the beautiful facade of the (old) Menin Gate, and that applauded the reign of the French king 'Louis XIV', engraved in gold letters. William turned the stone around (that was cheaper than buying a new slate) and

6 Johann Albert Heinrich Reimarus, *Klagen der Völker des Continents von Europa die Handelssperre betreffend: Ihren Fürsten dargestellt* (Hamburg: s.n., 1809), 12. Also cited in Katherine Aaslestad, 'War without Battles: Civilian Experiences of Economic Warfare during the Napoleonic Era in Hamburg', in Forrest, Hagemann, and Rendall, *Soldiers, Citizens and Civilians*, 119.

had a new text engraved on the back side and put in place in 1822. That inscription reads (in English translation, italics mine):

> After Europe found peace and Napoleon had been defeated, William I provided the city of Ypres—previously scantily fortified and then surrounded with stronger ramparts by Louis XIV—with new fortifications, after having removed the older ones. Citizens, recently returned under a government that grants you prosperity, *feel safe*; a magnanimous king, astute through consultation, valiant in his courage, unrelentless in his labour, dedicates himself wholeheartedly *to your security*. *Anno* 1820.[7]

Two things stand out in this text: the citizens' need to feel safe (salus), and the king's dedication to their security (incolumitatas).

This is where our argument begins. Safety (in the subjective sense of feeling safe) and security (in the objective sense as being an object of policy) are positioned here as the pillars and purposes of the reign of the new Dutch king. Security and monarchy are connected. Security is moreover projected onto a population and a territory: it is national security. But at the same time, security is safeguarded and facilitated by the fact that King William and his country are part of a collective security framework, of a Europe that is strong in 'consultation', as a concert. This chapter provides a brief inquiry into the meaning of the concept 'national security': When did it arise in Western history? Why, and how was it embedded and communicated as part of a new European security culture—and how did it find its way into European history?[8]

Historicising Security

First of all, 'security', both in its subjective and objective interpretation, as political, cultural and social concept, had been in use for centuries. Amongst

7 Commemorative stone from the old Menin Gate, which was torn down after Belgium became independent; only the stele remains, which can still be seen from the Rijselpoort (or Lille Gate). Latin text [*sic*]: 'Pacata Europa subverso Napoleonte Gulielmus I Urbem Iprensem olim vale munieam a Ludovico XIV. Validioribus propugnculis cirxlmdatam novis denvo suppressis allies niumittonibus restituit civs felici imperio neiper restitu sicupupi estote. Rex magnanimous consilio sagm animo fortis labore indefessus. Incolumitati vestrǽ toto iectore incumbit. Anno MDCCCXX'.

8 For readers interested in a more in-depth discussion than this cursory essay, I would like to point to my monograph on *Fighting Terror after Napoleon*; or the special issue on historicising security that came out in 2013: Beatrice de Graaf and Cornel Zwierlein, 'Historicizing Security: Entering the Conspiracy Dispositive', *Historical Social Research* (special issue) 38, no. 1 (2013): 46–64.

the classic concepts, it is one of the more novel ones. Emperor Augustus had coins made with the image of the goddess Securitas imprinted on them. On frescos depicting a city council in a fourteenth-century Italian state, she equally played her tune, embodied as an angel, hovering over the city walls of Siena.[9] However, around the end of the eighteenth century, and throughout the revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, something changed.

Security now morphed from being an abstraction, a virtue (or goddess), into a term of governance. It was increasingly used in official exchanges, policy documents and treaties. Instead of being used as an informal vernacular used to indicate local measures (a laisser-passez, issued by a mayor, governor or ruler was sometimes termed a 'safe conduct', a 'sauf conduit' document, a document securing someone's safe passage from one city to another), it became a central concept of centralised governance and rule. With the rise of the nation-state, and with constitutionally crowned kings put at the helm of these new monarchies (in German states, in the Netherlands, Sweden, Italy, South America), 'security' became the prerogative of national governance. Yet, instead of subscribing to classical interpretations of the rise of nationalism, nation-states and territorial inclinations, it is historically more accurate to see 'security' as a national concept emerging in tandem with the notion of collective security or mutual security. In short, security for a specific territory could only exist as part of a wider framework of a community of states: the Concert of Europe.

It needs to be understood that the concept 'security' is *not* to be read here with its post-Second World War connotations in mind. National Security is oftentimes interpreted as the concept that was inaugurated in 1947 with the US National Security Act, and the encompassing policy field of intelligence and security agencies and national security councils that were created at the onset of the Cold War. For our purposes and in this context, security is a concept that needs to be placed and historicised in time itself, when it had not yet been institutionalised into narrowly defined bureaucratic units of domestic, foreign, legal or economic security. In 1815, security could include all of these aspects at the same time, both international and national, 'moral' and military, and was used in a similarly broad vein. Nevertheless, security was present and used in official treaties and correspondences.

Therefore, to avoid the pitfalls of anachronistic interpretations and presentist normative evaluations, the notion of a European security culture

9 Gerrit Jasper Schenk, '*Human Security* in the Renaissance? *Securitas*, Infrastructure, Collective Goods and Natural Hazards in Tuscany and the Upper Rhine Valley', *Historical Social Research* 35, no. 4 (2010): 209–33, here: 210–12.

is introduced here.[10] This culture should be understood as an open and contested process, propelled by the community of diplomats, publicists and politicians who together thought about and reflected on their (purported) shared interests and imagined threats and translated these thoughts into repertoires of action and into national and international policies. These 'men of 1815' developed a shared political and emotional vocabulary and derived from that a series of political, juridical, financial, administrative and military practices. These three elements—the security community, their shared vocabulary and the political and administrative actions that followed from these (including the reactions and protestations)—will allow us to give detailed historical clout to the abstract concept of security. This definition and application of the notion of a European security culture helps us both to abstain from ventriloquism—making historical figures voice our present-day normative security concerns—and from resorting to abstract, non-empirical and non-dynamical categories.[11]

The Great Fear of Terror[12]

In our current era of the 'War on Terror', some recognition is needed for the undoubtedly alarmist manner in which European monarchs and ministers have dealt with opposing voices and the lingering threat of revolution and terror.

The great unifier that brought the diverging community of European states and elites together was the overriding fear of terror—and we may argue that this was the flipside of the emergence of security as a dispositive

10 See for a definition and discussion of 'security culture', Beatrice de Graaf, *Fighting Terror*, 22–30. See also, Marieke de Goede, *European Security Culture: Preemption and Precaution in European Security* (Amsterdam: Vossius Press, 2011). See also Michael Williams, *Culture and Security: Symbolic Power and the Politics of International Security* (London: Routledge, 2007); Peter Katzenstein, ed., *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996); and recently especially Eckart Conze, *Geschichte der Sicherheit: Entwicklung, Themen, Perspektiven* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018), 71–81. Culture should be read not in the narrow, literary or artistic sense, but as the sum of norms, values, practices, perceptions and institutions in a society in a given time and space. For a study on the literature and cultural interpretation of 1815 in the said narrow sense, see Lotte Jensen, *Celebrating Peace: The Emergence of Dutch Identity, 1648–1815* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2017), 163–82.

11 See also Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, 'State and Political History in a Culturalist Perspective', in *Structures on the Move*, ed. Antje Flüchter and S. Richter (Berlin: Springer, 2012), 43–58.

12 See also, Beatrice de Graaf, *Fighting Terror*, 26–30.

of national governance, and the primary important dimension of the security culture: the perceived common threat against the shared interests of stability, territory and property. We can illustrate this by pointing to a very superficial (but still illuminating) Google Ngram: notice how the use of 'evil', the metaphysical indication of terror, reclines, how terror takes over (partially, at least), and how the use of the security dispositive in printed texts and pamphlets flares up around 1815—only to experience an even steeper highpoint after 1945, and then again after 2001.

This primordial fear of terror, as the twin brother of the desire for security, fuelled and shaped the cultural climate of the immediate post-war order. It consisted of the dual nightmare of, on the one hand, the terror of the French Revolution: the unleashed chaos and violence, the decapitation of princes and noblemen, the upending of existing social structures, the expropriation of estates and clerical properties and the ensuing dynamics of ongoing war and despotism. That was the other part of the nightmare: the rise to power of the people's tribune and warmonger Bonaparte with his Grande Armée, unleashing military invasions, revolutionary changes, usurpations, occupations, war reparations and looting and pillaging wherever he went. In particular, the last years of Napoleonic rule had aggravated this collective fear of terror. In the perception of contemporaries in 1815, terror was not a narrowly defined criminal paragraph (such a paragraph did not exist), but a continuum ranging from revolution to invasions, expropriations and despotism. Terror comprised a whole range of fluctuating threats and enemies.

The Allied Council of Allied princes, ministers and commanders who made up the Seventh Coalition and implemented a security council in Paris, in order to oversee the transformation to peace and security there between 1815 and 1818, spoke about 'revolutionaries', 'Jacobins', 'radicals', 'republicans', *terroristes* or 'Bonapartists'—categories that were not well defined or judicially circumscribed, but were mostly lumped together in a vague and general pejorative manner. 'Terror' was in this context read as a 'set of concrete facts'; it was the 'product of a political culture', an 'emotion'.[13] More than 300,000 people, including the French king and queen, had fallen victim to a small group of radicals coming from the middle classes, in conjunction with the *sans culottes*. The continuous slaughter, the judicial avarice, the persecution of nobility and clergy alike, the ruthless transformation of society and the military crusade spreading the gospel of the Revolution through the world

13 Cf. Ronald Schechter, *A Genealogy of Terror in Eighteenth-Century France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018), 31–32.

had given way to the rise of Napoleon's military dictatorship and unbridled aggression. This whole threat complex was surmised under the hellish header 'war and terror'. The post-war European security community had to relate itself to this double-headed monster. Contrary to Zamoyski's account, the fear of terror cannot therefore be discarded merely as a 'phantom' fear, or a ploy wielded by conservative statesmen to push their political agendas.[14] Especially during these first, transitional and forgotten years, the revolutionary and Napoleonic period left real marks and scars and continued to do so, be it in more or less violent plots hatched by supporters of the revolutionary or Bonapartist causes, or by their adversaries. Sentiments of collective fear, the dread of losing house and property, of being expelled from the society of respectable citizens once again, were the real and strong undercurrents that kept the Allied ministers' diverging deliberations together for at least this transitional period.

Here, this fear of terror, the shared idea of common European interests, gave shape to the continent, by inventing new modes of cooperation and control, but also by piggybacking on the outcomes of the French Revolution and Napoleonic innovations and appropriating them into their new centralised kingdoms and empires.

Then, as the French Revolution had unleashed ideas on human rights, freedom and solidarity into world history, Napoleon had with his wars and occupations let loose an enormous range of transformations in politics, state and society and accelerated ongoing ones. The Emperor had willed an 'inner Empire' into existence, consisting of comparable and synchronised institutions, such as codes of laws, judicial courts, systems of registration and identification, land registries and fiscal systems.[15] The revolutionary and Napoleonic transformations had already done away with many of the 'withered', decentral, loose institutions the Emperor had lamented so much. However, the real push towards new post-war transformations came from the fight against exactly this revolutionary and Bonapartist terror. Post-war notions about peace and security were designed and ordained from above, by the new and returning royals and their ministers.[16]

14 Cf. Adam Zamoyski, *Phantom Terror: The Threat of Revolution and the Repression of Liberty 1789–1848* (London: HarperCollins, 2015).

15 Michael Broers, *Europe under Napoleon 1799–1815* (London: Arnold, 1996). On 'inner empire', see Michael Broers, *The Napoleonic Empire in Italy, 1796–1814: Cultural Imperialism in a European Context?* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 213–74.

16 Cf. for the power of ideas in this transitional period, see Lynn Hunt, 'The French Revolution in Global Context', in *The Age of Revolutions in Global Context,* c. *1760–1840*, ed. David Armitage and Sanjay Subrahmanyam (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 2010), 31–32.

Virtually every country maintained a network of spies and informants to keep their eye out for those kinds of plots. For instance, the Dutch King William I took over most of the informants and agents of his predecessor, Louis Napoleon, without batting an eye.[17] Still, it is going too far to dismiss the post-war security system as a closed bastion of despotism. The majority of the populations of the liberated countries, and even large parts of the French populace, were initially relieved and grateful towards the Allied generals for having defeated Napoleon and tamed the spirit of chaos and revolution.

And the Longing for Balance

With what did this community of new monarchs and old emperors—this Concert of Europe—attempt to address the threat of revolutionary, Jacobin and military terror? The answer is plain and simple: collective security and a balance of power. The first treaty in modern history that was specifically intended as a treaty of military support and assistance not only for warfare, but also to maintain peace together, was the Treaty of Mutual Security. This treaty was concluded upon the return of Napoleon in March 1815 and had the stated purpose of 'bringing France back to peaceful habits', beyond ending the war. In this treaty, the four main Allied powers expressed their need to establish a Quadruple Alliance. This Alliance then came into existence on 20 November 1815 (after Waterloo and after Vienna), and delineated how the main powers of Europe would work together to demilitarise France, make France pay its war debt (in financial securities!) and dissolve the revolutionary, Jacobin and Bonapartist threats in France and in Europe as a whole.

Where the Congress of Vienna had settled some longer lasting territorial disputes and economic questions related to river control and commerce, the March 1815 Treaty and the treaties concluded in Paris in November 1815 went far beyond the scope of Vienna. This March 1815 Treaty, the establishment of the Allied Council in Paris, the Paris Treaty and the Quadruple Alliance (QA) Treaty of 20 November 1815 brought new momentum into the state system of the early nineteenth century. From now on, security would be a prerogative of national centralised states, who worked with each other

17 Cf. Jeroen van Zanten, *Schielijk, Winzucht, Zwaarhoofd en Bedaard: Politieke Discussie en Oppositievorming, 1813–1840* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2004), 104. See also Matthijs Lok, *Windvanen: Napoleontische Bestuurders in de Nederlandse en Franse Restauratie (1813–1820)* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2009).

within the context of the Concert of Europe, underpinned by diplomatic, military and political treaties, cementing the notion of mutual, collective security as a concept that indicated stability and balance of power, both at home and in the international arena.

Depicted on an engraving by Isabey, we see the men of 1815 bringing back peace and security to Europe. Most interesting are the little vignettes on the engraving's framework, and in the corners we see veritas, iustitia, prudentia, sapientia and scientia. In the background is a portrait of the Austrian Emperor Franz I, with the crown of Charlemagne and the imperial orb. Together, these principal values flow into the Treaty of Vienna, proclaiming the Concert of Europe and a new era of collective security.

To give an illustration of this meaning, another monument should be highlighted, erected in the Netherlands, later in the nineteenth century, but looking back upon this formative moment in time, after the defeat of Napoleon and the creation of a new Europe. It is the monument that can be found in the middle of Square 1813—Monument Plein 1813—the Dutch national monument of the nineteenth century. This monument equally combines the expression of national pride, monarchical security and European solidarity. This monument was dedicated to the restoration of Dutch independence in 1813 and erected in The Hague in 1869 by order of King William III (William I's grandson). On the north side of the sturdy square pedestal, which is crowned with the triumphant Dutch Maiden, the three men who helped found the kingdom and organise William's return are rendered in bronze; on the east and west sides are two female figures; above the female figure representing History, there is a quote attributed to one of those three founding fathers, Gijsbert Karel van Hogendorp, which may be loosely translated: 'The fatherland has once again returned to the rank and file and security of the European peoples'.[18] Europe did indeed play a role in the imagination and cultural vocabulary of national independence and international security. Already in 1815, the popular poetess Petronella Moens published a heroic ode entitled 'On Napoleon Bonaparte's Entering Paris'.[19] In it she calls up the spectre of the return of the 'monster':

18 See Kees Schulten, *Plein 1813: Het Nationaal Monument in Den Haag* (The Hague: Hega Offset, 2013).

19 See Lotte Jensen, 'A poem by Petronella Moens: "Bij het intrekken van Napoleon Buonaparte in Parijs"', www.100days.eu/items/show/61 (accessed 13 April 2019); Lotte Jensen, 'De hand van broederschap toegereikt: Nederlandse identiteiten en identiteitsbesef in 1815', in *Belg of Bataaf: De wording van het Verenigd Koninkrijk der Nederlanden*, ed. Frank Judo and Stijn van de Perre (Antwerp: Polis, 2015), 79–101.

> Terror intoxicates my soul. A fearful and terrible darkness,
> Oh Providence! has totally engulfed your steps.

The poet then encourages fathers, sons, women and 'Dutch virgins' to support the war effort, but not before making an urgent appeal to the crowned heads of Europe:

> Oh come, come you who have been crowned by God!
> Come! Avenge the people's right to be redeemed![20]

In the poems that appeared during or after Napoleon's final Hundred Days, as well as in the many literary depictions of the Battle of Waterloo, the emphasis fell on the 'peace and security of Europe' in contrast to the bloodthirstiness and chaos of the 'monster' who marched with eagles and subjected peoples.[21]

This combination of fear of terror and desire for royal rule and European balance was not only present in stone and sonnets; it also resurfaced in serious, official documents. The new Constitution of the Netherlands proclaimed on 24 August 1815, until its revision in the 1980s, that this 'day would end all feelings of insecurity'. In Article 1, it expressed gratitude to the European powers who helped to restore the United Kingdom of the Netherlands. Article 4, subsequently, declared how the main task of the king and government would be to provide all people that dwelt within its borders protection and security for life and property. Even the French Charter of 1814 and 1815 expressed fatherly love on behalf of the returned King Louis XVIII for his people. See how he props himself up as a benevolent pater familias, restoring order after revolutionary and Napoleonic chaos:

> Happy to find ourselves once more in the bosom of our great family, we can only respond to the love of which we have received so many testimonials by uttering words of peace and consolation. The dearest wish of our heart is that all Frenchmen should live as brothers, and that no bitter memory

20 Petronella Moens, *Bij het intrekken van Napoleon Buonaparte in Parijs* (Utrecht: Zimmerman, 1815). (The eagles, here, refer to the decorative ones atop the standards of the Grande Armée.) See, as well, the poem 'Vaderlander', in *Strijd! Voor God! Den Koning! En het Vaderland* (Amsterdam: s.n., 1815).

21 Cf. Beatrice de Graaf, 'Bringing Sense and Sensibility to the Continent: Vienna 1815 Revisited', *Journal of Modern European History* 13, no. 4 (2015): 447–57; Chrisoph Nübel, 'Auf der Suche nach Stabilität: 1813 und die Restauration der Monarchie im europäischen Vergleich', in *1813 im Europäische Kontext*, ed. Birgit Aschmann and Thomas Stamm-Kuhlmann (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2015), 163–86.

should ever *disturb the security* that must follow the solemn decree that we grant to them today.[22]

Conclusion

We have seen how security as a dispositive of national policies and rule emerged out of the chaos of the Napoleonic Wars. What were the features and dimensions of the European national security culture? A longing, a desire, an emotion, widely disseminated amongst the populaces of Europe—but also as a new object of national and international rule and policies, materialised in stone (barriers) and iron (bayonets and armies of occupation), and articulated in the Treaty of Mutual Security, the Final Act of Vienna, the Paris Treaty and the QA Treaty of 1815. These treaties introduced the notion of collective security into the domain of peace and international public law.

The encompassing security culture was moreover compounded in the newly adopted constitutions, and embodied in monarchical rule, supported by new, centralised police and intelligence forces and driven by a fear for revolution, radicalism and chaos. This security culture was territorial, national and internationally intertwined at the same time. This national security culture was legitimised not by popular vote, but by the promise of peace, security and prosperity, and by the support of fellow monarchs within the Concert of Europe. It was Benthamite and utilitarian in its very core. It was legitimate because it worked, and it was effected to secure the greatest happiness for the greatest number of people. *Salus populi suprema lex esto.*

Still, with the rise of national security, fledgling revolutionary understandings on civil rights were again deleted from many a constitution. Security was collective, centralised and enacted from the top down, entailing a desire to command, control and exert surveillance over a population and against alleged foreign and domestic revolutionary and seditious threats. Security was enacted in new central intelligence services and national police bodies. These agencies executed attempts to identify, blacklist, register and monitor suspected groups and citizens. It was—importantly—supported by the people, although it would target that same populace if it stepped

22 *Charte Constitutionelle*, Préambule, 4 June 1814, https://www.conseil-constitutionnel.fr/les-constitutions-dans-l-histoire/charte-constitutionnelle-du-4-juin-1814 (accessed 31 May 2023). 'Heureux de nous retrouver au sein de la grande famille, nous n'avons su répondre à l'amour dont nous recevons tant de témoignages, qu'en prononçant des paroles de paix et de consolation. Le voeu le plus cher à notre coeur, c'est que tous les Français vivent en frères, et que jamais aucun souvenir amer ne trouble la sécurité qui doit suivre l'acte solennel que nous leur accordons aujourd'hui'.

out of line. It would take another century to bring the protection of civil liberties back into these constitutions.

We do well to historicise security, to understand it as a primordial and powerful force in history, as an emotion, a desire to tame the evils of chaos and anarchy at home and in the international arena. But it is also of paramount importance to realise that national security was exclusive, repressive and imperial in its scope—and that it rested on and resorted to the power of the landed elites. In that respect, it was also a dispositive of modern capitalism, of commercial elites and property owners. Only the invention of human security and human rights and their insertion in international public law after 1945 brought security back to the level of the individual citizen and the minorities, and restored the balance in favour of human dignity—to some extent, at least.

In a country where the word 'security' departs from its Roman roots and is translated as 'veiligheid', resorting to the old Frisian noun of 'feligheid', meaning 'friendliness' or 'kindness', we should not let ourselves be lulled into uncritical complacency. It is important to bear in mind the genealogy of 'national security' as an instrument of state control and command over alleged revolutionary threats, directed against the groupings that were considered to upend material and capitalist order (anarchists, radicals, socialists, communists). National security is an existential instrument of modern rule; we cannot maintain peace and order without it. But liberal and rule-of-law democracies require temperance by public control, transparency, accountability and respect for human and civil rights—something that took more than a century of revolutions, uprisings, conflicts and wars to be inaugurated and consolidated after 1945.

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5 Criminal, Cosmopolitan, Commodified

How Rotterdam's Interwar Amusement Street, the Schiedamsedijk, Became a Safe Mirror Image of Itself

Vincent Baptist

Abstract
This chapter develops a layered analysis of the Schiedamsedijk, Rotterdam's interwar amusement street. It links the street's split socio-cultural character to that of port cities in general, and investigates this along the lines of a similar divide in perceptions of safety and security. Based on an historical bird's-eye view of the pleasure area, the Schiedamsedijk's criminal and cosmopolitan sides are discussed. Both of these maritime urban traits were neutralised when the Schiedamsedijk reinvented itself as a domestic tourist attraction in the late 1930s. Through visual sources, interchanges are foregrounded between contrasting internal and external perspectives on safety, which ultimately help to nuance and reframe the stereotypical characters and ambiguous nature traditionally ascribed to this historical environment of pleasure culture.

Keywords: cosmopolitanism, interwar period, pleasure, port city, Rotterdam, safety

Introduction

Sometime during the interwar period, the famous Austrian-Czech journalist Egon Kisch visited the port city of Rotterdam, the Netherlands. A short, vivid account of his impressions is published alongside other reports of his globetrotting activities in a 1927 volume.[1] Kisch specifically writes about

1 Egon Erwin Kisch, 'Auf der Reeperbahn von Rotterdam', in *Wagnisse in aller Welt* (Berlin: Universum-Bücherei für alle, 1927), 61–69.

Blok, G. & J. Oosterholt (eds.), *The Cultural Construction of Safety and Security: Imaginaries, Discourses and Philosophies that Shaped Modern Europe*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press 2023
DOI: 10.5117/9789463720472_CH05

the Schiedamsedijk, a long, central street that predominantly catered to the flux of sailors setting foot ashore during that time. In describing this maritime amusement area, the reporter compares it to another well-known epicentre for seafarers, Hamburg's Reeperbahn, thereby for instance noting that more German is ostensibly being spoken on this Rotterdam street.[2] It is but one of Kisch's observations testifying to the Schiedamsedijk's apparent world-famous status at the time. Similar recognitions are also bestowed on the street in more local sources. In *Rotterdammers over Rotterdam*, an early post-Second World War collection of texts commemorating various parts of the old city that disappeared or changed, one contributor asserts that the Schiedamsedijk used to be the most famous street to foreigners in the country, alongside the Kalverstraat, Amsterdam's main shopping street.[3]

It is all the more surprising, then, that contemporary history books on Rotterdam devote such scant attention to the Schiedamsedijk. The introduction to the edited volume *Interbellum Rotterdam* mentions how the street could be regarded as the southernmost part of a dense network of urban entertainment facilities running across the city centre.[4] The book as a whole ends up only mentioning the Schiedamsedijk in passing, however, thus creating the impression that it may not have been entirely in step with more modern(ist) cultural areas that defined Rotterdam's image and development during the 1920s–30s. On the other hand, other standard works on the port city's history relate the Schiedamsedijk to the Zandstraatbuurt and Katendrecht districts, based on the relocation of prostitution activities in the city throughout the first half of the twentieth century.[5] These different characterisations of the Schiedamsedijk, fluctuating between decency and deviance, have arguably ensured that local historiography on the street and its surroundings have lagged behind somewhat in comparison to that of former counterparts.

This chapter develops a layered analysis of the Schiedamsedijk during the interwar period. Conceptually, it links the street's split socio-cultural

2 Kisch, 'Auf der Reeperbahn von Rotterdam', 68.

3 H.A. Meerum Terwogt, 'De Schiedamschedijk', in *Rotterdammers over Rotterdam: Herinneringen aan een verdwenen stad*, ed. Ch.A. Cocheret, W.F. Lichtenauer, and Jacob Mees, 2nd ed. (Rotterdam: W.L. & J. Brusse's Uitgeversmaatschappij, 1947), 173.

4 Marlite Halbertsma and Patricia van Ulzen, 'Op het hoekje van de Zwanensteeg', in *Interbellum Rotterdam: Kunst en cultuur 1918–1940*, ed. Marlite Halbertsma and Patricia van Ulzen (Rotterdam: NAi Uitgevers, 2001), 18.

5 Paul van de Laar, *Stad van formaat: Geschiedenis van Rotterdam in de negentiende en twintigste eeuw* (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2000), 294; Floris Paalman, *Cinematic Rotterdam: The Times and Tides of a Modern City* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2011), 499.

character to that of port cities in general and investigates this split along the lines of a similar divide in perceptions of safety and security. Based on an historical bird's eye view of the pleasure area, by means of archival and photographic material, the Schiedamsedijk's criminal and cosmopolitan sides are subsequently discussed. I argue that both of these maritime urban traits were neutralised when the Schiedamsedijk briefly reinvented itself as a domestic tourist attraction in the late 1930s, right before it was nearly entirely destroyed, together with the rest of Rotterdam's city centre, during a war bombing in 1940. Predominantly informed by visual sources, the overarching analysis foregrounds interchanges between contrasting internal and external perspectives on safety, which ultimately help to nuance and reframe the stereotypical characters and ambiguous nature traditionally ascribed to the Schiedamsedijk's historical environment of pleasure culture.

Pleasure, Safety and the Dual Character of Port Cities

Before the interwar years, the Schiedamsedijk was already buzzing with activity. The street's profile in the early twentieth century was indebted to traditional sailortown culture, which by then was already slowly declining,[6] but nevertheless ensured a clear connection between the Schiedamsedijk and the Zandstraatbuurt and Katendrecht neighbourhoods. This also becomes apparent through turn-of-the-century depictions of these areas. Some remaining drawings of the Schiedamsedijk's sailor pubs are easily interchangeable with those of the Zandstraatbuurt.[7] Furthermore, a couple of shady drawings of dance scenes that appear in a local history book on the Schiedamsedijk originally stem from a 1930 column series on Katendrecht published in the socialist newspaper *Voorwaarts*.[8] The book assigns the drawings to the wrong neighbourhood, but this could easily go unnoticed: the drawings' subject matter, namely sailors' so-called 'passaging' or

6 Graeme J. Milne, *People, Place and Power on the Nineteenth-Century Waterfront: Sailortown* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 213–14; Valerie Burton, 'Boundaries and Identities in the Nineteenth-Century English Port: Sailortown Narratives and Urban Space', in *Identities in Space: Contested Terrains in the Western City since 1850*, ed. Simon Gunn and Robert J. Morris (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 139.

7 Vincent Baptist, 'Of Hedonism and Heterotopia: Pathways for Researching Legacies of Entertainment Culture in Port Cities', *PORTUSplus* 9 (2020): 4, 8.

8 Herman Romer, *Passagieren op 'De Dijk': De Schiedamsedijk in Oud-Rotterdam* (Zaltbommel: Europese Bibliotheek, 1983), 50, 55, 82; 'Met het schetsboek naar Katendrecht', *Voorwaarts*, 5 February–8 March 1930.

temporary frequenting of bars and dance establishments, historically applies to common activities in both the Schiedamsedijk and Katendrecht. Closely connected to the waterfronts, these and similar areas in other port cities have regularly been framed as 'places of otherness'.[9] Nevertheless, certain distinctions between such neighbourhoods can still be established, not least on the basis of racial otherness,[10] as Kisch also mentions in his Rotterdam report. He observes how Chinese migrant labourers in Katendrecht live clearly segregated on the southern riverside, as they are nowhere to be seen on the Schiedamsedijk, despite the latter's international street image.[11]

The 'otherness' attributed to the Schiedamsedijk and other sailor districts should not merely be understood in spatial and ethnic terms, but also in terms of the ambiguous pleasure practices that unfolded there. A caption in *Voorwaarts*' Katendrecht column for instance notes how sailors and their accompanying girls of pleasure dance with much more heartiness and *joie de vivre* than is the case in more distinguished establishments across the city, but nevertheless concludes that this particular enjoyment does have its dark side.[12]

This comment can partially be linked to views on public dancing as a morally degenerate practice of modern culture that dominated Dutch socio-political contexts at the time.[13] In addition, the comment alludes to the poverty, crime and exploitation that form the likely flipside of the amusements on offer in these specific maritime neighbourhoods. This flipside points to the need to distinguish among different types of pleasure culture, or at least between those amusement spheres deviating from dominant norms within urban historical environments. New conceptual designations are currently used for this, such as 'pleasurescapes', which hold both the potential to encompass general landscapes of public entertainment and to delineate pleasure districts in more specific contexts, like port cities.[14]

9 Paul van de Laar, 'Bremen, Liverpool, Marseille and Rotterdam: Port Cities, Migration and the Transformation of Urban Space in the Long Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Migration History* 2 (2016): 277; Brad Beaven, 'Foreign Sailors and Working-Class Communities: Race, Crime, and Moral Panics in London's Sailortown, 1880–1914', in *Migrants and the Making of the Urban-Maritime World: Agency and Mobility in Port Cities, c. 1570–1940*, ed. Christina Reimann and Martin Öhman (London: Routledge, 2021), 88–89.

10 Milne, *People, Place and Power*, 214.

11 Kisch, 'Auf der Reeperbahn von Rotterdam', 67–68.

12 'Met het schetsboek naar Katendrecht (X)', *Voorwaarts*, 17 February 1930.

13 Harm Kaal, 'Religion, Politics, and Modern Culture in Interwar Amsterdam', *Journal of Urban History* 37, no. 6 (2011): 905–6.

14 Lisa Kosok, 'Pleasurescapes on the Edge: Performing Modernity on Urban Waterfronts (1880–1960)', *Journal of Urban History* 48, no. 6 (2022): 1199–210; Paul van de Laar and Vincent Baptist, 'Pleasurescapes', *Bloomsbury History: Theory & Method* (2022).

Recent studies that have investigated pleasure districts do so in relation to the rise of modern metropolises from the nineteenth to the start of the twentieth century.[15] These rather classic approaches do not suffice to capture amusement areas that did not entirely embody the progressive urban standards of their times. The urban pleasure culture under scrutiny in the Schiedamsedijk case, then, is not necessarily a hegemonic one, but rather has a distinct shadow to it.

Given these considerations about investigating entertainment and amusement within particular maritime urban locales, discussing what type of pleasure is involved becomes important. Such an exploration easily brings a philosophical undertone with it. Lisa Shapiro contemplates whether there are 'many kinds of pleasures' or rather only one type that can 'differ in degree or intensity' when felt by people.[16] This invokes older ethical ideas of utilitarianism, and while Shapiro is less interested in circling around the common notion of pleasure as a motivator for action, she does point to its normative dimension by stating that 'many of our pleasures invite questions [...] about whether we *ought* to feel those pleasures, about whether our reasons [for it] are good ones'.[17] This aspect usefully links back to the previously described sailor drawings, and general safety concerns about maritime pleasure areas. The aforementioned newspaper caption arguably casts a judgement on what in the end is perceived as a scene of unsafe hedonism. It is an outsider's perspective, however, and can potentially be countered by views from within this particular environment. Such views could also break through stereotypes that traditionally haunt maritime culture, as closer investigations of the Schiedamsedijk will show, and which further unravel the divergences between safety as perceived from inside and outside these amusement neighbourhoods.

Eddo Evink's philosophical contribution in this volume distinguishes a long-standing split in perceptions of safety, juxtaposing safety as nurtured through community support and trust with a more top-down-oriented, surveillance-based notion that transforms safety into security.[18] The pre-

15 Tobias Becker, 'Das Vergnügungsviertel: Heterotopischer Raum in den Metropolen der Jahrhundertwende', in *Die tausend Freuden der Metropole: Vergnügungskultur um 1900*, ed. Tobias Becker, Anna Littmann, and Johanna Niedbalski (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2011), 137–49; Rohan McWilliam, *London's West End: Creating the Pleasure District, 1800–1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 1–5.

16 Lisa Shapiro, 'What Is Pleasure?', *LA+ Interdisciplinary Journal of Landscape Architecture* 2 (2015): 6–8.

17 Shapiro, 'What Is Pleasure?', 6 (emphasis in original).

18 See Chapter 1 by Eddo Evink in this volume.

sented analysis of the Schiedamsedijk discerns several echoes of this divide, as the street historically boasted an attractively unbridled amusement offer targeted to a predominantly maritime populace, but the street was also held under scrutiny by municipal authorities in order to keep its supposedly unruly character in check. Danger and social exuberance originally went hand in hand in such an area, then, which can be extrapolated to a more general duality ascribed to port cities. Criminality and cosmopolitanism form reciprocal sides of port cities' image and identity, Alice Mah contends.[19] Driven by a visual distinction between the colours blue and black, of sea and city respectively,[20] Mah's statement is appealing, but nevertheless runs the risk of imposing an all-too-rigid dichotomy on port cities that would not account for all spatial and socio-cultural developments they have undergone throughout history. Bearing this in mind, the Schiedamsedijk's quotidian character and the different perceptions of safety related to it will now be explored in order to ultimately shed light on the street's life phase right before the Second World War, when its traditional cultural contradictions and societal concerns were dismantled with an eye on much-needed economic prosperity.

Professional Profile and Portraits of Rotterdam's Interwar Amusement Street

Digging into the Schiedamsedijk's everyday character means getting a grip on the street's daily activities, sceneries and surroundings. This connects with recent scholarship and research efforts in urban history that put a new emphasis on studying common, quotidian phenomena and aspects of human life as they have always unfolded in cities, and that thereby often incorporate additional intentions of countering dominant historical narratives.[21] In this context, the 'street', seemingly overlooked in its role of most ubiquitous urban entity, is especially foregrounded as the crucial site for investigations. Developments in and increasing use of GIS-related mapping techniques, together with the mass digitisation and extraction of archival material, currently fuel scholars' attempts to recreate, or at least

19 Alice Mah, *Port Cities and Global Legacies: Urban Identity, Waterfront Work, and Radicalism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 27.

20 Mah, *Port Cities*, 27–30.

21 Leif Jerram, *Streetlife: The Untold History of Europe's Twentieth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 3–5; Danielle van den Heuvel, 'Gender in the Streets of the Premodern City', *Journal of Urban History* 45, no. 4 (2018): 694.

better approach, the density and complexity of the urban past.[22] These significantly broadened means and ambitions have given spatial history endeavours an extra, narrative-driven impulse over the past decade. In this respect, the term 'deep mapping' has been coined to envision a variety of map forms that potentially aggregate as much data on a particular place as possible, in attempts to let outcomes approximate the 'inseparable [...] contours and rhythms of everyday life' within a given locality.[23] The underlying drive for spatial storytelling is not necessarily new, but the intended multidisciplinary, collaborative and open-ended nature of deep mapping requires a different, substantial scale of research operations. This cannot be achieved within the confines of this separate case study. However, with the acknowledgement that deep maps are best attuned to 'a subtle and multilayered view of a small area of the earth',[24] I keep these underlying intentions in mind when building up the historical case of the Schiedamsedijk.

This starts with a map, as 'an integral part of [the research dynamic, from which] the initial spatial distribution obtained [immediately] suggests follow-up questions'.[25] Archival address books, consisting of directories that link professional designations to addresses and inhabitants, form valuable sources to produce spatial work profiles of historical places.[26] Professional establishments of the Schiedamsedijk and its adjacent backstreets can be mapped for 1927, for instance, the year when Kisch's impressions were published and which also serves as an approximate midpoint of the time period under investigation here. A 1938 map from the Rotterdam City Archives, one of the few containing discernible house numbers, is used to visualise the results.[27]

22 Isabella di Lenardo and Frédéric Kaplan, 'Venice Time Machine: Recreating the Density of the Past', paper presented at Digital Humanities Conference, Sydney, 2015; Isabella di Lenardo et al., 'Repopulating Paris: Massive Extraction of 4 Million Addresses from City Directories between 1839 and 1922', paper presented at Digital Humanities Conference, Utrecht, 2019.

23 David J. Bodenhamer, John Corrigan, and Trevor M. Harris, eds., *Deep Maps and Spatial Narratives* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015), 3.

24 David J. Bodenhamer, 'Chasing Bakhtin's Ghost: From Historical GIS to Deep Mapping', in *The Routledge Companion to Spatial History*, ed. Ian Gregory, Don Debats, and Don Lafreniere (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), 536.

25 Richard Rodger and Susanne Rau, 'Thinking Spatially: New Horizons for Urban History', *Urban History* 47, no. 3 (2020): 374–75.

26 Di Lenardo et al., 'Repopulating Paris'.

27 The difference between the year of the sample data and the map does not create any further research implications, as no evidence was found that house numbers on the Schiedamsedijk changed in the intermediate period.

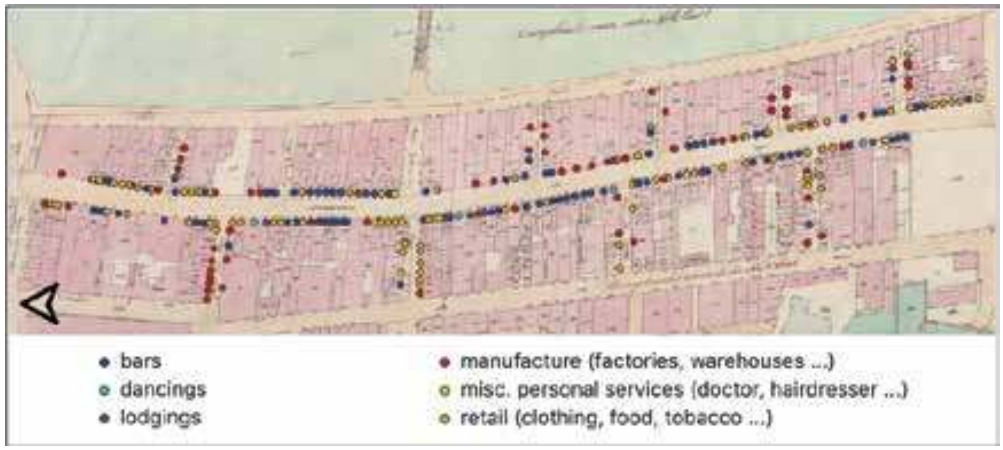

Figure 5.1 Professional profile of the Schiedamsedijk (1927). Source of map excerpt and address book data, respectively: Rotterdam City Archives, signature number: 40110-Z10, https://hdl.handle.net/21.12133/96CD44BCC38C4D1293732457E05751CE; and Rotterdam City Archives, signature number: 3023-71, https://hdl.handle.net/21.12133/B36188373D854599ADBA49A1C68A10A0.

This overview confirms past descriptions that the Schiedamsedijk presented itself as a virtually uninterrupted chain of drinking establishments, interspersed with a handful of bigger dance venues and lodging facilities for sailors. The map also directs the attention to the many narrow alleys connecting to the main street, however. While some streets are predominantly oriented towards retail or manufacturing activities linked to the nearby docksides, substantial data is missing for many others in the address books, thus casting doubt on what unfolded in the back ends of the Schiedamsedijk.

