

Introduction

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A new, more complex cultural landscape is evolving in Europe. However, these changes are often based on the past and we can now see how these borders have developed, changed and partly turned into new frontiers. A number of mental borders are becoming increasingly important, mostly based on imagined cultural differences that in some cases create new, and in other cases strengthen old, identities. There is also the desire to construct or re-establish cultural borders in order to reinforce these identities and cultural communities. Given that the ongoing integration process of the European Union poses endless occasions for disputes, avoidance, and encroachment of cultural borders, there is a growing need to understand the cultural dimension of their construction and reconstruction.

At first sight, these tendencies seem to contradict the idea of shrinking economic and legal borders in Europe. Although these borders between the nation-states of contemporary Europe have weakened, the cultural ones are more visible than ever, although it is not always possible to classify them in such a strict manner, given that they exist mostly in the realm of perception. The idea of culturally homogeneous states has never been true and it is now being fundamentally challenged by migration, new political concepts, and resurgent claims of the cultural components of national identities from long-neglected historical minorities.

The new landscape of presumed or real cultural borders is not easily identified on a map. It never was, but a globalized world has brought the

issue to the fore. Due to the ongoing process, there is a need to understand the various dimensions of cultural borders, their construction and reconstruction. Questions may arise concerning culture, language and religion as markers of cultural borders. We need to know how and why cultural borders attain legitimacy; that is, how they are used. This is also the central question to which this book is offering tentative answers and providing examples from different parts of Europe and from different periods. The idea is to show a variety of relevant manifestations of cultural borders in modern and previous times in Europe that will help us to understand what is taking place now in different countries and regions.

The formation of cultural borders in contemporary Europe has entered a new phase. Historian Peter Burke (1998: 35–40; 2009) describes the period as one of cultural exchange and transformation, predicting that new cultural ‘ecotypes’ will emerge. More of these new patterns are now visible and they sometimes merge partly or totally with previous patterns and ideas. Cultural borders are formed as regional or local manifestations of a general European, or even global, pattern of increased emphasis on cultural diversity and regional cultural identity. This trend brings a sense of uncertainty to the liberal democratic traditions of European nation-states and the institutions of the EU. It also challenges the concepts of legitimacy and political representation, as well as the cultural and legal bases for citizenship. Thus, thorough research on cultural borders and their consequences in Europe is of the utmost importance, not only as an academic exercise, but also as a way to achieve a broader understanding and promote the evolution of democracy. Greater awareness of the ways that cultural borders are dealt with in Europe requires a more profound insight into their relationship with issues of belonging and loyalty, as well as the strategies that have emerged to deal with this task.

‘Europeanization’ needs to be redefined, given that it involves the merging of specific sets of national cultures. This becomes problematic when it excludes its Muslim and Jewish heritage and suppresses the continent’s religious diversity and identities that are not perceived as connected to a nation. Another complex, widely discussed issue is whether economic and legal integration also requires cultural coalescence. In recent decades the EU has striven to create and define a framework for a common culture and identity by means of symbols such as a flag, an anthem and the concept of European citizenship (Shore 2000; Fornäs 2012). Meanwhile, the proliferation of European cultural identities must be understood in order to grasp the meaning and consequences of changing cultural borders. Of central importance to this book on the cultural borders of Europe is to discuss and present important aspects of these identities, as well as cultural borders, as a means of establishing a common set of values.

The book is intended for academics and advanced students of European studies who need a broader background on which to base their research and papers. It will also serve as a source for journalists and eager readers with a wider interest in these cultural borderlands. It differs from other books dealing with this topic in that it gives a very broad perspective in regard to specific cases.

Proceeding from the Concepts of Border and Culture

The history of the concepts of *border* and *culture* offers a number of insights that might seem surprising. It also provides us with an initial framework from which we can embark upon this endeavour. The etymology of the word 'border' can be traced back to the far-flung no man's land between the English and the Scots in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as the term 'border' referred not only to the dividing line between the two countries but also to the surrounding areas. 'Limit' (from the Latin *limes*) originally meant 'legal limitation on power or authority', and is slightly older than 'border' (about 1400, from the Old French *bordëur*, which was derived from the Frankish *bord/bort* = side), as it goes back to the Roman fortifications in Africa and Europe, which were called *limites* (Barnhart 1988: 434).

