

Sustainable Citizenship II

Citizens' Resilience in Times of Crisis



Thursday June 20th 9:00-17:30

Friday June 21st 9:00-17:00

Van der Leeuwzaal, Academiegebouw

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Introduction: Citizens' Resilience in Times of Crisis

One strand in the new FP7 programme for the Social-Economic Sciences and Humanities issued in July 2012 calls for applications which address the topic of “Citizens’ Resilience in Times of Crisis” (SSH.2013.5.1-1.). In the accompanying rationale the reader is reminded that “the economic and financial crisis has proved a difficult test in terms of the pursuit of European integration and its legitimacy in the eyes of citizens, who are forced to accept cuts in wages and welfare provision. In addition, falling political participation and the rise of populist groups and rhetoric in various European countries even before such a crisis, suggest that the crisis of European democracies is possibly more 'endemic'. The ability of citizens to develop resilience in the event of crises – rather than opting for fatalism or rejecting any involvement in public life - is thus a fundamental issue for the EU, its Member States and beyond.” These observations echo worries expressed, for instance, after the very low voter turnout at the last Irish European Fiscal Compact Referendum on 31 May 2012, where just over 50% of the Irish electorate went to the polls, a figure significantly down from the previous EU referendum. It also reflects Jürgen Habermas’ recent observations on “insufficient mutual trust [which] has developed among European peoples” leading to an atmosphere of “mutual national prejudices” (Jürgen Habermas in an interview with Francis Fukuyama, *The Global Journal*, 18/05/2012). Habermas firmly blames the political elites for the lack of transparency in politics and processes that gave rise to citizens’ suspicions in regard to European issues. It is this lack of transparency as well as an increasing political recourse to what had originally been labelled as the late Margaret Thatcher’s TINA (There Is No Alternative) syndrome – which, according to Habermas and others, undermine an active democratic process of critical and informed debate engaging all citizens. It is quite poignant that in the public debates following Thatcher’s death

on 8 April 2013 her single-minded policy without alternatives was praised by both supporters of her own party and also members of the opposition in the main BBC round table discussions, while dissenting voices were largely restricted to reports on protests in former mining villages. (While TINA is, thus, alive and well in the United Kingdom, it has also been noticed as an increasingly utilized discursive strategy of Germany's Angela Merkel).

However, that citizens have developed strategies in difficult times to adapt to and to learn from transformations and to find sustainable alternatives to ensure a functioning community is not a recent phenomenon. Responding successfully and innovatively to the challenges of the times is a characteristic of society itself. It is by focusing on these alternatives that the study of the past, and in particular the study of the premodern world, can be employed as an antidote to the above-mentioned alleged lack of alternatives in policy, or the equally prevalent assumption that “we are in uncharted territory”, when dealing with today's problems. Studying the past provides us with an inventory of past experience. John Tosh has rightly pointed out that “the principle of difference” –and we would add, in particular the difference between the present and the more remote past of the premodern world – “is what explains history's continuing capacity to instruct and to unsettle – by bringing accumulated experience to bear on current problems, and by reminding us of missed opportunities and paths not taken” (John Tosh, *Why History Matters*, p. 141). It teaches a healthy scepticism against claims of inevitability or omniscience and allows a fresh view on the present and into the particular conditions that might facilitate change in the future.

The title of this workshop, the second in our three-year-programme of Sustainable Citizenship, which echoes the above-mentioned SSH strand, needs further qualification.

Firstly, we understand citizens not in the narrow legal sense of members of the polis but as all those individuals and groups living in a certain area, town, region or nation and participating in public life without necessarily being members of the political elites or of official governmental institutions.

Secondly, we need to further specify the term “Crisis”, which is a multi-layered concept and one that has been in inflationary use in recent years. As early as the 1980s Reinhart Koselleck has cautioned us against the ambiguous nature of the concept. While the term was initially used in Greek terminology in the spheres of medicine, law and theology, “Crisis” used as a metaphor gradually expanded from the seventeenth century onwards into the fields of politics, economics, history and psychology. There is now virtually no area of life that has not been examined and interpreted through this concept. It has long entered everyday language; it has become a central catchword, with accelerated usage since 2008. Crisis, according to Koselleck, is a term of reflection, which (through different media – texts, images, plays etc.) not only records historical developments and changes, but also arranges them in a meaningful order. The recognition (and description) of a crisis is preceded by the awareness that experience and expectation of a particular scenario are no longer congruent. Recognizing a crisis denotes the recognition of a loss of structural certainties and the acknowledgment of a state of contingency. Describing a crisis offers the possibility to link past, present and future in a (potentially) meaningful narrative. Accepting crisis as a phenomenon thus offers at the same time means of interpretation in which the precariousness of the events or scenarios described (or experienced) is put into a long-term perspective. Discourses on crisis, reflecting current events or applying meaning retrospectively, thus, historicize these events. They also require an approach that facilitates “solutions”, be those catastrophe and extinction or resilience and renewal.