The spatial discrepancy unveiled on the map potentially links back to the previously described socio-cultural duality of port cities, and the aligned split in safety perceptions. While a police station was located very closely to the Schiedamsedijk in the first half of the twentieth century,[28] no meaningful sources remain that could form an additional data layer for the previous map, based on past crime incidents and arrests, for instance. Therefore, further traces of the Schiedamsedijk, its back alleys and their interrelations need to be sought through a different type of source material. Here, I turn to photographs of the street, motivated by the influence that new, modern modes of visual representation exerted on the image construction of Rotterdam, and other cities, during the interwar period.[29] While the Rotterdam City Archives hold a limited number of (mostly) non-digitised and copyrighted photographs related to the Schiedamsedijk, historical portraits of the street and its direct

28 This was the police station in the Grote Pauwensteeg, whose officers also used to patrol the old Zandstraatbuurt.

29 See Paalman, *Cinematic Rotterdam*, 37–204.

surroundings are almost exclusively brought together and made accessible in three local books on the Schiedamsedijk.[30] Apparently mostly originating from personal collections, the relevant photographs in these books add up to over a hundred in total. Browsing through this sample of visual material, certain subsets of pictures become immediately apparent on the basis of similar types of depicted scenes. Several photographs show on the one hand the area's rather desolate alleys, and on the other its cheerful street facades, both spread across various years. In addition, a group of distinctly festive scenes originating from domestic tourism activities organised in Rotterdam during the mid-1930s stands out as well. These different visual subgroups form strong leads from which to further explore the respective criminal, cosmopolitan and commodified layers of the Schiedamsedijk, as well as the conflicting perspectives on safety that potentially come with it.

The Criminal Schiedamsedijk

A selection of the historical photographs illuminates the obscure character of the numerous alleys around the Schiedamsedijk. Figure 5.2 captures a calm scene in one of these alleys, but the photograph's original caption asserts that the alley used to house many prostitutes.[31]

Stylistically, it is far removed from a separate collection of photographs on Rotterdam's early twentieth-century slums by Dutch artist George Breitner. While not unique in an international context at the time, Breitner's hasty composition in many of his pictures emphasises the alleys' claustrophobic feeling, and the contrasts between light and darkness suggest that viewers are witnessing places that they would otherwise only rarely notice.[32] In this sense, the use of photography seems particularly linked to the uncovering of unsafe and unlawful spaces. This approach is also explicitly taken up in the remarkable 1925 publication *De Rotterdamsche roofholen en hun bevolking* ('Rotterdam's Robber Dens and Its Population'), a booklet that gathers reflections of a journalist from the previously mentioned *Voorwaarts* newspaper

30 These books are Romer, *Passagieren op 'De Dijk'*; Herman Romer, *Het Leuvekwartier van weleer: Leuvehaven, Vismarkt en Schiedamsedijk voor 1940* (Zaltbommel: Europese Bibliotheek, 2000); and Peter Troost, *De meisies van de Schiedamsedijk* (Rhoon: Peter Troost (self-published), 2008).

31 Romer, *Passagieren op 'De Dijk'*, 40.

32 Hans Rooseboom, 'Breitner in Rotterdam: "Een vuile stad met een heele boel sleeperswagens"', in *Breitner in Rotterdam: Fotograaf van een verdwenen stad*, ed. Aad Gordijn, Paul van de Laar, and Hans Rooseboom (Bussum: Uitgeverij THOTH, 2001), 13–14.

Figure 5.2 Photograph of the Zevenhuissteeg with the Schiedamsedijk in the background, presumably in 1937, by J.F.H. Roovers. Source: Romer, *Passagieren op 'De Dijk'*, 40 / H.A. Voet.

regarding prostitution and other vice-ridden areas throughout the city centre. Through photographs, the writer tries to leave as little to the reader's imagination as possible, frequently emphasising the camera's usefulness to capture those men and women that make up Rotterdam's underbelly.[33]

In line with the newspaper's general strategy at the time, namely to provide popular and even sensationalist news through plenty of images, the *Voorwaarts* publication utilises photography in a rather accusatory manner. Nevertheless, the booklet also establishes nuances between various inner-city streets and neighbourhoods where illicit practices are commonplace. The

33 Herman van Dijkhuizen, *De Rotterdamsche roofholen en hun bevolking*, 6th ed. (Rotterdam: Voorwaarts, 1925), 58, among others.

booklet's content goes beyond that of a mere historical curiosity, and the text is therefore still referenced in research today to illustrate the diversified prostitution practices of Rotterdam's past.[34] The Schiedamsedijk even ends up in one of the port city's more favourable prostitution segments, according to the journalist, as many women working as prostitutes on this street did so in agreement with barkeepers to whose premises they would lure customers, in order to also motivate said customers to buy lots of drinks.[35] This semi-independence was different from other prostitution strata existing in Rotterdam, namely that of confined brothels or clandestine housewives,[36] although one can still assume that the latter type also populated the Schiedamsedijk's backstreets. While these alleys can easily be stereotyped as prostitution quarters and areas of vice, especially when looking at their photographs in retrospect, much of the work of local girls of pleasure thus happened more safely and openly—under the main street lights, so to speak. Or, as Kisch puts it: 'Women make the pavement' on the Schiedamsedijk.[37]

While coming to terms with the fact that prostitution activities around the Schiedamsedijk, and in Rotterdam as a whole, were more varied than one initially might expect,[38] the presence of another population group in the background of the Schiedamsedijk should not be forgotten. Children also roamed around in the sailor street's surroundings, as Figure 5.2 and other alley photographs show. Together with famous youth novels such as *Boefje* (1903) by Rotterdam-based journalist M.J. Brusse, which was successfully adapted for theatre and cinema in later decades, these cultural sources have firmly ingrained the image of poor rascal children, engaging in petty crimes despite being honest and genuine at heart, in the public memory of industrial urban environments. In early twentieth-century Rotterdam, children, especially those who were from the working class, were specifically singled out by the municipal police as needing extra attention and pedagogical monitoring.[39] After all, the port city not only hosted potential breeding grounds for criminality through industrial activities, but also

34 Marion Pluskota, 'Prostitution in the Netherlands: Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague', in *Trafficking in Women 1924–1926: The Paul Kinsie Reports for the League of Nations*, vol. 2, ed. Jean-Michel Chaumont, Magaly Rodríguez García, and Paul Servais (Geneva: United Nations Publications, 2017), 155–56.

35 Van Dijkhuizen, *De Rotterdamsche roofholen*, 55.

36 Henk Visscher, 'De gestijfde illusie? De prostituees van een luxueus Rotterdams bordeel', *Holland Historisch Tijdschrift* 32, no. 5 (2000): 246–49.

37 Kisch, 'Auf der Reeperbahn von Rotterdam', 64 (author's translation).

38 Pluskota, 'Prostitution in the Netherlands', 156.

39 Guus Meershoek, *De geschiedenis van de Nederlandse politie: De Gemeentepolitie in een veranderende samenleving* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2007), 131–32.

through modern culture that was considered a particular moral threat to urban youth at the time.[40]

Children also prominently feature in one of Rotterdam's most significant 'city symphonies', *De steeg* ('The Alley') (1932) directed by Jan Koelinga, who is believed to have been the photographer that contributed to the previously discussed *Voorwaarts* publication.[41] Although located in another slum of the port city, this short, poetic film could just as well have been shot around the corner of the Schiedamsedijk. The film initially juxtaposes the rapid, incessant traffic of a busy street with the tranquil atmosphere found inside an adjacent alley. The camera spends some time observing a large group of children playing around in the presence of some older inhabitants. This close-knit community falls silent, however, when a police officer appears at the alley's entrance. The jovial scenery comes to a halt, looks are exchanged between the two opposing parties, but after some hesitation, the officer continues on his way along the main road. Knowing that a strongly educative and mediating role was laid out for Rotterdam's police force in the early twentieth century,[42] the scene appears less frightening or tense than one would expect. The observing police officer and the socialising alley residents do not disrupt each other in the end. Yet, these few shots of *De steeg* ultimately still exemplify the fragile line between safety and security, and, as previously mentioned, insider and outsider views on these matters, which historically marked the socio-cultural backbone of an ambiguous environment like the Schiedamsedijk.

The Cosmopolitan Schiedamsedijk

As briefly mentioned, prostitutes' connections with bars to better persuade sailors—and let them spend extra money on alcohol—serves as an indication that stereotypical images of maritime men have become increasingly untenable. Scholars have started to draw more attention to the exploitation that seafarers frequently underwent themselves during stays ashore, in order to subsequently ask for more balanced and nuanced social characterisations in maritime (urban) historiography.[43] However, exactly because of the perceived

40 Meershoek, *De geschiedenis van de Nederlandse politie*, 132; Kaal, 'Religion, Politics, and Modern Culture', 904–5.

41 Ivo Blom, 'Koelinga's *De steeg*: Palimpsest and Parallax Historiography', in *The City Symphony Phenomenon: Cinema, Art, and Urban Modernity between the Wars*, ed. Steven Jacobs, Anthony Kinik, and Eva Hielscher (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), 122.

42 Meershoek, *De geschiedenis van de Nederlandse politie*, 132–33.

43 Milne, *People, Place and Power*, 66, 74–76; Robert Lee, 'The Seafarers' Urban World: A Critical Review', *International Journal of Maritime History* 25, no. 1 (2013): 54–56; Beaven, 'Foreign Sailors

'otherness' of sailor districts, it is not easy to draw the line between what seems plausible or customary and what appears exaggerated, especially regarding the pleasures that people pursued there. Hedonistic behaviour may quite well be attuned to maritime culture and the inherent nature of port cities,[44] where sailors and other people would go ashore, after long and monotonous journeys, for often uncertain periods of time. In his study on sailortowns, Graeme Milne states how, historically, '[a seafarer's] transience had a faster turnover than other patterns of seasonal work, adding to the urgency of his spending and consumption, and of his exploitation'.[45]

Short-term satisfactions and gains, and the threats to safety that come with it, were presumably fostered in an amusement area like the Schiedamsedijk. Wary of this realisation, the *Voorwaarts* booklet dramatically describes the Schiedamsedijk as 'the maelstrom to the abyss',[46] warning that anyone who indulges in its pleasures is lost for good.[47] Linking back to the normative dimension of pleasure, Shapiro states that 'there is something about pleasure that can gain control over us', leading people astray by letting them neglect other, perhaps less pleasurable, duties.[48] In other words, excessive pleasures can cause some sort of experiential short-sightedness. In terms of safety conflicts, as incited in an amusement area like the Schiedamsedijk, this becomes a crucial characteristic, as the instantaneousness of hedonistic tendencies contrasts with more responsible time frames. In this regard, it has been noted that safety can be linked to a certain sense of time, whereby the more governance-driven notion of security is especially connected to more long-term, future-oriented horizons.[49]

Another potential collision between safety and security imposes itself in the context of sailor districts, one that is not time-related but instead space-related, namely the coming together of global influences to construct a cosmopolitan setting. At least, that is the impression emanating from one of the most substantial types of photographs in the Schiedamsedijk's local history books: the portrayal of bar facades, often with smiling personnel or clientele posing in front (Fig. 5.3).

The Schiedamsedijk's international presentation was widely noted at the time, especially through bar names referencing many cities and other maritime locations across the world. In addition, inscriptions can be

and Working-Class Communities', 88–90.

44 Baptist, 'Of Hedonism and Heterotopia', 9–10.

45 Milne, *People, Place and Power*, 66.

46 Van Dijkhuizen, *De Rotterdamsche roofholen*, 55.

47 Van Dijkhuizen, *De Rotterdamsche roofholen*, 62.

48 Shapiro, 'What Is Pleasure?', 8.

49 Beatrice de Graaf, 'De historisering van veiligheid: Introductie', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 125, no. 3 (2012): 308–9.

Figure 5.3 Photograph of The Black Diamond Bar on the Schiedamsedijk, presumably during the 1930s (exact date and creator unknown). Source: Romer, *Passagieren op 'De Dijk'*, 57; Troost, *De meisies van de Schiedamsedijk*, 65.

discerned on bars' front windows in some pictures, indicating that certain languages other than Dutch were default inside establishments. Commentators at the time linked the global street signs to a genuine amalgamation of international visitors on the Schiedamsedijk.[50] Cosmopolitanism appears as another intrinsic character trait of sailor districts, but similar to hedonism, it can be problematised and regarded from different perspectives that potentially subvert the romantic and safe nature often attached to it.[51] Foreign language inscriptions on bar windows may have functioned as welcoming invitations, but just as well as explicit markers of segregation and underlying ethnic conflicts that bring additional concerns with it for local security forces.

In the context of Mediterranean and former Ottoman port cities, where West and East have traditionally met, the topic of cosmopolitanism has been much debated and subjected to more differential uses. Ulrike Freitag has, for instance, proposed to place cosmopolitanism alongside 'conviviality', with the latter term aiming to 'direct the gaze at the everyday interactions of people in specific social contexts, initially regardless of their origin, and thus de facto often including

50 Kisch, 'Auf der Reeperbahn von Rotterdam', 63; 'In het hart van de havenstad: Waar de zeeman zich ontspannen kan', *V.V.V.-week Rotterdam*, 5–15 September 1935.

51 Milne, *People, Place and Power*, 67–71.

those of diverse affiliation'.[52] This notion fits the Schiedamsedijk's environment rather well, where an accumulation of small, separate bars catered to different nationalities, as the photographic material indicates. In addition, another mismatch exists between the exemplary 'convivial' scene in Figure 5.3 and the characterisation of cosmopolitanism. Certain elitist,[53] as well as metropolitan,[54] tendencies underlying cosmopolitanism would arguably find their quintessential representation in pictures of glossy entertainment hall interiors, of which only a few can be found in the Schiedamsedijk's collected photographs, rather than in the more ubiquitous authentic exteriors of sailor bars.

The Commodified Schiedamsedijk

The Schiedamsedijk did house a handful of significant dance venues, as also identified on the previous archival map. With names like Cosmopoliet or Alcazar, these places wore their cosmopolitan aspirations on their sleeves. These establishments also tried to modernise their ambitions and appeal throughout the interwar period, by advertising themselves differently for instance,[55] but also by programming novel practices of jazz music and carrying out interior and exterior renovations.[56] After the Second World War, some people even held these venues accountable for initially brushing away the Schiedamsedijk's rawer edges.[57] This process did not necessarily unfold in a straightforward manner, however, as the Schiedamsedijk's main dance venues still paled in comparison with more upscale ones located in Rotterdam's inner city during the 1920s–30s.[58] This impression is also drawn from a local tourist guide on Rotterdam published in 1930: the listed categories of bars and dance clubs, but also cinemas, restaurants and hotels, mostly comprise addresses around the central Hofplein square, Coolsingel boulevard and Hoogstraat shopping street.[59] Schiedamsedijk addresses are

52 Ulrike Freitag, '"Cosmopolitanism" and "Conviviality"? Some Conceptual Considerations Concerning the Late Ottoman Empire', *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 17, no. 4 (2013): 386.

53 Freitag, '"Cosmopolitanism"', 380.

54 Becker, 'Das Vergnügungsviertel', 156–58.

55 André van der Velden, 'Het Hofplein en de illusie van een wereldstad', in *Interbellum Rotterdam: Kunst en cultuur 1918–1940*, ed. Marlite Halbertsma and Patricia van Ulzen (Rotterdam: NAi Uitgevers, 2001), 111.

56 Hans Zirkzee, *Jazz in Rotterdam: De geschiedenis van een grotestadscultuur* (Eindhoven: DATO, 2015), 139–41.

57 Meerum Terwogt, 'De Schiedamschedijk', 174–75; P.N. Kalkman, 'De Schiedamsedijk voorheen en thans: Volledige verandering van karakter', *De Maasstad*, March, 1956, 53.

58 Van der Velden, 'Het Hofplein', 110–11.

59 *Gids voor Rotterdam* (Rotterdam: VVV Rotterdam, 1930), 28–35.

noticeably absent from the booklet. This situation drastically changed within a couple of years, however. As all local history books on the Schiedamsedijk strongly emphasise, the street found itself the centre of attention during annual touristic festivity weeks organised between 1934 and 1938.

The cause fuelling this transformation should be sought on a global level. The Great Depression that ushered in the 1930s became easily visible in the port city of Rotterdam through decreasing shipping activities, and thus also an absence of sailors on the streets.[60] The lack of maritime workers roaming about their destined amusement neighbourhood points to a crucial aspect that is easily foregone in all the emphasis placed on the 'otherness' of this environment: sailors were vital economic actors for the continued existence of waterfront areas. '[Their] wages injected large sums suddenly into the sailortown economy, on a scale that had no real parallels elsewhere in the poorer [city] districts', Milne asserts.[61] They therefore did not simply complicate social safety when pursuing pleasure in sailor districts, but simultaneously also supported local economic security. Linked to the phenomenon of a worldwide crisis, their disappearance from the streets enhanced public awareness in Rotterdam of the previously rather unsung economic importance of maritime pleasure districts and their populace. A special newspaper published on the occasion of the 1935 city festivities devoted a full-page article on the Schiedamsedijk, passionately appealing for people to not give up on the street but rather help it through its hardships, much in the same way as it had helped boost the port city's prosperity in earlier years.[62]

Organised by the Rotterdam branch of the *Vereeniging voor Vreemdelingenverkeer* (VVV), a national organisation for the stimulation of local and regional tourism that still exists today, the festivity weeks of the mid-1930s reached across the entire city. Nevertheless, the Schiedamsedijk ended up as its unofficial epicentre, due to its attractively 'picturesque',[63] or 'typical',[64] peculiarity, as VVV news bulletins asserted. The way in which local establishments gave substance to the street's newfound touristic attraction and further diversified its amusement offer at a time when it was most needed, was truly something to behold, according to the local history books. Photographs of the Schiedamsedijk during the VVV weeks show a street embellished with flags and facades.

60 Paul van de Laar and Koos Hage, *Brandgrens Rotterdam 1930–2010* (Bussum: Uitgeverij THOTH, 2010), 39.

61 Milne, *People, Place and Power*, 66.

62 'In het hart van de havenstad'.

63 '"Vermakelijkheden" van Rotterdam', *De Rotterdamsche V.V.V.-week*, 1934.

64 'Zie de stad en zie de Maas', *De eenige officieele V.V.V. courant*, 4–15 September 1935, 12.

Figure 5.4 Photograph taken from inside the Prinsendam ship replica, overlooking the Schiedamsedijk during the 1935 VVV festivity week. Source: Romer, *Het Leuvekwartier van weleer*, 100 / Rotterdam City Archives, signature number: 2002-1588, https://hdl.handle.net/21.12133/CAC1F5049E814FCA8FBAD05F74BD61C0.

In addition, the area showcased various decors related to international trade and transportation. This showcasing was most obvious in 1935, when the Schiedamsedijk directly portrayed the theme of shipping by placing multiple ship models across the neighbourhood, seemingly signalling that employment and prosperity would soon return.[65]

Figure 5.4 shows the view from inside the café terrace of the largest ship replica onto the Schiedamsedijk. The view creates an effective mirror image, in which a copied nautical artefact and the amusement street that built its reputation around it stare back at one another. In this respect, the scenery is reminiscent of the visual interplay dominating another famous Rotterdam 'city symphony', *Hoogstraat* (1929) by Andor von Barsy, a Hungarian filmmaker and photographer who helped shape Rotterdam's city image in significant ways during the interwar period.[66] This short film depicts Rotterdam's eponymous shopping street, and focuses on its underlying consumerist logics by playfully

65 Van de Laar and Hage, *Brandgrens Rotterdam 1930–2010*, 28.

66 See Paalman, *Cinematic Rotterdam*, 130–65.

juxtaposing various merchandise displayed behind shop windows with similar commodities worn or carried by passers-by. What, then, is commodified and displayed on the Schiedamsedijk during the VVV weeks? The answer is maritime culture itself, transformed into a safer version for the local society's economic benefit, and thus necessarily less ambiguous and conflicting due to its lack of international sailors, who acted as a social pivot of the amusement street's stereotypically criminal and cosmopolitan character traits.

Conclusion

This chapter's multilayered analysis of Rotterdam's Schiedamsedijk was initially driven by a spatial reconstruction of the area's layout. While seemingly straightforward, the reconstructed map of the street immediately gave rise to various safety concerns over this historical environment. On the surface, the Schiedamsedijk easily presents itself as an area that both generates and attracts crime and unsafety,[67] through its traditional concentration of entertainment facilities and large numbers of people looking for a night of, potentially rough and rowdy, pleasure. Its proximity to the waterfront, the port city's edges,[68] additionally lends the many alleys surrounding the bars and dance clubs an illicit character. Such cultural perceptions of unsafety and vice can easily be projected on archival photographs of the neighbourhood, but the analytical power and depth of these historical traces also runs the other way around. As this chapter has showcased, surviving visual material of the Schiedamsedijk lends itself to juxtapose internal and external perspectives on safety, thereby questioning the maritime amusement area's foundational impressions and scrutinising underexposed historical character changes.

Right before the Second World War started and Rotterdam's city centre was heavily bombed, the Schiedamsedijk's position and attraction within the port city already altered fundamentally. The amusement street's character and functioning did not simply adhere anymore to the traditional socio-cultural duality of port cities, nor to explicit oppositions between internally perceived safety and externally demanded security. While Mah's aforementioned distinction between the black and blue of port cities helps to examine the Schiedamsedijk's respective criminal and cosmopolitan layers throughout the interwar period, visual historical material on the street and its surroundings complicates these character traits in various ways when interpreted through

67 Patricia Brantingham and Paul Brantingham, 'Criminality of Place: Crime Generators and Crime Attractors', *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research* 3, no. 3 (1995): 7–8.
68 Brantingham and Brantingham, 'Criminality of Place', 12–13.

the theme of safety. In this regard, stereotyped figures of sailors, prostitutes and street kids are recontextualised within the maritime urban environment that they populated, and more nuanced negotiations are revealed when it comes to past safety and policing concerns of notorious pleasure culture.

After the war, the Schiedamsedijk was resurrected, and its largely open view to the inland Leuvehaven port, where Rotterdam's Maritime Museum also became housed, nowadays ensures a clear link to the street's seafaring past.[69] Ultimately, however, the contemporary reinstalment of maritime elements in the local urban environment is fundamentally different from the direct link between culture and consumption laid out during the Schiedamsedijk's final interwar phase, which first and foremost sprang from locally supported hopes of economic survival and security. In contrast, the maritime quarter that can currently be found near the Schiedamsedijk may well be subject to 'the modern conceit that cities are not about consumption, and every effort is made to divert us from this realisation through aligning consumption to cultural activities'.[70] Had Egon Kisch revisited the Schiedamsedijk during the 1930s, he would have found a festive street where, through an unabashedly commodified display of maritime culture, opposing perceptions of safety were reconciled more than ever before.

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69 Baptist, 'Of Hedonism and Heterotopia', 3.

70 Ray Laurence, 'Bread and Circuses: Urbanism and Pleasure in Ancient Rome', *LA+ Interdisciplinary Journal of Landscape Architecture* 2 (2015): 27.

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6 Tourists, Dealers or Addicts

Security Practices in Response to Open Drug Scenes in Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Zurich, 1960–2000

Gemma Blok, Peter-Paul Bänziger and Lisanne Walma

Abstract
Taking Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Zurich as examples—three cities with large, concentrated, open drug scenes in the 1980s and 1990s—we argue in this chapter that in response to the presence of drug use and trade in the city centres, different forms of social control were employed toward allegedly 'local' and 'foreign' actors in these scenes. In the 1980s and 1990s, drug policy, migration policy and criminal policy increasingly became entangled. While a public health approach gained ground for local and national users, practices of repatriation, criminalisation and deportation were seen in the dealings with foreign users. Europe in the late twentieth century did not have an adequate collective answer to the new, deeply transnational phenomenon of hard drug use and trade.

Keywords: heroin use, open drug scenes, harm reduction, crimmigration

Introduction

In December 1994, Platform Zero (in Dutch: *Perron Nul*) had been shut down by the city council. Platform Zero was a care facility located near Rotterdam Central Station, where since 1988 hard drug users could go during the day and evening to use drugs, get medical and social support and receive methadone (a synthetic opiate and a substitute for heroin). This experiment in 'harm reduction' was stopped for a variety of reasons: there had been several violent incidents; drug dealing was going on; and the Platform attracted too many visitors, domestically as well as from abroad. Public outrage was

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growing as well. In June 1992, a group of young marines attempted to 'wipe clean' Platform Zero, turning on the 'junkies' with aggression, until the police stopped them. Dutch politicians criticised the marines, but they were thanked for their efforts by a group of civilians who paid for an airplane to fly over Rotterdam, pulling a banner saying: 'Thank you, marines!'

The end of Platform Zero left drug users looking for a new place to go. Chief of police Kees Bakker thought this was a good time for a fresh start in the city's drug policy. He stated in 1995 that, from now on, Rotterdam should focus on minding 'its own' addicts, offering them care and treatment, and that foreign users causing problems should be removed from the country.[1] Bakker coordinated the so-called 'Project Victor', aimed at reducing drug-related nuisance and barring foreign users and sellers.[2] At the same time, in the 1990s, methadone maintenance became an accepted and widely practised treatment for opiate users in Rotterdam and throughout the Netherlands. In fact, harm reduction (including needle exchange, heroin-assisted treatment and drug consumption rooms) gradually became the dominant paradigm in Dutch addiction treatment.[3]

The tension between perceiving drug users as either patients or criminals is a crucial aspect of the history of twentieth-century drug policy and dependence treatment, as historians have described with respect to the United States, Canada and Europe.[4] This, of course, has everything to do with the prohibition of drug use and trade, except for medical purposes, since the early twentieth century—popularly known as the War on Drugs. Adding to existing histories of drug policy and addiction treatment, which are often written from a national perspective, we adopt a local perspective to the framing of drug use and the governing of open drug scenes, with a decided focus on the interactions with foreign intensive drug users in urban public space.

Taking Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Zurich as examples, we argue in this chapter that in response to the presence of open drug scenes in the

1 Bakker speaking during the Dutch news programme NOVA, 22 August 1995.

2 'Politiechef: Actie tegen drugsoverlast slaat aan', *Algemeen Dagblad*, 27 September 1995.

3 Gemma Blok, *Ziek of zwak: Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse verslavingszorg* (Amsterdam: Nieuwezijds, 2011).

4 For instance, Virginia Berridge, *Demons: Our Changing Attitudes to Alcohol, Tobacco, and Drugs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Catherine Carstairs, *Jailed for Possession: Illegal Drug Use, Regulation, and Power in Canada, 1920–1961* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006); David Courtwright, *Dark Paradise: The History of Opiate Addiction in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001); Marcel de Kort, *Tussen patiënt en delinquent: Geschiedenis van het Nederlandse drugsbeleid* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 1995).

city centres, different forms of social control were employed toward allegedly 'local' and 'foreign' actors in these scenes. While foreign opiate users were increasingly repatriated or deported, local and national users were offered and sometimes forced into a broad range of harm reduction facilities. This system of care was meant to reduce the harmful effects of substance dependence for the individual drug users, while at the same time improving 'security' for urban residents.[5]

We define open drug scenes (ODS) as geographic areas, often located near transportation hubs, 'sustained in space and time, where use and dealing of drugs takes place in the public and is perceived as problematic by authorities and/or the public'.[6] These ODS were a new phenomenon in European cities from the late 1960s onwards, with problems rapidly increasing in the 1970s and 1980s. The availability and popularity of heroin and cocaine use exploded, and the visibility of drug use and trade, and the crime associated with it, generated feelings of insecurity in urban environments.[7] At the same time it is important to mention that these problems were exacerbated to a significant extent—and often even caused by repressive drug policies.[8]

The choice of Rotterdam, Amsterdam and Zurich is informed by the fact that these were the cities with the biggest (concentrated) ODS within the respective countries, and they were among the largest ODS present in Western Europe at the time. Also, there are certain structural similarities: their function as transport hubs, and as national centres of the 1960s and 1970s counterculture. Moreover, the Netherlands and Switzerland are perceived as countries with a pioneering role in the emergence of harm reduction as a new paradigm in addiction treatment, in the 1980s and 1990s. Harm reduction practices in response to these ODS in the 1980s and 1990s have

5 Gemma Blok, '"Waiting for the Next One": The History of the First Mobile Methadone Clinic ("Methadone Bus") in Amsterdam (1979)', 2014, https://narcotic-archive.org/s/archive/item/2685; Philippe Bourgois, 'Disciplining Addictions: The Biopolitics of Methadone and Heroin in the United States', *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry* 24 (2000): 165–95; Sebastian Haus, 'Reconfigurations of Security: Governing Heroin Users in Frankfurt am Main, 1975–1995', in *Conceptualizing Power in Dynamics of Securitization beyond State and International System*, ed. Regina Kreide and Andreas Langenohl (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2019), 325–67.

6 This definition was coined by Mia-Maria Magnusson, 'Mapping Open Drug Scenes', in *Crime and Fear in Public Places: Toward Safe, Inclusive and Sustainable Cities*, ed. Vania Cecatto and Mahesh Nalla (London: Routledge, 2020), 305–26, at 306.

7 For instance, Helge Waal, Thomas Clausen, Linn Gjersing, and Michael Gossop, 'Open Drug Scenes: Responses of Five European Cities', *BMC Public Health* 14, no. 853 (2014): 814–53.

8 For the Swiss case, see Peter-Paul Bänziger, Michael Herzig, Christian Koller, Jean-Félix Savary, and Frank Zobel, *Die Schweiz auf Drogen: Szenen, Politik und Suchthilfe, 1965–2022* (Zurich: Chronos, 2022).

been analysed by historians and social scientists before.[9] Less well known is how the ODS also produced a growing exclusion of foreign drug users, and that new security practices emerged from the desire to create safety in public space. This is why, in this chapter, we focus on the interactions with 'foreign' drug users in urban public space, and particularly in the context of ODS, analysing the ways in which they were dealt with as security practices.

The Case of Amsterdam: Youth Travellers and the Origins of the ODS

Transnational mobility has been an important part of drug use since the 1960s and 1970s, the decades of the famous 'hippie trail'. In fact, long before the hippie trail, the consumption of intoxicants was strongly connected to the mobility of avant-garde elites, soldiers, jazz musicians, sailors and migrants who used them recreationally, and early adventurers went to Northern Africa or the East already in the interwar period looking for drugs and self-development. The hippie trail of the 1960s and 1970s, however, was unprecedented in scale and has become an iconic moment and image in Western history. In both popular culture and historiography, the hippie traveller is a well-known persona: an American or European white middle-class youth who leaves home to hitchhike, hop on a bus or use a self-painted minivan to travel to India, Nepal or Southeast Asia via the Balkans or Morocco, and Lebanon, Afghanistan or Turkey.[10] The young travellers became big business: by the 1970s there were 'dozens, probably hundreds, of small companies using coaches, minibuses, lorries and even old ambulances, army lorries and laundry vans to provide cheap travel for young people seeking to travel east', writes historian Sharif Gemie.[11]

In academic writing on the phenomenon of drug tourism, the travellers linked to the 1960s and 1970s countercultural movement count as the first generation of drug tourists. Young people on the move back then did not self-identify as tourists, however, but regarded themselves as travellers, embarking on an autonomous, authentic and spontaneous exploration,

9 Blok, '"Waiting for the Next One"'; on Zurich, P.J. Grob, 'The Needle Park in Zurich: The Story and the Lessons to Be Learned', *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research* 1 (1993): 48–60; Ruud Bless, Dirk J. Korf, and Mary Freeman, 'Open Drug Scenes: A Cross-National Comparison of Concepts and Urban Strategies', *European Addiction Research* 1 (1995): 128–38.

10 Sharif Gemie, *The Hippie Trail: A History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 170–205.

11 Gemie, *The Hippie Trail*, 101.

and in the process being open to interaction with the locals. Still, travelling east, travelling in search of drugs, and travelling while on drugs were closely intertwined practices that had the transformation of both the self and the world as its aims.

Amsterdam was a central hub on the trail: it offered a pick-up point for the Magic Bus that offered cheap bus travel to Greece, Turkey and beyond. Moreover, around 1970 Amsterdam had developed a tolerant attitude to the use and small-scale sale of cannabis products. After a period of repression in the mid-1960s, the growing number of young people visiting Amsterdam to smoke and visit new clubs like Fantasio, Paradiso and the Milky Way ('Melkweg') and hang out at Dam Square became too much to handle for the small narcotic squads of the police. The justice system was overburdened as well. Also, leading addiction experts claimed that cannabis was a relatively harmless drug and that repression of users was not the way to move forward.

Between 1969 and 1971, Dutch political elites started to change their approach to cannabis use, tolerating the sale in Paradiso by a trusted 'house dealer', and offering young tourists a place to hang out in the Vondelpark, where they were not harassed by police as long as they obeyed the rules for sleeping in specific parts of the park and as long as they did not sell hard drugs.[12] Also, in the context of the so-called Vondelpark project financed by the Amsterdam city council, the travellers were facilitated by medical and sanitary services, as well as offered 'realistic' drug information leaflets, and support for people tripping on LSD. No wonder that youth tourism to Amsterdam exploded in the early 1970s.

Young travellers were labelled 'youth tourists' in policy papers, and their drug use was a cause for concern. In the spring and summers of 1971, 1972 and 1973, tens of thousands of people visited the Vondelpark. Between 3000 and 5000 people were sleeping in the park by night, as well. Amsterdam criminologist Ed Leuw investigated the 'drug use among youth tourists' and reported that the majority of them (80 per cent) used drugs, mostly cannabis. A smaller number of them tried other intoxicants, like LSD, as well. A minority (10 per cent) used 'hard drugs' such as speed, opium or heroin.[13] In 1974, the city council ended the Vondelpark project, partly because of the growing problems with heroin use. The epicentre of the Amsterdam open

12 De Kort, *Tussen patiënt en delinquent*; Blok, *Ziek of zwak*; Arjan Nuijten, 'Huisdealer: Paradiso en het Nederlandse gedoogbeleid', 50 jaar Paradiso website of Amsterdam Museum, 3 April 2018, https://hart.amsterdam/nl/page/435775/huisdealer.

13 Ed Leuw, *Drugsgebruik in het Vondelpark 1972: Een onderzoek naar de aard en betekenis van drugsgebruik door jeugdige toeristen in het Vondelpark* (Amsterdam: Stichting voor Alcohol- en Drugsonderzoek, 1973).

drug scene now moved to the Zeedijk, near Central Station, where the street sale of heroin concentrated. Also, the number of coffeeshops, establishments where the sale of hash and weed was now officially tolerated, exploded. So did coffeeshop tourism. In the mid-1980s, 350,000–400,000 drug tourists between 15 and 34 years of age visited Amsterdam each year, from England, West Germany, Switzerland and elsewhere. The term 'drug tourism' now firmly established itself in media, in social science and in political discourse to label the hundreds of thousands of young people who visited Amsterdam for its climate of tolerance and its cannabis sale. Meanwhile, a specific type of drug tourist was defined as well: the 'heroin tourist'.

'Heroin Tourism'

In the early 1980s, Amsterdam counted an estimated 8000–10,000 heroin users. About 1500 of them were foreigners, criminologist Dirk Korf concluded in his 1985 report on 'Heroin tourism' in Amsterdam.[14] More than half of all foreign opiate users—about 800 people—were from West Germany, but Korf suggested their number may have been (much) higher. This suggestion is supported by the annual reports of the Amsterdam-based organisation AMOC, assisting German citizens living in the Netherlands. In 1985, AMOC was in contact with 1200 German-speaking intensive drug users. These users frequently visited AMOCs low-threshold *Teestube* to drink coffee, read German newspapers, play chess and meet peers. Many German users combined heroin with cocaine, methadone, alcohol, tranquillisers and speed. Most injected heroine (sometimes with cocaine to make a 'speedball').[15]

One major cause for concern for the city council was that the German heroin users in Amsterdam led to a substantial number of deaths from overdose. In 1984, thirty-two of all registered fifty-three opiate overdose deaths in Amsterdam concerned West German citizens, many of them found dead in low-budget hostels.[16] It was speculated that they were not used to the stronger, more pure variety of heroin that was for sale in Amsterdam.[17] Furthermore, many German users apparently were scared to phone for an

14 Dirk J. Korf, *Heroine toerisme: Veldonderzoek naar het gebruik van harddrugs onder buitenlanders in Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Stadsdrukkerij, 1986), 25, 50–52. Foreign was defined in this report as 'without a Dutch passport'; so heroin users with a Surinamese migration background, who also formed quite a substantial number, were excluded from this research.

15 Amsterdam City Archives, Archive no. 30814, *Stichting Amoc jaarverslag* 1983, 14–15.

16 Bart Middelburg, 'Junkiebond wil meer controle op drugs', *Het Parool*, 22 June 1984.

17 'Heroïne-doden Amsterdam', *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, 3 March 1984.

ambulance if one of their companions overdosed because they thought the police would come along and take everyone present to jail and then send them back home. Using posters ('An Deutsche Junkies!'), the Amsterdam Municipal Health Service (GG&GD) and AMOC encouraged German users to phone for an ambulance in case of overdose, explaining that users need not be afraid of deportation.

Of all the 189 persons Korf and his colleagues interviewed, ninety were fleeing from justice at home. The 'prototypical' German opiate user in Amsterdam, Korf concluded, was an emigrant who left his country because of repressive drug policies. Hard drug users were heavily criminalised, and anti-drug policing was strong in Germany in the 1970s. Many users developed 'cop horror' as they were arrested for possession and fined, put in jail or forced into treatment for long stretches of time. Addiction treatment was strictly abstinence-oriented, and the use of methadone (especially for maintenance) was out of bounds until the early 1990s.[18] Some German peddlers did come to Amsterdam to buy cheap and good-quality heroin to sell at home and make a profit, but Korf concluded that by far most German heroin 'tourists' living in Amsterdam were on the run from the German justice system.

The Dutch police, in line with the Dutch Opium Law that regarded drug users as addicted 'patients', mostly focused on arresting drug sellers. They arrested users only when they committed a crime, such as robbery, theft and so on. German law enforcers could issue a 'sentence' of forced addiction treatment. This option did not exist in the Netherlands in the 1970s and early 1980s. The use of force in the treatment of addicts had been opposed, for medical and ethical reasons, since the early twentieth century. Only in the late 1990s, the first Dutch experiments started with offering addicts the choice between jail or forced treatment in a closed environment.[19]

Another cause for concern for the Amsterdam city council was that foreign heroin users threatened to overburden the newly initiated methadone maintenance programme. In Amsterdam, methadone maintenance treatment had been on the rise since 1979, in response to the concentrated open drug scene at the Zeedijk. The number of people on methadone maintenance

18 Klaus Weinhauer, 'Drug Consumption in London and Berlin in the 1960s', *The Social History of Alcohol and Drugs* 20 (Spring 2006): 187–224; Gerhard Haller, *Von Morphin zur Substitution: Die historische und gesellschaftliche Kontroverse zur Substitution Opiatabhängiger* (Hamburg: Diplomica Verlag, 2012).

19 In 2001, after a few years of pilot programmes, a new national programme was started called the 'Strafrechterlijke Opvang Verslaafden' ('Criminal Justice Care for Addicts').

rose from 1466 in 1981 to 3887 in 1984.[20] The local municipal health service coordinated a methadone programme comprising mobile methadone clinics and district posts. However, as the city council stated in 1982, foreign users should be excluded from this methadone programme 'for both practical and political reasons'.[21] It was feared that handing out methadone to foreign drug users might have a 'suction effect'. Moreover, it should not be left to the Netherlands to 'solve the problems of Bonn'. Nevertheless, a substantial number of German opiate users was receiving methadone treatment in 1985: 49 per cent of all German respondents were enrolled in a methadone programme, either through the municipal health services (GG&GD) or via a general practitioner.

Repatriation

From 1984 onwards, however, the policy of Amsterdam towards German and other foreign drug 'tourists' tightened. Amsterdam desperately wanted to lose its image of 'drug Mecca'. When foreign users were caught as repeat offenders at the Zeedijk, begging or stealing, selling or using drugs, they were sent back over the border within a week. Foreigners would have very limited access to the available care systems in Amsterdam from now on; relief would be available only in crisis situations or as part of a repatriation plan. Korf writes: 'Methadone programs were supposed to "sharpen" their intake criteria for foreign users and the police should intensify their activities targeting foreign criminal users'.[22] Moreover, a contract was now needed between a pharmacy, an opiate user and a general practitioner in order for a GP to be allowed to prescribe methadone, thereby excluding illegal foreign users from this type of individual care.