There is a crucial difference between the two meanings of border. The first refers to a link with that which lies beyond; the second refers to a frontier, a line that must not be crossed – the legal system of a state and the power of its ruler end there. In other words, a border represents both that which it circumscribes and that which it excludes, but the exclusionary aspect has grown stronger and gained the upper hand during the last two centuries. Dimensions of this trend can be identified in the conscious creation of national languages and cultures (Andersson 1991; Liedman 1997: 153ff; Berger and Lorenz 2010; Hirschi 2012: 105). Literature and folkloristic perceptions are of the utmost importance in cultivating and promoting the culture, creating a basis of political and cultural differences. The role of literature is often downplayed in these discussions, but it has an impact as a means of both describing a complex cultural crossroads and promoting a regional or recently unified language, as has been the case in Rhaeto-Romance Switzerland (Grisons), where literature is written both in various Romance varieties and in the unified language of Rumantsch Grischun. This is also the case in the Basque Country in Spain. Basque author Bernardo Atxaga stresses that literature has an important role to play in countering the predominant political discourses of contemporary society (Atxaga 2013: 54–56). Images and ideas are easily manipulated for various purposes, and they need to be recognized for what they are.

Johann Gottfried Herder stands out as the main philosopher of the reconstructed concept of border in symbiosis with culture. Herder's idea was that national borders stemmed from autochthonous cultures. German culture was the product of history, strengthened by the creation of a national language (Herder 1965: 259f, 272f, 385–92, 484f). He emphasized cultural borders, whereas his philosophy included the idea of *Humanität* shared by all human beings (ibid.: 157ff, 375ff). From Herder's perspective, cultures set specific borders while humanity violated them, but he did not advocate a world without borders; national cultures were to be preserved. His ideas were taken up by Romantic nationalists, who interpreted them as vital to promoting national identity, especially among those peoples – Poles, Hungarians, Czechs, Italians – who did not have their own state (Andrén 2001: 85ff). Presently other peoples, such as the Samis, Galicians, Basques, Bretons, Catalans, Flemings, Scots and Roma, are stateless. Most are not demanding their own state, but one can still wonder how far this fragmentation into small homogeneous states should continue.

The modern concept of border emerged from this tension between cultural dividing lines and an all-embracing universalism. Two observations are relevant at this point. First, if cultural borders are regarded as a given, the problem is how to deal with them. The hypothesis advanced by Samuel P. Huntington that future conflicts will arise from cultural and religious tenets is based on such an assumption (Huntington 1993) – as are the ideas of tolerance and multiculturalism. However this last concept may refer to both legal recognition and a norm. In analysis it is more accurate to use multiculturalism as a more neutral term related to the current situation without any ideological implications. The ongoing controversy about these two terms infuses the management of cultural borders with a great deal of conflict. Second, if universalism is seen as the fundamental concept, cultural borders should not exist – perhaps they are actually evil and a source of conflict. Ideas such as cosmopolitanism, universalism and globalism are essential to such a perspective, but it is also important to know their purpose. While globalism and universalism might seem ideal for many people, they can also be tools for undermining regional cultures and minority languages. Many nineteenth-century liberals and socialists saw these regional languages and cultures as atavisms that should have been allowed to die out as soon as possible. Signs in the bars of early twentieth-century Brittany warned, 'Défense de cracher par terre et de parler breton' (Spitting on the floor and speaking Breton is prohibited) (Piriou 1977: 9–46).

Objections need to be raised to the above juxtaposition of cultural borders and an all-embracing universalism. These concepts do not have equal empirical status. Cultural borders belong to the real world, having consequences for contemporary society, but they are nevertheless human artefacts that change over time. Their importance varies depending on the

person you are talking to and the particular context. Although someone may be highly influenced by their cultural identity, s/he still has a choice of remaining within this framework, taking on another identity or living with both. If it is a question of religious identity, moving to another part of the world can be a way of maintaining it (such as non-conformist European Protestants who left for America in the seventeenth century) or removing oneself from the predominant society. This can entail anything from an accent to a dress code, either voluntary or the result of peer pressure, gender-related or not. Nothing is as simple as it appears. The answers are often very complex. Anthropologists have paid a great deal of attention to the ways that cultural borders are politicized, whereas political and economic borders can be culturalized (Wright 1998; Ivanescu 2010). Furthermore, cultural borders may be fixed to a greater or lesser degree and for longer or shorter periods of time. Meanings are always in flux – administrative and legal borders sometimes clash with cultural identities (e.g. Eder 2006; Delanty 2006).