Which brings us to the third term applied here. Resilience is also a concept that has gained increasing currency in recent years. In a way it is a partner of the ever-present sustainability. The Resilience Alliance, a consortium of international universities and organizations interested in issues of social- environmental sustainability (of which the Netherlands Environment Assessment Agency is a member) defines resilience as: "...The capacity of a system to absorb disturbance, undergo change and still retain essentially the same function, structure, identity, and feedbacks." (The Resilience Alliance, 2011, par. 9)

The OED defines resilience as: 1. the ability of a substance or object to spring back into shape; and 2. the capacity to recover quickly from difficulties. While resilience is a term which is predominantly used in environmental and physical context on the one hand and in terms of personal development and health on the other, there is a growing trend, as expressed by the SSH call, to look for resilience in larger social units, such as families, city environs, regions and nations.

The three strands of this workshop will address this capacity to absorb disturbance: to acknowledge a crisis (with the implications outlined above), to react to it in effective and creative ways (or otherwise) and to reflect on a crisis as a transformative experience.

In the first strand the speakers investigate the social fabric of past communities. They will analyse changing social networks, family ties or community practices which foster or erode solidarity in times of crisis. These include practices of and reflections on migrants, minorities and Diasporas. They also include the use of historiography as a means to come to terms with a crisis and as a strategy of moral resilience in a changing and threatening political situation.

The second strand we have devoted to the "soft powers" of (political) communication and the formation of a premodern public sphere and public opinion. These may take the form of an investiga-

tion into new artistic expressions as forms of resilience, the (changing) role of rituals, religious worship, theatrical and other public performances. They include the study of the use of language(s) in day-to-day interaction as well as in literary and translation activities.

The third strand is concerned with the “hard powers” of economics, (high) politics and their respective institutions, and citizens’ responses to changes and challenges in these areas. It will also address the dialectical relationship between citizens and institutions in times of crises and reconstruct the redefinition of their mutual connection as part of a process of negotiation of meanings and power relations.

As for “Civic Mirrors”, contributors are invited to reflect on their own practices as lecturers and researchers both when undertaking and presenting their research, and in the way in which we as an academic community can develop strategies of resilience against a world of increasingly diminishing resources – not just for the academy, but also in terms of energy supply, and general institutional support in the face of a retreating state. How can we provide leadership as guardians and agents of the citizens’ resource: the long record of human creativity in times of crisis.

Sabrina Corbellini

Raingard Esser

Ruurd Nauta

Aaltje Hidding

Sjoukje Kamphorst

Sanne Roefs

Thursday June 20th, 2013: Van der Leeuwzaal

9:00 Opening Remarks

9:15 **Oscar Couwenberg** (Academic Director Institute of Sustainable Society, RUG), *Towards Sustainability Research in Groningen*

BLOCK 1: SOCIAL FABRIC

9:30 **Mark L. Thompson** (American culture & Cultural Theory), *Resilient Subjects: Negotiating Allegiance in a Contested Colonial Territory.*

9:50 **Joanne van der Woude** (American Culture & Cultural Theory), *Diaspora and Suffering (Huguenots in the American colonies).*

10:10 **Margriet Fokken** (Modern History), *Material culture and the affective bonds between Hindustani immigrants in Suriname, 1873-1916.*

10:30 Discussion

----- 11:00– 11:30 Coffee break: De Bruinsaal -----

11:30 **Zweder von Martels** (Latin Language & Literature), *History as correction, political protest and moral support: Groningen in the years preceding the Reduction (1594).*

11:50 **Marco van der Schuur** (Latin Language & Literature), *Confronting Civil War under Nero: the Case of Seneca's Tragedies and Lucan's Bellum Civile.*

12:10 **Megan Williams** (Early Modern history), *Problems Papered Over? Early Modern Strategies of Paper Supply in Wartime and Economic Crisis.*

12:30 Discussion

-----13:00-14:00 Lunch break -----

BLOCK 2: SOFT POWERS

14:00 **Annette Harder** (Ancient Greek Language & Literature), *Mirrors for the Athenians? The Presentation of Citizens' Reactions to Disasters and Dilemmas in Greek Tragedy.*

14:20 **Sabrina Corbellini** (Historical Dutch Literature), *Translation as Resilience. Religious Texts in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe.*

14:40 **Dagmar Reichardt** (Historical Romance Literature & Culture), *Giovanni Verga: Verism as Resilience.*

15:00 Discussion

----- 15:30– 16:00 Coffee break: De Bruinszaal -----

16:00 **Bart Ramakers** (Historical Dutch Literature), *Haarlem in de 16e Eeuw: het Toneelwerk van de Rederijker Louris Jansz als Instrument voor de Veerkrachtigheid van Burgers.*