Repatriation was approached more systematically from 1987 onwards. Ada Wildekamp, an Amsterdam politician and alderman of public health, took the initiative to install a workgroup for the return of German drug users in 1987. Two German social workers would focus especially on German drug users who were infected with HIV or having AIDS—the new epidemic disease that struck injecting intravenous drug users with a

20 Blok, *Ziek of zwak*, 220.

21 Amsterdam City Archive, Archive no. 5225A, 'Archief van de Gemeentepolitie', inventory no. 5449: *Nota Hard-drug beleid* 1982, p. 43.

22 Dirk J. Korf, 'Drug Tourists and Drug Refugees', in *Between Prohibition and Legalization: The Dutch Experiment in Drug Policy*, ed. Ed. Leuw and I. Haen Marshall (Amsterdam: Kugler Publications, 1994), 119–45, at 123.

vengeance. The repatriation project for *Rückkehrhilfe* involved the city of Amsterdam, the German region Nordrhein-Westfalen—from where about half of all German users in Amsterdam originated—the Dutch and German police, the Dutch immigration service and AMOC. About one third of the repatriation cases involved users with a criminal record; in these cases, the drug users were removed from the German police telex on the condition that they would proceed to kick the habit upon their return to Germany.

As before, repatriation practice seems not to have been implemented extremely forcefully; it was still done on a voluntary basis. Two German social workers drove by car to Amsterdam twice a week, to check whether any German drug users had expressed a wish to AMOC for repatriation. If so, the social workers took care of the formalities, drove them back to Germany and delivered them to the door of a therapeutic community of their own choice.[23] Still, a substantial number of German drug users were indeed repatriated. In 1989, 150 addicts had been returned home with the help of the social workers from the Rückkehrhilfe team.

Many Dutch social scientists and care workers were critical of the way German heroin users were treated, emphasising they were patients in need of care and pointing to their 'refugee' status. Korf started to use the label of 'drug refugee' next to the primary label of heroin tourists in publications on the topic, and sociologist and drug researcher Peter Cohen from the University of Amsterdam labelled foreign heroin users in Amsterdam 'political refugees' as well, comparing them with homosexuals on the run from countries where the penalties related to their sexual identity were harsh.[24]

In 1989, there seems to have been a slight relaxation of the policy of discouragement; the Amsterdam Municipal Health Service (GG&GD) argued together with AMOC for helping and assisting the most distressing cases—a list was made and these people were placed in temporary methadone maintenance programmes. In Germany as well, some relaxation was observed. The fact that about half of all German opiate users in Amsterdam were infected with HIV or having AIDS was a factor in this relaxation, according to the GG&GD. Also in Germany, the idea took hold that methadone dispensing might prevent further spread of this disease. In Nordrhein Westfalen, the first cautious experiments with methadone treatment were underway in the late 1980s. After 1990, the German approach to heroin addiction started

23 'Duitse hulpverleners helpen junks met terugkeer naar huis', *Trouw*, 21 July 1989.

24 Liesbeth Mok, 'Amsterdam: Geen Mecca voor junks', *De Waarheid*, 30 December 1983.

to shift as well. Methadone maintenance was officially allowed after 1992, and harm reduction practices were introduced in several towns, such as drug consumption rooms in Frankfurt.[25]

The Case of Rotterdam: French Heroin Users on the Move

Whereas in Amsterdam most of the foreign users present in the city were from Germany, in Rotterdam many came from France. Already in 1983, street-corner workers in Rotterdam-West stated that they were often confronted with addicted illegal migrants who were afraid to enrol in a help programme out of fear for the alien (to them) police.[26] In the mid-1980s, French users and resellers occasionally came to Rotterdam to buy heroin. Initially this was not seen as a problem, although locals occasionally complained about the increase in foreign drug users and buyers.[27] However, by the end of the 1980s and in the early 1990s, a large group of (in particular) northern French users and resellers arrived in Rotterdam, many coming from Lille. Similar to the high number of overdose cases among German users in Amsterdam, Rotterdam witnessed a relatively high number of cases among French users. In 1995, *Het Parool* wrote that in the previous year, twenty-four French had died from an overdose, and that numbers for 1995 were looking grim.[28]

One of the users making the trip from France to Rotterdam was Manu, a heroin addict from Lille. In 1994, he told a reporter from *Nederlands Dagblad* what drew him to the Rotterdam scene. Manu said: 'I preferred to go to Amsterdam or Rotterdam rather than asking someone in the stairwell in one of the block houses. Cheaper and safer'.[29] The repressive actions of the Lille police caused drug users to form small, hidden drug scenes, away from the city centre. Addicts often consumed their drugs in solitude, in stairwells or rooftops of apartment buildings in poor neighbourhoods. News articles

25 Haller, *Von Morphin zur Substution*, 65; Haus, 'Reconfigurations of Security', 325–67.

26 Report of an exploratory study into acute support facilities for drug addicts in Rotterdam: R. van der Weert, *Verslag van een exploratief onderzoek naar acute-hulpvoorzieningen aan drugsverslaafden in Rotterdam*, (Rotterdam: Erasmus MC, 1983).

27 Edward van der Torre, *Drugstoeristen en kooplieden: Een onderzoek naar Franse drugstoeristen, Marokkaanse drugsrunners en het beheer van dealpanden in Rotterdam* (Amsterdam: Kluwer, 1996), 13.

28 *Het Parool*, 23 June 1995. https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ABCDDD:010842080:mpeg21:a0192.

29 *Nederlands Dagblad*, 23 November 1994. https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010629090:mpeg21:a0076.

spoke of impoverished neighbourhoods in Lille, where between 6000 and 10,000 people were addicted to heroin.[30]

These hidden drug scenes often led to health problems for the users because of the bad quality or unhygienic use of drugs. The high prices of drugs stimulated users and resellers to come to Rotterdam to buy drugs to sell on the Lille market.[31] In France in the 1970s, like in Germany, strict anti-drug laws were introduced, users were policed intensively, and treatment was abstinence-oriented.[32] Manu further explained that prices in Lille were eight times higher than in Rotterdam, only 200 kilometres from Lille. Moreover, methadone treatment was hardly available in Lille; in France in general, harm reduction and methadone were hardly accepted until the twenty-first century, and even today there are only a few methadone programmes.[33] Back then, in Lille, there were more than thirty aid providers competing for resources and as a result mostly focused on addicts who were easy to help.[34] This meant that the severely addicted users, found in the hidden drug scenes in the city, had only very limited resources.

Many French users came to visit *Perron Nul* (Platform Zero) (1987–1994): a fenced-off area near Rotterdam Central Station, where (homeless) heroin addicts could get methadone, clean needles, coffee and support. The use of drugs was tolerated. For illegal immigrants, the Platform was a place to make money from the drug trade or to hang out because they had nowhere else to go.[35] The project originated from the initiative of Hans Visser, who was a vicar in a Protestant church in the centre of Rotterdam, and Nico Adriaans, founder of the Rotterdam Junkie Union ('Junkie Bond'), an interest organisation for drug users. The Platform drew a lot of international users and resellers. At the closing of the Platform in 1994, *De Telegraaf* reported that there were more than thirty nationalities present on the Platform.[36] Hans Visser, who was also a leading figure in the daily running of Platform Zero, wrote that between 1990 and 1992, international users from Belgium

30 'Regio Lille geeft Nederland de schuld van drugsellend', *de Volkskrant*, 30 November 1994, https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ABCDDD:010866740:mpeg21:a0143.

31 Torre, *Drugstoeristen en kooplieden*, 27–28.

32 Alexandre Marchant, *L'impossible prohibition: Drogues et toxicomanie en France, 1945–2017* (Paris: Perrin, 2018).

33 Tim Boekhout van Solinge, *Dealing with Drugs in Europe: An Investigation of European Drug Control Experiences: France, the Netherlands and Sweden* (The Hague: BJu Legal Publishers, 2004).

34 Boekhout van Solinge, *Dealing with Drugs in Europe*, 28–29.

35 Hans Visser and Peter Blanken, *Perron Nul: Opgang en ondergang* (Zoetermeer: Meinema, 1996), 26, 52.

36 'Perron Nul trok verslaafden uit meer dan dertig landen', *De Telegraaf*, 24 December 1994.

and France increasingly found their way to the Platform. He particularly noticed groups of Moroccans: 'In those years we come into contact with all kinds of Moroccans: illegals straight from Morocco, illegals who have been drifting through Europe for years, Moroccans who actually possess the French nationality, legal Moroccans and illegals who have stayed in our country for a long time. Because of the numbers aid provision quickly came under pressure'.[37]

Like Korf and Cohen did for some of the German heroin users in Amsterdam, criminologist Edward van der Torre describes this particular group as drug 'refugees'. Van der Torre grouped them as addicts who made their home in Rotterdam. They came to the Rotterdam market because drug prices were lower, the police were milder in their treatment of addicts and the scene itself had better facilities for drug use, such as dealer houses, user locations and squats, which were an improvement from the isolated locations and secret dealings in France. According to Van der Torre, these users also led a desolate life in Rotterdam, witnessed by the twenty-one French who died in Rotterdam because of drugs.[38]

Van der Torre also mentions traffickers who came to Rotterdam to buy large quantities of drugs to sell on the French market,[39] and drug runners who guided (mostly French) users to locations where they could buy drugs. There was a large presence of illegal Moroccans, Algerians and French among the drug runners because they had few opportunities for legal employment and limited embeddedness into the local migrant communities. Quite often, these drug runners were addicted themselves.[40] During the seven years Platform Zero existed, a Moroccan drug trade developed, which was focused on users from the north of France.[41] Drug runners had easier access to the drug trade because they spoke French and most customers were French, and because these drug runners knew how to avoid expulsion from the Netherlands.

After the closing of Platform Zero in 1995, drug tourism continued in the Spangen area of Rotterdam. Foreign seller locations became part of Rotterdam. This further increased with the elimination of internal borders

37 Visser and Blanken, *Perron Nul*, 26.

38 Torre, *Drugstoeristen en kooplieden*, 33.

39 Torre, *Drugstoeristen en kooplieden*, 33–34.

40 Joanne van der Leun. *Looking for Loopholes: Processes of Incorporation of Illegal Immigrants in the Netherlands* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003), chapter 3.

41 Cas Barendregt and Dike van de Mheen, 'Then There Was Silence on the Streets: Developments in the Street Scene of Rotterdam in the Last Decade', *Drugs: Education, Prevention and Policy* 16, no. 6 (2009): 497–511, at 503.

within the EU in 1992.[42] Rotterdam was easily accessible from northern France. Moreover, an intercity train travelling to Rotterdam was also available for French users to take.[43] Their presence angered citizens in local neighbourhoods, and Rotterdam politicians also called for an end to so-called drug tourism.[44] The citizens of Spangen organised protests and rallied against drug tourism from France. In July 1995, they blocked access roads into their neighbourhood for foreign cars.[45] The citizens of Spangen felt abandoned by the city and decided to resolve the drug trade problems themselves.[46] These angry protests continued throughout the 1990s.[47] The situation caused international tension as well. The French were critical of Dutch drug policies, and in turn, Dutch politicians spoke out against French drug policies. In 1994, the French communist party organised a protest against Dutch drug policy. A group of 1500 citizens from cities in northern France travelled by bus to Rotterdam to protest the Dutch drug policies and their effect on France.

The Birth of 'Crimmigration'

To tackle the problems, new policies were introduced in 1995 in the form of 'Project Victor', an initiative to prevent Belgian, German and French drug tourists from buying drugs in Rotterdam. The police sought to discourage foreign drug users and resellers from coming to Rotterdam. After apprehension, foreign users were removed via buses and transferred to the French authorities. As part of Project Victor, French users and resellers were removed from Rotterdam with an accompanying police report, allowing for their prosecution in France.[48] The police wrote that there was a cooperation with Lille to prevent drug tourism, including the deportation of illegal migrants. Project Victor was followed by Project Alijda in 1998, which nationally and internationally sought to strip the drug runner scene.

42 F.R. Vellinga, *Drugsoverlast rondgepompt: Werkelijkheid of mythe? Een onderzoek naar de mate van drugscriminaliteit en overlast in 1997, en de relaties hiervan met de opheffing van Perron Nul en Victor* (Rotterdam: Regiopolitie Rotterdam-Rijnmond, 1998).

43 Torre, *Drugstoeristen en kooplieden*, 29.

44 'Frans bezoek bij actie tegen drugsrunners', *Het Parool*, 10 December 1994.

45 'Bewonersactie Spangen duurt maar een uurtje', *Het Parool*, 29 July 1995.

46 Coen van Zwol, 'Demonstratie tegen drugs verenigt de Rotterdammers; Burgemeester Peper krijgt spuit gevuld met Franse kentekens', *NRC Handelsblad*, 14 September 1995.

47 Hans Horsten, 'Opstand der volkswijken', *de Volkskrant*, 10 August 1996.

48 *Algemeen Dagblad*, 11 March 1996.

Like AMOC in Amsterdam for German heroin users, in Rotterdam the Paulus Church helped French users return home. They would contact users' families, call local shelters and provide them with a train ticket.[49] In 1995, help became more professional, first with the project Antenne, which sought to return French users to their home country. In February 1995, the French consul asked the Rotterdam city government for a small office from which to help addicted French people to return to France, using the Amsterdam 'Rückkehrhilfe' as its example. They cooperated with the AIDE foundation (Association Pour l'Information sur les Drogues). The Rotterdam government facilitated the Antenne project through the municipal health services, the GGD.[50] Bernard Laparlie spearheaded the project. From a desk at the Rotterdam GGD, he helped French users with finding a rehab location in France.[51] Antenne was followed by a project in which a network of French consulates helped French users return home, also offering psychological help. Over the course of one-and-a-half years, thirty-six French users were transferred to French aid programmes, and fifty-six French users who were in less need of immediate help were provided a bus ticket and a new identity card.[52]

The treatment of the French heroin users and traders who were present in Rotterdam, starting with Project Victor, can be seen as an early example of 'crimmigration': the increasing tendency to fuse crime policy and migration policy, which we also see in different ways at the level of legislation and enforcement. Whereas in the second half of the last century illegal residence was seen as relatively innocent behaviour or even as a sign of showing initiative, criminalisation has become the main rationale in the twenty-first century. Migration law and criminal law have a clear difference both in their modalities and in their finality. Nevertheless, several authors note an increased convergence between the two branches of law, which contributes to the tendency of criminalisation that prevails with regard to foreigners in society.[53] The Rotterdam case shows how drug-using 'tourists', 'traders' and 'illegal migrants' formed an early group of migrants on whom this type of policy was employed and developed. This was made possible

49 *Algemeen Dagblad*, 1 April 1996.

50 Rotterdam City Archive, Archive no. 1803, Archief van de Bestuursdienst, directie Sociale en Culturele Zaken, inventory no. 710, 'Eerste vergadering Collegethema Drugs & Overlast, 22 februari 1995'.

51 'Verslaafden kicken af met Frans geld', *de Volkskrant*, 1 November 1995.

52 Marije Vlaskamp, 'Parijs bouwt discreet net drugshulp op', *Het Parool*, 13 August 1995.

53 Maartje A.H. van der Woude, Joanne P. van der Leun, and Jo-Anne A. Nijland, 'Crimmigration in the Netherlands', *Law & Social Inquiry* 39, no. 3 (2014): 560–79.

by the framing of the problem as one of criminality and illegality. As we argue in the following section, similar processes took place in contemporary Switzerland.

The Zurich Case: From Limmat to Platzspitz

In the early 1990s, the Zurich city government struggled with Europe's probably most well-known ODS: the Platzspitz in Zurich. In this park near the main railway station, the city tried to contain drug use and sale in a specific area. This swelled to a daily average of 1700–2500 individuals visiting the park in 1991 to buy and use drugs, and several hundred homeless users living there as well.[54] In 1990, the *New York Times* wrote:

> Zurich's needle park is a place feverishly occupied 24 hours a day with the business of buying, selling and using drugs, a place with the bustle of the bazaar and the spirit and tattered splendour of a 1960's rock concert. Its icon is the needle, an object of constant fascination, endlessly being caressed, readied with drugs or pressed into veins.[55]

As in the Netherlands, Swiss drug scenes were rooted in 1960s and 1970s counterculture. Travellers brought hashish and other drugs they had purchased in Afghanistan, Morocco or Lebanon back with them to Switzerland, thus contributing to the birth of urban drug cultures. Zurich's drug scene gathered in certain parks and squares from the late 1960s onwards. The first of these places was the so-called Riviera (or '*Rivi*') on the banks of the Limmat river. Here, one could find a vast variety of substances, such as cannabis products, LSD, mushrooms, mescaline, amphetamines and increasingly also heroin. From the beginning, countercultural drug use was confronted with severe repression by the police. This forced the scene to move again and again, until by the mid-1980s it would end up at the Platzspitz.

Pressured by residents and retailers tired of drug use in public space, frustrated by the ineffective chasing of drug users from place to place, and in the absence of a proper strategy, the authorities in a rather desperate attempt to concentrate, control and quarantine the growing drug scene had begun to tolerate drug use in the Platzspitz in the mid-1980s. By then,

54 Grob, 'The Needle Park in Zurich', 48–60.

55 Joseph B. Treaster, 'Zurich Journal; A Marketplace for Drugs, a Bazaar of the Bizarre', *New York Times*, 27 September 1990.

the park was already notorious for drug use and trade. Many users/sellers from Zurich or its suburbs, but increasingly people from other Swiss regions and from abroad, came to the Platzspitz as well. In a qualitative survey conducted in autumn 1989, 73 per cent of the interviewees found Zurich an attractive locality due to its drug market. A considerable number also mentioned that harm reduction and methadone treatment was more easily available than in the municipalities of their residence.[56]

In 1992, the Platzspitz was closed. Negative media coverage from all over the world, pressure from superordinate authorities, residents and retailers from the nearby areas, the widely debated 'Sogwirkung' (pull effect) of the scene, and the sanitary situation came to be regarded as untenable. After being chased for some time through the neighbouring city districts, the scene re-established itself on the other side of the Limmat river, in the area of a the Letten railway station, which had been out of service since 1989 due to the opening of the new suburban train system. The ODS at the Letten was eventually cleared by police in 1995. In contrast to the Platzspitz, almost no care or support was available and the situation of the homeless users who stayed there deteriorated fast. In light of this emergency, Zurich famously decided to shift the focus of its policy from repression towards harm reduction, for example by offering heroin-assisted treatment.

However, the new harm reduction policies, for which Zurich and other cities in the German-speaking part of Switzerland became famous internationally, and which were applauded and copied in many other places, were accompanied by a harsh approach to parts of the cleared ODS. On the one hand, particularly in Zurich, Swiss nationals were arrested based on the federal law of 'fürsorgerische Freiheitsentziehung' (FFE, protective custody) and brought to their municipalities of residence. The city legitimated this policy—a topic to which we will return—by arguing that only in so doing could the rural cantons be forced to favour harm reduction policies and thus to render them possible on the federal level. On the other hand, although the distinction between users and sellers was in fact quite fluid, as many of the latter were drug-dependents themselves, non-citizens in the scene were put into newly established deportation prisons and/or deported.[57]

56 Sozialamt der Stadt Zurich, Forschungsstelle der Fachstelle für Drogen- und Obdachlosenhilfe/Suchtfragen, *Die Drogenszene in Zurich: Aktuelle Lebensumstaende von Drogenkonsumenten/-innen*, 2nd, corrected ed. (Zurich, 1992), 194–200.

57 Stadsarchiv Zurich, V.B.c.72: 6.2: Vorgehensplan zur Auflösung der offenen Drogenszene Letten, Bericht und Anträge (21.11.1994), Anhang IV, zit. n. Oertle Daniela 2010, S. 104; Nina Kunz, 'Letten 1995: Die Räumung der letzten offenen Drogenszene in der Schweiz als polizeiliche Grossintervention' (MA thesis, University of Zurich, 2016); Daniela Oertle, 'Räumliche

Dealers vs Addicts

These policies were legitimised by the image of the 'foreign drug dealer', which had been established in the 1980s. Between 1984 and 1986, Tamil trafficking networks flew up in various countries, including Switzerland. In Switzerland, the Tamil exile community saw itself confronted by a media campaign accusing it of illegal entry, the abuse of support services and of drug trafficking in particular. In the years that followed, the 'criminal' Tamils soon disappeared from the headlines and gave way to the positive image of this population group that has prevailed since the 1990s.[58] However, the pattern of perception that was to determine drug policy in the following decades had been shaped: the 'foreign drug dealers' were contrasted to the 'addicted' Swiss.

This pattern of perception, which was both racist and gendered, was not limited to the media. According to a Zurich 'Vorgehensplan zur Auflösung der offenen Drogenszene Letten' (Plan of Action for the Dissolution of the Open Drug Scene Letten) from November 1994, the open scene consisted of only two groups of people: (effeminate) 'addicts' and (male) 'dealers'. For the latter, 'criminal proceedings' and 'deportation proceedings' were envisaged. Even if persons with a Swiss passport are not explicitly excluded from these proceedings, the actions of the police also leave little doubt that they were hardly meant by the word 'dealer'. Not least, the pattern of perception was decisive when, in December 1994, the Swiss voted by a majority of almost 73 per cent in favour of the 'coercive measures in the law on foreigners'. The old history of the unequal legal treatment of persons without a Swiss passport was thus updated with a further chapter.

Perhaps even more than in the case of Rotterdam, the black and white distinction between foreign traders and domestic addicts turned drug policy into a migration policy marked by the discourse of crimmigration. This distinction did not come close to living up to reality. Undoubtedly, people without a Swiss passport were active in the drug business. Parallel to the professionalisation of trade, the geographical origin of the persons involved was differentiated. While until the early 1970s criminal investigations were

Interventionen der Zürcher Stadtbehörden gegen die offene Drogenszene von 1989 bis 1995: Auflösung der Drogenszene und Überlagerung der städtischen Drogenpolitik mit der Asyldebatte' (Lizenziatsarbeit, University of Zurich, 2010); Boris Boller, *Drogen und Öffentlichkeit in der Schweiz* (Berlin: LIT-Verlag, 2007).

58 Daniel Schmid, 'Den steilen Emmentaler Högern nicht gewachsen: Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des Redens über Tamilen in der Schweizer Presse 1982 bis 1995' (MA thesis, University of Zurich, 2005), 56–58.

opened mainly against persons who had been born or resided in Switzerland or other Western countries, from the middle of the decade onwards, people who at least officially lived in other parts of the world were increasingly arrested. Initially, they were mostly active in wholesale, but from around 1980 onwards they were increasingly active in street trading.[59]

However, rarely all phases of transport, import and retail trade were controlled by a single population group. Countless nationals of Western European countries, who were active in the drug trade, were in jail in the production regions, a fact that repeatedly made headlines in the Swiss media from the mid-1970s onward.[60] Despite the rejection of drug use, national solidarity dominated in these cases: Swiss nationals were hardly ever regarded as the 'foreign drug dealers' they were in the eyes of the local media and authorities.

No less important is the question of why and in what way a person became a street dealer. Many did not do it on a voluntary basis. Migrants are often under considerable pressure to provide material support to those left behind in their country of origin. In addition, many refugees have to reimburse travel costs as soon as possible. Apart from transport, accommodation and food, the smugglers and other so-called intermediaries want to be paid.

The fact that these funds are also generated through informal activities such as drug trafficking is primarily related to the situation in the destination country. In Switzerland in the 1980s and 1990s, those who traded drugs at that time reacted primarily to structural constraints and not to the incentives that emanate from stories about fairy-tale careers in the mafia. The Tamils were among the first to be treated on the basis of the first Swiss asylum law of 1981. It introduced case-by-case examination, on the basis of which only a few were recognised as refugees at all. Many, therefore, did not have secure residence status for a long time. In various cantons, the Tamils were only allowed to work in certain sectors and the 'locals' had priority. All this made 'professional integration' more difficult, according to a report by the Federal Office for Migration.[61]

59 Bänziger et al., *Die Schweiz auf Drogen*, chapter 5.

60 Jean Ryniker, 'Quatre jeunes Suisses emprisonnés en Thaïlande lancent un appel de détresse', *Tribune de Genève*, 14 November 1981; Urs Paul Engeler, 'Keine Notlage, befindet Bern', *Die Weltwoche*, 23 March 1989.

61 Joëlle Moret, Denise Efionayi, and Fabienne Stants, *Die srilankische Diaspora in der Schweiz* (Bern: BBL, 2007), 15, 34 and 64; Denise Efionayi-Mäder and Etienne Piguet, *Nationale Unterschiede in der Arbeitsintegration von Asylsuchenden: Bericht zur Phase III des Forschungsprojekts 'Flüchtlinge und Arbeitsintegration'* (Neuchâtel: Schweizerisches Forum für Migrationsstudien, 1997), 17–18 and 85.

As already mentioned, in Zurich, but also in Basel and Bern, people risked being forcibly transported to the municipality of their official residence on the basis of the FFE. Sometimes, local residents too were taken to the so-called 'Rückführungszentren' (retransfer centres). We do not want to interfere in the internal affairs of another canton, declared the Geneva Conseil d'Etat after the eviction of the Letten. 'But the Geneva government does not intend to endorse the pure and simple expulsion of people who are legally present in a canton [...]: the freedom of movement and the freedom of establishment of Swiss and foreigners are two of the fundamental principles of our constitutional system and of our rule of law'.[62] The fundamental freedoms of the liberal federal state of the mid-nineteenth century, which are invoked here, did not apply to everyone on the street. Those who did not have Swiss citizenship or a settlement permit could easily be detained and deported thanks to the coercive measures in the Aliens Law. But everyone else was also threatened with arrest if they did not fit the desired image.

'Erlaubt ist, was nicht stört'—Permitted is what does not disturb. With this message from the year 2000, Zurich got to the heart of this widespread attitude. First and foremost, urban policies of security were policies to render certain parts of the population and their practices invisible. From this perspective, ODS were historical 'accidents', signs of a momentary loss of control and catalysts for a partial reorientation of policies directed to public space. While citizens and long-term residents were subject to a combination of harm reduction and repressive policies, the other users of public space were increasingly policed, incarcerated and deported.

Conclusion

According to AMOC, the Amsterdam organisation for assisting German heroin users, responsibility for the fundamental problems with foreign travelling users ultimately lay at the European policy level, as drug use and trade were an international affair. This analysis seems highly adequate. However, European nations at the time fundamentally differed in their outlook on drug use, addiction and in their drug policies. Europe in the late twentieth century did not have an adequate collective answer to the new, deeply transnational phenomenon of hard drug use and trade. In the wake of this failing European response, local and national authorities made

62 StadtAZH, V.B.c.83.:1, box 52: Déclaration du Conseil d'Etat à propos des événements du Letten à Zurich, 15.2.1995.

their own policies around ODS. Our case studies have further illuminated this process and showed that urban public space was regulated in new, exclusionary ways, along nationalist and racist lines. As the Zurich case especially makes clear, regulations and distinctions ran along gendered lines as well.

In Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Zurich, the ODS produced new security practices aimed at increasing feelings of safety in urban public space. Foreign drug users/resellers especially became indices of disorder during the heyday of heroin use and ODS in the 1980s and 1990s. In all three cities, a two-track policy could be observed: harm reduction practices were introduced for alleged local or national 'addicts', while excluding 'foreign' drug users and/or 'dealers' from them.

In both Amsterdam and Rotterdam, the concepts of the 'drug tourist' or 'heroin tourist' were used to frame foreign opiate users, and these concepts helped to shape new practices of repatriation. Later, in Rotterdam, heroin users came to be labelled as criminal illegal aliens who should be repatriated or deported. The Rotterdam case shows how European heroin users travelling across national borders formed an early group of migrants to which Dutch crimmigration policies were applied, and for whom they were in fact partly developed. This was made possible by the framing of the problem as one of criminality and illegality. In Zurich as well, perceptions of (male) foreign drug 'dealers' were instrumental in creating new policies of incarceration and deportation.

Alternative framings of the travelling heroin users were proposed: social workers and addiction councillors in all three cities argued that they were patients in need of care first and foremost, and some continued to offer them care and support despite the new regulations, and to fight racist practices and legislation. This counter-practice was sanctioned in Amsterdam in the late 1980s, when helping and assisting the most distressing cases became a formal option. Social scientists studying the heroin scene argued in favour of the concept of the 'drug refugee', for at least part of the group of foreign heroin users in Amsterdam and Rotterdam. But this framework of the political refugee was not adopted in policy. As Rafaela de Quadros Rigoni has shown, Dutch policymakers were highly sensitive to their country's negative reputation as a 'drug paradise' from which their country suffered.[63] Also, framing travelling opiate users as refugees would have implied severe

63 Rafaela de Quadros Rigoni, '"Drugs Paradise": Dutch Stereotypes and Substance Regulation in European Collaborations on Drug Policies in the 1970s', *Contemporary Drug Problems* 46, no. 3 (2019): 219–40.

criticism of the drug policies of neighbouring nations, such as Germany and France, who would be labelled as countries that persecuted hard drug users. In this wider context of international tensions with regard to drug policies, in the 1990s, security practices and policies took shape at the local and national levels, with the travelling drug users falling through the cracks, as drug policy, migration policy and criminal policy increasingly became entangled.

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Section 3

Narratives and Imaginaries of Safety

7 The 'Golden Age' Revisited

Images and Notions of Safety in Insecure Times

Nils Büttner

Abstract
The painter Peter Paul Rubens was born when his parents fled Antwerp because of the war that broke out in 1568. When Rubens died in 1640, it would be another eight years before the Peace of Münster and Osnabrück ended this eighty-year war. The works of this painter, celebrated throughout Europe, and his well-documented life provide ample material for reflecting on the ideas of safety that were prevalent at his time. In a small selection of close readings of individual paintings, the text provides exemplary insight into images and notions of safety in insecure times.

Keywords: Peter Paul Rubens, Dutch Art, iconography, peace and war, Antwerp

On hearing of his mother's serious illness, painter and diplomat Peter Paul Rubens mounted his horse and left Rome at the end of October 1608,[1] only to discover on his arrival in Antwerp two months later that Maria Pypelincx was already dead. Despite all his assurances to the contrary, Rubens probably never seriously considered returning to Italy,[2] especially as all the really prestigious commissions on offer there were projects for fresco painting, a technique that Rubens did not practise,[3] and the competition among

1 Max Rooses and Ch. Ruelens, eds, *Correspondance de Rubens et documents épistolaires concernant sa vie et ses œuvres* (Antwerp: Veuve De Backer, 1887–1909), 1:427–28.

2 Rooses and Ruelens, *Correspondance de Rubens*, 6:323–24.

3 Jörg Martin Merz, 'Per sempre a Roma? Rubens e l'Italia, amore reciproco?', in *La festa delle arti: Scritti in onore di Marcello Fagiolo per cinquant'anni di studi*, ed. M. Bevilacqua et al. (Rome: Gangemi Editore, 2014), 2:720–25.

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panel painters was particularly fierce. The prospects opening up in his hometown were, on the other hand, brilliant.[4] The main reason for this was the economic recovery that was to be expected after the upcoming truce: for the first time since the northern provinces refused to follow the House of Habsburg in 1581, the Eighty Years War would pause, and for a longer period. Rubens was as well informed about the progress of the negotiations in Antwerp as he was about the peace treaty that was to be signed on 9 April 1609 and which would last until 1621.[5]

This chapter will offer a close reading of the paintings produced by Rubens and his contemporaries during the period of the armistice and the years of renewed conflict in the war for the independence of the seven northern provinces of the Netherlands. The paintings include biblical scenes from the Old and New Testaments, but also illustrations of mythological stories and supposedly peaceful images that only reveal their full meaning in the historical context of the insecure times in which they were created. Painted in an uncertain period, the partly idyllic paintings can be understood as political allegories and as a visual expression of notions of safety.

Soon after his return, Rubens accepted the commission to execute *The Adoration of the Magi* for the Statenkamer, the assembly room of Antwerp City Hall, where the peace treaty was signed (Fig. 7.1).[6] Rubens owed the commission to his friend and patron Nicolas Rockox, the external mayor (*buitenburgemeester*) of the city of Antwerp. It is also well documented that Rubens also executed a *Samson and Delilah* to

4 *Rubens-bulletijn – Bulletin-Rubens* 3 (1888): 185–86.

5 Hans Vlieghe, 'Rubens und seine Antwerpener Auftraggeber', in *Peter Paul Rubens: Werk und Nachruhm*, ed. Jan Gerrit van Gelder et al. (Munich: Fink, 1981), 137–55, esp. 138.

6 Peter Paul Rubens, *Adoration of the Magi*, 1609 (retouched 1628–29), canvas, 355.5 × 493 cm, Madrid, Museo del Prado. See Hans Devisscher and Hans Vlieghe, eds, *Rubens* (exh. cat., Palais des Beaux-Arts, Lille, 2004) (Paris/Ghent: Snoeck Publishers, 2004), 110–135; Martina Dlugaiczyk, *Der Waffenstillstand (1609–1621) als Medienereignis: Politische Bildpropaganda in den Niederlanden* (Münster: Waxmann, 2005),190–96; Robert Fucci, 'Rubens and the Twelve Years' Truce: Reconsidering the *Adoration of the Magi* for the Antwerp Town Hall', in *Tributes to David Freedberg: Image and Insight*, ed. Claudia Swan (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), 75–88, states that there is no evidence that the paintings had been installed before the signing of the peace contract. It should be noted, however, that Antonio de Succa was asked to restore his series of ducal portraits, originally executed for the Statenkamer in 1599, in 1608 in preparation for the negotiations of the Twelve Years' Truce; see Joost Vander Auwera, 'Rubens' *Adoration of the Magi* in Light of Its Original Antwerp Destination', in *Rubens: La adoración de los magos / Rubens: The Adoration of the Magi* (exh. cat., Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, 2004–2005), ed. Alejandro Vergara (Madrid: Mueseo del Prado, 2004), 27–53, esp. 36–39. I thank Kristin Belkin for bringing this fact to my attention.

Figure 7.1 Peter Paul Rubens, *Adoration of the Magi*, 1609 (retouched 1628–29), canvas, 355.5 × 493 cm, Madrid, Museo del Prado.

Figure 7.2 Peter Paul Rubens, *Samson and Delilah*, ca. 1609, panel, 185 × 205 cm, London, National Gallery.

hang above the fireplace of the salon of Rockox's house (Fig. 7.2).[7] The light within that painting is very subtly attuned to that specific location, since it comes from the left and below, contrary to what is usually the case. The scene of the biblical hero Samson, who falls victim to Delilah's deviousness, could be interpreted in many different ways,[8] and offered, for example, the opportunity to discuss the relationship between the sexes or be given a political interpretation.[9] This is attested to by the verses written by Philipp Rubens, the artist's brother, under the reproduction of the painting made by the Dutch engraver Jacob Matham and dedicated to Rockox. The Latin text not only refers to the deceitfulness of women, but in a more general sense to the superiority of art and cunning over physical strength. Through the verses, what appears at first glance to be obvious is turned on its head so that even herculean strength is defeated by female guile.[10] An interpretation of the subject in a political context was certainly practised and understood by contemporaries. In 1632, for example, the city of Dordrecht acquired from the Delft painter Christian van Couwenbergh a *Samson and Delilah* for the great hall of its Town Hall (Fig. 7.3).[11] Couwenbergh took his inspiration from Rubens, using

7 Peter Paul Rubens, *Samson and Delilah*, ca. 1609, panel, 185 × 205 cm, London, National Gallery. See Roger-Adolf d'Hulst and Marc Vandenven, *The Old Testament*, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard 3 (London: Brepols, 1989), 107–15, cat. 31; David Jaffé et al., eds, *Rubens: A Master in the Making* (London: National Gallery, 2005), 158–68. The painting is reproduced in: Frans Francken II, *Banquet at the House of Nicolas Rockox*, ca. 1630–35, panel, 62.3 × 96.5 cm, Munich, Alte Pinakothek. See Konrad Renger and Claudia Denk, *Flämische Malerei des Barock in der Alten Pinakothek* (Munich: Dumont, 2002), 202–5, no. 858; D'Hulst and Vandenven, *The Old Testament*, 111.

8 The story is based on the account given in the Book of Judges (16:4–6, 16–21) and by Flavius Josephus in the Antiquitates Judaicae (5:8); see Fiona Healy, 'Das Unerwartete wahrnehmen, das zu Erwartende interpretieren: Die Liebe sehen, wie Rubens sie malte', in *Peter Paul Rubens: Barocke Leidenschaften* (exh. cat., Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, 2004), ed. Nils Büttner and Ulrich Heinen (Braunschweig: Hirmer, 2004), 39–48, esp. 39. On the traditions of the motif cf. Yvonne Bleyerveld, 'Powerful Women, Foolish Men: The Popularity of the "Power of Women"-Topos in Art', in *Women of Distinction: Margaret of York and Margaret of Austria*, ed. Dagmar Eichberger (Leuven: Davidsfonds, 2005), 166–75.

9 Nils Büttner, 'Aurei saeculi imago: Antike als Instrument politischer Konflikte in den Niederlanden', in *Welche Antike? Konkurrierende Rezeptionen des Altertums im Barock*, vol. 1, ed. Ulrich Heinen (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011), 347–65.

10 D'Hulst and Vandenven, *The Old Testament*, 108; Hans Jacob Meier, 'Peter Paul Rubens and His Brother Philip's Poems on Samson and Judith', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 77 (2014): 241–45.

11 Christian von Couwenbergh, *Samson und Delila*, 1632, canvas, 156 × 196 cm, Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum. See Christian Tümpel, *Im Lichte Rembrandts: Das Alte Testament im Goldenen Zeitalter der niederländischen Kunst* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1994), 266, no. 36.

Figure 7.3 Christian von Couwenbergh, *Samson und Delila*, 1632, canvas, 156 × 196 cm, Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum.

the print by Matham as his model. This is a typical example of the close connections that existed between the northern and southern provinces of the Netherlands.

Rubens had numerous dealings with the Dutch Republic. It appears that in 1612 he travelled north, presumably carrying a small *ricordo* of his *Samson and Delilah* for Matham to use as the model for his engraving.[12] Rubens' paintings were also appreciated at the court in The Hague, where their allegorical language was understood just as well in the Dutch Republic as in the Habsburg Netherlands. An example of this is his *Mars and Venus*, which hung above the mantelpiece in the grand ballroom of The Hague's Noordeinde Palace, built between 1618 and 1632 (Fig. 7.4).[13] It was usually

12 Jacob Matham, *Samson and Delilah*, ca. 1613, engraving, 376 × 441 mm. See D'Hulst and Vandenven, *The Old Testament*, 108, fig. 73. Matham made his engraving to this sketch. The test prints were corrected by Rubens. An example can be found in the Rijksmuseum. Hans Jacob Meier, *Die Kunst der Interpretation: Rubens und die Druckgraphik* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2020), 127, no. 4.

13 Peter Paul Rubens, *Mars Disarmed by Venus*, ca. 1615–17, canvas, 170 × 193 cm, Formerly Schloss Königsberg. On display since 2004 in St Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum. Nils

Figure 7.4 Peter Paul Rubens, *Mars Disarmed by Venus*, ca. 1615–17, canvas, 170 × 193 cm, formerly Schloss Königsberg.

covered by a curtain, so as to protect 'innocent' eyes. Irrespective of what viewers may have felt about the sexually charged nature of the subject, they will also have easily understood its message as an allegory of peace, when Venus, the personification of love, succeeds in distracting Mars, the god of war, from pursuing his treacherous deeds. This allegorical imagery had already been used in the Dutch Republic to convey the joy felt at the conclusion of the twelve-year truce, though usually expressed though a visually different vocabulary. A fine example is Adriaen van de Venne's commemoration of the Truce of 1609 (Fig. 7.5),[14] showing an idyllic landscape in which love, this time personified by the god Cupid, leads a throng of people in contemporary dress past a pile of abandoned weapons.

Büttner, *Allegories and Subjects from Literature*, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard 12.2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), 1:188–98, no. 18.

14 Adriaen van de Venne, *Allegory of the Twelve Years' Truce*, 1616, panel, 62 × 113 cm, Paris, Museé du Louvre. Dlugaiczyk, *Der Waffenstillstand*, 215.

Figure 7.5 Adriaen van de Venne, *Allegory of the Twelve Years' Truce*, 1616, panel, 62 × 113 cm, Paris, Museé du Louvre.

During the truce, Rubens also painted symbolic images of abundance for his Antwerp audience, which were reproduced in numerous workshop repetitions and sold extremely well.