The national cultures of contemporary Europe need to be redefined as the nation-states become more multicultural due to an awareness of immigrant groups and national minorities, as well as their demands and rights. So attentiveness is demanded when talking about ‘national borders’, as the accurate expression is mostly ‘state borders’. Particularistic identities are rapidly emerging, relaxing some borders while enforcing others. ‘Multiculturalism’ may refer to parallel cultures, which may or may not accept each other, but always on terms set by the majority (Söhrman 2004: 65–80). Literature is often a reliable reflection of how these situations are perceived by various groups. References to ‘second generation immigrants’ or a ‘regional minority’ may leave them with a feeling of not belonging anywhere. The very concept gives the impression that the origin of one’s parents is all that matters, even though one may have spent one’s whole life in the country. It would be more appropriate to be specific – for example, ‘first generation Germans’. At least that label is inclusive. So much prejudice and exclusion is abetted by the use of ‘ethnic’ terms. This is surely one of the factors that led (and leads) to riots in European cities such as London, Paris and Stockholm. Such social, economic and political borders are difficult to separate from cultural borders. But this book will focus on identities, especially national identities, that have an ideological and historical basis, and cultural borders that have appeared and disappeared as a result of historical currents, ideological awareness, and relationships with neighbouring peoples who do not belong to the same cultural community even though there may not be political borders between them. The situation in the former Yugoslavia shows how complex the issue is. The old Serbian majority that dominated the army is spread out across most of the new countries and has become a minority in these new states. The same is true for many Russians in the Baltic countries.

The transition from a powerful majority to a subservient minority is not easy, affecting self-esteem and the sense of national identity. Have these new minorities maintained their old national identities? Are new cultural borders emerging? In the case of old minorities and a linguistic majority in a neighbouring country, the issue of identity arises. Does the Hungarian minority in Transylvania have a Hungarian identity or one of their own? Is the Russian-speaking minority in eastern Ukraine Russian or just Russian-speaking? Whose interests do these various definitions serve? Many ideological and personal interests are at stake. The examples – Belgium, Luxemburg, Northern Ireland, Switzerland, and so on – are legion.

Meanwhile ‘universalism’, also referred to as ‘Europeanization’ and ‘cosmopolitization’ by Ulrich Beck and Edgar Grande (Beck and Grande 2004), is a growing phenomenon in politics and in the society as a whole. When political projects and civic responsibility go beyond the cultural borders of nation-states, cultural identities and borders become blurred. Such changes are immanent with possibilities both of new openness and threats of intolerance. Anthropologist Arjun Appadurai (2006) and other scholars have warned of the dangers associated with current modes of cultural and national identification, all the more relevant in light of the financial crisis of 2008 and its long aftermath.

The crossroads between cultural borders and national identities represents an important field for further empirical and theoretical research. One objective in this anthology is to embark on such research. We are well aware of its pitfalls; a Scandinavian, German or French researcher who relates national identity to a nation-state without considering old minorities with varying ideas and with cultural borders (the Samis in northern Scandinavia, Sorbs in Germany, Alsations in France, etc.) will probably carry different ideological baggage from a Spanish researcher who is aware of turbulent national activism in Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia. Researchers may like or dislike these discourses, but there is no way around them as they threaten the very existence of the Spanish state. Extremists in many European countries accept neither immigrants nor national minorities. Thus, awareness of these identities and cultural borders, their interrelationships and complexity, is essential to the understanding of modern society. The promotion of one particular standpoint can easily be used for political purposes that were never the intention of the researchers who came up with the standpoint.

Previous Literature as a Springboard

The chapters in this volume explore the cultural borders of Europe in their relation to the construction of European ideas, identities and institutions,

both past and present. But why is there a need for yet another book on borders in Europe? Before we answer that question, let us first recall the evolution of the field over the last twenty years.