Such pictorial language was easily understood by an educated audience, in that numerous details referred to well-known antique prototypes. Representations of putti carrying the produce of the harvest were often found on ancient coins under the motto 'Felicia Tempora'.[15] As Rubens noted, this idea found expression not just through cornucopias and lush garlands of fruit but in 'dancing and rejoicing children, with which all antiquity, on marble stones and coins, represented the happiness of the peoples'.[16] The abundance born of peace was and remained a central theme of Rubens' art. However, peace also plays a major role in his numerous surviving letters. Especially after its end in 1621, the truce became a leitmotif of his writings and his actions. An impressive example of this is the allegory of peace he painted while on a diplomatic mission to the English court (Fig. 7.6).[17]

Abraham Van der Doort, the keeper of Charles I's collection, recorded the painting as a 'picture of an emblem, wherein the difference and advantage between peace and war are shewed'.[18] And indeed, like emblems, a popular

15 Jacob de Bie, *Imperatorum Romanorum numismata aurea*, Antwerp: Protestant Aupud Hieron, 1615, pl. 51.

16 Nils Büttner, Verwandlung und Verständlichkeit', in *Rubens: Kraft der Verwandlung*, ed. Gerlinde Gruber et al. (Munich: Hirmer, 2017), 43–50.

17 Peter Paul Rubens, *Minerva Protects Pax from Mars* (*Allegory on the Blessings of Peace*), 1629–30, canvas, 203.5 × 298 cm, London, National Gallery. Büttner, *Allegories*, 1:228–42, no. 27.

18 Büttner, *Allegories*, 1:229.

Figure 7.6 Peter Paul Rubens, *Minerva Protects Pax from Mars (Allegory on the Blessings of Peace)*, 1629–30, canvas, 203.5 × 298 cm, London, National Gallery.

pictorial conceit at the time, which through a combination of text and image opened up ever new possibilities of interpretation, Rubens' picture left it to the respective viewer to draw his or her conclusions as to its meaning. When considered in the context of the concrete political situation, numerous interpretations could indeed be drawn—especially since the meaning of some figures is not entirely clear. But ultimately, all possible interpretations of Rubens' allusive allegory were aimed at illustrating the happy consequences of peace. It is therefore surely no coincidence that on his peace mission to London he also created another picture of Mars and Venus, varying the motif of the painting he had created for the Dutch court.[19]

The successful peace treaty with England reduced the immediate threat to the Habsburg Netherlands, though the war with the northern provinces continued. Rubens countered the limitations of his own political actions with Stoic thinking. His adherence to the ideas of Justus Lipsius, the most influential Dutch philosopher of his time, is attested to in many ways. Lipsius' fame was founded above all on his *De constantia libri duo*, first edited in

19 Peter Paul Rubens, *Venus, Mars and Cupid*, ca. 1628–30, canvas, 195.2 × 133 cm, London, Dulwich Picture Gallery. Ellinoor Bergvelt and Michiel Jonker, *Dutch and Flemish Paintings: Dulwich Picture Gallery* (London: Giles, 2016), 199–202.

1584. Devised as a philosophical dialogue set in the political present, the *Two Books of Steadfastness* was a 'handbook' that provided a philosophic guide to conducting one's life. It deals with the inescapable surrender of one's human existence to the fate prescribed in divine providence (*providentia*), for which numerous examples from history and contemporary life are cited. In this context, *constantia* is defined as the 'right, immovable strength of soul', 'which is neither uplifted nor depressed by external and accidental events', whereby for Lipsius the firmness of mind is based on a right use of reason. In this widely read book, whose conversational dialogue is set in a garden, Lipsius proclaims that by contemplating nature, which is at once beautiful and ephemeral, reason can be restored to healthy and natural standards. This would make possible a life free of malicious affects. In his letters published during his lifetime, Lipsius recommended the ancient ideal of rural life, citing Pliny and Seneca. His statements combine the Stoic admiration of the cosmos and the Christian ideal of the *vita contemplativa*, already advocated by Petrarch, to form an ethical concept for perfecting one's own character through a contemplative, philosophically guided view of nature. In all parts of Europe at that time, the wealthy urban bourgeoisie had already begun moving from the overcrowded cities to the countryside in search of Arcadia, as the place to seek 'purifying' regeneration from the trials of business. This aim is also evident in the evocative names given to some of these estates.

The poet and emblem book author Jacob Cats called his country house 'Sorghvliet' or 'escape from sorrows'. He also described the idyllic life on such a 'buitenplaats': reading, pleasure walks in nature, working the land—with one's own hands!—cultivating arts and sciences, and recognising God in everything.[20] Another famous example is the country estate of Constantijn Huygens, which was called 'Hofwijk' ('avoid the court'). Huygens himself followed the example of the ancients and knew very well that the Habsburg court painter Rubens was also committed to the same ideal. In his autobiography, written around 1630, he reports that Rubens had recently left Antwerp during an epidemic and was devoting himself to painting landscapes at his country estate.[21]

In May 1627 Rubens had acquired the Hof van Ursele, located north of Antwerp in Ekeren, as a country house for his family. According to the sale

20 Jacob Cats, *Ovderdom, Buyten-leven, en Hof-gedachten op Sorgh-vliet* (Amsterdam: J.J. Schipper, 1656).

21 Jacob Adolf Worp, 'Fragment eener Autobiographie van Constantin Huygens', *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* 18 (1897): 119.

Figure 7.7 Peter Paul Rubens, *A Sermon in a Village Church*, ca. 1633–35, black chalk, brush and brownish red ink, watercolour, body colour and oil, 422 × 573 mm, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

contract this was 'a beautiful, well-situated country house, surrounded by water'.[22] His first landscape paintings may have been created there, though unfortunately they cannot be dated exactly.[23] It is certain that Rubens used his Hof van Ursele as a summer residence, as we know from two letters, one dated 14 October 1627, the other 10 August 1628; he also addressed a request for a passport to the States General in The Hague, in which Rubens asked Frederik Hendrik, the Prince of Orange, to grant him a letter of safe conduct to reach his estate in Ekeren.[24] This was necessary because the area was subjected to repeated attacks by troops from the Republic and indeed remained under constant threat for some time to come. In the event of an attack, Rubens was able to flee to the safety of Antwerp, whereas the rural

22 Antwerpen, Felix Archief, SR#581 (Schepenregister 1627/1: Waerbeeck, Ketgen, Guyot & Borremans), fols 270r–274r: 'een schoon, wel gelegen huijs ende hoff van plaisantie rontsomme in sijn waeter gelegen'. See Nils Büttner, *Genre Scenes*, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard 28 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), 241, note 26.

23 Corina Kleinert, *Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) and His Landscapes: Ideas on Nature and Art* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 117–18.

24 '[…] dat hy een acte van sauvegarde heeft in crachte van de welcke hy vermaech te gaen op syn huys tot Eyekeren'. Rooses and Ruelens, *Correspondance*, 4:316, 452–53.

population had to survive as best it could. A drawing by Rubens provides an impressive record of the conditions at that time (Fig. 7.7).[25]

In 1623, Ekeren and the Sint-Lambertuskerk had been plundered for the first time by the Calvinists. In order to protect themselves, the villagers constructed an earthen wall around the cemetery, while the church, which had been converted into a fortress, became a storage place for grain and household goods. Shelves and cupboards were placed on the walls and even hooks hammered into the pillars to hang ploughs and rakes on.[26] On 3 January 1625, the Council of Brabant, at the insistence of the Antwerp church superiors, had decreed that

> the inhabitants (who in present times of war oppose the expeditions and marches of men of war), do not alone bring their furniture, grain and household goods into the aforementioned church, but also take refuge there themselves, erecting cottages and huts, barns and annexes, both in the churchyard and against the walls of the churches inside and out, even against the windows, which they cover with straw, grass and reeds and other light roofs likely to cause some fire damage.[27]

It was therefore forbidden to continue to 'erect cottages and huts, barns and appendages', while fixtures could only be made in such a way as to avoid any damage to the church and its choir. In addition, existing constructions had to be adapted to meet the new regulations at the expense of the relevant community. Animals were to be housed in the churchyard so as not to dishonour the church, and anything that smelled or was contagious was to be removed from the church interior.[28] However, such work took time and the military conflicts continued, so that by 1628 almost all the churches in the countryside north of Antwerp were still packed with personal belongings.

25 Peter Paul Rubens, *A Sermon in a Village Church*, ca. 1633–35, black chalk, brush and brownish red ink, watercolour, body colour and oil, 422 × 573 mm, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Büttner, *Genre Scenes*, 235–42, no. 13.

26 Büttner, *Genre Scenes*, 235–42, no. 13.

27 Büttner, *Genre Scenes*, 241–42, no. 33: 'De huyslieden (midts de tegenwoordige oorlogen, excursien ende tochten van cryghslieden ter weder syden) hunne meubelen, graenen ende huysraet niet alleen introduceren in de voorseide kercken, maer ook aldaer vluchten in persoone, oprechten huyskens, hutten, coyen ende affhangen, soo op den kerckhove als tegen de mueren van der kercken van binnen ende van buyten, jae oock omtrent de gelaesen vensters, die zy hun vervoirderen te decken met stroy, brempt, riet ende andere lichten daecken, dwelck soude commen te veroirsaecken eenich ongeluck van brandt'.

28 Kristin de Raeymaecker, *Het godsdienstig leven in de landdekenij Antwerpen, 1610–1650* (Leuven: Belgisch Centrum voor landelijke geschiedenis, 1977), 55.

It was only in 1635 that the situation gradually improved, with only three of the thirty-five churches still in urgent need of restoration. However, the chapels were still so crammed full of belongings that one could hardly see the altars or hear the preacher.[29] There were also quite a number of people still living in the churches, which Laurens Beyerlinck, who visited the surrounding area in 1625, compared to the Egyptian plague of locusts.[30] Rubens' drawing also has a critical undertone, and while in Antwerp some may have found the sight of the church so full of belongings amusing, one can only hope that Rubens' drawing will have drawn attention to the plight of the country people and the terrible effect of war on their lives. So the drawing is also a powerful testimony to the consequences of war.

Unlike many of his contemporaries, Rubens did not paint battle scenes. He remained faithful to the medium of allegory. He glorified the victory won at the gates of Antwerp at Kallo (Calloo) in the design of a festive carriage that was led through the city on the occasion of the victory celebration.[31] As so often he drew inspiration from ancient models, as indeed he also did when devising images which portrayed the suffering and distress caused by war. His painting, *Lansquenets Carousing*, is essentially an allegory about the sufferings experienced by the rural population, which, however, is rooted less in antiquity than in contemporary imagery (Fig. 7.8),[32] portraying as it does the reality of life since the beginning of the revolt against the Habsburg government in 1568.

Since the middle of the seventeenth century, such depictions, which were already to be found in inventories, were listed under the title of *Boerenverdriet*.[33] The fact that Rubens staged the horrors of his time as a costume piece becomes understandable when one considers the negative attitude of the courtly public when confronted with depictions of low subjects.[34] The painter chose this form of staging to make his lament on

29 Ward van Osta, *Geschiedenis van de Brasschaatse Parochies* (Brasschaat: Parochiefederatie Brasschaat, 2005), 16–17.

30 'Est hic continuus fluxus et refluxus militum qui totum pagum instar locustarum Egyptiarum depascuntur'. De Raeymaecker, *Het godsdienstig leven*, 6.

31 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Triumphal Chariot of Calloo*, 1638, panel, 71 × 103 cm; Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. no. 318; John R. Martin, *The Decorations for the Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard 16 (Brussels: Brepols, 1972), 216–21, no. 56.

32 Peter Paul Rubens, *Lansquenets Carousing* (*'The Marauders'*), ca. 1637–40, canvas, 121.9 × 163.2 cm, Switzerland, Private Collection. See Büttner, *Genre Scenes*, 242–61, no. 14.

33 Jane Susannah Fishman, *Boerenverdriet: Violence between Peasants and Soldiers in Early Modern Netherlands Art* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1982).

34 Büttner, *Genre Scenes*, 22–23.

Figure 7.8 Peter Paul Rubens, *Lansquenets Carousing ('The Marauders')*, ca. 1637–40, canvas, 121.9 × 163.2 cm, Switzerland, Private Collection.

the horror and misery inflicted on the peasants by the war accessible to a socially superior audience. The large number of copies and repetitions of Rubens' remarkable painting impressively attests to its contemporary popularity.[35]

In 1635, he himself avoided being directly affected by such danger by acquiring another country estate, Het Steen near Elewijt, which lay south of Antwerp. Whereas the Hof van Ursele, to the north of the city, was simply a beautiful, well-situated country house, 'een schoon, wel gelegen huijs ende hoff van plaisantie', the acquisition of Het Steen brought with it far more extensive privileges, including the elevation of its new owner to the rank of 'Seigneur de Steen'.[36] This extensive estate consisted not only of a manor house, a farm, orchards, fields, meadows and forests, but also sovereignty over several surrounding villages, whose inhabitants and tenants owed tribute and allegiance to the Lord van Steen.[37] That Rubens used his stays

35 Rüdiger Klessmann, 'A Lost Paining by Rubens and Its Meaning', in *Shop Talk: Studies in Honour of Seymour Slive, Presented on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Cynthia P. Schneider (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Art Museums, 1995), 137–42, here 138.

36 Nils Büttner, *Herr P.P. Rubens: Von der Kunst, berühmt zu werden* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 185, note 166.

37 *Rubens-bulletijn – Bulletin-Rubens* 5 (1910): 152–57.

in the countryside to sketch landscapes was reported not only by Huygens,[38] but also by the painter's nephew in a letter of 1676 to the French art critic Roger de Piles.[39] The Englishman Edward Norgate also knew of Rubens' sojourns in the countryside and in 1650 interpreted the landscapes he painted there as an expression of cultivated leisure.[40] These images were in fact only created, Norgate wrote, when 'he quitted all his other practice in Picture and Story, whereby he got a vast estate, to study this'.[41] It is indeed the case that Rubens executed numerous landscapes during the 1630s, some of which are listed in the specification of the artist's estate as having been painted from nature.[42] The fact that the landscapes remained in Rubens' possession during his lifetime indicates that they were indeed created on his own initiative and without a commission. At the same time, he was aware of their appeal for the print market and had several of his landscapes engraved, which undoubtedly contributed to his long-lasting fame as a landscape painter.[43] The often spontaneous and intensive work on these paintings is demonstrated not only by the absence of preparatory oil sketches and studies, but also by his fluid brush work and deliberate inclusion of the different ground layers, all of which enhanced the colouristic effects. Another indication is Rubens' tendency to enlarge the picture panel during the painting process. In his *Landscape with Het Steen* and *Landscape with the Rainbow*, the additions allow us to follow the evolution of the compositions and to understand the various stages in their execution. The two were seemingly not devised as stand-alone paintings, but rather as pendants, and may have hung on opposite walls of Het Steen.[44]

By including the view of Het Steen, various livestock and grain fields, both landscapes symbolise prosperity and abundance, while the overview

38 Worp, 'Fragment', 118–19: 'Nam et regiunculis nuper in secessum ruris à contagio urbis exactus, pari ubertate ac gratia operam dedit. Quanti voluminis argumentum sit, quae penicillo solus edidit, stijlo assequi?'

39 *Rubens-bulletijn – Bulletin-Rubens* 2 (1885): 167: 'Ayant achete la seigneurie du Steen entre Bruxelles et Malines, l'an 1630, il y prenoit grand plaisir de vivre dans la tant plus vivement pouvoir dipeindre au naturel les montagnes, plaines, vall'es et prairies d'alentour, au lever et coucher du soleil, avec leurs orizons'.

40 Büttner, *Herr P.P. Rubens*, 98.

41 Edward Norgate, *Miniatura or the Art of Limning*, ed. J.M. Muller and J. Murrell (London: Clarendon Press, 1997), 84 (for the quotation),163, under note 159, for the explanation.

42 Erik Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, vol. 4 (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schoone Kunsten van België, 1989), 296, 304, 312, nos. 131–35; Jeffrey M. Muller, *Rubens: The Artist as Collector* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), 119, nos. 131–35.

43 Kleinert, *Peter Paul Rubens*, 61–116.

44 Lucy Davis, *Rubens: The Two Great Landscapes* (London: Bloomsbury, 2020), esp. 65–95.

of the seemingly endless landscape is a visual assertion of Rubens' position as master of a vast estate. However, these paintings were not only signifiers of social standing, but also provided the opportunity for contemplation, both on the wonder of nature and on the enjoyment of art. In this vein, Roger de Piles described in his *Conversation sur la connaissance de la peinture* (1677) how Rubens' landscapes were not only painted with pleasure but also evoked pleasurable feelings with their views of nature, through Rubens' ability to capture the essence of the landscape.[45] Yet Rubens' landscapes went beyond simply satisfying this theoretical prerequisite for a good landscape painting. Seen in the light of the teachings of Justus Lipsius, whom Rubens admired, and Seneca's philosophy on the observation of nature, the landscapes reflect both the ideal of *delectatio* or joyful observation, and the continuing relationship with nature which leads to knowledge and insight. The painted landscape can thus become a *remedium*, a remedy for the soul torn by passions. The large landscapes were thus also to be understood as allegories of a peaceful world, as an Arcadian Elysium, and the visual epitome of a peaceful and secure human existence.

At about the same time, Rubens also expressed his longing for peace in a picture for the Florentine court painter Justus Sustermans (Fig. 7.9).[46] He had asked Rubens for a painting by his own hand and left the choice of subject to him. Probably no other work by Rubens has been written about so extensively as his *Horrors of War*, the painting that Jacob Burckhardt described in 1898 as the 'eternal and unforgettable title page of the Thirty-year war'.[47] The general theme is 'the destructive nature of conflict'.[48] Rubens makes use of the entire repertoire of allegorical imagery in his *Horrors of War*, for example when he showed the temple of Janus with its door flung open to illustrate that war has been let loose.[49] In addition, Rubens uses different personifications to underline his pictorial message. Europa raises her arms in supplication, while Venus, the goddess of love,

45 Roger de Piles, *Conversations sur la connoissance de la peinture, et sur le jugement qu'on doit faire des tableaux. Où par occasion il est parlé de la vie de Rubens, & de quelques-uns de ses plus beaux ouvrages* (Paris: Nicolas Langlois, 1677), 146–50.

46 Peter Paul Rubens, *Die Schrecken des Krieges*, 1637/38, canvas, 206 × 345 cm, Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Galleria Palatina. Büttner, *Allegories*, 1:263–82, no. 32.

47 Jacob Burckhardt, *Rubens* (Basel: C.F. Lendorff, 1898), 232.

48 Elizabeth McGrath, Gregory Martin, Fiona Healy, Bert Schepers, Carl Van de Velde, and Karolien De Clippel, *Mythological Subjects*, vol. 1, *Achilles to the Graces*, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard 11.1) (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2016), 1:35.

49 Carsten-Peter Warncke, *Sprechende Bilder, sichtbare Worte: Das Bildverständnis in der frühen Neuzeit* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1987), 200.

Figure 7.9 Peter Paul Rubens, *Die Schrecken des Krieges*, 1637/38, canvas, 206 × 345 cm, Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Galleria Palatina.

strives in vain to hold back Mars, the raging god of war. He is preceded by the terrifying furies, while a mother clasping her child in her arms embodies the virtue of charity as well as fertility and procreation.[50] The female figure with the lute is clearly the embodiment of harmony, which is also expressed by the instrument assigned to her as an attribute.[51] For Rubens, allegory is a figure of thought in which linguistic images and visualised concepts are interwoven. This is expressed most strikingly by the portrayal of Mars trampling on the sciences and fine arts, thus illustrating a concept that is already verbally a metaphor.[52] Even before the painting reached Florence, the first copies must have been made, several of which ended up in the northern Netherlands. On 4 September 1651 Matthijs Musson delivered twelve paintings to a certain 'Monsieur Vinck' at a price of seventy guilders each, including one that, according to the brief description, showed the God of War with the Liberal Arts under his feet, 'Mars hebbende de vrij consten onder de voeten'.[53]

50 Warncke, *Sprechende Bilder*, 201–2.

51 For the lute as symbol of harmony, see Reinold Baumstark, 'Ikonographische Studien zu Rubens Kriegs- und Friedensallegorien', *Aachener Kunstblätter* 44 (1974): 125–234, here 199.

52 Büttner, *Allegories*, 1:281, note 78.

53 Erik Duverger, 'Nieuwe gegevens betreffende de kunsthandel van Matthijs Musson en Maria Fourmenois te Antwerpen tussen 1633 en 1681', *Gentse bijdragen tot de kunstgeschiedenis en de oudheidkunde* 21 (1968): 5-273, here 75.

Figure 7.10
Hendrick Hondius, *Cows in a Landscape*, 1644, etching and engraving, 20.6 × 15.7 cm.

After the peace treaty of 1648, which Rubens was not to live to see, Amsterdam became the most important hub for trade in his paintings. Rubens' allegories, which imagined a golden age, also enjoyed great popularity in Holland. This may in part have been because this era, which in retrospect was praised as the 'Golden Age', was an auspiciously peaceful time. Even the double peace treaties of Münster and Osnabrück did not bring lasting peace to the now de jure-recognised Dutch Republic. In this respect, the unprecedentedly large number of idyllic landscapes produced in this era can be read as counter-images. For a close reading of the paintings produced in that period shows that the security that accompanies peace was and remained a dream for people at that time. Like the paintings by Rubens, the landscapes by Esaias van de Velde, Jan van Goyen or Salomon van Ruisdael can also be read allegorically. The windmills depicted in so many paintings thus appear as a symbol of the triumph of human ingenuity over nature. They are also a striking sign that the Dutch landscape in its

specific manifestation was to a large extent man-made. The simultaneous calamity from water and war was incorporated as a formative experience in the creation of the Dutch nation. Even the cows on the pastures became a symbol of national welfare, and a landscape etched in 1644 by Hendrick Hondius with cows by the river (Fig. 7.10) is accompanied by an epigraph which exhorts patriotic citizens to take good care 'that the Dutch cow is not stolen from us'.[54]

Seen in this light, even the landscapes painted at the time become an expression of a patriotism that grew out of constant threat. The brutal reality of the period plays no role in most of the pictures executed at that time. But the visualisation of the hoped-for peace in ever newer idyllic images formed an idealised image that made it easy for the nationalist historiography of the nineteenth century to stylise the seventeenth century as the 'Golden Age'.

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54 Hendrick Hondius, *Cows in a Landscape*, 1644, etching and engraving, 206 × 157 mm; lettered: 'Ghy Heeren wachters wel neerstelyck toe siet, Dat Ons gerooft werd de Hollandse koé niet'. See Nadine Orenstein, *Hendrick Hondius*, The New Hollstein: Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450–1700 (Roosendaal: Koninklijke Van Poll, 1994), 70, no. 58.

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8 Safety as Nostalgia

Infrastructural Breakdown in Stefan Zweig's *Beware of Pity* (1938)

Frederik Van Dam

Abstract
The present chapter examines the notion of security in the work of the Austrian-Jewish writer Stefan Zweig. In *The World of Yesterday* (1942), a memoir, Zweig expresses nostalgia for the institutions of the nineteenth-century welfare state: the prospect of a well-regulated career and the promotion of insurance schemes, for instance, allowed people to contemplate the future with confidence. His earlier novel *Beware of Pity* (1938), however, associates the prewar state with feelings of insecurity: in this text, the technologies and media on which the state relies, such as telephone lines and railway networks, are shown to be destructive of the individual subject's sense of self.

Keywords: Stefan Zweig, security, institutions, infrastructure, modernism

The period between the two world wars is often seen as an age of anxiety. Writing in 1938, the architectural historian and literary critic Lewis Mumford lamented that 'the constant anxiety over war produces by itself a collective psychosis comparable to that which active warfare might develop'.[1] Building on Mumford's observations, Paul K. Saint-Amour has argued that this sense of foreboding pertains to the interwar period as a whole: 'in the immediate wake of the First World War, the dread of another massive conflict saturated the Anglo-European imagination, amounting to a proleptic mass traumatisation, a pre-traumatic stress syndrome whose symptoms

1 Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1938), 275.

Blok, G. & J. Oosterholt (eds.), *The Cultural Construction of Safety and Security: Imaginaries, Discourses and Philosophies that Shaped Modern Europe*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press 2023
DOI: 10.5117/9789463720472_CH08

arose in response to a potentially oncoming rather than an already realised catastrophe'.[2] Such pre-traumatic feelings of insecurity can be detected in the literary culture of the interwar period, particularly in works that belong to those movements that often are brought under the heading of modernism or the avant-garde. While Saint-Amour's analyses shed new light on the hermetic texts of European modernism, his conclusions dovetail with the widely held view that modernist writers abandoned realist forms of storytelling such as narrative coherence and the representation of inner states of mind, as these forms could not capture the fragmented experience of the present.[3] Building on this body of scholarship, the present chapter traces the affective strategies of interwar literature to a context that is different from, yet related to, that of total war. Taking my cue from the recent 'institutional turn' in studies of English modernism, I aim to show how feelings of anxiety were bound up with infrastructural breakdown. In his study of the cultural impact of the Treaty of Versailles on Bloomsbury modernism, for instance, Gabriel Hankins reconsiders the role of literary narratives in 'trace[ing] out the process of institutionalisation, the paths, forms, and structures of feeling which connect the individual to the affective scaffolding of educational, bureaucratic or governmental institutions'.[4] Adding a transnational perspective to such approaches, the present chapter examines what an attention to institutions, as the organisations by which social life is ruled, might reveal for the case of an interwar Austrian-Jewish writer, whose work, as I will show, suggests that the literary representation of institutions must be situated within the overarching representation of forms of infrastructure.

At first sight, the work of the Austrian-Jewish writer Stefan Zweig seems to fit in with the above (admittedly crude) description of the interbellum as an age of anxiety. In *The World of Yesterday: Memoirs of a European* (1942), Zweig remarks that 'the word "security" has long been struck out of our vocabulary as a phantom'.[5] The survivors of the First World War, who 'have learnt not to

2 Paul K. Saint-Amour, *Tense Future: Modernism, Total War, Encyclopedic Form* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 7–8.

3 Vincent Sherry, *The Great War and the Language of Modernism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Paul Sheehan, *Modernism and the Aesthetics of Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

4 Gabriel Hankins, *Interwar Modernism and the Liberal World Order: Offices, Institutions, and Aesthetics after 1919* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 53.

5 Stefan Zweig, *The World of Yesterday: Memoirs of a European*, trans. Anthea Bell (London: Pushkin Press, 2009), 6. 'Es ist billig für uns heute, die wir das Wort "Sicherheit" längst als ein Phantom aus unserem Vokabular gestrichen haben […]'. Stefan Zweig, *Die Welt von Gestern: Erinnerungen eine Europäers* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschbuch, 1970), 18.

be surprised by any new outbreak of collective bestiality, and expect every new day to prove even worse than the day just past, are considerably more sceptical about prospects for the moral education of humanity'.[6] As one of the most critically and commercially successful writers of his day, who had nevertheless been forced to flee his home country and whose books were burned in public, Zweig can be forgiven for being cynical. At the same time, he writes that he cannot shake off his attachment to the 'noble and wonderful delusion that our fathers served'.[7] His perspective is typically modern insofar as he yearns to return not to a different place but a different time:

> Even from the abyss of horror in which we try to feel our way today, half-blind, our hearts destroyed and shattered, I look up again and again to the ancient constellations that shone on my childhood, comforting myself with the inherited confidence that, some day, this relapse will appear only an interval in the eternal rhythm of progress onward and upward.[8]

In contrast to more pessimistically inclined contemporaries such as Oswald Spengler or Karl Kraus, Zweig here holds on to the liberal conviction that 'peace and security, the greatest of goods, would come to all mankind'.[9] His nostalgia is not restorative: Zweig does not argue that we must rebuild the lost homeland of the nation by reviving (or inventing) its vanishing traditions. Instead, lingering 'on ruins, the patina of time and history, in the dreams of another place and another time', Zweig's perspective is reflective.[10] To rekindle this lost sense of security, his memoir provides a detailed description of life in the years before the First World War, what he calls the 'golden age of security'.[11] Even though Zweig does not hide the blinkered aspects of

6 Zweig, *The World of Yesterday*, 26. '[…] wir, die wir […] gelernt haben, von keinem Ausbruch kollektiver Bestialität uns mehr überraschen zu lassen, wir, die wir von jedem kommenden Tag noch Ruchloseres erwarteten als von dem vergangenen, sind bedeutend skeptischer hinsichtlich einer moralischen Erziehbarkeit der Menschen'. *Die Welt von Gestern*, 18–19.

7 Zweig, *The World of Yesterday*, 26. '[…] ein wundervoller und edler Wahn, dem unsere Väter dienten'. *Die Welt von Gestern*, 19.

8 Zweig, *The World of Yesterday*, 27. 'Selbst aus dem Abgrund des Grauens, in dem wir heute halb blind herumtasten mit verstörter und zerbrochener Seele, blicke ich immer wieder auf zu jenen alten Sternbildern, die über meiner Kindheit glänzten, und tröste mich mit den ererbten Vertrauen, daß dieser Rückfall dereinst nur als ein Intervall erscheinen wird in dem ewigen Rhythmus des Voran und Voran'. *Die Welt von Gestern*, 19.

9 Zweig, *The World of Yesterday*, 26. 'Friede und Sicherheit, diese höchsten Güter, der ganzen Menschheit zugeteilt sein'. *Die Welt von Gestern*, 18.

10 Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 41.

11 Zweig, *The World of Yesterday*, 23. '[…] das goldene Zeitalter der Sicherheit'. *Die Welt von Gestern*, 15.

this period, as is evident in his acerbic chapters on the period's restrictive sexual mores and stringent educational practices, he takes pains to probe into the conditions that made this world of security possible. In the present chapter, I will be concerned with two such conditions. The first is a belief in the durability of institutional forms. From Zweig's retrospective point of view, people of all classes insured their houses, their lands, their bodies and their health: 'Only those who could look forward with confidence to the future enjoyed the present with an easy mind'.[12] The second condition is a belief in the power of science and technology. Instances of urban engineering, such as electric lighting and water mains, and inventions that erased distances, such as the telephone and the automobile, appeared to prove that people's belief in progress was justified. Zweig's examples revolve around prototypical forms of infrastructure, the 'built networks that facilitate the flow of goods, people or ideas and allow for their exchange over space'.[13] While for analytical purposes it is helpful to make a distinction between institutions and infrastructure, one must not forget that they intersect: institutions may shape the development of new technologies, and vice versa new technologies may require the creation of new institutional forms.[14] By dwelling on the achievements of nineteenth-century infrastructural developments, then, Zweig seems to imagine a potential future that goes beyond the contemporary concern with fear and anxiety.

Given Zweig's professed belief in the values of the nineteenth century in his memoir, one wonders how bureaucratic institutions and technological networks inform his fictional work. To answer this question, I will turn to Zweig's depiction of feelings of security and insecurity in *Beware of Pity* (*Ungeduld des Herzens*, 1939). The main action of this novel is set on the eve of the Great War but does not—or, at least, not ostensibly—deal with the prospect of global conflict.[15] Instead, it revolves around a social matter, the

12 Zweig, *The World of Yesterday*, 24. 'Nur wer sorglos in die Zukunft blicken konnte, genoß mit gutem Gefühl die Gegenwart'. *Die Welt von Gestern*, 16–17.

13 Brian Larkin, 'The Politics and Poetics of Infrastructure', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 42 (2013): 327–43.

14 Timon Beyes, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Media, Technology, and Organization Studies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019).

15 In spite of its seemingly commonplace subject matter, however, the novel is not wholly unconcerned with war. While Hofmiller's narrative takes up the body of the text, there is a surrounding frame tale. In the opening pages, the extradiegetic narrator, who remains nameless, describes how he meets Hofmiller in 1938, first briefly at a café, and then more intimately at a small party. At this party, the assembled company discusses the possibility of a second world war, something which the host and most guests dismiss as improbable, but which the narrator—and, to his surprise, Hofmiller, a famous and decorated veteran—regard as incontrovertible. The

fraught relationship between Anton Hofmiller, a young and impecunious cavalry officer, and Edith von Kekesfalva, the crippled daughter of a Hungarian aristocrat. Throughout the story, Hofmiller finds himself oscillating between moments of security and insecurity, as he tries to extricate himself from his involvement in the family's affairs. In its depiction of everyday life before the Great War, then, the main story of *Beware of Pity* provides a fruitful point of comparison with *The World of Yesterday*: it is set at a moment when the conditions that Zweig describes in his memoir were about to disappear. Do we find the same sense of nostalgia for the world of the nineteenth century and, if so, how is it articulated? Is security made possible by an investment in institutions and, if so, which institutions? How do technological and infrastructural innovations enhance or instil feelings of *Sicherheit*?

Anton Hofmiller does not begin his tale with his family background or his upbringing, but with his entry into the army. For families with limited means but of a certain social standing, such as his, a career in this state-sponsored institution offers security: 'I had reached the first stage of a military career, and now the cycle of promotion could move automatically on at suitable intervals until I reached retirement age and had gout'.[16] Hofmiller's assumptions about his career's preordained pattern mimics the description of the world of security in Zweig's memoir, where Zweig writes how 'civil servants and officers were reliably able to consult the calendar and see the year when they would be promoted and the year when they would retire'.[17] One could argue that the army fulfils the role of an institution in 'stabiliz[ing] and control[ing] the role of individual agents through the complex interaction of roles, norms, hierarchies, positions, and constraints'.[18] A military career suits Hofmiller's natural talents—the novel provides some fine scenes in which he puts his men through their manoeuvres—and Hofmiller does not seem troubled by this lack of agency: 'No one, least of all I myself, had ever

frame tale thus gives the novel's main story an additional charge: the failure to read the signs of the times in 1938 repeats the same moment in 1914. For a recent historiographical account that corroborates Zweig's analysis, see Christopher Clark, *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2012).

16 Stefan Zweig, *Beware of Pity*, trans. Anthea Bell (London: Pushkin Press, 2013), 34. '[…] damit war die erste Etappe erreicht, und nun konnte der Turnus des Avancements in gebührenden Pausen mechanisch sich weiterhaspeln bis zur Pensionierung und Gicht'. Stefan Zweig, *Ungeduld des Herzens* (Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1971), 15.

17 Zweig, *The World of Yesterday*, 23. '[…] der Beamte, der Offizier wiederum fand im Kalender verläßlich das Jahr, in dem er avancieren werde, und in dem er in Pension gehen würde'. *Die Welt von Gestern*, 15.

18 Hankins, *Interwar Modernism and the Liberal World Order*, 19.

stopped to wonder whether I would enjoy life in a cavalry regiment'.[19] In contrast to the heroes of Stendhal, Henry James or Thomas Mann, he does not seem to suffer from bourgeois ennui. 'To wonder what to do with your life', as Fredric Jameson writes, 'is already to commit yourself in advance to a certain ontological dissatisfaction with any of the ultimate possibilities', but Hofmiller seems to have bypassed this problem, and is content with the security offered by his sinecure.[20]

Hofmiller's career diverges from its straight course, however, when he is invited to dine at the estate of the local magnate, Herr von Kekesfalva. As he becomes embroiled in the family's affairs, he finds satisfaction and pleasure in being regarded as someone with unrealised potential—a sentiment that contradicts his self-perception as a capable but mediocre officer. At his third visit, for instance, he is invited to a dinner that includes a certain Lieutenant Colonel von F of the War Ministry, which suggests to Hofmiller that Kekesfalva is 'trying to make [him] a friend who would be useful in [his] military career'.[21] Given this focus on the protagonist's career ('Dienst'), readers may expect a tale in which they follow the protagonist as he prepares manoeuvres to advance his own prospects or as he engages in tactical battles with his competitors, as in Balzac's *Les Employés* (1838). But this expectation remains unfulfilled. Zweig's novel does not turn on a named progression of professional stations: Hofmiller's career does not provide a way to channel or manage the desires that precede it (there are no such desires), nor does it engender desires of its own as it proceeds (Hofmiller is not ambitious).[22] His predicament, the novel seems to suggest, is that his profession was forced upon him, while he did not feel 'any particular enthusiasm for the career of an army officer, or a special vocation for it'.[23] The term 'vocation' or 'Berufung' is a charged one: in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904–5), Max Weber argued that middle-class labour is charged with an inner calling that endows it with a higher, spiritual meaning. Hofmiller's official career

19 Zweig, *Beware of Pity*, 34. 'Ob es mir selber zusagte, bei der Kavallerie oder überhaupt aktiv zu dienen, darüber hatte nie jemand nachgedacht, ich selber am wenigsten'. *Ungeduld des Herzens*, 16.

20 Fredric Jameson, 'The Vanishing Mediator: Or, Max Weber as Storyteller', *New German Critique* 1 (1973): 52–89, here 59.

21 Zweig, *Beware of Pity*, 74. '[…] auf diskrete Art eine dienstliche Protektion verschaffen wollte'. *Ungeduld des Herzens*, 50.

22 For an insightful discussion of the career in nineteenth-century narratives, to which this paragraph is indebted, see Nicholas Dames, 'Trollope and the Career: Vocational Trajectories and the Management of Ambition', *Victorian Studies* 45, no. 2 (2003): 47–278.

23 Zweig, *Beware of Pity*, 33. 'Daß ich jemals sonderliche Passion oder innere Berufung für den Offiziersstand empfunden hätte, darf ich nicht behaupten'. *Ungeduld des Herzens*, 15.

does not conform to Weber's views and offers no such prospects. His private life, however, does create the outline of a vocational trajectory. Indeed, Hofmiller is lured away from the security of his career because he begins to develop a sense that there is a higher and nobler purpose in life. His sense of self expands and he finds a vocation in the exercise of sympathy: 'I will heighten my faculties by giving myself', he exclaims, 'I will enrich myself by becoming a brother to everyone else, I will feel sympathy for everyone and understand the suffering of others'.[24] In short, his story is one of a moral or sentimental education, or *Bildung*. This education takes place outside the institution that dominates his life. As the plot develops, Hofmiller notices that he is developing two selves, an official one and a private one, and that the two are increasingly at odds: 'I have no plan and no destination in mind—I feel I can't live in either of my two worlds, the Kekesfalva estate outside town and the barracks here'.[25] The feelings of security instilled by his career in the army are thus thwarted by the sudden growth of a sense of social calling.

Hofmiller's social calling is created by people who seem to mean well. Throughout the novel, several benefactors take Hofmiller under their wings. Already in the first pages, the reader learns how Hofmiller would never have been able to secure a spot in the cavalry without the financial assistance of his aunt Daisy, who 'was both rich and a snob', and who 'could not bear to think that anyone who happened to be called Hofmiller should bring the family name into disrepute by serving in the infantry'.[26] This act of patronage is not without consequences, as it forces Hofmiller into a precarious position. His rich fellow officers are able to maintain an active social life: the presence of a railway station close to the barracks ensures that men 'who had money could, with careful planning, go to Vienna on the five o'clock train and return on the night train, getting in at two-thirty next morning', thus allowing for 'refreshing diversions' such as 'a visit to the theatre and a stroll around the Ringstrasse, courting the ladies and sometimes going in search of a little adventure'.[27] Hofmiller's allowance is limited, however; he is

24 Zweig, *Beware of Pity*, 89. 'Sich steigern, indem man sich hingibt, sich bereichern, indem man jedem Schicksal sich verbrüdert, jedes Leiden durch Mitleiden versteht und besteht'. *Ungeduld des Herzens*, 63.

25 Zweig, *Beware of Pity*, 310. 'Ich habe keinen Vorsatz, kein Ziel: In meinen beiden Welten bin ich unmöglich geworden, draußen und drinnen'. *Ungeduld des Herzens*, 256.

26 Zweig, *Beware of Pity*, 34. 'Reich und snobistisch zugleich, wollte sie es nicht dulden, daß irgendeiner aus der Verwandschaft, der gleichfalls Hofmiller hieß, die Familie 'verschandeln' sollte, indem er bei der Infanterie diente'. *Ungeduld des Herzens*, 16.

27 Zweig, *Beware of Pity*, 35. 'Wer Geld hatte – und bei der Kavallerie dienen immer allerhand reiche Burschen, nicht zuletzt auch die Freiwilligen, teils Hochadel, teils Fabrikantensöhne – der konnte, wenn er rechtzeitig abpaschte, mit dem Fünfuhrzug nach Wien fahren und mit dem

unable to afford such pleasures and must content himself with going to the café, playing billiards or chess. Paradoxically, his aunt's act of patronage thus makes him insecure about his own position. Hofmiller's sense of insecurity is the result of a conflict between two institutional practices with different principles: the impartial rules that govern a professional hierarchy do not dovetail with the social privilege that patronage accords on the basis of interpersonal relationships.