Research on the borders of Europe expanded considerably during the 1990s, including scientific articles and special issues of journals, new departments at universities, and research funding by European institutions. The apparent catalysts were the emergence of new borders during the decade; the acceleration of the rate at which goods, information and people crossed borders; the changing status of geographic regions; and the creation of new ones (Anderson, O'Dowd and Wilson 2002). A series of conferences, forums and anthologies were devoted to the borders associated with the integration of Western Europe, while many examined the emerging ethnic borders of post-Communist Eastern Europe (Kurti and Langman 1997; Anderson and Bort 1998; Wilson and Donnan 1998).

Since that time, a great deal of research has been devoted to legal and territorial borders. One approach has been to stress the ongoing significance of such borders in a 'borderless' Europe – see the works of geographer Henk van Houtum (van Houtum 2002; van Houtum and Pijpers 2007); an anthology entitled *Europe without Borders: Remapping Territory, Citizenship and Identity in a Transnational Age* (Berezin and Schain 2003); and *Territorial Choice: The Politics of Boundaries and Borders* (Baldersheim and Rose 2010) in which political scientists inquire into the shifting scales of local government in Europe. Some research goes beyond territorial borders and examines social change on a continent in the process of transformation; political sociologist Chris Rumford (2006a, 2012) emphasizes the continual differentiation of borders. Cultural aspects of territorial borders have attracted the attention of various social scientists, including those who conduct social anthropological studies that look at the identities of people and places along borders (Berdahl 1997; Wilson and Donnan 1998). Such enormous interest in borders has raised awareness in the social sciences of their multifaceted character, which has led to the conclusion that such studies need to expand beyond the issue of territoriality (Rumford 2012).

Ever since the 1990s, research in the humanities has increasingly addressed the question of the cultural borders of Europe (see e.g. Andrén et al. 2009). The explicit focus has often been on identity rather than borders. An anthology entitled *Beyond Boundaries: Language and Identity in Contemporary Europe* examines language as an integral part of contemporary identity. Other works focus on the central phenomenon of multilingualism; see John Edward's classic *Multilingualism* (1994), an anthology entitled *Multilingualism in European Bilingual Contexts* (Gibbons and Holt 2002) and many others (e.g. Lundén 2006; Lagasabaster and Huguet 2007). Historian Karl Schlögel (2007) views borders and the cultures with which they are

associated as a learning process. In the case of European cultural borders, he points not only to the evolution of specific cultures but to a long history of Europeanization and the crossing of borders through mutual learning. Philosopher Étienne Balibar (2002, 2009) describes the ‘dead ends’ of a territorial concept of European borders now that political spaces are overlapping and ‘the territorial concepts of “interior” and “exterior” are no longer completely separable’.

The chapters in this anthology address processes of defining European cultural borders, as well as their dependence on, and relation to, various kinds of European belonging and national identity. By proceeding from cultural borders as the object of investigation, we open the door to a range of cases that is both broader and more complex than the ambit of territorial borders. The fact that this anthology combines studies on a great variety of cultural borders – literary, linguistic, religious, historiographical and ideological among others – is also new. A closely related development is the growing complexity of identities and the multiplicity of border making, including phenomena such as linguistic complexity, religious diversity and regional affinity.

This anthology brings together scholars from Britain, Luxembourg and Sweden whose research focuses on Europe’s cultural borders. It takes advantage of these scholars’ frontier work in their fields of expertise, and presents a considerable amount of new empirical data. By virtue of the fact that the authors represent eight different disciplines – archaeology, history of ideas, political science, sociology and history of religion, as well as English, French and Spanish linguistics – the anthology offers a multidisciplinary account of cultural borders. In an attempt to capture the complex realities and cultural images involved as fully as possible, the approach is more wide-ranging than other books on the subject.

One trend in current social and political research is the proliferation of meanings of the word ‘border’. Distinctions are made between *borders*, *borderlines*, *boundaries* and *frontiers*, between *bordering*, *re-bordering* and *de-bordering*, and between *soft* and *hard borders* (Eder 2006; Agnew 2009; Janczak 2011).¹ This has to do with an apparent need to go beyond a demarcating approach that defines borders in an oversimplified manner in accordance with a line on a map, the tradition of a particular discipline or an attempt to understand a specific tendency. While the concepts explored by research about borders are often pigeonholed into specific disciplines, we want to promote conceptual studies that stimulate genuine interdisciplinary collaboration. David Newman (2006) suggests that ‘boundary demarcation, the nature of frontiers, borderlands and transition zones’ are useful concepts. However, they all imply objects that are both completed and relatively constant, which is not the case when it comes to cultural borders; they are always under construction and will never be etched in stone.

We define cultural borders broadly and consider them to be more than simply legal or political constructs. A historical, linguistic and cultural analysis suggests that people will always need borders to define themselves in relation to others but that borders operate in different ways and at different levels; moreover, the degree to which they influence society changes over time. We subscribe to the premise that there is a need for a ‘radical break with substantialist notions of Europe’s borders and identity’ (Eder 2006) in favour of a focus on their cultural constructions. The intention of this anthology to contribute to border research and its further development is based on three hypotheses that consider: (1) the construction of cultural borders, (2) the foundation of nations, and (3) the Janus-faced nature of borders.

The first hypothesis is that borders have a strong tendency to be constructed as narratives, concepts and practices. Narratives, both literary and otherwise, arguably invest borders with credibility in several ways. Ideas of national culture, like those of European identity, are rooted in narratives of origin and an imagined community of the future (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). Arguments for or against cultural diversity are advanced as narratives, and the cultural borders of Europe are upheld by constructing narratives of difference (e.g. Berger and Lorenz 2015). Shared stories are of the utmost importance for constructing and maintaining the borders of Europe – even more so than the strength of political institutions (Eder 2006).

However, narratives are insufficient to construct sustainable cultural borders. The *concepts* needed to contain narratives are subject to dispute. The concept of Europe is controversial in itself – the various definitions are supported by arguments and theories that have differing degrees of cogency. The concept of multiculturalism is central to contemporary ideological discussions of the ways in which cultural borders in Europe should be handled, as well as how and why they can help to define Europe as both a continent and an idea.²

Narratives and concepts are both embedded in various practices that are indispensable to the maintenance of cultural borders (Parker, Vaughan-Williams et al. 2009). Religious practices may promote contempt or fear. Linguistic practices may uphold borders even after formal legal and territorial dividing lines have been dismantled. Such practices reveal how this process of dismantling is perceived by people of varying national identities. Is it simply formal and superficial or does it reflect a deeper level of unification? It is also important to study the ways that religious and linguistic practices, as well as narratives and concepts, support or oppose each other. In contemporary Europe, migration and greater awareness of minority rights have reshaped the linguistic landscape in ways that render existing borders more complex (Extra and Gorter 2001; Söhrman 2009). New practices may be blurring and redefining cultural borders (Delanty 2006). Old cultural borders

do not always disappear as new ones emerge. Often they are reinterpreted to suit a specific ideological agenda.

If it is correct to assume that narratives, concepts and practices are important, our understanding of borders takes on a new character. The narratives, concepts and practices associated with borders are constructions of history that are embedded in European languages. Even fixed territorial borders are culturally constructed and need to be understood as such. In other words, learning about the cultural, historical and linguistic dimensions of borders is an urgent imperative.

The second hypothesis is that the search for the starting point of nations – the time and place of ‘absolute origin’, an ethnic legend – is crucial to the making of European borders. Such a starting point is inherently controversial, given that conscious historical constructions incorporate powerful projections of contemporary interests and notions of borders from the past. Is the starting point for Italy the Roman Empire of the first century CE, Dante’s essay on Latin and the vernacular (*De vulgari eloquentia*)³ in 1306, or the unification of the Italian state in 1861? Several chapters of this anthology argue that such starting points, albeit disputable per se, are essential to defining borders.

The third hypothesis is that European borders are Janus-faced – they invite both conflict and integration. The process of defining borders in contemporary Europe is closely tied to issues of identity and thereby to the description of difference. The mobility of today’s Europeans does not suggest that borders have disappeared, but rather that they have taken on other forms. Even a unified Europe is likely to have borders. The three hypotheses recur throughout the various chapters and are re-examined in the conclusion.