The crux that an act of patronage may have unintended consequences is developed more fully in the novel's main story.[28] Hofmiller's most important patron is Lajos von Kekesfalva, who invites Hofmiller into his family, and who offers Hofmiller his friendship. Their relationship bears out Bruce Robbins' claim that, on 'the formal level, [...] the emotional centre of an upward mobility story lies not in its protagonist but in the protagonist's relation with a patron, mentor or benefactor'.[29] Although he himself made his way in the world on the strength of his mental powers, von Kekesfalva tries to let Hofmiller enjoy the luxury and pleasures offered by his estate. Once he perceives that Hofmiller's presence has an apparently beneficial effect on his crippled daughter's state of mind, however, he begins to hope that Hofmiller might be the way towards a cure for her illness. As a result, the initial balance of power shifts: while at first Hofmiller is subservient to von Kekesfalva, gradually the old man becomes dependent on his protégé. One of the most melodramatic scenes at the end of the novel illustrates this reversal: after Edith von Kekesfalva has quarrelled with Hofmiller because she senses that his concern for her is driven by pity and not by love, her father visits him in his room in the barracks, and sinks to his knees, begging Hofmiller to show mercy and to say that he loves her. As such, von Kekesfalva's patronage is not as disinterested as it seems. He displays 'a sense of entitlement that, like the Fabian paternalism that jump-started the welfare state, owes something both to rentier and to State bureaucrat'.[30]

Nachtzug um halb drei Uhr wieder zurück sein. Zeit genug also, um ins Theater zu gehen, auf der Ringstraße zu bummeln, den Kavalier zu spielen und sich gelegentliche Abenteuer zu suchen'. *Ungeduld des Herzens*, 17.

28 Emily Ridge similarly argues that Zweig's novel reveals 'a certain anxiety about the more sinister aspects of empathic feeling, not least its exploitative or harmful potential'. Emily Ridge, 'Beware of Pity: Stefan Zweig and the Fate of Narrative Empathy under Surveillance', *Novel: A Forum on Fiction* 52, no. 2 (2019): 240–60.

29 Bruce Robbins, *Upward Mobility and the Common Good: Toward a Literary History of the Welfare State* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), xv.

30 Robbins, *Upward Mobility and the Common Good*, 20.

Indeed, the novel plays with a recognisable category of narratives about the role of the welfare state in creating upward mobility. An embedded tale that takes up about a fourth of the novel tells us more about von Kekesfalva's past and heightens the impression that his acts can be interpreted as allegories of the welfare state. Adding a second intradiegetic level into the narration, this tale is told by Dr Condor. As Edith von Kekesfalva's physician, Dr Condor is initially suspicious of Hofmiller's presence, as he, too, perceives that it has wrought a change in her disposition. After having assessed Hofmiller's intentions as innocent, however, Dr Condor takes him into his confidence and reveals that Lajos von Kekesfalva began life as Leopold Kanitz. A boy from a poor Jewish family yet nursing a shrewd business acumen, Leopold Kanitz is figured as an instance of the nineteenth-century self-made man: 'when he turned up in these parts at the age of twenty he was already agent for a well-regarded insurance company, and his tireless industry allowed him to do many little business deals in addition to his official job'.[31] While the second clause signals how Kanitz is a canny entrepreneur, the first clause is just as important. As an insurance agent, Kanitz fulfilled a vital role in the establishment of the welfare state in Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The importance of insurance in instilling a feeling of security is stressed by Zweig in his memoir. Its function is akin to that of the career: as Greg Eghigian comments, 'insurance appeared to offer a particularly attractive way of fulfilling the professed aims of late nineteenth-century social policy', emphasising 'the bourgeois and domestic virtues of order, thrift, prudence, far-sightedness, family life, frugality, orderliness, responsibility, contribution, labour, industriousness, and economy all at once'.[32] Leopold Kanitz, it would appear, was one of the many agents who made this policy possible.

Given his own insecure origins, there is a kind of poetic justice in the fact that a character whose origins are insecure should be the one to instil a sense of security in his fellow citizens.[33] As the story develops, however,

31 Zweig, *Beware of Pity*, 146. '[…] als er in seinem zwanzigsten Jahr hie in der Gegend auftauchte, war er bereits Agent eine angesehenen Versicherungsgesellschaft, und gemäß seiner Unermüdlichkeit legte er dieser seiner offiziellen Tätigkeit noch hundert kleine Geschäfte zu'. *Ungeduld des Herzens*, 114.

32 Greg A. Eghigian, 'The German Welfare State as a Discourse of Trauma', in *Traumatic Pasts: History, Psychiatry and Trauma in the Modern Age, 1870–1930*, ed. Mark S. Micale and Paul Lerner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2001), 92–112, here 97, 98. As quoted in Stef Craps and Lucy Bond, *Trauma* (London: Routledge, 2020), 17.

33 For contextualisation of the novel's concern with Jewish identity, see Sarah Fraiman-Morris, 'Assimilation, Verrat und versuchte Wiedergutmachung: Zum Identitätsprozess bei Franz Werfel, Stefan Zweig und Joseph Roth', *Seminar: A Journal of Germanic Studies* 39, no. 3 (2003): 203–16.

the regular course of Kanitz's career is fatefully disrupted. Not only do personal considerations intrude in his professional life; he is also visited by the kinds of fear and shock that the insurance industry sought to manage and control: it was partially in response to increasing numbers of railway and industrial accidents, which led to an awareness that the nervous system could be damaged even when patients did not sustain a physical wound, that the state began to encourage the development of insurance schemes to protect (and at the same time discipline) its citizens. While rose-coloured pages of *The World of Yesterday* fail to mention this grim fact, trauma is at the heart of *Beware of Pity*. While travelling by train from Budapest to Vienna, Kanitz overhears that the wealthy Princess Orosvár has died and left almost all her earthly belongings to her faithful companion, Fräulein Annette Beate Dietzenhof. Remembering that the estate possesses a collection of Chinese porcelain and jade figurines, which he had (unsuccessfully) failed to acquire for a certain 'Rosenfeld in Chicago', he senses an opportunity.[34] As luck would have it, the next stop on his journey is Kekesfalva, so he gets out and ventures to the estate, where he finds a lonely woman who is watering plants in the conservatory. As they strike up a conversation, it becomes clear that she is no other than Fräulein Dietzenhof herself. She is profoundly unhappy with her newfound wealth and overwhelmed by the paperwork, 'the correspondence with her lawyer, the documents about inheritance tax, a copy of the agreement she had signed with the other heirs'.[35] Using his skills as an insurance agent, Kanitz sympathises: 'Legal proceedings the whole time, lawyers, negotiations, court cases and scandals… no, better to live quietly with a sense of security and none of all that trouble'.[36] Kanitz has hit upon the right note. Thrown into confusion by the events of the past days, Fräulein Dietzenhof is forced to reckon with the many years of physical and mental abuse that she suffered at the hands of the old Princess: for twelve years she was accused 'of uselessness, stupidity, ill will and lack of intelligence, her spirit utterly broken by the woman's infernal tyranny'.[37]

34 Zweig, *Beware of Pity*, 157. *Ungeduld des Herzens*, 122.

35 Zweig, *Beware of Pity*, 168. '[…] die ganzen Korrespondenzen mit ihrem Advokaten, die Gebührenvorschreibungen, die Kopie des Vergleiches'. *Ungeduld des Herzens*, 132.

36 Zweig, *Beware of Pity*, 164–65. 'Immer Prozesse, immer Advokaten, immer Verhandlungen und Tagsatzungen und Skandale… Nein, lieber bescheiden leben, seine Sicherheit haben und sich nicht ärgern müssen'. *Ungeduld des Herzens*, 129.

37 Zweig, *Beware of Pity*, 190. 'Unfähigkeit, Dummheit, Bosheit, Beschränktheit vorgeworfen und mit teuflischer Tyrannei jedes Selbstgefühl gebrochen'. *Ungeduld des Herzens*, 150. For a consideration of Zweig's concern with trauma, see Robert Weldon Whalen, 'Narrating Alterity: Stefan Zweig, Emmanuel Levinas, and the Trauma of Redemption', in *Stefan Zweig and World*

While her trauma is of a different nature than that of railway victims or factory workers, Kanitz is exceptionally well-placed to offer her the security that she yearns for. Because she cannot make sense of the files and papers that she has received (they are in Hungarian), Kanitz is able to trick her and devise a scheme that will allow him to buy the estate for one third of its worth. Although he is cheating her out of a good deal of her inheritance, partly he does want 'to be sure, as he had promised, that the money from the sale was invested as *securely* as possibly' (my emphasis).[38] As his scheme unfolds, the woman's innocence and trust become too much: overcome by pity, he falls in love with her and offers his hand in marriage, which she, to his surprise, accepts. As so often in this novel, the protagonist ends up in a situation that is the opposite of what he had intended. Their marriage is harmonious and it seems as if his decision is justified. In a cruel twist of fate, however, von Kekesfalva soon loses his wife, and finds that his wealth cannot save his own daughter. Although her condition seems to have been caused by polio,[39] her paraplegia (the one term that the text does use) shares many similarities with the phenomenon known as railway spine—which is precisely the kind of illness that insurance schemes sought to assuage or accommodate.

These ironic reversals in *Beware of Pity* complicate Zweig's nostalgic appraisal of the nineteenth century in *The World of Yesterday*. While the novel shows how institutional forms of the welfare state, such as a well-regulated career and insurance schemes, have the capacity to make people feel safe and secure, conditions that were important impulses to the emergence of these institutional forms (such as the practice of patronage and the experience of trauma) resurface: Anton Hofmiller, Fräulein Dietzenhof and Leopold Kanitz are oppressed, and while their stories briefly take a turn for the better, the final result is tragedy. The novel thus suggests that in the run-up to the First World War the institutions of the welfare state were no longer robust enough to instil feelings of security. While it may seem that this sense of insecurity is generated by misguided individuals, Zweig further elaborates on the causes of institutional failure by drawing the reader's attention to unconscious forces that are exacerbated by infrastructural and technological progress.

Literature: Twenty-First-Century Perspectives, ed. Birger Vanwesenbeeck and Marc H. Gelber (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2014), 74–90.

38 Zweig, *Beware of Pity*, 177. '[…] teils um ihr wirklich, wie er versprochen hatte, zur sichersten Anlage der Verkaufssumme zu verhelfen'. *Ungeduld des Herzens*, 139.

39 For the diagnosis of polio, and for an appraisal of Zweig's text as a medical classic, see Jerry O'Sullivan, 'Beware of Pity', *BMJ: British Medical Journal* 336, no. 7641 (2008): 451.

In developing the novel's different plots, Zweig stresses the role of files and documents, which seem to have a destabilising and deregulating impact on characters' unconsciousness. Bewildered by all the paperwork, Fräulein Dietzenhof jumps at the first opportunity to get rid of her inheritance and to trade it for investments that, counterintuitively, are presented as more secure than the brick and mortar of the house. Paperwork also plays an important role in the novel's main narrative. The very fact that Hofmiller finds himself near Kekesfalva is due to an invisible and impersonal administrative act, which seems to suggest that paperwork has an agency of its own: 'In that November of 1913, some kind of decree must have passed from office to office because all of a sudden my squadron had been transferred from Jaroslav to another small garrison on the Hungarian border'.[40] Hofmiller's first meeting with the family von Kekesfalva, too, takes place under the ominous sign of bureaucracy: because he unexpectedly has to 'write a report' on the altercation of two lancers, he arrives half an hour late. As a result, he has had no opportunity to observe that the host's daughter is crippled; had he arrived on time, he would not have committed the faux pas of asking her for a dance.[41] This initial gaffe is a crucial part in the exposition and highlights how paperwork creates a sense of insecurity that causes characters to act in ways that are (or seem) irrational.

There are occasional, short-lived moments when paperwork seems to have an opposite effect and to re-establish a sense of security.[42] After having confided in a former soldier, Baron Balinkay, and asked him for a position in his Dutch wife's company in the East Indies—a position that, as Balinkay warns him, would require him to 'spend a few months on tedious clerical work in an office'[43] —Hofmiller decides to resign his commission, to which end he must fill in a chancery registration form ('*kanzleipapier*'). Zweig describes this form, which 'was perhaps the most essential requisite of the prewar Austrian civil service and military administration',[44] in great detail:

40 Zweig, *Beware of Pity*, 34. 'In jenem November 1913 muß irgendein Erlaß aus einer Kanzlei in die andere hinübergerutscht sein, denn surr – auf einmal war unsere Eskadron aus Jaroslau in eine andere kleine Garnison an der ungarischen Grenze versetzt worden'. *Ungeduld des Herzens*, 16. For a consideration of the novel's setting in between Austria and Hungary, see Margarete Wagner, 'Der pannonische Grenzraum als literarischer Ort in Stefan Zweig's *Ungeduld des Herzens*', *Estudios Filológicos Alemanes* 13 (2007): 485–95.

41 Zweig, *Beware of Pity*, 40.

42 For a psycho-analytical interpretation of Hofmiller's psyche, see Horst Thomé, 'Stefan Zweigs psychologischer Realismus: Zu *Ungeduld des Herzens*', *Literaturstraße* 2 (2001): 83–102.

43 Zweig, *Beware of Pity*, 321. '[…] ein paar Monate bei blödsinnigen Schreibereien im Kontor sitzen'. *Ungeduld des Herzens*, 265.

44 Zweig, *Beware of Pity*, 324. '[…] war vielleicht das unentbehrlichste Requisit der österreichischen Zivil- und Militärverwaltung'. Zweig, *Ungeduld des Herzens*, 268.

the great white rectangle, the knife to fold it down, the watery blue-black ink and, in particular, the fact that 'the wording of the form was predetermined' as a result of which he can 'emphasise the solemnity of [his] resignation only by taking special care to write well and neatly'.[45] As he begins to write, he falls 'into a curiously dreamy state of mind' and begins to fantasise about the journey that the form will follow, leading to 'a baffled look on the face of the duty sergeant, and then surprised whispering among the clerks', after which 'the form would be passed on from office to office until it reached the Colonel himself', provoking the latter into a choleric fit.[46] The form thus, unexpectedly, allows Hofmiller to vent a frustration of which he himself was hardly conscious:

> For the first time I had a chance to show my comrades that I was a real man, a man who respected himself! I wrote out the prescribed twenty lines of formal resignation faster and faster and, as I thought, in an ever more energetic hand. What had begun as an irritating formality became a personal pleasure.[47]

In this paragraph, paperwork and its formalities do not seem to reactivate trauma or pain: instead, the form acts as a valve for pent-up energies. The sense of security that is thus acquired is very short-lived, however. In the split second that Hofmiller puts away the envelope, 'with a sense of certainty, self-confidence, even happiness',[48] he feels something rustling in his pocket: 'my fingers were already shrinking away, as if even before I

45 Zweig, *Beware of Pity*, 325. 'Denn es reizte mich, gerade meine letzte militärische Handlung besonders korrekt zu vollziehen; da der Inhalt doch formelhaft feststand, konnte ich die Feierlichkeit des Akts nur durch besondere Sauberkeit und Schönheit der Handschrift bekunden'. Zweig, *Ungeduld des Herzens*, 269.

46 Zweig, *Beware of Pity*, 325. 'Aber schon während der ersten Zeilen unterbrach mich eine sonderbare Träumerei. Ich hielt inne und begann mir auszudenken, was morgen vor sich gehen würde, wenn dies Gesuch in der Regimentskanzlei anlangte. Wahrscheinlich zuerst ein verdutzter Blick des Kanzleifeldwebels, dann erstauntes Flüstern unter den subalternen Schreibern – es war doch nichts Alltägliches, daß ein Leutnant einfach seine Charge hinschmiß. Dann läuft das Blatt den Dienstweg von Zimmer zu Zimmer bis zum Oberst persönlich'. Zweig, *Ungeduld des Herzens*, 269.

47 Zweig, *Beware of Pity*, 326. 'Zum erstenmal hatte ich jetzt Gelegenheit, den Kameraden zu beweisen, daß ich einer war, der sich respektierte, ein ganzer Kerl! Immer rascher und, wie ich glaube, mit immer energischeren Zügen schrieb ich die zwanzig Zeilen zu Ende; was anfangs nur eine ärgerliche Verrichtung gewesen, wurde mit einmal zu persönlicher Lust'. Zweig, *Ungeduld des Herzens*, 270.

48 Zweig, *Beware of Pity*, 327. '[…] sicher, selbstbewußt, ja sogar freudig'. Zweig, *Ungeduld des Herzens*, 270.

myself remembered they knew what I had forgotten, what was already in my breast pocket'.[49] The rustling is of course the letters in which Edith von Kekesfalva fervently declares her love, and which Hofmiller is seeking to escape from, out of shame. Zweig's phrasing highlights the way in which the body remembers more than the mind: on some level Hofmiller's hands realise something before his thoughts. This scene is a fine illustration of what Ben Kafka calls the 'psychic life of paperwork': 'encounters with paperwork and the people who handle it inevitably reactivate some of our earliest wishes, conflicts, and fantasies about maternal provision, paternal authority, sibling rivalry or whichever other familial division of labour happened to be in place in our childhoods'.[50] In his fantasy, Hofmiller believes that this form will make him appear as 'a real man', who can show the colonel (by whom he was humiliated during an exercise) what he is made of. This fantasy is of a short duration, as the contact of the two letters—the public and the personal—makes Hofmiller realise that the pleasure of his resignation is merely a form of displacement: 'I had transferred my reason for wanting to get away, instead, to my minor and ultimately unimportant mishap'.[51] Even in this case, then, what should be a mere formality and an attempt to restore his sense of security turns out to be an occasion for stress and anxiety: Hofmiller's hope that paperwork will make him feel safe is foiled.

The novel's representation of this desire is situated against a more general concern with forms of infrastructure, the often invisible grounds and grids on which other objects operate: roads, telegraph poles, electricity mains and so on. Technologies of communication play a particularly important role in the novel. The novel contains a variety of interpolated textual media such as letters and telegrams, and is replete with instances of disembodied voices, such as telephone calls or gramophone records—instances that, in *The World of Yesterday*, Zweig identifies as markers of the age of security. In this novel, however, these different media fail, making real communication increasingly difficult. By the end of the novel, there are few real-life conversations: most of the interactions are mediated.

This development culminates in the story's denouement. By this time, Hofmiller has engaged himself to Edith von Kekesfalva and at the same

49 Zweig, *Beware of Pity*, 327. 'Aber schon zuckten meine Finger zurück, als hätten sie, ehe ich selbst mich erinnerte, begriffen, was dies Vergessene war'. Zweig, *Ungeduld des Herzens*, 270.

50 Ben Kafka, *The Demon of Writing: Powers and Failures of Paperwork* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), 16.

51 Zweig, *Beware of Pity*, 327–28. '[…] und statt dessen jenes kleine und im Grunde belanglose Mißgeschick (am Exerzierplatz) als Motiv meines Fortwollens vorgeschoben'. Zweig, *Ungeduld des Herzens*, 271.

time, out a sense of shame, publicly denied his engagement in front of his fellow soldiers. Caught in this quandary, he considers suicide, but the colonel has him transferred to the reserve troops at Czaslau (Čáslav). Travelling by train to Vienna, Hofmiller realises the error of his ways. He perceives that his transfer will be interpreted as a flight, and that Edith von Kekesfalva will in all likelihood kill herself. He hastens himself to Dr Condor's office and leaves a letter in which he explains his remorse and promises to be true to his word. As his journey continues, he begins to ponder whether Dr Condor will see the letter in time: 'Suppose Condor hadn't come home at Midday? Or suppose he had arrived too late to catch the afternoon train?'[52] Stopping at the next station in Brünn, he makes his way to the post office through a 'dense, dark, agitated crowd' that 'has gathered to read a message pinned there' and sends a telegram. Completely drained, he falls asleep as soon as he arrives, but during the night he is disturbed by the porter, who tells him that there is a telephone call for him. By the time that he has made his way down to the lobby, the connection has been cut, and he only hears a 'mocking, pointless humming'.[53] The switchboard operator tries to connect him once more, but instead of Dr Condor in Vienna, he finds himself talking to a stranger: 'Prague HQ here. Is that the War Ministry?'[54] Hofmiller's nervousness is now complete: he remains with the telephone, is confused by the doorbell of the hotel, and eventually finds out that the call has been cancelled. In the morning, he rushes to the garrison, where he learns of the assassination of Franz Ferdinand (the news that was pinned to the post office in Brünn), after which he receives a telegram telling him that his own telegram could not be delivered. After all these communication problems, he finally manages to reach Condor on the telephone, who tells him that he did not receive the letter, that the colonel failed to hush up the matter with his fellow soldiers, that Edith overheard her father talk about the issue and that, as a result, she threw herself over the balcony of a tower.

Hofmiller has not carefully assessed the situation and put his faith in technologies of communication at a time when these could not be relied upon. That this time is a time of war is significant: 'Paperwork syncopates the State's rhythms, destabilises its structures. Under ordinary conditions,

52 Zweig, *Beware of Pity*, 440. 'Wie, wenn Condor am Ende mittags nicht nach Hause gekommen wäre? Oder zu spät gekommen, um noch den Nachmittagszug zu erreichen?' Zweig, *Ungeduld des Herzens*, 367.

53 Zweig, *Beware of Pity*, 442. '[…] höhnische, sinnlose Summen'. Zweig, *Ungeduld des Herzens*, 369.

54 Zweig, *Beware of Pity*, 443. 'Hier Platzkommando Prag. Spricht dort Kriegsministerium?' Zweig, *Ungeduld des Herzens*, 370.

the mishaps are corrected, rhythms restored, structures restabilised. But under extraordinary conditions—war, revolution, natural disaster—even the most minor technical error can have catastrophic results'.[55] Hofmiller's correction of his denial of his engagement is a case in point: without the beginning of the war, his message might have reached Edith von Kekesfalva in time.

Zweig's representation of technologies of communication is reinforced and redoubled by his representation of technologies of transport. Just as Leopold Kanitz (before he became Lajos von Kekesfalva) hears about the Princess Orosvár's legacy on board a train, so Hofmiller's 'mind shed its paralysis with the first jolt of the engine that set the train moving' after he has been transferred.[56] His first attempt at escape, too, takes place under the aegis of technology: Baron Balinkay's car has broken down, which gives Hofmiller the opportunity to ask for an interview. As they speed towards to Vienna, Hofmiller experiences a sense of release that is similar to writing the letter of resignation:

> everything had happened at dreamlike speed, and as the villages and roads and trees and meadows retreated into the background, finally and never to return, as the car engine hammered away, everything that had made up my life until now was speeding into the distance: the barracks, my military career, my comrades, the Kekesfalvas, their castle, my room, the riding school, my entire apparently secure and well-regulated life.[57]

In depicting how cars and trains seem to stimulate the mind—and perhaps even awaken unconscious desires—Zweig is developing a theme that, at the time of writing, was being articulated more theoretically by Walter Benjamin.[58] Given the association of train travel with trauma, it is not

55 Ben Kafka, *The Demon of Writing*, 10.

56 Zweig, *Beware of Pity*, 433. 'Mit dem ersten Ruck der Maschine, der den Zug in Bewegung setzte, fiel die Betäubung bereits von mir ab'. Zweig, *Ungeduld des Herzens*, 361.

57 Zweig, *Beware of Pity*, 322–23. 'Diesmal jedoch war alles mit traumhafter Geschwindigkeit auf mich niedergefahren, und wie hinter dem hämmernden Wagen Dörfer und Straßen und Bäume und Wiesen ins Nichts wegtaumelten, endgültig und ohne Wiederkehr, so sauste jetzt mit einem Ruck alles fort, was bisher mein tägliches Leben gewesen, die Kaserne, die Karriere, die Kamerade, die Kekesfalvas, das Schloß, mein Zimmer, die Reitschule, meine ganze, scheinbar so gesicherte und geregelte Existenz'. Zweig, *Ungeduld des Herzens*, 266–67.

58 See, for instance, Walter Benjamin, 'The Railway Disaster at the Firth of Tay', trans. Rodney Livingstone, in *Selected Writings*, vol. 2, part 2, *1931–1934*, ed. Michael W. Jennings, Howard Eiland, and Gary Smith (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005), 563–68; and 'Berlin Chronicle', trans. Edmund Jephcott, in *Selected Writings*, vol. 2, part 2, 595–637.

surprising that in Zweig's depiction it functions as a setting for a confrontation with 'one's own past, one's own desires, and the fantasies that stand as filters through which the object is seen'.[59]

The chancery registration form, the telegram, the train, the car and various other technological media thus have a more ambiguous function than Zweig suggests in *The World of Yesterday*. They are signs of progress, but they are also a temptation that opens up a phantasmagorical realm in which one's real desires are no longer screened. While this temptation is not intrinsically dangerous, it does pose a danger to Hofmiller, who has little control over his own actions and behaviour.[60] Following Freud, whom he admired, Zweig recognises that modern technology gives people a sense of mastery and control, but that this desire for mastery and control cannot be disentangled from people's primitive instincts.[61]

In *The World of Yesterday*, Stefan Zweig writes how the availability of insurance schemes and the development of technological inventions in the nineteenth century created a world of security. *Beware of Pity* adumbrates these themes by demonstrating how the welfare state provides individuals with the possibility of a well-regulated life and how certain technologies, such as bureaucratic paperwork or modern means of transport, allow them to envisage the future with confidence. However, the novel also suggests that these mechanisms are not equal to the task of safeguarding the modern mind from the unconscious forces by which it is beset: these forms of infrastructure may cause a small error, such as an unwanted act of patronage or a belated arrival at a party, to finally result in terror. By thus dramatising the tragedy of spineless individuals within the context of modern institutions and infrastructures, the novel suggests that any kind of nostalgia for the 'golden age of security' had to take stock of the fact that the nineteenth-century concern with security was born out of the age's ever-expanding sense of insecurity. As an act of displacement, the nostalgia for security that Zweig articulates in his memoir is not unlike the dreams experienced by the characters in his novel.

59 Larkin, 'The Politics and Poetics of Infrastructure', 333.

60 See, for just a few instances, Zweig, *Beware of Pity*, 187–88, 226, 252, 284, 397.

61 Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents*, ed. and trans. J. Strachey (New York: Norton, 1989). For Zweig's views on Freud, see, for example, *The World of Yesterday*, 26 and 446–55. See Werner Michler, 'Intellectual Hero, Most Beloved Master: Stefan Zweig and Sigmund Freud in British Exile', in *Freud and the Émigré*, ed. Elana Shapira and Daniela Finzi (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 77–94.

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9 Brace for Impact

Spatial Responses to Terror in Belfast and Oslo

Roos van Strien

Abstract
This chapter examines how perceptions of safety are shaped by a broader historical, societal and cultural context and how safety discourses can influence the architecture and urban planning of a city. Using examples of spatial responses to terror threats in Belfast and Oslo, this chapter shows how the prevalence of visible militarised urban security measures has been necessary to establish a sense of security in Belfast, whereas in Oslo the response to the only terrorist attack on Norwegian soil was a method of designing security measures in the existing urban fabric. The approaches of both cities reveal how evoking a sense of safety amongst citizens can be reached by contrasting spatial interventions depending on a country's cultural perceptions of safety.

Keywords: terror, Belfast, Oslo, security, architecture

Introduction

Throughout history, cities have been shaped by architecture and spatial techniques to establish a sense of security for urban citizens. Over the last two decades, the routine yet vibrant environment of the city has been shaken up by various acts of terror. An act of terror will evoke a variety of responses, the initial one being mainly verbal and political, discussing the possible incentives of such an attack and the potential introduction of legislative measures to prevent the recurrence of such atrocities. Simultaneously, mourning and remembrance are prevalent responses by citizens and leaders alike that commonly take shape in the form of a wake or memorial.

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Also to consider is the physical reconstruction of stricken cities and their subsequent bracing in the form of physical security measures in order to anticipate a potential future attack. This chapter will focus on the latter form of a spatial response, the preventive security measures.

In the last couple of years, many cities started to implement security measures in public space that are often wrapped up in ornamental features such as benches and flower pots in order to generate positive urban effects and establish a sense of security. However, the most aesthetically pleasing or integrated measures do not always evoke the biggest sense of security. This chapter will examine two different spatial responses, namely, the interface barriers in Belfast and the design of a new Government Quarter in Oslo, to show how perceptions of safety are shaped by a broader historical, societal and cultural context and how safety discourses can influence the architecture and urban planning of a city.

Core Concepts: About Terror, Security and Architecture

Before examining the case studies, this section will first define the terminology and definitions used in this chapter. First, this chapter uses the term 'terror' instead of 'terrorism', since what constitutes an act of terrorism can differ in various societal and political contexts. Terror refers to an emotion, the feeling of extreme fear or being frightened, and is often the aim and effect of a terrorist attack. As mentioned in the introduction, this chapter is concerned with preventive security measures as implemented in the wake of an act of terror. These physical measures are deliberately defined as spatial responses rather than solutions, as the latter already implies a particular outcome and indicates an end to the problem to which it is responding. However, these measures are not resolving issues or dissolving threats; they are merely one of the many ways in which societies react to changing tactics. Physical security measures do not aim to provide a solution to threats but rather strive to counter them as much as possible, aim at damage reduction and are part of a larger security strategy of a country. Furthermore, as Charlotte Heath-Kelly, Assistant Professor in Politics and International Studies at the University of Warwick argues, security itself is not an all-knowing or invincible practice and can never achieve complete control but instead merely pretend that it does.[1] This

1 Charlotte Heath-Kelly, *Death and Security: Memory and Mortality at the Bombsite* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 2.

indicates how security is a performance, a simulation of control, aimed at comforting citizens and establishing trust in the protective capacities of the state and its authorities. Security is a tool used by authorities to make its citizens feel safe. The concept of safety in relation to trust and security is explored by Eddo Evink in this volume. According to Evink, in order to get a grip on the concept of safety, we need to realise that trust is fundamental and security is secondary. Security measures thus are in service of the trust relations within a society. Furthermore, Evink describes how, just as individuals and communities need protection, the same goes for the social and natural structures in which these individuals are embedded. Evink also examines the dilemma between freedom and control that comes with security. According to him, measures of security only work because they are rooted in the structures of trust. But actual security measures often tend to replace trust through control.

This dilemma between freedom and control, and the focus on the latter when it comes to security, also comes forward in Heath-Kelly's work. She argues how mortality and security are intrinsically connected to each other and describes how security is a state's reaction to the uncontrollable and inevitable event of death. With security, the state tries to protect its own sovereignty, by aiming to erase death and surpass the significance of mortality. According to Heath-Kelly, security creates objects of threat such as risks and enemies and subsequently counters and surmounts these objects by means of security action, such as risk governance and military action.[2] What this dynamic indicates is that the state itself establishes and defines threats to which it can respond to, in order to retain the power of sovereignty that is undermined by mortality. In other words, security desires control. This research uses Heath-Kelly's conception of security, by focussing on its responsive and retrospective qualities, and emphasises how security not only functions as response to the mortality of civilians but is also often used to protect and sustain the power of the state by securing its symbolic and iconic architecture, revealing how national values and beliefs are sometimes embodied in physical structures.

The final core definition is that of architecture. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the most frequently used definition is 'the art or science of building or constructing edifices of any kind for human use'.[3] The word 'edifice' is of importance here, as this term does not only refer to a building

2 Heath-Kelly, *Death and Security*, 3–5.

3 'Architecture, n.', Oxford English Dictionary, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/10408.

but can be used to indicate an abstract system of values and beliefs.[4] Political and symbolic connotations are inherent to any physical building or built structure. Architecture, even when only referring to its physical form, carries meaning and is constructed in a social or political context, within a framework of values and beliefs. In the words of architect Léopold Lambert, 'architecture is never innocent'.[5] In his book *Weaponized Architecture: The Impossibility of Innocence* (2012), Lambert defines architecture by its power to organise bodies in space and to influence behaviour and how this power can turn architecture into a political weapon. By defining architecture as very powerful—as a weapon, in fact—Lambert states that he does not ascribe a similar power to architects and rejects the idea of the architect as the only, independent creator of architecture. Architecture, he states, is either 'the product of systems that establish some set of rules and norms for their materialization or as a marginal will of alternative to those establishments'.[6]

According to Lambert, the law and politics but also people materialising their right of having a home, are all three producers of architecture. The role of the architect in his argument is that of giving form to a set of rules and configurations determined by an overarching framework. His main point is that of architecture as weapon, controlling and influencing behaviour, arguing how architecture is always political. The physical structure is herewith presented as dominant, as violent upon the bodies that interact with it, undermining people and their capability of appropriation. Taking Lambert's theory into account, as well as the definition of architecture used in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, this chapter considers architecture to be the materialisation and expression of rules, regulations, ideas, interpretations, cultural values and political views that have the power to regulate, control and influence human behaviour. Architects can give shape to this materialisation, but they operate within an existing framework. Architecture is a weapon not used by architects but in part created by them and can also be created by other actors, often indicated as informal structures. Buildings and other spatial forms not only reflect values, meaning and power relations; they also embody and establish them. When a city is involved in war, conflict or unrest, all of the above become visible and start playing major roles in society.

4 'Edifice', Cambridge Dictionary, https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/edifice.

5 Léopold Lambert, *Weaponized Architecture: The Impossibility of Innocence* (New York: dpr-barcelona, 2012), 49.

6 Léopold Lambert, *Weaponized Architecture*, 11.

Belfast: A City Shaped by Conflict

The first city discussed in this chapter has a long history with violence and terror. From 1968 to 1998, a period known as the Troubles, outbursts of violence were a recurring phenomenon on the streets of Belfast. This period of bombs and bullets in the capital of Northern Ireland was the result of an unresolved quarrel between Republicans on the one hand and Unionists on the other.[7] The core of the disagreement between the groups is about the northeastern part of Ireland, also known as Ulster or Northern Ireland. Many Catholics, Nationalists and Republicans claim that it should be part of the Republic of Ireland, whereas Protestants, Loyalists and Unionists argue that it is part of the United Kingdom.[8] The biggest paramilitary group siding with Republican interests is the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and its many splinter groups, among which the Provisional IRA. The oldest Unionist paramilitary group is the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), with a second group, the Ulster Defence Association (UDA), emerging in 1972 as a reaction to the IRA.[9]

As the focus of this chapter lies on physical security measures, this section will examine physical structures that were implemented for the sake of security and as a form of defence, considering both formal and informal structures. Due to the limited scope, the following section will focus solely on the spatial response, classified as an interface barrier. The spatial response was one of the first physical responses to terror at the start of the Troubles, primarily constructed by anxious citizens to protect their homes and communities. Later, this type of response was adapted by authorities, and it defines the landscape of Belfast today.

The violence of the Troubles manifested itself in bombings, street quarrels and arson attacks, destroying or damaging about 25,000 households in Belfast. These attacks and the fear of repetition resulted in the relocation of many families from a relatively mixed area to neighbourhoods inhabited by people only from 'their' community. This exodus in the early years of the Troubles can be seen as a catalyst in the segregation and social destabilisation of the city.[10] Both groups confined themselves and started to demarcate their

7 Ralf Brand, 'Written and Unwritten Building Conventions in a Contested City: The Case of Belfast', *Urban Studies* 46, no. 12 (2009): 2674.

8 Brand, 'Written', 2674.

9 Peter Taylor, 'More Information About: Paramilitaries in the Troubles', BBC History, February 2013, http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/topics/troubles_paramilitaries.

10 Jon Calame and Esther Charlesworth, *Divided Cities: Belfast, Beirut, Jerusalem, Mostar and Nicosia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 80.

territories. In some areas in Belfast, the terrains of the opposing groups would meet in a district referred to as an interface area, and the boundaries that mark these enclaves were commonly called interface barriers.[11] The latter is difficult to define, as there are numerous designations for the physical barriers. The most recent report of the Belfast Interface Project (BIP), finished in 2017, uses the terms 'security barriers', 'interface barriers' and 'peacelines', all of which are a form of defensive architecture, as stated in the report's introduction. The aim of the BIP was to establish complete documentation of the barriers in Belfast and other cities in Northern Ireland. The report mentions how this was a difficult task, as there are various interpretations as to what can be classified as an interface barrier, as well as to whether a structure should be considered to be of one or multiple barriers.[12] Therefore, the BIP drew up a rationale and definition of an interface barrier that is explained in the report as follows and will be used in this chapter:

> As a rationale for inclusion the research has taken an interface barrier to be any physical barrier in an interface area that is designed to provide protection or security to residents and property. This is designed to include the well-known 'peacelines' but also smaller structures providing protection to houses and buildings, road closure barriers, as well as gates that may be used to close off roads or pathways on a permanent or temporary basis.[13]

The early physical demarcations started to take shape in 1969, when both communities began to construct their own informal barriers, made from burned out cars, furniture, stones and barbed wire, and placed these along the entry and exit points of their neighbourhoods, herewith marking their territory. In late August 1969, the British Army wanted to restore order and control on the streets of Belfast, and the informal barricades were seen as problematic by the security forces and the government. As Cathy Gormley-Heenan and colleagues state, these self-constructed barricades were considered a threat to the authority of the government, as these markings were a visible reminder that there was no control over law and order within the interface areas of the city. On a more practical side, these barricades turned out to limit the British Army's mobility throughout the

11 Allen Feldman, *Formations of Violence: The Narrative of the Body and Political Terror in Northern Ireland* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 28.

12 Belfast Interface Project, *Interface Barriers, Peacelines and Defensive Architecture* (Belfast: Belfast Interface Project, 2017), 5.

13 Belfast Interface Project, *Interface Barriers*, 6.

city.[14] Whereas the informal barriers were constructed by citizens to create a feeling of safety as a response to the threat of violent conflict, the formal barriers can be seen as a form of security. As Heath-Kelly describes, security is a tool used by authorities to comfort citizens and establish trust in the protective capacities of the state. The tension between security regarding trust and security enforcing control is apparent here. Implementing barriers to separate two communities does not encourage or restore trust between individuals, groups or societal structures. As Evink explains, trust is fundamental and security is secondary. In the case of Belfast, trust relations are lacking, so one immediately moves on to security. Barriers are implemented to control the symptoms of the conflict, those being the violent uprisings, but the barriers do nothing to address the cause, which is the lack of trust and understanding between the two communities.

The first official interface barrier was the peace wall erected on Cupar Way, along the Republican Clonard district of the Lower Falls and the Unionist Shankill areas. Initially made of corrugated iron, the wall still exists today and has been expanded to a multi-level barrier 800 metres long and a total of 13.5 metres high.[15] At the same time, violence between the communities increased, and the British Army decided to construct a second peace wall in North Belfast, resulting in a decrease in violence, rioting and damage to properties.[16] Although these early peace walls were originally intended as a temporary security solution, the barriers continued to be constructed up until the early twentieth century. These physical barriers have institutionalised the segregation of both communities, contributed to the construction of cultural identities, and still demonstrate the deeply rooted and lasting friction between the two communities.[17]

By the 1980s, the interface barriers had become a recurring spatial intervention in the urban fabric of the city and the British Army began to transform some existing barriers to make them less militaristic and give them a more aesthetic and natural outlook. Although the violence in the communities decreased and the barriers became more integrated in the landscape of the city, it was not until the paramilitary ceasefires in 1994 that there was hope and room for the investigation of the interface barriers

14 Cathy Gormley-Heenan, Jonny Byrne, and Gillian Robinson, 'The Berlin Walls of Belfast', *British Politics* 8, no 3. (2013): 361–62.

15 Neil Jarman, 'Intersecting Belfast', in *Landscape, Politics and Perspective*, ed. Barbara Bender (Providence, RI: Berg), 112.

16 Gormley-Heenan et al., 'Berlin Walls of Belfast', 362.

17 Jonny Byrne and Cathy Gormley-Heenan, 'Beyond the Walls: Dismantling Belfast's Conflict Architecture', *City* 18, no. 4–5 (2014): 448.

and security policies.[18] What followed was a process of political negotiations that ended with the Black Friday Agreement in 1998 that put an end to the Troubles on paper. With the Agreement in force, Northern Ireland was no longer governed under direct rule from Westminster, but instead had its own local government, known as the Northern Ireland Assembly. The new government was characterised by power-sharing and made room for the establishment of cross-border institutions.[19]

With the Agreement, peace seemed more tangible than ever. Still, three decades of violence left its physical marks on the city. The interface barriers were originally intended as a temporary solution to contain the violence between the already segregated communities. Towards the end of the Troubles, the barriers gained the physical characteristics of permanent interventions. Research by the Belfast Community Relations Council, published in 2008, has shown that a very limited amount of removal has taken place under different circumstances. The paper lists three reasons as to why a barrier was removed: the changing political context, the regeneration of an area or in response to requests from the local community.[20] The 2017 report by the BIP shows how, since 2012, six barriers have been completely removed, and three are used for a purpose other than security. They list eleven barriers that have been reimagined, signifying a physical change in the barrier.[21]

The attitude of the community towards the barriers is indeed a crucial factor in determining the current function of the barrier. The main argument for the erection of these barriers has always been the need to protect the people and their property as well as the concerns of both communities regarding sectarian violence. The feeling of safety changed in context, but this feeling remains one of the reasons the walls are still not torn down today. Jonny Byrne and Cathy Gormley-Heenan make an interesting case for approaching the barriers in a different way, by creating a framework that incorporates culture, identity and a sense of belonging. They do so based on the findings of the survey conducted by the University of Ulster in 2012. The results of the survey are divided by religious background and show significant differences in how the barriers impact the Catholic and Protestant communities. The Protestant community in particular felt the walls contributed to the protection of their identity, and community

18 Gormley-Heenan et al., 'Berlin Walls of Belfast' 363–64.

19 BBC, 'The Good Friday Agreement in Full', BBC News, 9 December 2004, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/northern_ireland/4079267.stm.

20 Community Relations Council, *Towards Sustainable Security: Interface Barriers and the Legacy of Segregation in Belfast* (Belfast: Community Relations Council, 2008), 28.

21 Belfast Interface Project, *Interface Barriers*, 11–12.

members expressed their concern about the disappearance of their community without them. The sense of vulnerability regarding identity within the Protestant community reflects the belief at the time of the survey, namely that the Republicans were waging a 'culture war' to destroy the culture of the Protestant, Unionist and Loyalist communities. However, as Byrne and Gormley-Heenan note, research at that time has shown how none of the cultures were in danger of being erased from existence, referring to the upsurge in Loyalist marches at that time as evidence that their culture is not being destroyed. The Protestants' fear of the disappearance of their community with the dismantling of the barriers is rooted in the belief that the barriers prevent the expansion of the territory of the other community. At the time of the survey, this belief has been encouraged by the idea that in the last decade, no Nationalist area has been transformed into a Unionist one. This view has been affirmed by statistics, dating from 2011, indicating how since 2001 the Catholic population has increased to 49 per cent whereas the Protestant population has decreased to 42 per cent.[22] This research shows how the sense of identity, and the existence of a community is strengthened by the appropriation of space and place—a dynamic and temporary appropriation by the propagation of culture through marches and cultural celebrations, and an intended permanent appropriation by gaining territory.

Thus, the meaning attributed to the term 'safety' can change throughout the years, complicating the attitude towards physical security measures, especially in the case of Belfast. According to the communities, the interface barriers are perceived as protection against two different kinds of threats: the physical threat of violence and the more abstract threat of the existence of another community.

The walls existed in people's minds long before the physical barriers were installed, and segregation is still woven into the fabric of the post-conflict city. The interface barriers are symbolic of the perception of the various communities in what they need to feel safe, and they function as a comfort blanket and the protection of their cultural identity. Walls are believed to be necessary to protect communities, loved ones and belongings. In the present day, authorities, social workers and people of both communities are working on building bridges towards an integrated society. Breaking down mental barriers is in this case necessary to tear down physical barriers. The basic need of trust needs to be restored in order to change both communities' attitudes towards the barriers and create a shift in their perceptions of safety.

22 Byrne and Gormley-Heenan, 'Beyond the Walls', 450–51.

Oslo: The 'Norwegian Way'

Whereas Belfast has a long history of violence and terror threats, Norway's capital Oslo can be said to be the opposite. The country has a low level of domestic conflict and almost no history with terrorism and political violence.[23] That changed on 22 July 2011, when a bomb exploded in front of the H-building, the most prominent high-rise in Oslo's Government Quarter, locally housing at that time the Office of the Prime Minister and the Ministry of Justice. The blast had an enormous impact, severely damaging the H-building and, to a large extent, other buildings that are or were part of the Government Quarter. The bombings cost the lives of eight people and injured 200 more. The perpetrator, Norwegian right-wing extremist Anders Breivik, then went on to the island Utøya outside Oslo where the AUF, a youth organisation of the dominant left-wing Norwegian Labour Party, was hosting their annual summer camp. At 17:21 that day, Breivik launched a massacre on the island, killing sixty-nine and injuring 110 adults and children, the attack leaving a permanent mark on the country and its population.[24]

The attacks became immediately known as the most devastating tragedy on Norwegian soil since the Second World War. Of the total population of five million, one million Norwegians acknowledged in a national survey that they had been personally affected by the events. The impact of the attacks on this small population was intense, and many Norwegians view the event not only as a massacre, but also as an ideological attack upon democracy, one of Norway's key values.[25] Trust is another principal and characteristic value of Norwegian society that is considered to play an important role in the understanding of the terror attacks and, even more so, their aftermath. Norway is a high-trust society, referring to both institutional and interpersonal trust. This signals that Norwegians generally have faith in their government and trust it to make the right decisions for their nation, and that they also have faith in each other and less suspicion among citizens.[26]

The attitude towards the physical security measures that limit freedom and openness was met with resistance from many citizens. Indeed, when

23 Anne Lise Fimreite, Peter Lango, Per Lægreid, and Lise H. Rykkja, 'After Oslo and Utøya: A Shift in the Balance between Security and Liberty in Norway?', *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 36, no. 10 (2013): 842.

24 Mattias Ekman, 'Edifices: Architecture and the Spatial Frameworks of Memory' (PhD diss., Oslo School of Architecture and Design, 2013), 237–38.

25 Heath-Kelly, *Death and Security*, 96.

26 Fimreite et al., 'After Oslo and Utøya', 848–49.

he addressed the nation two days after the attack, then Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg emphasised these values, stating how 'we are still shocked by what has happened, but we will never give up our values. Our response is more democracy, more openness and more humanity'.[27] In July 2014, the Norwegian Police Security Service (PST) publicly announced a terror threat in Norway from individuals with links to Islamic fighters in Syria.[28] The PST exclaimed that it was still unsure of what was going on in Europe and the rest of the world, but that there was serious cause for worry. A governmental institution addressing a nation in such a vulnerable way is a rare thing to do, even in the Norwegian context. The country is known to be very open, but this is perceived as a new kind of openness that was not witnessed before. Former officer of the PST Jack Fisher Eriksen highlighted this unique security mindset in an interview conducted in 2014. According to him, Norway's history of nonviolence and peace has contributed to the open and transparent culture of the country in which problem solving and finding solutions has always been a peaceful process. However, Eriksen also notes that international threats are increasing, changing the mindset of the country and resulting in a strong focus on security. Regarding the challenges of securing the built environment, Eriksen stresses the importance of developing a 'Norwegian method' that reflects national values.[29]

Before examining the design of the new Government Quarter, it is important to mention that the response to the attacks on 22 July was not solely a legislative one or focused on security. Instead, the aftermath also resulted in a renewed attention on architectural history in Norway and the Government Quarter in particular. Before the 2011 attacks, the buildings here were not very popular among the public and the quarter did not develop a true symbolic identity, as is the case with other representative buildings, such as the Oslo Parliament Building or Royal Palace. The district is located outside the main touristic areas, and Norwegians have not been particularly interested in monumental modernist structures.[30] Norwegians knew the Government Quarter from its frequent coverage in national media, mainly

27 Jens Stoltenberg, 'Speech at the Memorial Service at Oslo Cathedral', filmed 23 July 2011 at Oslo Cathedral, video, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8oPbd9UvZuY.

28 Antonia Molloy, 'Norway Warns of Imminent "Concrete" Terror Threat', *Independent*, 24 July 2014, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/norway-warns-imminent-concrete-terror-threat-9626465.html.

29 Eriksen in Dean Simpson, Vibeke Jensen, and Anders Rubing, eds, *The City between Freedom and Security: Contested Public Spaces in the 21st Century* (Basel: Birkhäuser Verlag, 2017), 296–98.

30 Heath-Kelly, *Death and Security*, 116.

featuring the visits of international leaders and politicians. Although the H-building was called the third most important building in the canon of Norwegian post-war architecture in 2007 by the weekly magazine *Morgenbladet*, former architect and urban planner Mattias Ekman argues how the public primarily associated the Government Quarter with political life in Norway and much less with its spatial layout and architecture.[31] The indifference towards the architectural qualities and cultural values of the Government Quarter completely shifted after the bombings on 22 July, best illustrated in the debate concerning the future of what was left of the Government Quarter. As Ekman explains, the debate was dominated by architects, architectural historians, artists and art historians, as well as people from the field of urban planning, the building industry and heritage management institutions.[32]

These mentioned parties were all in favour of preserving the building due to its significance for architectural history and for the history of the nation in general. As architect Lars Roede stated in an article in the *Aftenposten* on 25 July 2011, the Government Quarter has been a central piece of Norwegian architecture since 1814 and has, together with other significant buildings in Oslo, contributed to the formation of the nation. The article also includes remarks by Nina Berre, Director of Architecture at the National Museum, who stresses the unique material techniques developed for the construction of the H-building and states that these are an expression of Norwegian modernism.[33] The museum even has a more significant part in the debate, since it held an exhibition from June until October 2013 on works by Picasso that were incorporated in the government buildings and therewith threatened with demolishment. The museum website states how the exhibition strived to contribute to debate on the future of the Government Quarter, demonstrating its architectural, historical and artistic values.[34]

Voices from architects and designers were not only present in the media; these professionals also wrote advisory reports commissioned by Statsbygg, a public enterprise part of the Ministry of Municipality and Modernisation that maintains the government's building and property

31 Ekman, 'Edifices', 253–54.

32 Ekman, 'Edifices', 289.

33 Ekman, 'Edifices', 274–75.

34 Nasjonal Museet, 'Picasso—Oslo: Art and Architecture in the government buildings', http://www.nasjonalmuseet.no/en/exhibitions_and_events/exhibitions/national_museum__architecture/Picasso+%E2%80%93+Oslo.+Art+and+architecture+in+the+government+buildings.b7C_wlbG3i.ips.

policy and is the owner of the buildings that are part of the Government Quarter.[35] Professor Elisabeth Seip of the Oslo School of Architecture and Design was one of those and expressed her concerns in an interview with British assistant professor Charlotte Heath-Kelly about the governmental perspective being very limited due to its strict focus on financial matters. Heath-Kelly advised against the demolition of the buildings, and her report notes that the Government Quarter was in the process of being listed as a heritage site, one that was nearly complete at the time of the bombings. She concludes by stating how the Government Quarter and specifically the H-building were no longer overlooked by the public but instead hailed for their cultural and architectural heritage. The latter was more widely acknowledged and led to the decision of the government in 2014 to demolish all buildings except for the H-building and incorporate it in the redevelopment of the quarter. The H-building has herewith become a crucial symbol of national identity.[36] The significance of the complex as a national symbol and as a representative of Norwegian values is emphasised elsewhere. Sveinung Krokann Berg, human geographer and researcher at the Norwegian Institute of Cultural Heritage Research (NIKU), also notes how the 2011 attacks were an attack on the Norwegian social-democratic society and its national values.[37] He states that the symbolic value of the quarter lies in its relation to the development of modern Norway and the post-war welfare state, but now even more so as a symbol that indicates that Norwegian democracy cannot be easily torn down.[38]

The events of 22 July, but also the growing international threat from Islamic extremist terrorism, made Norwegian authorities reconsider security measures. The issue of combining Norwegian values with security is the subject of research in the publication *The City between Freedom and Security*, resulting from collaboration between the Norwegian National Security Authority (NSM) and PST and the Bergen School of Architecture (BAS). Both institutions approached the BAS to inquire if the school would be interested in a collaboration, exploring security solutions that would combine security and accessibility and avoid practices such as what they refer to as American

35 Statsbygg, 'Om organisasjonen', http://www.statsbygg.no/Om-Statsbygg/Om-organisasjonen/.

36 Heath-Kelly, *Death and Security*, 116–18.

37 Sveinung Krokann Berg, 'Heritage Value Revisited after 22 July 2011: The Norwegian Government Block as an Expression of Public Values and a National Symbol', in *Heritage, Democracy and the Public: Nordic Approaches*, ed. Togrim Sneve Guttormsen and Grete Swensen (London: Routledge, 2016), 88.

38 Berg, 'Heritage Value Revisited', 93.

'security theatre'.[39] These actions indicate how Norwegians were strongly searching for a way to create their own spatial response instead of copying others, as touched upon by Eriksen in the same publication. It is unique that the security institutions approached an architecture and design school for collaboration on thinking about security solutions. This approach not only shows the significance of the built environment in securing the city, but it also comes to show how national values are manifested in the city and built environment.

In April 2019, the Norwegian government published a white paper which describes the planning, the aims and the design choices of the new quarter. The paper describes how necessary security measures will have high priority in the design of the new Government Quarter.[40] In the new Government Quarter, all the ministries, apart from the Ministry of Defence, will be housed together on one site. Doing so will give the designers the opportunity to integrate effective and harmonised security measures. The white paper argues how the security measures will have a more intrusive effect on the urban environment and traffic flow if the ministries are dispersed around the city. Indeed, the most noticeable and visible security measure for the quarter will be the establishment of some vehicle control checkpoints. In order to meet the sufficient safety distance to uncontrolled traffic, only accredited vehicles will be allowed into the area. As the paper states, the checkpoints will be situated in the most appropriate places to prevent unnecessary disturbance of the urban environment. The spatial intervention of vehicle control and a reinforced building structure are deemed unnecessary, according to the paper. The architecture will thus be open, transparent and inviting, living up to the premise of an open and green Government Quarter. One of the primary spatial security measures is the lowering and rebuilding of Ring 1. Lowering the road will create the possibility to establish a park area, contributing to the premise of an open and green quarter. Additionally, this construction means that the current access points to and from Akersgata are removed. Regarding physical security measures on the site, the new design strives to integrate aesthetically pleasing security measures. These measures include reinforced benches and flower beds, fountains and other water and landscaping elements.[41]

The new Government Quarter is to have a representative architectural quality that reflects its symbolic function and Norwegian values, and in

39 Simpson et al., *The City between Freedom and Security*, 11.

40 Det Kongelige Kommunal-og Moderniseringsdepartement, *Meld. St. 21 Melding til Stortinget. Nytt regjeringskvartal* (2019), 6.

41 Det Kongelige Kommunal-og Moderniseringsdepartement, *Meld. St. 21*, 27–28.

particular its openness. This approach is in line with the immediate response of then Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg, as cited in this chapter. However, national identity can only exist and be sustained by a shared sense of unity amongst citizens. National identity builds upon relations of trust and the safety of the societal structures these citizens are embedded in. One can argue that the approach of Norwegian authorities is merely a rhetorical and top-down construction of national identity. In 2021, a survey was conducted on how Norwegians interpret the attacks and the aftermath a decade later. This research shows that the narrative and response by Stoltenberg were widely supported in the direct aftermath of the attacks.[42] A decade later, the majority of the respondents to the survey still believe that the national values have become stronger in the aftermath of the attack, indicating a shared perception of national identity.[43] This finding indicates not only this shared view and experience of national values, but also trust in the government and its authorities.

Whereas the new building structures of the quarter aim to reflect openness, the H-building will be preserved as a symbol of democracy and resistance to terrorism. After all, the building withstood a terrorist attack on the values of Norwegian society and is therefore seen as a symbol of democracy and resistance to terrorism.[44] In addition, architects and designers initiated a debate about the importance of the H-building for cultural and national history, referring to its heritage value and the development of the modern nation. Withstanding a terrorist attack adds a new chapter to national history of Norway that the building symbolises. A shared history may strengthen the feeling of unity among citizens and therewith the existence of national identity. Finally, the decision to preserve the H-building was made after a public debate in which various disciplines rooted for its cultural, historical and societal significance. The opinion of the public mattered in the decision-making process, which can be seen as supportive of the value of democracy that the H-building aims to represent. It will be the tallest building of the Government Quarter, emphasising its representative status. This height status can be seen (literally and figuratively) as a spatial response to terror as well, one that embodies and aims to strengthen Norwegian values.

42 Øyvind Bugge Solheim and Anders Ravik Jupskås, 'Consensus or Conflict? A Survey Analysis of How Norwegians Interpret the July 22, 2011 Attacks a Decade Later', *Perspectives on Terrorism* 15, no. 3 (2021): 111.

43 Solheim and Jupskås, 'Consensus or Conflict?', 116.

44 Det Kongelige Kommunal-og Moderniseringsdepartement, *Meld. St. 21*, 32.

Conclusion

> The interrogation continued in the car on the way to Oslo. The officers asked Breivik to tell them honestly whether any more attacks were planned. He answered: 'If I give you that, I'll have nothing'.
> 'It's important to curb people's fears now', objected the police. Breivik retorted that it was up to the powers of the law and order to make people feel safe.
> 'It's beyond our power to reassure the Norwegian people now, so you have achieved that effect'.
> Breivik grinned. 'That's what they call terror, isn't it?'[45]

The above citation is an excerpt from the book *One of Us* by Norwegian journalist Åsne Seierstad, providing a comprehensive account of the events of 22 July 2011 and what preceded, as well as the aftermath. This fragment encompasses three key concepts that this chapter has defined: security, terror and response. What is described here underlines the definition of security as used in this research, namely that it is a retrospective practice that creates the illusion of complete control with the aim to comfort citizens and the foundation of trust in the state's capability to protect and defend. The reaction to an act of terror or a terrorist attack, as these are not identical, is formulated as a response instead of a solution because the latter indicates an outcome and the solution of the problem being responded to. This is not the case with the physical security measures discussed in this chapter, as those measures are only some of the ways in which a society reacts to a changing terror threat. The passage cited above represents the first response to the terror attacks in Norway, that of media statements and reassuring and informing the people. What the police stress is the importance of security and the need to restore the people's confidence in the protective capabilities of the state. In the direct aftermath of the attacks, Norwegian authorities failed in this regard, leading to increased feelings of fear, insecurity and anxiety among citizens. This is indeed what is called terror, and it is the desired effect of every terrorist attack.

This chapter examines the spatial response of two cities, the interface barriers in Belfast and the design of the new Government Quarter in Oslo. Both cities have in common that they share the aim to comfort and strengthen the trust of their citizens. Still, their spatial responses vary. In

45 Åsne Seierstad, *One of Us: The Story of a Massacre and Its Aftermath*, trans. Sara Death (London: Little, Brown Book Group, 2016), 375.

Belfast, violence and conflict were prevailing every day due to a conflict rooted in a fundamental difference in national identity. The spatial response, which aimed to create a sense of safety, was dominantly present as well and intertwined with the identity-building of both communities. The long period of conflict and violence resulted in a lasting feeling of insecurity, fear and mistrust among both communities. The spatial response, initially perceived as temporary, is now a permanent feature of the urban landscape.

Norway, a country with nearly no history of terrorism, was shaken by a very personal attack on their ideology and core values and felt the need to respond differently than other nations. This triggered the need for a response representative of the beliefs and values Breivik aimed to destroy, securing and comforting its citizens that, despite the many deaths, the attack was unsuccessful in fully destabilising the foundations of society. Still, Norway is not inventing new spatial security measures, but instead has found an innovative way of applying them by conducting an interdisciplinary approach to the security challenge, as the country was determined to create its own spatial response to secure their national values. Thus, it can be concluded that the case study of Oslo illustrates not only the significant role these values play in a city's recovery after a terrorist attack, but also how a nation's security policy and the physical security measures reflect the political and societal beliefs and ideals of a country. As the case of the Government Quarter has shown, architecture can contain symbolic meanings and represent national values, herewith being the cornerstone of society. The new Government Quarter will be equipped with security measures that are implemented to ensure the safety of the citizens while at the same time striving to represent Norwegian core values stronger than ever.

In Belfast, we saw how in the early years of the Troubles, spatial responses were primarily approached as a security challenge, with a dominant role for security forces. Regarding Oslo, the focus lies on design in security measures, and with the involvement of designers and architects, the spatial response is approached as a design challenge. Both case studies show how a nation's history and its societal and political context all influence the spatial response and how physical security measures are believed to be a necessity in both case studies, even if both cases differ greatly in terms of history and society. Although these factors influence the debate on physical security measures, as well as their implementation and aesthetics, with every threat both in history and in the present day, a spatial response is considered, indicating the significance of architecture and the built environment.

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About the Author

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Section 4

Narratives and Imaginaries of Unsafety

10 Safe at Home?

The Domestic Space in Early Modern Visual Culture

Sigrid Ruby

Abstract
In terms of personal safety, the domestic space is an ambivalent one, and this has a lot do to with its (in)visibility. This chapter explores some early modern depictions of the domestic sphere and how they informed a culture of (in)visibility based on particular gender roles. Whereas etchings by Abraham Bosse and paintings by Jan Steen theatrically promulgate domestic disorder for the beholders' entertainment and instruction, Pieter de Hooch's household scenes purport a disturbing sense of absorption and suspense. His paintings embrace strands of Christian iconography that serve to reformulate an aesthetic as well as cognitive relation between domestic security and female virginity, guided by dichotomies such as firmly closed versus widely open, invisible versus visible.

Keywords: early modern art, Dutch genre painting, domestic space, gender, visibility

In April 2020, at a critical point in the Corona crisis, the German Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth launched a campaign with major supermarket chains to combat domestic violence.[1] Nationwide posters were displayed in the checkout area, at entrances, at exits and on bulletin boards in about 26,000 supermarkets, providing information

1 I want to thank the DFG Collaborative Research Centre/Transregio 138 'Dynamics of Security: Types of Securitization from a Historical Perspective' for supporting my research and covering my expenses for obtaining images and reproduction rights.

Blok, G. & J. Oosterholt (eds.), *The Cultural Construction of Safety and Security: Imaginaries, Discourses and Philosophies that Shaped Modern Europe*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press 2023
DOI: 10.5117/9789463720472_CH10

about the initiative and local offers of help.[2] By means of the colour design and the playful notation—'Zuhause ~~nicht~~ sicher?!' ('~~Not~~ safe at home?!')—an established notion of the home and the domestic space as sheltering structures was once more challenged. This notion includes a stable house or living space that protects its inhabitants from wind and weather, wild animals and strangers. It also means the family or partnership one belongs to or may have joined. However, the particular dangers of being 'at home' result from just these culturalised qualities and affects: in the supposedly protective sphere of the domestic space, one feels rather safe and is less vigilant. One tends to expose oneself and become vulnerable. Possible dangers come from other occupants of the house, maybe even from family members or the partner, but also from outsiders who may gain access to the domestic interior either physically or through their gaze. It follows that being 'at home' and therefore not visible to the public is quite an ambivalent situation in terms of safety. The problem is—if the pun may be allowed—home-made.

Safety, or for that matter security, takes many forms. In dominant Western thought, safety is considered a limited resource and is not available to everyone, everywhere, all the time.[3] 'Zuhause ~~nicht~~ sicher?!' highlights the problems of a national welfare policy that is expected to weigh risks and set priorities. While the global *#stayathome* campaign helped to curb the spread of the Corona virus, it also led to an increase in everyday domestic violence, experienced especially by women and children. The two campaigns are perplexing in their seemingly contradictory agendas. That both apparently managed without catchy images is not so surprising, however. The ambivalent safety promise of the domestic space has to do with the paradoxical consequences of its (in)visibility, and it is difficult, maybe even impossible to get to the heart of that in the context of political campaigns earnestly aimed at societal security.[4]

Pictorial representations of the private home seem to be a problem sui generis, for what is made visible or public can no longer be truly private. But

2 See press release of the Federal Ministry of 29 April 2020, https://www.bmfsfj.de/bmfsfj/aktuelles/presse/pressemitteilungen/zuhause-nicht-sicher-bundesfrauenministerin-giffey-startet-bundesweite-kooperation-mit-supermaerkten-gegen-haeusliche-gewalt-155170.

3 Sigrid Ruby, 'Security Makes a Difference: An Introduction', in *Sicherheit und Differenz in historischer Perspektive / Security and Difference in Historical Perspective*, ed. Sigrid Ruby and Anja Krause (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2022), 11–22.

4 For 'societal security' as conceptualised by the Copenhagen School in Critical Security Studies see Ole Waever, 'Societal Security: The Concept', in *Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe*, ed. Ole Wæver, Barry Buzan, Morten Kelstrup, and Pierre Lemaitre (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1993), 17–58.

maybe privacy and its virtues are just parts of a modern Western notion, not unalterable anthropological fact. It turns out that the domestic sphere and privacy at home were explored extensively in early modern visual culture in Europe. The sheer fact that the issue was deemed worthy of depiction points to its considerable social importance in the historical situation, which cannot be treated here in any detail. In a brilliant paper published in 1992, the art historian David R. Smith diagnoses a 'discovery of privacy' and sets out 'to explore privacy's effect on the form and content of Dutch art' in the seventeenth century.[5] Another, slightly different approach is to ask how and to what extent the art works themselves shaped and informed an historical 'discovery of privacy' and its perception as belonging to or being part of the domestic sphere. In what follows, I try to pursue that path, which means that my focus, like Smith's, is also on the genuine logic of the visual, but that I grant more agency to the pictures.

In this chapter, I discuss what I consider a representative sample of early modern images, mostly from the seventeenth century, that address and problematise the domestic space as a (not so) safe space. Whereas these images address and problematise gender roles in different ways, the interplay of interior and exterior and genuinely artistic questions regarding visual narrative and exposure play an important role in each of them.[6] Most of the art works I deal with here have already been discussed extensively in the discipline, also in terms of privacy, interiority, gender, the visible and the invisible.[7] However, focusing on safety/security as a category also of art

5 David R. Smith, 'Privacy, Realism, and the Novelistic in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting', in *L'art et les transformations sociales révolutionnaires*, ed. William Vaughan (Strasbourg: Société Alsacienne pour le Développement de l'Histoire de l'Art, 1992), 35–52, here 35.

6 On visual narrative and the interior see Wolfgang Kemp, *Die Räume der Maler: Zur Bilderzählung seit Giotto* (Munich: Beck, 1996), and Wolfgang Kemp, 'Beziehungsspiele: Versuch einer Gattungspoetik des Interieurs', in *Innenleben: Die Kunst des Interieurs. Vermeer bis Kabakov*, ed. Sabine Schulze (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje, 1998), 17–29.

7 Cf. Heide de Mare, 'Die Grenze des Hauses als ritueller Ort und ihr Bezug zur holländischen Hausfrau des 17. Jahrhunderts', *Kritische Berichte* 4 (1992): 64–79; Heidi de Mare, 'Domesticity in Dispute: A Reconsideration of Source', in *At Home: An Anthropology of Domestic Space*, ed. Irene Cieraad (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1999), 13–30; Daniela Hammer-Tugendhat, *The Visible and the Invisible: On Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting* (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2015); Martha Hollander, *An Entrance for the Eyes: Space and Meaning in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Martha Hollander, 'Public and Private Life in the Art of Pieter de Hooch', in *Wooncultuur in de Nederlanden / The Art of Home in the Netherlands, 1500–1800*, ed. Jan de Jong et al. (Zwolle: Waanders, 2001), 273–93; Martha Hollander, 'Space, Light, Order: The Paintings of Pieter de Hooch', *The Low Countries: Art and Society in Flanders and the Netherlands. A Yearbook* 9 (2001): 108–15; Smith, 'Privacy'; Beate Söntgen, 'Mariology, Calvinism, Painting: Interiority in Pieter de Hooch's "Mother at a Cradle"', in *Interiors and*

historical analyses may not only reveal previously unrecognised aesthetic aspects and quite interesting iconographical cross-references. It might also help to better understand the importance of the visual and of visuality for security (and in Critical Security Studies) and, in that context, to get a bit of a handle on its particular relationship to gender.

Publicity for Domestic Disorder

Two etchings by the French engraver Abraham Bosse (ca. 1604–76), conceived in about 1633 as commensurate counterparts, show drastic acts of violence in an obviously well-to-do household. The husband obviously lost his temper and has beaten—or threatens to beat—his wife with a thick club (Fig. 10.1). She is kneeling in front of him, begging for mercy, together with her two children who are crouching next to her. The woman wears her long hair open, and it looks stringy and unkempt. The affluent living space shows traces of neglect, and illicit lovemaking may just have taken place in the canopy bed at the righthand side of the room. All this would be ample reason for a husband's anger and his humiliation of the housewife because it is her responsibility to ensure order, good manners in the house and well-cared-for offspring. The inscription underneath the image spells out a dispute between the spouses that further enriches the violence of their quarrel. The counterpart image, *La femme qui bat son mari*, seems to show a scene from a topsy-turvy world, wherein the wife is kicking and beating her husband, vigorously swinging a bunch of keys.

Following that model, the daughter is beating up her brother and the hen is attacking the cock. In the background to the left, behind another sumptuous canopy bed, a well-clad young man is pointing to the battle scene in the middle. He is most likely the housewife's lover and, thus, further evidence of the domestic disorder that the duped husband has been too weak to prohibit or terminate.

The domestic scenes in Bosse's prints are staged theatrically, and their rendering appears didactic in purpose. The message is that violent disputes between spouses arise when the partners fail to live up to their respective gender roles. Such outbreaks of conjugal violence signify that not only the individual family and the stability of its house are in danger, but also

Interiority, ed. Ewa Lajer-Burchardt and Beate Söntgen (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2016), 175–93; Nanette Salomon, *Shifting Priorities: Gender and Genre in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004).

Figure 10.1 Abraham Bosse, *Le mari battant sa femme* (The husband hitting his wife), ca. 1633, engraving, 21 × 30 cm / 25.8 × 33.3 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. Nr. 24.36.5 (Public Domain).

the social order as a whole. In both representations, the window in the background is wide open. Thus, the domestic scenes can be looked at (by the beholder) as well as overheard (by an imaginary neighbourhood). These scenes are ostentatiously made public because family discord is a problem that concerns everyone and must be collectively contained.[8]

Besides violence, licentiousness characterised an early modern household in disorder and, thus, signalled a security problem. Among others, the Dutch artist Jan Steen (1626–79) has treated the subject in several of his genre paintings, which are moralising as well as entertaining. The popularity of pictures such as *Beware of Luxury* (1663, canvas, 105 × 145,5 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches

8 Inken Schmidt-Voges, 'Nachbarn im Haus: Grenzüberschreitungen und Friedewahrung in der "guten Nachbarschaft"', in *Grenzen und Grenzüberschreitungen: Bilanz und Perspektiven der Frühneuzeitforschung*, ed. Christine Roll, Frank Pohle, and Matthias Myrczek (Cologne: Böhlau, 2010), 413–27; Inken Schmidt-Voges, '"Connecting spheres": Die Verortung der Geschlechter in "Haus" und Gesellschaft in Leon Battista Albertis "Libri della famiglia" (1433/34)', *L'Homme: Europäische Zeitschrift für feministische Geschichtswissenschaft* 20, no. 2 (2019): 19–36. See also Sigrid Ruby and Inken Schmidt-Voges, eds, *Haus – Geschlecht – Sicherheit: Diskursive Formierungen in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2023).

Museum) is mainly due to their quality as counter-images to the social norm.[9] They show the (also aesthetic) opulence of an unleashed feast, which includes not only the abundant consumption of luxury goods but also erotic encounters between the sexes. While the housewife is fast asleep—very likely because she drank too much alcohol—her children, servants and animals are doing as they please and dubious people have taken over the house.

Beholding Domestic Quiet

Like Bosse's images of domestic violence, Steen's *Beware of Luxury* and other paintings by him must be tagged as theatrical. They openly address the viewer and appear self-conscious in their showing off for being seen. Insofar as we are literally invited to look, the domestic scene becomes a public affair. This is usually different with paintings from the same period by Pieter de Hooch (1629–84), which render impressions of everyday domestic life and the routines of good housekeeping and at first glance seem to be made for private viewing.

In Michael Fried's dichotomous classification of theatricality and absorption, these paintings would represent the latter.[10] Here, the beholder gains access to neat and tidy Dutch interiors, wherein housewives, children and female servants pursue simple activities and seem to calmly enjoy each other's company. The domestic space most often appears as a sequence of rooms staggered one behind the other or nested inside each other, connected through drapery, door and window openings and more or less flooded with natural light. In De Hooch's painting *The Bedroom* (Fig. 10.3), the dark curtain on the right shields an alcove, that is, a core interior of the domestic space, from which the larger units unfold to the outdoor area in open daylight. In *Woman with Child in a Pantry* (Fig. 10.2), the rectangular male portrait on the wall in the rear room echoes the window pane next to it, which in turn finds a continuation in the opened door leaf to the front room. De Hooch's clear spatial design and his repeated use of simple geometric forms give his paintings a distinct calmness that fits the general impression of serene quiet

9 See also Jan Steen's depiction of *The Dissolute Household* (1661–64, 81 × 89 cm) in the Wellington Collection at Apsley House, London. On Steen's household paintings, see Nanette Salomon, 'Jan Steen's Formulation of the Dissolute Household: Sources and Meanings' (1987) and '"There's No Place Like Home": Jan Steen and Domestic Ideology', in Salomon, *Shifting Priorities*, 43–50 and 51–62; Perry H. Chapman, 'Jan Steen's Household Revisited', *Simiolus* 20 (1990–91): 183–96.

10 Michael Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality: Painting and Beholder in the Age of Diderot* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980).

Figure 10.2 Pieter de Hooch, *Woman with Child in a Pantry*, ca. 1656–60, canvas, 65 × 60.5 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Inv. Nr. SK-A-182 (Public Domain).

and security. Presenting domestic life in such a way seems to mark it as well as the act of beholding it as private. At the same time, and inevitably, the image robs them of this very privacy, exposing a fundamental vulnerability of privacy to illustration and visibility.

What about gender? In the two paintings by De Hooch, an all-female staff appears completely absorbed in their respective occupations. The persons do not pose for any beholder, which is something they do not seem to reckon with at all. The historical viewer might have felt a sense of belonging to the situation, sharing the common space, pleased in simply gazing at the casual domestic scene. However, and precisely because there is no voyeuristic keyhole aesthetic at work in De Hooch's paintings, the beholder's perception must have remained ambiguous, somehow wavering between oblivion and

Figure 10.3 Pieter de Hooch, *The Bedroom*, 1658/60, canvas, 51 × 60 cm, Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, Widener Collection (Public Domain).

intrusiveness, and we could speculate as to whether the Dutch housewife of the seventeenth century experienced it any different from her husband. In the historical context of early modern (visual) culture, the gendering of interior and exterior, private and public space comes with the 'male gaze'—complacent or possessive, caring or desiring—being a security issue.

Among others, Beate Söntgen points out that a 'blurring of the boundary between interior and exterior is virtually omnipresent in De Hooch's oeuvre'.[11] David R. Smith recognises a 'dialogic' moment in this. With reference to a conceptual framework originally developed by literary critic Mikhail Bakhtin, he elucidates the 'dialogic' dimension in De Hooch's and other Dutch paintings of the so-called 'Golden Age' which, he argues, renders them more realistic and, in that, similar to the literary form of the novel.[12] 'Privacy', Smith notes, 'can only be defined in relation to what it is not: private

11 Söntgen, 'Mariology', 178. See also Hollander, 'Public and Private'.

12 Smith, 'Privacy', 38–39. See also David R. Smith, 'Realism and Boundaries of Genre in Dutch Art', *Art History* 32, no. 1 (February 2009): 78–114.

versus public, hiddenness versus openness, the home versus the city. All these dichotomies take shape in the theme of inside versus outside and, with it, the image of the threshold'.[13] In De Hooch's *The Bedroom*, for example, the child 'stands in the light of the threshold',[14] mediating between the shadowy domestic interior and the blazing outside world. The mutual openness and flexible interplay of the two spheres make room for narrative imagination and also for a kind of suspense that, I would like to argue, coalesces with the (due to the aesthetic concept) supposedly not reckoned with and potentially intrusive (male) beholder in front of the painting. Notwithstanding the comforting atmosphere of casual domestic quiet, there is a vague tension between, as Simon Schama aptly phrased it, 'homeliness and worldliness'[15] on several levels. This particular tension is considerably enhanced when it is not a little child that is crossing the threshold and mediating between the two spheres, but instead an adult male person.

The Integrity of the House

Several of De Hooch's works show a messenger, who is bringing a letter and therefore is being received by the mistress of the house in its entrance hall.[16] In one of them, created about 1670 and now in the Kunsthalle Hamburg, a well-clad young man dutifully rushes in from a city street, which can be glimpsed in a narrow strip of light on the far right of the picture (Fig. 10.4). The messenger's head is lowered to the white envelope in his hand, which he is about to hand over to the young woman in a golden robe who, while accompanied by two pet dogs, has come into the entrance hall from the deep interior of the house. The messenger and mistress meet on the chequered floor of the vestibule, which—like an extended threshold—connects the two young people and likewise holds them at a distance. Despite the messenger's assiduity and the woman's shy reserve, the scene carries an amorous or even titillating undertone. This undertone is due to the possibility that the young man could be bringing a love letter as the (later given) title of

13 Smith, 'Privacy', 41. On the importance of the threshold in Dutch genre painting and its reference to profane city architecture in seventeenth-century Holland, see De Mare, 'Die Grenze', and De Mare, 'Domesticity'.

14 Smith, 'Privacy', 37.

15 Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Ag*e (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987), quoted in Smith, 'Privacy', 42.

16 See also Pieter de Hooch, *Man Handing a Letter to a Woman in the Entrance Hall of a House*, 1670, canvas, 68 × 59 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

Figure 10.4 Pieter de Hooch, *The Messenger of Love*, ca. 1670, canvas, 57 × 53 cm, Hamburg, Kunsthalle, Inv. Nr. HK-184. © Hamburger Kunsthalle / bpk, Photo: Elke Walford.

the painting infers. It is concomitantly due to the sheer fact that De Hooch depicted the casual encounter of a man and a woman on the threshold between the domestic interior and the public sphere, that is, between the female household and its male dominated environs. The messenger might be harmless, but he remains a doubtful intruder nonetheless; maybe he brings love, which is exactly why danger could be imminent. The 'dialogic' quality of the painting, which according to David R. Smith lies at the heart of the realism in seventeenth-century Dutch genre painting, also makes for its ambivalence. For, having easy access to a casual scene which may please and entertain him, the beholder also becomes aware of the fact that the domestic space can never be completely safe in the sense of being shielded from and impenetrable to the outside world. Men might seek

Figure 10.5 Pieter de Hooch, *The Intruder: A Lady at Her Toilet Surprised by Her Lover*, ca. 1665, canvas, 54.5 × 63 cm, London, Apsley House, The Wellington Collection, Inv. Nr. WM.1571-1948.

entrance, and women might let them in—perhaps also into their hearts or even their bodies—and, thus, jeopardise domestic quietude and the integrity of the home.

Whereas the young woman in De Hooch's painting is welcoming the messenger with decency and friendliness, the dark-haired dog at her feet demonstrates alertness and distrust. The motive of the dog, a conventional symbol of conjugal faith, can also be found in another genre painting by De Hooch, which today is in the Wellington Collection at Apsley House, London (Fig. 10.5). Here, a woman who has been busy dressing and making herself up in the bedroom is interrupted by a male visitor. Both are sumptuously clad. The man appears to open his arms in a gesture of greeting, which can also be interpreted as an attempt to embrace the woman as he is cheerfully looking at her with a slightly tilted head. The self-confident visitor has come a long way from the brightly lit exterior into the lady's personal room, having crossed several thresholds in the process. A long dark curtain is drawn back by the widely opened leaf of the connecting door right behind

the man. Openness and opening appear to be the main themes of the whole painting. The scene is spread out for the eyes of the beholder in an almost theatrical manner to suggest an amorous encounter of the sexes with carnal consequences which the viewer is (rather straightforwardly) invited to fantasise about.

Once again, De Hooch sets to scene a dialogue between the domestic space, gendered female and a decidedly male outside world and, thus, colloquially speaking, gets things going. By adapting a conceptual category from literary studies, we can recognise this as a characteristic feature of a 'poetics of insecurity',[17] that is, of an aesthetic strategy deployed to entertain and to stimulate the beholder's imagination of what came before and what will happen next. It typically accompanies and interacts with the questionable security of the house supposedly due to female unreliability, carelessness and licentiousness. In De Hooch's painting at Apsley House, the mistress of the house is conspicuously wasting time over her toilet. Because of her personal vanity, she does not (want to) pay attention to the entrance to her domestic interior, which obviously is not as firmly locked as it should be. Her 'lover', as the (later given) title suggests, can easily sneak in so they can have sexual intercourse in the canopy bed on the right in the shadowed corner of the chamber. This implies either having premarital sex or committing adultery, for, as a rule, the woman would not have so much time before the mirror were she expecting her legal husband. Apparently it is the woman who is to blame for imminent danger to the house and the family. Stereotypical features of her sex—vanity, concupiscence, flippancy—literally open the door for intruders so that extramarital sexual relations become an issue. The engravings by Abraham Bosse mentioned above also raise that particular security problem. However, De Hooch presents the problem differently, much less didactically and with genuine ambivalence. His painting of *A Lady Surprised by Her Lover* could also bring to mind the recent *#metoo* debate and, thus, the question of whose security is at stake here, or rather overlooked. Is the 'lady' who has been so preoccupied in her personal room only 'surprised' by the appearance of the man? She might also feel disturbed and annoyed by the visitor or even be afraid of him and the prospect of a sexual assault.