Outline of the Book

This anthology aims to establish a further understanding of the multifaceted character of cultural borders, rather than setting a tight research agenda on one of its specific aspects or mapping the cultural borders of the whole continent. Therefore a basic idea of this anthology has been to invite researchers from different fields in order to attack the notion of cultural borders from many different perspectives, thus offering a complex and intriguing picture. The chapters present representative cases from the area that composes today’s European Union, and although most are from Western and Central Europe, they also offer glimpses of Estonia and Romania. The book deals with both historical and contemporary perspectives of European society, and how history is used and influences the modern concept of cultural borders. The

cases illuminate ways to attain legitimacy and establish a common set of values. The contributions are accordingly organized into sections: by religion; by linguistic practices; by mental spaces and barriers; and, finally, by scholars' constructions of cultural borders.

The intersections, frictions and conflicts between territorial and religious borders are the focus of Part I. There is a complex balance of power and influence between Orthodoxy, Catholicism and the heterogenic Protestantism, as well as a complex relationship to Islam. The complexities do not facilitate our understanding of the situation or our understanding of what has really taken place and what this means to modern society. Historically, the different brands of Christianity were territorially organized and of great importance to creating a feeling of community. However, what is the relationship between religious identification and territorial belonging in modern Europe marked by the integration process? In Chapter 1, Linda Berg presents the relationship between territorial and religious identification. Protestants tend to identify with the state, whereas Catholics and Orthodox Christians identify with the local community, state and European institutions. It is particularly noteworthy that Muslims are much more likely to identify with Europe as a whole than with the state in particular. This gets complicated, as a central issue for the contemporary construction of European identity is whether it should include Muslims and Islam. A 2010 discussion in London, as described in Chapter 2 by Göran Larsson and Riem Spielhaus, was rife with stereotypes of what constitutes 'a European', as well as a narrative of Europe that included Muslims and one that did not. The dilemma posed by these kinds of debate is the apparent demand for clear-cut cultural borders, although they are actually flexible and negotiable, and are likely to remain that way. The modern dichotomy of European versus Islamic becomes less cogent within the European narrative of Islamic philosophy and the neo-Platonic heritage of Islam. In Chapter 3, Klas Grinell focuses on the borders between European and Islamic thought, which are more like meeting grounds than strict epistemological lines. A sincere dialogue aimed at transcending cultural borders should emphasize the local nature of identities and the fact that European thought is a grey area with a history that includes Islam. The idea of multiculturalism requires reflection, as it is crucial to the discussion of Muslims in Europe and must brave the winds of Eurocentricity.

The links between national identities and cultural borders are often strengthened by stereotypes, which make an appearance in many different contexts of linguistic practices, and are the focus of Part II of the volume. Of special interest are foreign language textbooks, as they purportedly convey a basic sense of another culture. They may be regarded as loci at which national characteristics and cultural demarcations are defined. It may not be so surprising that language textbooks often perpetuate cultural stereotypes,

given that national identity has included the principle of monolingual states and national programmes for schools. The intercultural quest – as explicitly mandated by the national curriculum, UNESCO and the Council of Europe – has not yet attained its objectives. The textbooks present cultural borders as they are seen as national in character rather as an opportunity to promote communication and understanding. Katharina Vajta, in Chapter 4, addresses these issues, using the example of French textbooks used in Swedish schools. However, the merging of national identities with cultural borders throughout the twentieth century has been challenged by other cultural borders that do not fit into the nation-state paradigm. The main examples are Bavarians who are considered German in the same way as Catalans are often regarded as Spaniards, and Scotsmen as British, but all of whom also have a strong regional identity of their own. The Bavarians in the heart of Europe are often overlooked, and this group also entails a special feature as they are closer – linguistically, historically and politically – to their Austrian neighbours to the south than to their fellow countrymen to the north, a fact that is frequently neglected. Barbara Loester, in Chapter 5, discusses the Bavarian claim to a distinct historical identity, and examines the interaction of cultural and national identities in Bavaria.

Furthermore, linguistic competence and performances have the ability to create illusions associated with the notion that cultural borders are stable and based on an eternal ethnic myth. It is well worth considering how these illusions, and particularly the lack of language skills, interfere with adequate media coverage of foreign countries. Journalists and analysts are often complacent about receiving second-hand information that propagates stale stereotypes. Ingmar Söhrman argues in Chapter 6, the concluding chapter of Part II, that borders are very much a product of ignorance and shallow thinking. His discussion draws attention to the Balkans, often portrayed as impossible for Westerners to understand.