17 Johannes Voelz, *Poetics of Insecurity: American Fiction and the Uses of Threat* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018). See also Julia Wurr, 'New Orientalism and the Poetics of Insecurity in "Bodyguard"', in Ruby and Krause, *Sicherheit und Differenz / Security and Difference*, 191–211.

Figure 10.6
Crispijn van de Passe I, *Lucretia*, 1589/1611, engraving, 23.3 × 16.2 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Inv. Nr. RP-P-1986-284 (Public Domain).

The precarious situation painted by De Hooch recalls the ancient story of Lucretia, which had become very popular in the European Renaissance and the subject of many images. As told by Titus Livy, Ovid and other authors of classical antiquity and afterwards, Lucretia, a very beautiful and virtuous Roman woman, was raped by a relative in her own house. In consequence of this loss of honour, she took her own life with a dagger, and the events triggered an uprising of the people against the monarchy.[18] An engraving by

18 On the story of Lucretia and its role for ideas on state-building, see Melissa M. Matthes, *The Rape of Lucretia and the Foundation of Republics: Readings in Livy, Machiavelli, and Rousseau* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2000); on Lucretia's reception in early modern art see Renate Schrodl-Grimm, 'Die Selbstmörderin als Tugendheldin: Ein frühneuzeitliches

Crispijn van de Passe (1564–1637) shows the scene of Lucretia's suicide and contains clues to what caused the drama. The young woman with bared breast and the weapon in her hand is shown standing in a luxuriously furnished chamber (Fig. 10.6). Both the bedstead to her right with its thick mattresses and pillows and the open door in the background point to the rape that took place in her house and that sullied Lucretia's honour, that is, took her virginity. The domestic violence she endured, the dilemma that it posed for her and the 'solution' she eventually found not only rendered Lucretia an exemplary heroine and a female role model but also justified the creation of numerous images of a semi-naked woman getting raped or ostentatiously being about to stab herself. Here, visual publicity for domestic distress shaped, fuelled and confirmed the 'male gaze' as part of a collective security problem.

Virginity and Security

Obviously, a common discourse on the security of the domestic space and female virginity existed, guided by the core dichotomies of firmly closed versus wide open and invisible versus visible. Early modern images not only rendered this discourse; they also were seminal in producing and embroidering it by the spaces they depicted, the narratives they evoked and the sentiments they elicited through staging a 'dynamic of opening and closure' and a 'back-and-forth of showing and concealing'.[19] At that point, a powerful iconographic tradition comes to mind which sits somewhat disconcertingly next to the issues raised but nevertheless relates to them. Here I refer to premodern images of the Annunciation, which show the archangel Gabriel entering Mary's house to tell her that she will become pregnant with the son of God.[20] While her first reaction is to ask, 'How shall this be, seeing I know not a man?' Mary soon unconditionally surrenders to the divine plan and accepts the particular role envisaged for her therein, which was interpreted as a token of her profound faith. In Early Netherlandish as well as in Quattrocento and Cinquecento Italian painting, the scene of the Annunciation was preferably rendered in a contemporary setting, naturalising as well

Bildmotiv und seine Rezeptionsgeschichte' (PhD Dissertation, University of Göttingen, 2009). See also Sigrid Ruby, 'Domestizierung im Zeichen der Sicherheit: Ein Beitrag zur Reihe "Sicherheit in der Krise"', *Soziopolis: Gesellschaft beobachten*, 25 June 2020.

19 Söntgen, 'Mariology', 175.

20 Luke 1:26–38.

as 'privatising'[21] the religious event to make its message more accessible to historical believers. The phenomenon is commonly associated with the rise of the *devotio moderna* and as reflecting, as well as catering to, a humanisation of religion.[22] Interestingly, this visual 'domestication' of the Annunciation mostly disappeared in the time of the Baroque.[23]

When comparing some of Pieter de Hooch's paintings discussed here (Figures 10.3, 10.4 and 10.5) with, for example, the *Mérode altarpiece* (ca. 1425–30, wood, 64,1 × 34,5 / 63,2 / 27,3 cm, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Arts) and the *Annunciation* by Gentile da Fabriano (ca. 1419, wood, 40,6 × 48,5 cm, Rome, Pinacoteca Vaticana), one detects several significant similarities. The most striking is the 'dialogic' dimension, the staged interplay between a domestic space and the world outside. In the images of the Annunciation there is less blurring of the boundaries, but nonetheless an enhancement of thresholds and liminal zones via diverse openings in the walls, pierced objects and ornaments, drawn curtains, use of light and light beams, and so on. In all the paintings, the encounter of two figures is set centre stage: Mary and the Angel in the Annunciation, profane contemporaries in De Hooch's genre scenes. In the latter as well as in the renderings of the Annunciation, it is the female part of the pair that is behaving rather passively. The angel, the child and the men in turn perform actively, rushing forward or gesticulating respectively. Significantly, in De Hooch's *The Bedroom* as well as *A Lady Surprised by Her Lover*, there is an alcove or a canopy in the righthand corner of the room. These items indicate the room's function as a profane bedchamber and remind one of the *thalamus virginis* (ancient Greek), the bedchamber of Mary as depicted, for example, in the *Annunciation* by Gentile da Fabriano. In Christian belief, Mary's bedchamber refers to her virgin birth as well as to the Incarnation, that is, to her becoming God's bride. As Laurent Bolard states, the *thalamus virginis* is the 'lieu du Mystère, métaphore de l'Incarnation [...] le non-dit du discours'.[24] Notwithstanding, the bed obviously took part in the visual discourse on the Annunciation and became a prominent motive in the early modern 'privatisation' of the cult.

Looking once more at De Hooch's painting at Apsley House, one might wonder at there being so many references to the traditional iconography of

21 Laurent Bolard, '"Thalamus Virginis": Images de la "Devotio moderna" dans la peinture italienne du XVe siècle'. *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 216, no. 1 (1999): 87–110, here 95.

22 See, for example, Bolard, '"Thalamus Virginis"'.

23 The subject of the Annunciation is not strongly represented in Dutch visual culture of the seventeenth century. There apparently existed a trend to monumentalise the two protagonists, that is, Mary and the Angel, in their encounter. See, for example, the respective paintings by P.P. Rubens and H. ter Brugghen.

24 Bolard, '"Thalamus virginis"', 98.

the Annunciation (Figure 10.5): the woman's clothes have the colours red, blue and white, which typically characterise the Virgin Mary. She is sitting at a table and distracted from what she is doing by the visitor, but praying or reading the Bible is not what this woman is inhibited from continuing to do; rather, it is dressing up and busying herself in her toilet. And doesn't the man with his golden robe and long curling hair, arms spread out widely as if bringing really good news, qualify as an angelic apparition? Is Pieter de Hooch making fun of an icon of the Christian belief system? Or is he playfully adapting the icon to demonstrate the difference between the sacred and the profane?

In their sensitive analyses of De Hooch's paintings, Beate Söntgen and Martha Hollander have already convincingly delineated the Mariological references in some of his works.[25] In her reflection on the 'Mariological contour of the female figure'[26] in De Hooch's *Mother at a Cradle* (1661–63, canvas, 92 × 100 cm, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin), Söntgen detects motherhood as a female role model that in early modern Dutch culture was preferably seen as mediating between interior and exterior. Being a mother has been one of the many positive identities of the Virgin Mary as is manifest particularly in the iconography of the *Maria lactans*.[27] But what do we make of the obvious connection that early modern images of the (per se) endangered domestic space have with the iconography of the Annunciation? Apart from the overall knowledge that religious models and pictorial solutions somehow sediment and persist and that later (re-)activations do not necessarily signal a conscious critique.[28] De Hooch's paintings and early modern images of the Annunciation transport two fundamental ideas: (1) a woman's place is in the home and (2) a woman's body is like a house, and therefore a woman's virginity is what makes a house secure. According to the Fathers of the Church and common Christian faith, Mary was born a virgin and remained a virgin, even *post partum*, that is, after having given birth to Christ.[29] Which means that her vagina was never penetrated and her body was always sealed up in chastity. This absolute closure also applies to an ideally safe domestic interior. As can be seen in the central panel of the *Mérode altarpiece* and also in the *Annunciation* by Gentile da Fabriano, the window panes through which

25 Söntgen, 'Mariology'; Hollander, 'Space, Light, Order'.

26 Söntgen, 'Mariology', 175.

27 Cf. Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (New York: Random House, 1983), 177–223.

28 See, for example, Albrecht Koschorke, *Die Heilige Familie und ihre Folgen: Ein Versuch* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2000).

29 Cf. Warner, *Alone*, 3–78.

the Holy Spirit is entering as or in a beam of golden light are not broken—as also, so Christian faith has it, Mary's hymen was always intact and never torn. Somewhat surprisingly, but conforming to the text of the scriptures, the archangel wilfully and personally enters Mary's chamber through an open door. He is only a messenger but nonetheless an intruder into the domestic sphere, wherein he finds her alone and basically at his mercy. It is just the aforementioned naturalisation or 'privatisation' of the domestic space that renders the situation not only wondrous—in the sense of supernatural and divine—but also somewhat frightening. Here already, a 'poetics of insecurity' seems at work due to the domestication of the scene and to the narration via interplays of the inside and the outside. Later renderings of the Annunciation, for example by Lorenzo Lotto (1527, wood, 166 × 114 cm, Museo Civico di Recarati),[30] make a point of Mary actually being frightened by the event, of the angel storming into her chamber and her godfather furiously gesturing at her. Well, one might argue, she has left the house wide open.

Nobody has to be frightened in De Hooch's paintings. It is the 'art of describing'[31] everyday scenes in the domestic space, of rendering their protagonists so completely absorbed, as well as the beholder's uncertainty concerning his or her right to look and, in so doing, 'discover privacy', which lends these paintings their genuine ambivalence and a particular combination of (un)ease. Regarding their evocation of the iconography of the Annunciation, I find the proposition Beate Söntgen formulates entirely convincing: 'The specific back-and-forth between showing and concealing in De Hooch's work illustrates the transformation of modes of interiority with Christian connotations into early modern forms of absorption whose primary reference is not to religious spirituality but to the mediation between interior and exterior as a process that is both individuated and determined by social roles'.[32]

Conclusion

The slogan 'Zuhause ~~nicht~~ sicher?!' and the paradox visualised in its notation are justified independent of the Corona pandemic, which the authorities tried to contain by urging the people to 'stay at home'. As I have tried to

30 See also Tintoretto's version in the Scuola di San Rosso in Venice.

31 Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).

32 Söntgen, 'Mariology', 175.

show, already in early modern Europe, domestic disorder was considered dangerous to the life of the community and thus was dealt with in public. Images that ran counter to normative social behaviour showed acts of domestic violence and the consequences of licentiousness and carelessness. The images had the didactic purpose to instruct and to warn, as well as to entertain. The paintings by Pieter de Hooch with their dialogic interplay of interior and exterior spaces also emphasise the multiple connections between the domestic sphere and its environs, that is, the public. Their particular realism appears to invite an unmediated 'discovery of privacy' which, however, is frustrated or made impossible by the intuitive knowledge that true privacy cannot be rendered by pictorial means: the beholder gets suspicious of his or her watching, as well as of the domestic quiet and its (potential) intruders. Lingering iconographical traits enrich the picture's semantics and reveal the picture as fabricated and perpetuating stereotypes. Apart from that, De Hooch's finely balanced 'poetics of insecurity' may make us aware of the domestic space as deeply interwoven with the larger social fabric, as entertaining as well as troubling to see and not to be shut tight as if it were a zone of safety.

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11 The Transfer of Nineteenth-Century Representations of Unsafety

A Dutch Adaptation of Eugène Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris*

Jan Oosterholt

Abstract
In the history of nineteenth-century social novels Eugène Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris* is of crucial importance. Through Sue's text readers came into contact with Parisian slums. Nowadays, it tells us more about nineteenth-century citizens' fear of an unknown underworld and of an unsafe city than about the daily life of that period. As almost everywhere else in the West, Sue's example was followed in the Netherlands. In this essay, I analyse how Sue's representation of a Parisian underworld was transferred to a Dutch context in Johan de Vries' *The Mysteries of Amsterdam* (1844). How did this adaptation relate to the debate on criminality and prostitution? And what does it tell us about the discourse on safety in nineteenth-century cities?

Keywords: public safety, Amsterdam, Paris, adaptation, social novel

> The amount of idlers in cities is very considerable [...] The police commissioner should visit each citizen of his district, to investigate his livelihood. They who cannot give proof of a profession or company, as source for their income, should be banished out of the city and sent to a region where they can find work. This measure should cleanse the capital of its riffraff, that is hiding like wild animals in dens, awaiting an opportunity to rob decent citizens. This measure, carried out diligently, would be a means to attain safety, much more effective than a few bailiffs, appointed mainly to charge criminals. Preventing crimes is infinitely better and more

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> useful than punishing; there's little benefit in cutting off weeds, as long as one does not rip out and destroy the roots out of which they sprout.[1]

Unlike one might expect, this radical and repressive proposal to diminish idling in the city of Amsterdam in the 1840s does not originate from a political pamphlet, but from a novel: *De verborgenheden van Amsterdam* (*The Mysteries of Amsterdam*), published in 1844 and written by L. van Eikenhorst, pseudonym of the hack writer Johan de Vries.[2] In this voluminous text De Vries combines an exciting story about the mysteries, hidden behind the doors of both the rich and poor citizens of the 'Grachtengordel' ('girdle of canals') in Amsterdam, with essays on social problems. Besides idling De Vries treats all kinds of subjects, for instance poverty, prison regimes, capital punishment, venereal disease among prostitutes and their clientele and even the pros and cons of lotteries. The essays can be understood as a quest for social justice and safety in nineteenth-century Amsterdam.

In the afterword of *The Mysteries of Amsterdam*, De Vries mentions openly that he was influenced by Eugène Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris*, an international bestseller that appeared only a year before the Dutch novel. De Vries was one of the many authors inspired by Sue's novel, which almost everywhere in the West was followed in the form of translations, adaptations and imitations. De Vries even confesses that he transported Sue's characters one to one from French to Dutch soil. He also may have borrowed the idea of essayistic digressions from Sue, who, like his Dutch imitator, dwells on prison regimes and the prostitution subject. Then again, this engagement was already part of the tradition of the realistic and more specifically the social novel. Before

1 L. van Eikenhorst, *De verborgenheden van Amsterdam*, 4 vols (Amsterdam: S.H. Spree, 1844), 3:275, 286. 'Het getal lediggangers in de groote steden is zeer aanzienlijk [...] De kommissaris van politie moest bij elken bewoner zijner sektie rondgaan, om onderzoek te doen naar diens middelen van bestaan. Zij, welke niet voldoende mogten kunnen bewijzen, door welk beroep of bedrijf, of uit welke bron zij in hun onderhoud voorzien, moesten uit de stad gebannen en hun eene plaats aangewezen worden, waar zij arbeid zouden vinden. Deze maatregel toch zoude de hoofdstad zuiveren van dit gespuis; hetwelk zich, even als het wild gedierte, in holen, ontoegankelijk voor den fatsoenlijken burger, verschuilt, om op roof uit gaan. Deze maatregel, met ijver ten uitvoer gelegd, zoude een middel zijn, dat krachtdadig tot veiligheid zoude medewerken, krachtdadiger dan een aantal geregtsdienaars, die grootendeels daar zijn om de boosdoeners te grijpen. De misdaad te voorkomen is oneindig beter en nuttiger dan haar te straffen; het baat weinig het onkruid af te snijden, zoo lang men den wortel, waaruit het voortspruit, niet uitrukt en vernietigt'.

2 See, for De Vries, Bernt Luger, *Wie las wat in de negentiende eeuw?* (Utrecht: Uitgeverij Matrijs, 1997), 98–128.

discussing De Vries' appropriation of Sue's novel, I will dwell therefore on the nineteenth-century genre of the social novel and its characteristics.

The Social Novel and Perceptions of Safety

Literary fiction is eminently suited for the expression of perceptions of security and insecurity: a story canalises indeterminate feelings of insecurity in a coherent series of events, for instance by letting the readers sympathise with victims of crimes, a practice characterised by Laqueur as the 'humanitarian narrative'.[3] Literature can endorse the prevailing discourse about safety, but it can also question a narrative by confronting it with a counter story.[4] The nineteenth century is a period in which a society based on pedigree eroded and gradually made place for a less stable society. The matching feelings of insecurity and instability are represented in the social novel, a genre in which the until then almost invisible 'common people'—the poor—obtained a noteworthy role.[5]

The Belgian literary scholar Bart Keunen characterises the development of the nineteenth-century literary representation of 'paupers' by means of three discourses: an idealistic discourse in which paupers, seen as the most authentic representatives of the nation, battle an unjust society; an ethical-religious discourse in which paupers have to adapt to the bourgeois society; and a third positivistic discourse in which paupers are considered as the results of determining social conditions.[6] Keunen connects these three discourses with the successive movements of romanticism, realism and naturalism, but he stresses that specific nineteenth-century representations of paupers can contain elements of more than one discourse. The paupers in the works of Charles Dickens and Victor Hugo, for instance,

3 Thomas W. Laqueur, 'Bodies, Details, and the Humanitarian Narrative', in *The New Cultural History*, ed. Lynn Hunt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 176–204.

4 Elise Nykänen and Hanna Samola, 'Introduction: Affective Spaces in European Literature and Other Narrative Media', in *Narratives of Fear and Safety*, ed. Elise Nykänen and Hanna Samola (Tampere: Tampere University Press, 2020), 18.

5 C.G.N. de Vooys, *De sociale novelle in het midden van de negentiende eeuw* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1912).

6 Bart Keunen, 'De pauper en de metropool: De stedelijke migrant in de negentiende- en twintigste-eeuwse roman', in *Stad en migratie in de literatuur*, ed. Bart Eeckhout, Vanessa Joosen, and Arvi Sepp (Gent: Academia Press, 2016), 15–42. See, for the positivistic discourse, also Mary Kemperink. 'Als je voor een dubbeltje geboren bent… Representatie van het lagere volk in de Noord-Nederlandse literatuur van het fin de siècle (1885–1910)', *Spiegel der Letteren* 42, no. 2 (2000): 134–55.

fit into the idealistic as well as the ethic-religious discourse: Hugo's Jean Valjean, the protagonist of his novel *Les Misérables*, is a romantic hero when fighting the unjust penal system of his age, but he conforms to the ethical-religious ideal of the enlightened bourgeois when as a factory owner he shares parts of his wealth with his employees. Perceptions of safety can be found particularly in the realistic discourse: instead of an idealised 'sauvage', the pauper becomes the mysterious 'Other', no longer a model but a threat to the bourgeois lifestyle because of his lack of adaptation.[7] In an age in which the class society was jeopardised and the position of the middle class was insecure, the fate of the 'Other' could develop into a terrifying spectre.

Next to the works of Dickens and Hugo, Eugène Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris* takes a central position in the development of the European social novel. Sue made his readers, most of them probably originating from the upper and middle classes, acquainted with the poor neighbourhoods of Paris. According to Sue, the inhabitants of these 'slums' were as exotic as Native Americans, delineated by James Fennimore Cooper in his bestseller *The Last of the Mohicans*, an analogy that fitted very well into the ethical-religious discourse.[8] Sue's Paris is an insecure space in which kind-hearted characters become victims of all sorts of crimes. The hero of the novel, a German aristocrat at home in both the quarters of the rich and the poor, fights evil and does not shy away from taking the law into his own hands. Apart from his aristocratic background, Rodolphe fits perfectly in the category of romantic heroes fighting societal injustice. In Sue's novel, romanticism and realism go hand in hand.

In this chapter, I will analyse how the Dutch adaptor of Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris*, Johan de Vries, transposed the Frenchman's social issues and more specifically the fear of instability and unsafety to a Dutch setting. First, I will elaborate on the way in which De Vries appropriated Sue's novel.[9] Subsequently, I will analyse how and why he integrated feelings of unsafety

7 See, for this alleged lack of 'sense of authority' of the pauper, also L.F. van Loo. *Arm in Nederland 1815–1900* (Amsterdam: Boom, 1992), 56–57.

8 Eugène Sue, *Les mystères de Paris* (Paris: Librairie de Charles Gosselin, 1842), 2; Robert van de Schoor, 'Wellustige Indianen en achterbuurtmysteries: De "ander" onderin de negentiende-eeuwse standenmaatschappij'. in *Naties in een spanningsveld: Tegenstrijdige bewegingen in de identiteitsvorming in negentiende-eeuws Vlaanderen en Nederland*, ed. Nele Bemong, Mary Kemperink, Marita Mathijsen, and Tom Sintobin (Hilversum: Verloren, 2010), 138; Stephen Knight, *The Mysteries of the Cities: Urban Crime Fiction in the Nineteenth Century* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2012), 38.

9 See, for the appropriations of Sue's novel, Knight, *The Mysteries*; Amy Wigelsworth, *Rewriting* Les Mystères de Paris*: The* Mystères Urbains *and the Palimpsest* (Cambridge: Routledge, 2016).

in *De verborgenheden*: in the chapters taking place in the 'upper world', the world of the bourgeoisie, the novel appeals to the fear of bankruptcy, while in the scenes from the 'underworld' or slums, De Vries addresses the dread of the uncivilised pauper.

De Vries' Appropriation of Sue's *Mystères*: Dutch Realism

In the light of the reputation of the Netherlands in the nineteenth century, it is perhaps not surprising that De Vries' Dutchification of Sue's novel can best be described as an 'embourgeoisement'. Like *Les Mystères*, De Vries' novel contains an aristocratic hero, but this August van Reijsenburg turns out to be much less a go-between linking the upper- and underworld, and he is less omnipresent, if only because he has to share his heroic part with a few middle-class characters. If one looks at De Vries' story from beginning to end, it is rather the destiny of three middle-class youngsters—Dolf,[10] Frank and Clara—that occupies centre stage. In the first chapters of the novel, this fate is not very enviable: the father of Frank and Clara disappeared after a financial debacle and their abandoned and impoverished mother dies, while Dolf is sold at a very young age to harsh showpeople. The children become victims of circumstance and via a very Dickensian boarding school (as in *Nicholas Nickleby*) they end up in all kinds of risky situations in the margins of society. Without doubt this storyline reminded the readers also of *Oliver Twist*—Dolf for instance is assaulted by a man called Zadok, a Jew resembling Dickens' Fagin—but all in all De Vries confronts his readers much more with social realism than the young Dickens: at the beginning of the novel, Frank and Clara are living in abject poverty, and while under the influence of alcohol in a shady bar, Dolf is seduced by a prostitute with a venereal disease; somewhat later in the novel, Clara gets assaulted in an Amsterdam brothel by the novel's villain, who turns out to be her uncle.[11]

In *Les Mystères*, Sue treats the middle class rather unfairly[12]—in his novel only the villain, the notary Ferrand, comes from a 'bourgeois mercantile' class—while De Vries makes it very clear that he is sympathetic to upright citizens, for instance to the retired Amsterdam merchants who are not

10 At the end of the novel, Dolf, like Oliver Twist, turns out to be of aristocratic origin.

11 See, for De Vries's realist depiction of sexual harassment, Marita Mathijsen. *L. De lezer van de 19e eeuw* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2021), 229–31.

12 Knight, *The Mysteries*, 36–37.

without a degree of wealth but who resist the temptation to live above their station:

> In other cities someone, who did put aside his trade and owns twelve to fourteen hundred guilders of annual interest, would reach above his station and try to hide his former class, but the Amsterdam bourgeois does nothing of the kind. A little house with a backyard, solid furniture, good food and drink, that is all he wishes; behold the lives of bourgeois pensioners in Amsterdam, found by the dozens.[13]

When some of these bourgeois do try to reach above their station—for instance, a bourgeois student who out of envy for his aristocratic companions succumbs to a life full of debauchery and moneylending—De Vries makes utterly clear that he loathes these kinds of upstarts. They are anomalies who model themselves after a depraved upper class. De Vries states:

> Do not look for virtue in the upper classes of society, nor in the cabins of the poor, the first commit abominations due to too much civilisation; the others succumb to all kinds of debauchery out of lack of civilisation; yet the middle class preserved the national character: honesty, piety, chastity and faithfulness![14]

Without a doubt, De Vries' novel, with its middle-class ideology, fits into Keunen's ethical-religious discourse: the pauper as well as the aristocrat should adapt themselves to middle-class manners. Criminality constituted a threat to the stability of this middle-class society, whether it occurred in the 'upper-' or underworld.

13 Van Eikenhorst, *De verborgenheden*, 2:78–79. 'In andere steden zou iemand, die zijne zaken aan kant gedaan heeft en twaalf á veertien honderd gulden jaarlijksche renten bezit, zich boven den stand verheffen waarin hij steeds geleefd had, en alles aanwenden wat strekken kon om zijnen vorigen nederigen stand te bedekken, maar de amsterdamsche burgerman handelt hierin geheel anders. Een huisje in eigendom te bezitten met een tuintje er achter, hecht en sterk huisraad, goed eten en drinken, zie daar wat hij het toppunt zijner wenschen heet, zie daar het leven van de burger-renteniers te Amsterdam, zoo als men die in menigte in genoemde straat vindt'.

14 Van Eikenhorst, *De verborgenheden*, 3:13. 'Zoek de deugd niet bij de hoogere standen der maatschappij, noch in de hutten der armen, bij de eersten worden, door overdrevene beschaving, gruwelen gepleegd; bij de anderen geeft men zich, uit gebrek van beschaving, aan allerlei losbandigheid over; de burgerstand heeft het nationale karakter het best bewaard: eerlijkheid, godsvrucht, kuischheid en trouw!'

White-Collar Crime avant la lettre: The Fear of Bankruptcy in a Proto-capitalist World

In the proto-capitalist world of the novels by Sue and De Vries, money trading was a temptation but also a pitfall for the middle class: making debts poses the risk that setbacks accumulate and the debtor thereby loses his status. The villain in *Les Mystères*, the notary Ferrand, makes a lot of victims as a money broker and loan shark, by way of 'broker's bills, agreements to repay a loan on a certain date and at a certain interest, which were themselves used as transferable financial instruments and played a large part in the emergence of capital-based industrial and mercantile development in the early-to-mid-nineteenth century'.[15] Ferrand is led by his need for instant satisfaction, not only of his greed, but also of his sexual appetite: several women are victimised.

De Vries' Ferrand is Adam Smith, also a notary. In his postscript, the author remarks that this character represents by no means an uncommon type, that of the hypocrite who 'under a mask of piousness and modesty commits abominations shocking for moral sense'.[16] De Vries' Adam is, even more than Sue's Ferrand, omnipresent, and as Frank and Clara's uncle he is the drama's pivot. Loans, interests, debts, repayment problems and consequent hostage-taking make up an important theme in De Vries' novel, and almost every character is directly or indirectly victimised by Adam's haggling with broker's bills. Exemplary for Adam's behaviour and for De Vries' novel is the way in which the notary treats his next of kin: his brother, Henry, lives on credit, which only becomes a problem when the brothers' father goes bankrupt. Subsequently, Henry is chased by creditors afraid to be let down. Instead of helping his brother, Adam Smith encourages one of Henry's creditors to take him hostage in an Amsterdam prison. This is the moment De Vries pauses his story and digresses (for eleven pages!) about the injustice of this kind of punishment: most debtors are unable to pay their debts, and therefore they have to stay in captivity, sometimes for years: 'So change this hostage situation, and it will no longer be the nursery of laziness, of the compulsion to gamble and similar vices'.[17] In Henry's case, the captivity leads to an act of violence and a long-standing exile in

15 Knight, *The Mysteries*, 35.

16 Van Eikenhorst, *De verborgenheden*, 4:98. 'onder het masker van godsvrucht en ingetogenheid, gruwelen [pleegt] waarvoor het zedelijk gevoel terugdeinst'.

17 Van Eikenhorst, *De verborgenheden*, 3:227. 'Verander dus de gijzeling, en zij zal niet meer de kweekschool van luije vadzigheid, van speelzucht en meer ondeugden zijn'.

the East Indies. It is of course De Vries' hero, August, who eventually brings to light that Henry is betrayed by his brother.

Henry's tale is but one example in *De verborgenheden* of how more or less naive characters get in trouble by the piling up of debts, thus condemned to living in poverty or exile. The proto-capitalist society, De Vries suggests, is cruel when citizens get in financial trouble, whether or not through their own fault. The novel appeals to the fear of loss of status, not in the least because most of the paupers in *De verborgenheden* are victims of these debt problems. In the Dutch novel, the uncertainty about the social status becomes even more palpable because the paupers' world is spatially much closer than Sue's Parisian underworld: in the Amsterdam Grachtengordel, the rich and poor lived a stone's throw from each other.

Criminality in the Underworld

In Keunen's social-ethical discourse about the position of the pauper, the poor is no longer a 'noble sauvage', but rather an awful and terrifying spectre. The fear of losing one's status makes this spectre even more frightening to the middle class. In *De verborgenheden*, social decline not always means moral decay. The family Henry Smith left in the Netherlands is the paragon of decent poverty: until her deathbed, Henry's wife struggles to offer her children food and warmth in an honest way by needling and mending.[18] However, in other cases, poverty indeed leads to moral decay: one example, worked out farcically by De Vries, is a penniless poet who uses his literary genius in a criminal way, thereby financing his alcoholism. Such a pauper in a way becomes a dissolute alter ego of a respectable citizen and thus very confrontational for the middle-class reader. In light of this essay, it is interesting to look at the way De Vries relates the poverty problem in the urban underworld to (feelings of) unsafety.

Repression

De Vries' source of inspiration, *Les Mystères*, starts with several scenes in the Parisian 'Cité', before the intervention of the famous urban planner

18 See Van de Schoor, 'Wellustige Indianen', 146–49.

Hausmann, still a labyrinth-like underworld in which criminality and prostitution thrived. It is here where Sue's hero, Rodolphe, gets acquainted with the steamy side of Paris. At the novel's start, Rodolphe enters this gloomy neighbourhood:

> It was on a cold and rainy night, towards the end of October 1838, that a tall and powerful man, with an old broad-brimmed straw hat upon his head, and clad in a blue cotton carter's frock, which hung loosely over trousers of the same material, crossed the Pont au Change, and darted with a hasty step into the *Cité*, that labyrinth of obscure, narrow, and winding streets which extends from the Palais de Justice to Notre Dame. Although limited in space and carefully watched, this quarter serves as the lurking place, or rendezvous, of a vast number of the very dregs of society in Paris [...] If a crime is committed, it is here, in this filthy sewer, that the police throws its cast-net, and rarely fails to catch the criminals it seeks to take.[19]

In *The Mysteries of Amsterdam*, the Dutch capital also disposes of *no-go areas*: besides a part of the 'Jordaan'-neighbourhood, De Vries also mentions the

> Duivelshoek (Devil's corner) [...]. Up there the riffraff resides; up there lechery houses devoid of all its charm; up there almost daily one sees bailiffs wandering about, trying to track down the criminals hiding there. The 'Duivelshoek' is a part of the capital in which nine-tenths of the population never set a foot, something one can only do with risk, especially in the evening.[20]

In these quarters filled with obscure taverns, De Vries' idlers can be found:

19 Eugène Sue, *The Mysteries of Paris* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1845), 1–2. 'Le 13 décembre 1838, par une soirée pluvieuse et froide, un homme d'une taille athlétique, vêtu d'une mauvaise blouse, traversa le pont au Change et s'enfonça dans la Cité, dédale de rues obscures, étroites, tortueuses, qui s'étend depuis le Palais de Justice jusqu'à Notre-Dame. Le quartier du Palais de Justice, très-circonscrit, très-surveillé, sert pourtant d'asile ou de rendez-vous aux malfaiteurs de Paris. [...] Un crime a-t-il été commis, la police jette, si cela se peut dire, son filet dans cette fange; presque toujours elle y prend les coupables'. Sue, *Les Mystère*s, 5.

20 Van Eikenhorst, *De verborgenheden*, 3:96. 'Duivelshoek [...]. Daar houdt de heffe des volks haar verblijf; daar huisvest de ontucht van allen glans der bekoorlijkheid ontdaan; daar ziet men schier dagelijks geregtsdienaren ronddwalen, om misdadigers die er zich schuil houden op te sporen. De Duivelshoek is een gedeelte der hoofdstad waarin gewis negen tienden van de bevolking nimmer een voet gezet hebben, hetgeen men trouwens ook niet dan met gevaar, voornamelijk des avonds, kan ondernemen'.

> Unbelievable it is, how beggars wrapped in rags guzzle and feast in this neighbourhood, and often they consume food, so costly that you would not find it on the table of a bourgeois family.[21]

One of these taverns is owned by David Ram: together with his son Jim, he plays a major role in the novel, from the beginning to the end. Ram goes from bad to worse: initially he turns to begging—Ram sends his daughter to rich canal side houses with a fictitious begging letter—but in the end he does not shrink from robbing and murdering a boarding school keeper, lost in the slum. Even the hero of the novel, August van Reijsenburg, only barely manages to escape the greedy and murderous Ram. In the end, Ram and his complicit son are transported to jail, and they are led to the gallows, cursing at each other. These are the people De Vries wants to banish from the city in order to employ them in 'barren heathlands', so these can be transformed into 'fertile meadows and farmlands'.[22]

The representation of an idler like Ram is used by De Vries to advocate a repressive policy. By transferring them out of the city, he suggests, Amsterdam will become a safer place. In the novel, idlers and beggars seem to be unemployed out of their own free will, an image that is probably not very realistic: after all, unemployment and dependency on benefits were accepted in the nineteenth century. The Amsterdam economy of those days needed 'the availability of a large labour reserve', if only because employment was seasonal.[23]

De Vries' image of the incorrigible criminal, not bothered by civil manners and retreating in an underworld with its own laws, resembles Sue's romanticised sketch of the Parisian 'Cité' and its criminal inhabitants. They are both part of a literary tradition, which seems to go back to the famous legend of the 'Cour des Miracles', a refuge for the sub-proletariat in the midst of the city. In nineteenth-century Paris this legend belonged to the past, although Victor Hugo's famous novel *Notre Dame de Paris* revived it. Moretti has pointed out that Hugo, by using this legend, isolated poverty and criminality in an orderly space, probably not consistent with reality.[24] In

21 Van Eikenhorst, *De verborgenheden*, 4:186. 'Ongeloofelijk is het, hoe hier door de in lompen gehulde bedelaars gebrast en gesmuld wordt, en dikwijls worden er spijzen genuttigd die om de kostbaarheid nimmer op menige burgertafel verschijnen'.

22 Van Eikenhorst, *De verborgenheden*, 3:287. 'Woeste heidevelden [...] vruchtbare wei- en bouwlanden'.

23 Remieg Aerts and Piet de Rooy, *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam: Hoofdstad in aanbouw 1813–1900* (Amsterdam: SUN, 2006), 265.

24 Franco Moretti. *Atlas of the European Novel 1800–1900* (London: Verso, 1998), 103–5.

nineteenth-century Paris, this safe haven did not exist anymore, and it may even have been a fable all along. The quaint underworld illustrates to what extent the realism of Sue and De Vries was driven by literary conventions, but it also serves as an image of an autonomous underworld which authorities were forced to regulate by subjecting it to middle-class rules.

Counter Story

As far as it concerns the fight against asocial behaviour and crime, De Vries' novel is not only a call for repression. The crimes of the incorrigible David Ram are contrasted with the fate of the young, promising painter Albert Drost. Initially this young man went into debt due to his light-heartedness, a state in which he could not resist the temptation to steal miniatures from a patrician house in which he was restoring the wallpaper. He only intended to pawn the paintings temporarily and to bring them back in a few days, but the theft is discovered immediately, resulting in Albert's imprisonment.

At this point, De Vries dwells on an injustice: in prisons wealthy criminals were able to buy their own space (the so-called 'pistole' phenomenon), while innately decent paupers like Albert Drost had to stay in one cell with 'ragged, sunken persons, whose language he did not understand and whose vileness disgusted him, in a word, sickened him, and whose company increased the penalty imposed on him'.[25] Drost asks for his own cell, but the request is turned down without mercy.

In the following years, he is subjected to the bad influences of professional criminals, 'atheists'[26] devoid of moral sense, a tragedy De Vries uses, according to the recipe derived from Sue, as a starting point for an essay in which he pleads not only for one-person cells but also for a prison regime in which convicts are no longer forced to do senseless tasks and instead are granted the opportunity to continue their crafts, so that after their detention they can become full members of the community. However, Albert is left no choice but to adapt to prison mores. After his release, he seems condemned to an existence of a burglar and swindler, if only because it seems to be the only way in which he can build a future with his fiancée. He gets involved in an attempt to lead August, the hero of De Vries' story, into an ambush, but

25 Van Eikenhorst, *De verborgenheden*, 2:119. 'ellendige, diep gezonkene wezens, wier taal hij niet verstond, wier gemeenheid hem deed walgen, in één woord, die hem afschuw baarden, en wier tegenwoordigheid zijne straf honderdvoudig verzwaarde'.

26 Van Eikenhorst, *De verborgenheden*, 2:123. 'godloochenaars'.

eventually he listens to the voice of his consciousness. Thus it is Albert who frees August from the hands of David Ram and, just like Sue's Rodolphe, De Vries' hero makes sure that remorseful people like Albert become honest citizens. In his afterword, De Vries makes it very clear that the story of the painter Albert Drost is a vehicle for an appeal for a more humane prison regime and a probation avant la lettre.

Conclusion

De verborgenheden van Amsterdam is a novel directed at the middle class: even where the novel treats the doings of paupers, something that was very rare in Dutch literature of the time, it is not addressed to them but to the bourgeois reader. And that applies in particular to the feelings of unsafety to which the novel appeals: the criminality theme is closely related to the middle-class fear of a loss of status. First this manifests itself in the omnipresent theme of financial problems: in the confidence that a bright future is awaiting them, a whole range of characters take loans. Hence they become vulnerable and in *De verborgenheden* they fall victim to a white-collar criminal, the notary Adam Smith. Turning from esteemed members of society into outcasts, they slide into poverty or they are forced to flee abroad.

Second, the fear of downgrading manifests itself in the spectre of the criminal pauper: the cynicism of the asocial David Ram shocked the reader probably even more because he turns out to be the impoverished son of a respectable and relatively fortunate shipwright. In De Vries' novel, Ram represents the type of the incorrigible villain and idler. The only remedy against this kind of scoundrel is, according to De Vries, a banishment from the city and employment in labour camps. Apart from this type, De Vries also recognises the existence of small criminals who, after a trivial offence, disappear into the underworld because the justice system is disproportionately strict to them.

As far as concerns the then-predominant discourse about safety, De Vries seems to take an ambivalent stance: on the one hand endorsing a repressive policy with little attention to the circumstances that did seduce the poor in Amsterdam into criminal behaviour; on the other hand sketching a counter story in which he asks for understanding for young people who, pursued by ruthless creditors, transgress and who have, as a result, no future because of disproportionately severe sentences of imprisonment. His plea for reforming poverty policy—for instance by creating a non-commercial institution

where respectable poor people can offer the results of their homework—is an anticipation of the radical agenda he would develop in his capacity as a journalist in the late 1840s and 1850s.[27]

De Vries introduced the social novel in the Netherlands, as did Sue in France. It is remarkable that this achievement did not provide him a stable position in the history of Dutch literature.[28] Most literary historians stick to the idea that in the pre-industrial Netherlands, the social novel did not exist.[29] In their view, the genre was introduced by the naturalists at the end of the century. There seems to be a parallel with the stance of political historians, who used to play down the role of radical thinkers before 1848. In the meantime, things have changed, and De Vries seems to be acknowledged as an important journalist. It is high time that De Vries' novels are recognised as well, if only by scholars who read literary texts as barometers of 'cultural perceptions of safety'. Novels like *De verborgenheden van Amsterdam* are an important source for research on social discourses and more specifically on feelings of anxiety of a middle class, faced with a rapidly changing society.

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27 See J.J. Giele, *De pen in aanslag: Revolutionairen rond 1848* (Bussum: Fibula, 1968), 55–68; Jeroen van Zanten, *Koning Willem II, 1792–1849* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2013), 503–5; Laurens Ham, *Door Prometheus geboeid: De autonomie en autoriteit van de moderne Nederlandse auteur* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2015), 89–94. De Vries' radicalisation after *De verborgenheden* is more or less similar to Sue's political development after *Les mystères*. See Peter Brooks, *Reading for the Plot: Design and Intention in Narrative* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 152–53. 'The sensationally melodramatic [...] led to an inquest into the system responsible for the melodramatic contrasts of urban life [...] melodrama becomes a chosen vehicle for the attempt to change the world'.