Part III of the anthology turns to mental spaces and barriers that are due to cultural borders in their relation to national identities. An illuminating example of the cultural complexity that emerges in a borderland is the construction of national identity in Luxembourg, a small country situated on a border over which modern Europe has frequently fought. The cultural identity and mental space of Luxembourg was invented as a kind of hybrid at the beginning of the twentieth century, paving the way for subsequent ideals of openness and Europeanization, and later ‘Luxembourgish’ was promoted as a national language and as a means of strengthening the cultural border to neighbouring countries – a complex process that Fernand Fehlen analyses in Chapter 7.

An aspect of living with cultural borders is the making and transgressing of mental spaces and barriers. Literary narratives often reflect the images

and transgressions of these borders, and are deemed less pretentious as they do not claim to report reality but rather to reflect the intellectual ambiance at a certain time and place. An excellent historical example is the Finnish writer Aino Kallas, who had been assimilated into Estonian culture by the turn of the twentieth century, and who was ostracized at times by native Finnish and Estonian writers alike. Kallas exemplifies a number of different identities and thereby transgresses 'silent cultural rules or borders'. In Chapter 8, Katarina Leppänen interprets Kallas's persona as 'a site of cultural confrontation'. Nowadays, images also constitute an important part of contemporary narratives of bordering, and society is replete with powerful images of which its members are rarely aware on a conscious level. Johan Järlehed, in Chapter 9, presents an illustrative contemporary example of the production of images represented by logos of a Basque-language community. The study of logos, as well as the specific example of annual festivities at Basque middle schools – which have been adopted by other European linguistic minorities – underscores the contemporary nature of border practices.

Part IV of the book is dedicated to the topical issue of how scholars have been constructing European borders and identities. The historical construction of national borders is instrumental to this process. It is often emphasized that historians did play an important role in the conceptualization of national borders and the exploration of their origins. It is less studied, but nevertheless of utmost importance, how archaeologists contributed to and took part in the construction of cultural borders. Per Cornell, in Chapter 12, stresses border practices and narratives by examining German and Austrian archaeologists who elaborated upon concepts that defined the nation all the way back to prehistoric times. It is worrying to notice that the arguments resemble some of those in the contemporary debate in Europe on cultural borders. For example, Gustaf Kossina stressed Nordic culture as the focus area of Germany, and his Austrian counterpart Oswald Menghin emphasized a larger German cultural sphere that included Austria, however it excluded historical minorities, specifically the Jews.

Today, scholars are deeply involved in the bordering of Europe, for which the concept of European identity is fundamental; this is not circumscribed by its geographic characteristics, but evolves from cultural constructs. The concept has been promoted by the institutions of the EU since the 1980s and is still enthusiastically supported by leading intellectuals, as well as politicians. The idea is that European identity will bring greater acceptance and willingness to engage in further integration based on consciousness of a common destiny, mission and sense of solidarity. The intellectuals who define European identity trace its origin to various times and places. Each of them concentrates on cultural borders as a means of defining European

identity. Mats Andrén analyses this mechanism in Chapter 10. The overall project of European integration has not only encompassed the construction of a European identity but also of an outer border. Proceeding from political philosophy, and especially from some aspects of Carl Schmitt's thinking about the border of a large political space, Jon Wittrock in Chapter 11 highlights various cultural aspects of Europe's political borders and the question of their legitimacy. A vital issue is how the EU can legitimize its outer borders and whether it should supplement its liberal ideal with rituals surrounding core symbols, as the individual states have done, in order to strengthen the sense of European identity.

A proper understanding requires knowledge of the details. The chapters of this book show the ways that cultural borders and national identities interact, and how they are sometimes difficult to distinguish. They influence society and ideas about it, not only on a local or national level, but on a continental level, as seems to be the intention of many European intellectuals and policy makers these days. The examples offered in the various chapters make it clear that the themes are complex, interacting in ways that are not always possible to foresee.

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Notes

1. The distinction between soft and hard borders also applies to legal and political borders – see Zielonka 2002; Debardeleben 2005; Delanty 2006.
2. The method of conceptual history has recently been advocated in European studies. See <http://www.europaeum.org/europaeum/?q=taxonomy/term/357> on the European Conceptual History Research Project, initiated in 2008.
3. <http://www.danteonline.it/english/opere.asp?idope=3&idlang=UK>.

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