28 His name is not mentioned in recent Dutch histories of nineteenth-century literature. Willem van den Berg and Piet Couttenier, *Alles is taal geworden: Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur 1800–1900* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2009); Rick Honings and Lotte Jensen, *Romantici en revolutionairen: Literatuur en schrijverschap in Nederland in de 18de en 19de eeuw* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2019).

29 Industrialisation came late in the Netherlands, but that did not mean that extreme poverty did not exist either; exploitation of homeworkers was frequent in the protocapitalist Netherlands. See Auke van der Woud, *Koninkrijk vol sloppen: Achterbuurten en vuil in de negentiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2010), 68–69, 94.

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12 Feeling Lost in a Modernising World

A Critique on Martha Nussbaum's Emotion Theory through an Analysis of Feelings of Unsafety in Magda Szabó's *Iza's Ballad*

Femke Kok

Abstract
In her philosophical work, Martha Nussbaum studies the role and value of emotions and feelings, by using fiction as extended experience. In line with this approach, this chapter examines the nature of 'feelings of unsafety' according to Martha Nussbaum's philosophy, against the background of experiences of feelings of unsafety as portrayed in Magda Szabó's novel *Iza's Ballad*. By comparing Nussbaum's ideas with those of the phenomenologist Matthew Ratcliffe, this chapter offers a critique on Nussbaum's theory of emotions. I argue that the impossibility of speaking out is a decisive aspect of the feelings of unsafety as portrayed in *Iza's Ballad*, and that this aspect in particular is problematic in the context of Nussbaum's emotion theory.

Keywords: Martha Nussbaum, Magda Szabó, Matthew Ratcliffe, unsafety, phenomenology, trauma

Introduction

Safety is an important aspect of public life, politics and decision-making, and whereas it is sometimes treated as an empirical fact, 'being safe' and 'feeling safe' both have a subjective side and are to some extent intangible phenomena. What does it mean to feel safe? What comprises the experience of feeling unsafe? Therefore, 'safety' and 'unsafety' are not just on the agenda of criminologists, political scientists or social scientists, but also on that of philosophers, who are not in the first place concerned with empirical

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facts or statistics about 'safety' or 'unsafety', but rather take a step back to investigate and describe its nature or phenomenology.[1] To the end of a philosophical examination of the experience of feelings of unsafety, I examine the nature of 'feelings of unsafety' against the background of experiences portrayed in Magda Szabó's novel *Iza's Ballad*.[2] I investigate to what extent the philosophy of the American philosopher Martha Nussbaum, particularly her capability approach and her emotion theory, can give us a helpful account of feelings of unsafety and what the experiences as described in *Iza's Ballad* can contribute to a better philosophical understanding of feelings of unsafety. Nussbaum's ideas are critically discussed, using two articles: the first by the Dutch ethicist Ingrid Robeyns, the other by the English phenomenologist Matthew Ratcliffe.[3]

The role of Szabó's novel *Iza's Ballad* in this analysis needs some explanation: the novel will not be analysed primarily in a literary way, but will be used in a philosophical way, as a reservoir of 'extended experience' and an expression of possible emotions and experiences. This way of reading novels can be justified by pointing to Nussbaum's ideas on arts: according to Nussbaum, the arts, particularly narrative works of art, play a central role in humankind's self-understanding and therefore in philosophy.[4] Narrative structures have philosophical value in addition to their literary value because a literary style, unlike an abstract-theoretical one, is able to express the emotional subtleties of human experience.[5] They thus offer a reservoir of possible experiences that we can explore philosophically, in addition to our real-life experiences.[6] Nussbaum is not alone in this idea, for there is a broader tradition within philosophy which

1 See, for example, Eddo Evink, Chapter 1, this volume.

2 Magda Szabó, *Iza's Ballad*, trans. George Szirtes (London: Penguin Random House, 2015). *Iza's Ballad* was originally published as *Pilátus*, referring to Pontius Pilate.

3 Ingrid Robeyns, 'Conceptualising Well-Being for Autistic Persons', *Journal of Medical Ethics* 42, no. 6 (2016): 383–90; Matthew Ratcliffe, 'Trauma, Language, and Trust', in *Empathy, Intersubjectivity, and the Social World: The Continued Relevance of Phenomenology*, ed. A. Bortolan and E. Magrì, New Studies in the History and Historiography of Philosophy 9 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2022), 323–42.

4 I do not uncritically endorse Nussbaum's idea that reading literature contributes to our moral education, Nussbaum's so-called 'narrative ethics', but only her view that literature is a manifestation or embodiment of the human emotional reservoir. For a critique on Nussbaum's narrative ethics, see, inter alia, Katrien Schaubroek, 'Hoe belangrijk is literatuur in de morele opvoeding? Kanttekeningen bij Martha Nussbaums narratieve ethiek', *Bijdragen: International Journal in Philosophy and Theology* 66 (2005): 432–54.

5 Martha Nussbaum, *Love's Knowledge: Essays on Philosophy and Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 3.

6 Martha Nussbaum, *Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 236, 242.

perceives literary texts and other narrative media as meaningful forms of 'cultural imaginings of worlds'.[7] For the purpose of this article, and following Nussbaum, I will examine feelings of unsafety using a number of fictional experiences taken from *Iza's Ballad*. Feelings of unsafety in the context of historical and personal trauma play a prominent role in several of Szabó's novels, and also in *Iza's Ballad*, which makes the novel suitable for the present purpose.[8]

After providing a synopsis and characterisation of *Iza's Ballad*, I shall briefly discuss Nussbaum's capabilities approach, followed by a discussion and critique of her cognitive approach to emotions. I demonstrate that in Nussbaum's philosophical framework, feelings of unsafety belong to the category of emotions rather than feelings. I further investigate Nussbaum's claim that emotions are negotiable, a point of view that presupposes the capability to speak out. This is a capability that the main character in *Iza's Ballad* seems to lack. With the help of some phenomenological ideas on trauma and trust, recently published by Ratcliffe, I argue that the experience of being at a loss for words is an essential part of the experience of unsafety as articulated in *Iza's Ballad*—an element that Nussbaum's philosophy seems to overlook.

Iza's Ballad

Written in the late 1960s by Magda Szabó, the 'grand dame' of Hungarian literature,[9] the plot of *Iza's Ballad* is set in Hungary around 1960, in the aftermath of the Hungarian revolution of 1956. At the beginning of the story, Ettie Szőcs, an elder woman in her mid-seventies, is at home in the countryside, roasting toast over the fire with a fork (the modern toaster her daughter Iza sent her still untouched in the kitchen) when her ex-son-in-law Antal steps by unexpectedly to announce that Ettie's husband Vince may well die that very night. If Ettie wants to say her final goodbyes, she must come to the clinic where Vince has been admitted. Vince indeed dies that night, holding not only the hand of Ettie but also that of the nurse, Lydia, Antal's fiancé. Her presence drives Ettie to an unspoken rage.

7 Elise Nykänen and Hanna Samola, Introduction to *Narratives of Fear and Safety*, ed. Kaisa Kaukiainen et al. (Tampere: Tampere University Press, 2020), 11–32, esp. 16.

8 Jolanta Jastrzębska, *Van Sándor Márai tot Magda Szabó: Klassieke Hongaarse romans uit de 20e eeuw* (Amsterdam: Van Gennep, 2006).

9 Veronika Schandl, 'The Grande Dame: Magda Szabó: A Portrait', *Hungarian Literature Online*, 24 January 2020, hlo.hu/portrait/the-grande-dame-magda-szabo-a-portrait.html.

Now that Vince is dead, her daughter Iza insists that Ettie give up the rural family home and move in with her in Budapest, where she works as a hospital doctor. Initially, Ettie feels relieved and is grateful: Iza would look after her, she thinks: 'she would have nothing to worry about for the rest of her life'.[10] Once in the capital, however, Ettie feels uprooted from her community, her home and her old life, and the depth of her grief overwhelms her: 'She felt as if some elemental blow had destroyed everything around her and that only now she did really know what it was to be a widow, someone absolutely abandoned'.[11] At the end of the novel, Ettie returns one more time to the countryside to place the headstone she ordered for Vince's grave. Once back home, she feels estranged and is drawn back into the past by memories of her life with Vince, the places where they were rooted and the younger years of her peculiar but beloved daughter. It is at that point that Ettie decides to sacrifice her life in order to give Iza her life back, a sacrifice that Iza neither recognises nor could have appreciated if she did.[12]

Iza's Ballad can be interpreted in a literary sense as a story with a strong historical dimension, as it addresses the (moral) consequences of social change and the significance of the past for the modernising Hungarian society and for those who live in it in the aftermath of the Hungarian revolution. The relationship between communism and domestic life, and particularly the effect of social change on women, is a predominant theme in Szabó's oeuvre, and this theme is also undeniably present in *Iza's Ballad*. Ettie is, for example, afraid of 'a red-coloured radiator, its controls shaped like slices of lemon, like a kind of laughing red mouth', a description that symbolises fear of the Red Army.[13] Nevertheless, Szabó's writing is not ostentatiously political. Regardless of her literary opinions—she was of the opinion that a 'writer must never be involved in politics in the same way as a politician'[14]—an outspoken political attitude was out of the question in 1963, when creative freedom in Hungary was thoroughly diminished.

Beyond the political layer, *Iza's Ballad* portrays a difficult and emotionally distant mother-daughter relationship. Szabó is well known for depicting clashes of different worlds, often worked out through a conflict between

10 Szabó, *Iza's Ballad*, 55.

11 Szabó, *Iza's Ballad*, 89.

12 Szabó, *Iza's Ballad*, 266.

13 Lucy Jeffery, 'Magda Szabó: Finding Home in the Homeland in Post-1956 Hungary', *A Journal of Literature Culture and Literary Translation* 11, no. 3 (2020): 1, 10.

14 Magda Szabó and János Háy, 'Magda Szabó: I Don't Like Bearing Grudges: An Interview with Magda Szabó', *Hungarian Literature Online*, 8 January 2007, hlo.hu/interview/i_don_t_like_bearing_grudges.html. Cited in Jeffery, 'Magda Szabó', 5.

two characters. In the characters of Ettie and Iza, not only two worlds but also two generations collide. Ettie is old-fashioned, unworldly, modest and wistful, and sometimes even childlike. She has a lively inner world that remains hidden behind her obedient appearance. Iza, on the other hand, is intelligent, worldly, successful, seemingly insensitive and distant, and with her cool, self-confident attitude, she seems incapable of answering Ettie's emotional but never articulated despair. Determined to look after her mother, as she thinks a responsible daughter should, Iza seems either oblivious to or disapproving of Ettie's wishes, beliefs and feelings.

Iza's Ballad mainly focuses on Ettie, but the narrative is told by an anonymous narrator who incorporates the perspectives and retrospectives of several others. The character of Ettie lends itself best to an examination of the experience of feelings of unsafety. As Jeffery states, 'Szabó's literature acts as a barometer that measures the emotional impact of this new feeling of prosperity for people of her [that is, Ettie's] generation'.[15] Having just lost her husband, with whom she spent most of her life, Ettie mourns her loss, but she has also lost her anchor in the world, which results in feeling insecure:

> It was the first time in her life she felt the earth was round, not flat; that it was slowly but unmistakably turning under her feet. How could Vince's tiny and ever more wasted body represent such security for her?[16]

'Security' in this context seems to be connected to a notion of protection, but also to an experience of firmness or solidity in the world around her.[17] As an old-fashioned countrywoman in an increasingly modern, communist world, Ettie seemed a little out of place and insecure all along. But after her husband's death, her sense of security is pulverised: the modern world of Budapest in the 1960s, the city world outside her familiar home in the countryside, is an unsafe and unpredictable place for her. She is afraid of modern devices, the heavy traffic and of people who do not act the way she expects them to. She tries to ward off her insecurity and fear through rituals and ancient customs, but even that is taken away from her by Iza, who thinks this is all childish superstition. With Vince dead, the buffer between Ettie and the big, incomprehensible outside world seems to be gone as well, and she is not able to restore it, no matter how hard she tries.

15 Jeffery, 'Magda Szabó', 6.

16 Szabó, *Iza's Ballad*, 61.

17 For an historical account of the concept of 'security' in relation to 'certainty' and 'safety', see Evink, Chapter 1, this volume.

Martha Nussbaum on Feelings of Being Unsafe

The Capabilities Approach

In order to analyse Ettie's feelings and experiences of unsafety with the help of Nussbaum's philosophy, it makes sense to start with a discussion of her well-known capabilities approach, initially introduced by the economist Amartya Sen. The capabilities approach is a political-ethical theory that attempts to find criteria for well-being.[18] Well-being in this context is defined as a situation in which a person can develop her capabilities as well as possible. I will only briefly discuss the capabilities approach here, as I am mainly concerned with the *experience* of unsafety, and less with its normative aspects. Nevertheless, some discussion of the capabilities approach is relevant, as it identifies a number of criteria for well-being which play a central role in *Iza's Ballad* and are explicitly related to safety. Moreover, it is claimed that the capabilities approach resonates with phenomenological accounts in autobiographies and other narrative accounts.[19]

The capabilities approach is concerned with the fulfilment of certain basic needs. The theory distinguishes capabilities or criteria for well-being that are actually met on the one hand, and the circumstance of having access to those capabilities and criteria on the other.[20] Although there has been discussion about the exact number and nature of the capabilities since the first development of this approach, Nussbaum distinguishes ten capabilities. She defines capabilities as things that people are essentially capable of, provided that the environment is supportive, and provided that we judge them as valuable. The latter is important to distinguish them from undesirable capabilities such as violence, which is also a human capability, but which we (generally) do not value. The idea is that everyone should have a basic threshold of or access to each of these ten capabilities.[21] An application of this approach requires a selection of the relevant capabilities. I will mention four capabilities which are related to safety in one way or

18 Among the types of philosophical theories of well-being distinguished by Derek Parfit, that is, hedonistic theories, desire fulfilment theories and objective list theories, the capability approach belongs to the category of objective list theories. Derek Parfit, *Reasons and Persons* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984).

19 Robeyns, 'Conceptualising Well-Being', 387–88.

20 Robeyns, 'Conceptualising Well-Being', 385.

21 Martha Nussbaum, *Women and Human Development: The Capabilities Approach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), and Nussbaum, *Upheavals of Thought*, 417.

another and subsequently I will highlight two capabilities which are not mentioned by Nussbaum but that should be added to this list.

1) The capability of *bodily integrity*, including respect for bodily boundaries and freedom of (physical) movement. In *Iza's Ballad*, Ettie is especially in lack of the latter, at least partially, since others repeatedly decide where she goes. After the funeral, for instance, Iza does not allow her to return to her home for a final greeting, and once in Budapest, Iza insists Ettie stay home after she befriends an older woman—one of the few people on the streets who were prepared to listen to her story—whom she did not recognise as a prostitute.[22]
2) The capability *to control one's environment*, which is, according to Nussbaum, inversely proportional to helplessness and which has a political aspect of freedom and participation in decisions that determine a person's life. Helplessness is in Ettie's case intrinsically related to feeling insecure. Ettie finds her security in the guidance of others and considers herself to be someone for whom decisions are made, which may also be understood as a metaphor for the communist regime. Her dependence is evident in her relief if Iza promises to look after her after Vince's death, and in her thoughts when Antal suggests her staying with him in the days of her final visit to her hometown: 'I do not know whether I want to or not. But I mustn't resist—I must never resist anyone. I am always being told what to do'.[23]
3) The capability of *affiliation*, which among other things means being able to be treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others, including provisions of non-discrimination on the basis of, for example, race, sex and age. As an old-fashioned, traditional woman, however, Ettie is more than once treated as someone who needs to be protected from herself and who cannot judge what is good for her, an attitude that today would possibly be characterised as ageism.
4) The capability of *emotions*, which includes not being subject to fear and anxiety or not having one's emotional development blighted by trauma or neglect. Although Ettie is not being neglected in a literal sense—she is taken care of by several people, particularly Iza—she is being emotionally neglected. In addition, like most of Szabó's characters, she is weighed down by past traumas, such as the Second World War

22 In Nussbaum's philosophy, 'bodily integrity' is used to infer physical inviolability, presupposing a certain distinction between body and mind.

23 Szabó, *Iza's Ballad*, 241.

and the period of Joseph Stalin's rule. Finally, she goes through a period of deep mourning.

As noted, Nussbaum's capabilities approach defines preliminary conditions: a person who does not have the capability to control one's environment, or the possibility of not having one's emotional development blighted, is less likely to experience well-being, including feeling safe. The above list of capabilities, which is not exhaustive, shows that Ettie has limited or no access to several capabilities, which in turn makes her vulnerable to feelings of unsafety.

An interesting and extensively debated question is whether Nussbaum's list of capabilities is complete. In an article on well-being for autistic persons, Ingrid Robeyns argues that there are some additional capabilities which she thinks are preliminary conditions for everyone's well-being: avoiding sensory overload, being able to be properly cared for, being able to communicate and—closely related to the latter—being able to be properly understood.[24] These capabilities are relevant not only for autistic people but more generally for everyone, since Nussbaum claims that her list is inclusive towards all human beings, including disabled people and people with atypical conditions or disorders.[25] These additional capabilities are also extremely relevant to Ettie's case, and are explicitly related to her feelings of safety and unsafety, since her impaired access to these four capabilities increase her feelings of unsafety. Ettie regularly feels overwhelmed by the lights and noises of the capital, which is a form of sensory overload. She hardly expresses herself and instead shows an incapability to speak out: she seems to silently endure what others have in store for her. Moreover, she does not seem to be understood well by her relatives, either. Finally, although she is cared for by Isa, and later in the novel by Antal, if being properly cared for includes, as Robeyns argues, 'being loved and given enough and appropriate forms of attention', things become still more complicated. A relevant question is whether the capability to speak out and to be properly understood are merely not met or whether she also lacks access to them due to her relative's overly protective attitude. How important these additional capabilities are will become even more evident after a further analysis of Nussbaum's philosophy of feelings and emotions, to which I will now turn in order to further clarify the concept of 'feeling unsafe'.

24 Robeyns, 'Conceptualising Well-Being', 387.

25 Robeyns, 'Conceptualising Well-Being', 389.

Nussbaum's Cognitive Account of Emotions

The term 'emotion' in philosophy has become a collective term for various affective phenomena, from short-term affects such as fear to long-term affective dispositions such as love and 'angst'. Emotions are often (but not always) distinguished from feelings, particularly if feelings are interpreted as bodily or physical feelings.[26] As I will argue below, feelings of unsafety belong to Nussbaum's category of emotions rather than feelings, which also has an effect on our experience of them because, according to Nussbaum, contrary to merely bodily feelings, emotions are intelligent reactions to our environment and cannot be separated from cognition. This means that, if feelings of unsafety are actually emotions, they have a cognitive content. It is, however, this cognitive aspect in particular that seems to contrast with Ettie's experiences, particularly with her incapability to speak out.

Nussbaum contrasts her philosophy of emotions explicitly with philosophies that are based on the emotion theory of the American philosopher and psychologist William James (1842–1910), who argued that emotions are physical feelings which arise when certain sensations disturb us and provoke physical changes. If, for example, we perceive something that inspires fear—say, a crocodile in our pond—our heart starts beating faster, the production of sweat increases and breathing stops. James identifies the sensation of these physical changes with an emotion.[27] Nussbaum's main objection to this theory is that (bodily) feelings would not be *about* anything, while emotions relate to objects outside us and to our relationship to those objects. Objects play an essential role in emotions: the object (which is not restricted to material objects, as it can also be a memory or an imaginative object like a supposed monster under the bed) is interpreted in a certain way by the person who has the emotion. Nussbaum calls the objects to which emotions relate intentional, precisely because they appear in the emotion not as they are in themselves, but as they are seen or interpreted by the person having the emotion. That person is, for example, afraid to lose her dog because the dog is interpreted as an object that matters to her.[28] According to Nussbaum, this orientation towards an object, in this case the dog, is not an incidental matter, but instead is an essential part of the

26 Thomas Szanto and Hilge Landweer, Introduction to *The Routledge Handbook of Phenomenology of Emotions*, ed. Thomas Szanto and Hilge Landweer (London: Routledge, 2020), 1–45.

27 William James, 'What Is an Emotion?', in *What Is an Emotion?* repr. ed. C. Calhoun and R.C. Solomon (New York: Oxford University Press, 1884).

28 Martha Nussbaum, 'Emotions as Judgements of Value and Importance', in *Thinking About Feeling*, ed. Robert C. Solomon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 188.

emotion. Nussbaum thus presupposes that physical feelings do not have an object outside the body. They are not directed towards, for example, danger in general (a formal object) or a scary woman in an alley (a private object), but merely relate to the body itself. However, it is debatable whether the object of physical feelings is merely the body. The bodily sensation that occurs with many emotions is the experience that the body feels something, but that 'something' need not be the body itself: we may experience something through or via the body, which calls into question Nussbaum's main objection against James.[29]

Now, what are emotions according to Nussbaum, if not bodily feelings? Nussbaum thinks they are judgements. For instance, in the above example, the judgement could read: 'this dog is important to me, and I will miss it when it is gone, and that is why I do not want it to get run over by that truck'. Surely, Nussbaum does not hold that all judgements are emotions. For example, the judgement 'the dog is flat' does not express an emotion because emotions are always value judgements about things that are important for our well-being. Emotions are intelligent responses to our awareness that something or someone is of value to us. Moreover, this value is of a special kind, for it essentially relates to cherished persons, including ourselves, or to projects. Nussbaum therefore calls emotions eudaimonic: they relate to our well-being.[30] To be clear, she does not deny that emotions are bound to the body, but this connection does not lead her to the conclusion that physical elements are also a part of emotions. In Nussbaum's theory of emotion there is no place at all for non-cognitive elements: emotions can only be defined in terms of judgements.[31]

From the view that emotions are value judgements, it follows that emotions can be true or false. By 'true', Nussbaum does not refer to the so-called sincerity of an emotion, that is, whether it is authentic or not, but to truth in the sense of 'being well-founded': an emotion that is based on an incorrect judgement is a misconception.[32] Whoever makes the right judgement therefore also has 'true' emotions. Nussbaum gives an example of a spectator of a tennis match who becomes very emotional when the

29 See, for example, Matthew Ratcliffe, 'The Phenomenology of Mood and the Meaning of Life', in *The Oxford Handbook of Philosophy of Emotion*, ed. Peter Goldie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 363.

30 Nussbaum, *Upheavals of Thought*, 32; Nussbaum, 'Emotions as Judgements of Value and Importance', 189.

31 Nussbaum, *Upheavals of Thought*, 64–65; Nussbaum, 'Emotions as Judgements of Value and Importance', 196.

32 Nussbaum, *Upheavals of Thought*, 46.

player she admires loses. The emotion of the spectator here seems to be out of proportion to the intentional object, and Nussbaum concludes that the spectator has an exaggerated view of the importance of the intentional object for her well-being.[33] As soon as the person realises that the loss of her hero does not have a detrimental effect on her cherished persons and projects, her despair will disappear.[34] The point here is that, according to Nussbaum, emotions can get it *wrong*. And since emotions can get it wrong, they are also negotiable, that is, they are open to communication and negotiation. Human emotions, unlike animal emotions, are subject to deliberation and revision in connection with general deliberation about one's goals and projects.

'Feelings of Unsafety' in the Context of Nussbaum's Philosophy

Let us now return to feelings of unsafety. Despite the fact that in her main works on feelings and emotions, Nussbaum does not explicitly mention feelings of unsafety, we can deduce from her theory that they cannot really be *feelings* in a strict sense, since feelings of unsafety have intentional objects. Nussbaum states that our ordinary use of the word 'feeling' is less precise and reliable than the philosophical category and that we often use the term in an ambiguous way.[35] Strictly speaking, 'feelings of unsafety' can only belong to the emotions due to their intentional character. They are *about* something. Ettie's feelings of unsafety are indeed about something. She is, for example, 'as terrified of the phone as she would have been of some tamed but unpredictable wild animal', even though sometimes the object of some of her feelings is rather vague and could be described, for example, as anxiety due to loss of her predictable world or fear for what she cannot control.[36]

Even though feelings of (un)safety are rarely literally mentioned by Nussbaum, she discusses several emotions that are usually related to those feelings, such as fear, suspicion, helplessness, hostility and trust or confidence. In an article on violence against women, Nussbaum suggests

33 Nussbaum, *Upheavals of Thought*, 56.

34 Whether a passionate fan of Roger Federer or Serena Williams would subscribe to this analysis is, of course, questionable.

35 Martha Nussbaum, *Anger and Forgiveness: Resentment, Generosity, Justice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 8.

36 Szabó, *Iza's Ballad*, 80.

that feeling safe is particularly related to two emotions: anger and fear.[37] She argues in the relevant article that anger is a constructive force in women's lives which can free them from fear and can give them a sense of autonomy, security and control. Fear is more directly related to feeling unsafe, but is justified only if there is any danger at hand.[38] If that emotion is correct, then the world right now does contain danger and is an unsafe place, but if not, the emotion will disappear as soon as the mistake becomes clear.[39]

Since, according to Nussbaum, anger and fear are so closely related to feeling safe, it is useful to take a closer look at Ettie's experience of anger and fear in *Iza's Ballad*. Ettie occasionally boils with rage inside, for example when Lydia holds Vince's hand at his deathbed and pretends to be Iza, claiming that Vince has asked for her daughter in his last words (which Ettie herself has interpreted as a plea for water).[40] However, Ettie seems to lack the ability to use her anger as a constructive force or to express herself in order to force change. Consequently, her experiences of disappointment and helplessness are much more prominent, to such a degree that she is compared to a child: 'Here she was, a small child again with a bag on her arm, led by her mother, an adult Iza—Iza in black, looking pale. Iza's hand was strong, as was her voice telling her, "No crying!"'[41]

If we turn to Ettie's experience of fear, which is described extensively, the question arises as to whether Ettie's judgement, according to Nussbaum, is well-founded, since the object of her fear is not so much an actual as a perceived threat, the threat of the refrigerator, of electricity in general, and that of an unknown and unpredictable world. However, it must be admitted that those fears may be understood as a more pervasive fear for the communist regime. Nussbaum acknowledges in her philosophy that fear can have a *vague* object, even an object that is not recognised by the person experiencing fear, as seems to be the case with Ettie's fear of the communists, which is not even expressed in her thoughts.[42] According to Nussbaum, emotions sometimes become so persistent that they are

37 Martha Nussbaum, 'Women's Bodies: Violence, Security, Capabilities', *Journal of Human Development* 6, no. 2 (2005): 167.

38 Note that in her most recent book on anger, *Anger and Forgiveness*, Nussbaum abandons the view that anger is (sometimes) justified and a constructive force in favour of the view that anger is normatively problematic. Nussbaum, *Anger and Forgiveness*, 141.

39 Nussbaum, *Upheavals of Thought*, 48.

40 Szabó, *Iza's Ballad*, 14.

41 Szabó, *Iza's Ballad*, 65.

42 Nussbaum, *Upheavals of Thought*, 133.

almost indistinguishable from traits, and become embedded in a complex narrative background.[43] A person's life history and the emotional material she has acquired and stored throughout her live influence her emotions to the extent that they can become part of her identity. What seems to be problematic, however, is that Nussbaum insists on the view that emotions can always be made explicit as value judgements and that these judgements are in principle open to consideration. This deliberation is initiated in interactions with others and is carried out in substantial measure in the context of human interaction.

Looking at Ettie, we may wonder whether this part of Nussbaum's view of emotions may be too optimistic. It is exactly human interaction into which Ettie does not enter. When Iza decides that she cannot go home for a last visit after the funeral, she 'calmly accepted: Iza always knew everything better than she did and no doubt she knew better now'.[44] When she arrives in Budapest and notices that Iza had only saved those belongings that were in perfect order, and not the cherished ones with traces of the past, she 'felt as though she had been robbed', but she tells herself that she should be grateful because everything required for comfort was present.[45] Nussbaum suggests that there is always a choice to deliberate on our emotions, replacing fear, say, with anger or relaxation, but Ettie seems locked in a speechless head, in which the world is incomprehensible and beyond her control. Her speechlessness is even more emphasised by the use of an anonymous narrator, who collects and phrases her possible thoughts, thereby underlining the fact that these thoughts are barely comprehensible to her, let alone expressible. Does Ettie actually have access to the capability to speak out, which seems to be a preliminary condition for emotions to be considered in the context of interaction? The novel rather emphasises the unspeakable.

Being Able to Speak

If emotions are negotiable, as Nussbaum argues, then the judgements that she identifies with them need to be made explicit in conversation with other people in order to allow this negotiation to take place. This idea is not uncommon; several psychological studies point to the therapeutic benefits

43 Nussbaum, *Upheavals of Thought*, 236.

44 Szabó, *Iza's Ballad*, 57.

45 Szabó, *Iza's Ballad*, 89–91.

that occur when a person is able to articulate and share her experiences.[46] However, Ettie seems neither able to speak out, nor is she truly understood by others or even herself. A phenomenological point of view may be helpful in explaining the lack of language and speech that Ettie is struggling with. I believe that Matthew Ratcliffe's ideas about the relationship between trauma and the inability to articulate and communicate one's experience, is relevant for our present case: first, because he pays close attention to both historical trauma and grief in the examples he discusses, and second, because he explicitly relates the experience of words failing to a loss of 'trust', 'confidence' or 'certainty', which are all concepts closely related to a perception of safety.[47]

In 'Trauma, Language and Trust', Ratcliffe discusses the phenomenology of failing language as a result of traumatic experiences.[48] Whereas he starts from extreme forms of trauma, such as the experience of Holocaust survivors, he notes that a loss for words can play an important part in all kinds of traumatic and psychiatric experience and can be related for instance to depression, schizophrenia and some forms of bereavement. Ratcliffe points to the fact that in order to share one's experience with someone using language, one must bridge the differences between Context A, where the experiencer is, and Context B, where the interlocutor is. Problems may arise in this effort at the level of language:

> To describe Context A to those residing in Context B, one relies upon words such as x, y, and z, which are familiar to interpreters situated in B. However, those words have importantly different connotations in A, which are obscured by their employment in B. Hence, in order to describe something, one must use words that someone else understands, but that same understanding eclipses the phenomenon in question.[49]

If words have different connotations in the context of the experiencer than in the context of the receiver, meaning can be lost in the transfer of language, which complicates understanding.

In *Iza's Ballad*, Ettie's old-fashioned, rural world and Iza's fast-paced, cosmopolitan, modern world are so different that, even apart from Ettie's

46 Ratcliffe, 'Trauma, Language, and Trust', 1. For the relationship between the concepts of 'safety', 'trust', 'confidence', 'security' and 'certainty', see Evink, Chapter 1, this volume.

47 Ratcliffe, 'Trauma, Language, and Trust'.

48 Ratcliffe, 'Trauma, Language, and Trust', 1.

49 Ratcliffe, 'Trauma, Language, and Trust', 3.

historical trauma and her mourning process, this is enough to cause some similar shortcomings of language. Not only do the worlds of Iza and Ettie seem difficult to bridge, Ettie is also cut off from her previously familiar world, after she moves to Budapest. The inability to explain what she is experiencing is explicitly mentioned by the narrator: 'How could she explain to old friends how she lived and what went on around her? […] If she wrote half the truth it would seem like bragging, but if she wrote the other half, about the feelings behind those of comfort and security, she would not be able to face herself'.[50]

Ratcliffe makes a distinction between the experience of not being able to say what you want or have on your mind on the one hand, and the experience of words failing on the other. According to Ratcliffe, the latter can be, but is not *necessarily* related to an actual lack of understanding. In *Iza's Ballad*, this suggestion is, for instance, confirmed by the relationship between Ettie and Teréz, Iza's housekeeper. Teréz is one of the few characters that actually seems to understand Ettie:

> She understood how an old woman rapidly heading towards eighty, who had spent all her life on firm ground, coping with straightforward problems, would now feel as though her life were hanging by a thread, and she also understood the bitterness she must be feeling, a bitterness she had never articulated in words that must have been there all the time: she was, after all, an old but still active woman, and she was in mourning.[51]

While the reader is aware of the fact that Teréz has understanding and compassion for Ettie, Ettie, who does not even seem to understand herself very well, does not feel understood by Teréz and increasingly withdraws from the initially friendly relationship.

According to Ratcliffe, a complete loss for words is particularly to be expected if a person experiences a destruction of her habitual world, whereas this habitual world is (still) presupposed by the interlocutor. To explain this presupposition, I must make a few remarks about the nature of phenomenology.[52] Phenomenology traditionally points to our fundamental embodied being and the role of the relationship between body and world in our cognition. It is important to note that rejecting the duality of body and

50 Szabó, *Iza's Ballad*, 207.

51 Szabó, *Iza's Ballad*, 138.

52 Ratcliffe positions himself in the philosophical tradition of the later Edmund Husserl (1859–1938) and Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1908–61).

mind specifically refers to the subjectively felt or experienced body (*Leib*), which is a 'body-subject', and not the objectified body (*Körper*) that can be described from a third-person perspective. Phenomenologists presuppose that even before a subject takes on any cognitive or evaluative standpoint, the environment already exerts an affective attraction on us as 'body-subjects', and thus we have always been affectively *involved* in the world, even before we took a stance towards it.[53] The world is thus not merely an object of experience, for our being-in-the-world belongs to our experience inseparably. We habitually experience our 'world' or our surroundings as 'imbued with a cohesive web of significant, practically engaging possibilities'.[54]

We usually belong to this world in a pre-reflective, unproblematic way. We take it for granted, and everything we think, say and do happens against the background of this habitual world, which is presupposed in every experience. However, as Ratcliffe argues, this 'naturalness' can be disrupted by several causes, and in severe cases even lead to an experience of irreversible loss of its self-evidence. If one heavily grieves for a loved one, for example, nothing is taken for granted anymore, and this is accompanied with feelings of tension and alienation. Things, projects and relations that were earlier presupposed by one's experiences, thoughts, activities and words are suddenly bereft of meaning. In *Iza's Ballad*, Ettie articulates this phenomenon when she wonders whether her home is actually a home anymore, now Vince is dead: 'How could this be "home" now?'[55] The word 'home' suddenly lost its meaning. Ratcliffe explains how this loss or destruction of someone's habitual world leads to a 'linguistic meaning-erosion'. One utters the (habitual) words but is immediately struck by their failure to apply because they pertained to the 'old', self-evident world, which is no longer presupposed or implicitly taken for granted.

Although I cannot go into too much detail here, it is important for our purpose to explain how this disruption, according to Ratcliffe, can be exacerbated by a pervasive loss of trust.[56] As described by Ratcliffe, trauma challenges not only our presupposed, habitual world, but also a pre-reflexive orientation towards others in general, which we might refer to as a form of 'trust', 'confidence' or 'practical certainty'. With 'trust', Ratcliffe refers to our most fundamental sense of certainty and safety: our confident anticipation

53 Szanto and Landweer, Introduction, 9.

54 Ratcliffe, 'Trauma, Language, and Trust', 5.

55 Szabó, *Iza's Ballad*, 22. Note that in several of Szabó's novels, questions are asked about the meaning of a 'home', precisely when it is threatened by external circumstances, such as war, a repressive government or, in this case, mourning. See Jeffery, 'Magda Szabó', 8.

56 Ratcliffe, 'Trauma, Language, and Trust', 10.

and fulfilment of 'an integrated system of significant possibilities'.[57] This trust is essentially *relational*, in the sense that a shift in what one anticipates from other people shapes our experience, thought and activity.

The relationship between trust and language is two-fold, according to Ratcliffe. First, if there is a pervasive sense of lack of trust, the potential of language is limited because one feels no prospect of opening up new communicative possibilities. Second, a lack of trust undermines the conditions under which expressions are usually produced, understood and recognised as successful because, where there is distrust, one does not anticipate understanding or empathy, but rather threat, condemnation and misunderstanding. This shapes the experience of communication, even in less severe cases of trauma or distrust:

> Even where the experienced shortcomings of language are not quite so profound, a person may still struggle to convey experiences, feel that she has not been and never will be understood, or even resign herself to the impossibility of understanding on the part of others.[58]

As I argued above, the impossibility of speaking out is a decisive aspect of Ettie's feelings of unsafety as portrayed in *Iza's Ballad* and it seems that Ratcliffe's phenomenological analysis, better than Nussbaum's approach, explains why some traumas are too overwhelming to speak out about, and some emotions so deep that they are non-communicable.

Nussbaum believes that emotions, including feelings of insecurity, are always negotiable. The requirement of negotiability follows logically from her theory of emotions, but presupposes the capability to speak out and the capability to be understood, relational capabilities which are also conspicuously lacking in Nussbaum's capability approach. Ratcliffe uses a phenomenological approach to show how words can let us down when they are not transferable from one context to another, due to a destruction of one's habitual world, and he explicitly relates the experience of words failing to a loss of 'trust', 'confidence' or 'certainty'. He also explains how the failing of language and lack of trust are essentially *relational*, in the sense that they are influenced by what one anticipates from other people.

If we apply all this to Ettie's situation, we could argue that social changes in the modernising Hungarian society have alienated her so much from

57 Ratcliffe, 'Trauma, Language, and Trust', 11.

58 Ratcliffe, 'Trauma, Language, and Trust', 1.

her relatives' perceptions that both the modern world they live in and their utterances have become incomprehensible to Ettie. The enigmatic character of her daughter contributes to her insecurity: 'She had never known anyone like Iza and there was much she couldn't understand about her: she could only grasp a fraction of her life, of her books and the world she moved in'.[59] Finally, on top of the historical trauma she carries with her, the traumatic loss of the husband who was her anchor in the world and the lack of trust and security that accompanies her mourning are enough to explain why she seems to be locked up in her head and cannot speak out, which in turn increases her feelings of unsafety so prominent in the novel.

Conclusion

For the analysis of feelings of unsafety, I have chosen a fictitious description of these feelings in the novel *Iza's Ballad*, and I have interpreted the feelings of insecurity and lack of trust of one of the main characters in that book, Ettie, as an exemplary instance of an experience of unsafety. I have argued that feelings of unsafety, according to Nussbaum's philosophy, belong to the category of 'emotions' rather than feelings, due to their cognitive content. I have further argued that Nussbaum's cognitive account of emotions has difficulty in explaining some aspects of Ettie's experiences. The apparent incapability of speaking out, a decisive aspect of the feelings of unsafety as portrayed in *Iza's Ballad*, contradicts Nussbaum's argument that there is always a choice and a possibility to negotiate our emotions. The cognitive approach to emotions sometimes seems overly optimistic to that point: it is a prescriptive ideal to which experience does not conform. What if a person is treated paternalistically, by the government or its relatives, or is the victim of ageism or other kinds of belittling? What if someone is not understood or believed? What if she is not able to speak out? What if she has *given up* and decided that things are irrevocably changed for the worse and will never be better, as seems to be the case for Ettie?

> Vince was dead, Endrus was dead, the old town had gone, everything was gone. […] Teréz would get on better without her. Iza could never relax when she was around. There was no Captain, no Gica, no Kolman,

59 Szabó, *Iza's Ballad*, 31.

> nobody who really depended on her for kindness or even conversation. Maybe she was already dead and hadn't noticed? Could a person die without being aware of it?[60]

It is striking in this context that neither the possibility to speak out and to be understood, nor the capability of being taken care of are included in Nussbaum's capabilities approach, whereas others, particularly Ingrid Robeyns, argue for completing the list with just these capabilities.

I have used Ratcliffe's phenomenological analysis of trauma, language and trust to argue that while Nussbaum's ideas on emotions are certainly useful for an analysis of feelings of unsafety, a more complex and dynamic theory of emotions which recognises both evaluative judgements and existential feelings as its components can better explain why some traumas are too overwhelming to speak out about and why some emotions so deep that they are no longer negotiable. Ratcliffe argues that we can be lost for words, as they are not transferable from one context to another due to trauma. His phenomenology explains how the experience of feelings of unsafety is related to the habitually experienced world and the lack of trust that accompanies the destruction of our habitual world in the face of trauma.

Ratcliffe's phenomenology is better equipped than Nussbaum's emotion theory to explain why Ettie struggles to share her experiences and even resigns herself to the impossibility of being understood, estranged as she is from both her daughter's new world and her own familiar one, after the death of her husband. Ettie cannot speak about her insecurity and feelings of insecurity because the weight of historical and personal trauma has pulverised her ability to speak. Under the yoke of history and her family, she has become nothing but a troublesome, silenced child.[61]

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60 Szabó, *Iza's Ballad*, 149.

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