16:20 **Raingard Esser** (Early Modern History), *'...te erhaldinge van alle goede frunttschap en naaburschap': Citizens' Solidarity Across the Changing Border of the Eighty Years' War'.*

16:40 Discussion

Friday June 21st, 2013: Van der Leeuwzaal

BLOCK 3: HARD POWERS

- 9:00 **Wim Jongman** (Ancient History), *The Antonine Plague: the Beginning of the End.*
- 9:20 **Remi van Schaik** (Medieval History), *Financial crises and socio-political conflicts: an inter-urban comparison of guild movements in the early 16th century*
- 9:40 **Dimitry Kochenov** (Corporate & European Law), *The Citizenship Paradigm*
- 10:00 Discussion

----- 10:30– 11:00 Coffee break: A-Lounge -----

BLOCK 4A: STUDENTS ON SOFT POWERS

- 11:00 **Julia Dijkstra** (ReMa Art History & Archaeology, Groningen), *Antwerp Cityscapes as Acts of Resilience and Civic Self-Representation.*
- 11:20 **Aaltje Hidding** (ReMa CMRS, Groningen), *Forbidden Fruits: Christian Amulets as Sources of Resilience.*
- 11:40 **Sanne Roefs** (ReMa Art History & Archaeology, Groningen), *March of the Statues; Crisis in Early Quattrocento Florence and its Resilience in Art.*
- 12:00 Discussion

-----12:30-13:30 Lunch break -----

BLOCK 4B: STUDENTS ON SOCIAL FABRIC

13:30 **Florence Scialom** (Ma Cultural Antropology and Development Sociology, Leiden), *Alternatives to Economic Growth: Citizen Engagement in Re-Defining Measures of Progress and Re-Gaining Control of Local Economies.*

13:50 **Maria van der Harst and Joan van Geel** (Social Cultural Science, Nijmegen / Social Cultural Transformations, Utrecht), *Navigating Together; Key Actors in Today's Greek Society Working their Way through the Challenges of a Crisis.*

14:10 **Kirsten Poortier** (Literary and Cultural Studies, Groningen), *Tactical New Media and Electronic Civil Disobedience*

14:30 Discussion

----- 15:00– 15:30 Coffee break: A-Lounge -----

BLOCK 4C: STUDENTS ON WHERE SOFT POWERS AND SOCIAL FABRIC MEET

15:30 **Sjoukje Kamphorst** (ReMa CMRS, Groningen), *A funeral to remember. The imagined past of the Athenian funeral oration as a source of resilience.*

15:50 **Leonie-Carlijn Groot Bramel** (ReMa Art History & Archaeology, Groningen), *The construction of the black body as antitype to white society in early German advertisement.*

16:10 **Alisa van de Haar** (ReMa CMRS, Groningen), *The Comeback of Peeter Heyns: Rebuilding a Reputation in the 1585 Antwerp Diaspora*

16:30 Discussion

17:00 Closing Remarks

----- 17:10-19:00 Drinks: Restaurant Academia -----

Mark L. Thompson (American culture and cultural theory)

Resilient Subjects: Negotiating Allegiance in a Contested Colonial Territory.

During the seventeenth century, no less than ten different colonial regimes sought to assert their authority over the Delaware Valley in eastern North America. A few succeeded, but most failed. Success brought its own problems, as Dutch authorities in the West India Company discovered when they conquered New Sweden in 1655. Unable to populate the territory with Dutch settlers, the WIC's officials in New Netherland had no choice but to allow the existing Finnish and Swedish population to remain along the river, where several hundred had built farms and started families. This paper considers the relationship that these Finnish and Swedish settlers built with New Netherland's officials and explores how understandings of allegiance and nation shaped that relationship. It shows how a diverse community of settlers forged a common ethnic and political identity as a loyal "nation" of subjects in collaboration with local Dutch officials who welcomed their labor and their occupation. Yet their separate status was not so welcome to metropolitan authorities, who saw danger in a conquered "nation" maintaining significant autonomy in a contested colonial territory.

The paper examines how these various sets of authorities and settlers negotiated solutions to their differences at a critical location and a critical period in colonial North America. It considers, as well, the lessons their experiences might provide for contemporary questions of identity and allegiance, the incorporation of foreigners, the extension of the rights of citizenship, and the relation between governors and governed in times of crisis.

Joanne van der Woude (American Culture and Cultural Theory)

Diaspora and Suffering (Huguenots in the American colonies).

During and after the 1685 Revocation, many Huguenots sought safety and the freedom to worship in a Protestant way outside the borders of France. Their exodus—a major movement of people and ideas across Europe and the world—is known as the Huguenot diaspora. The diaspora to the American colonies created its own print culture and discourse, consisting of advertisements for different territories and letters sent back home about the New World. Meanwhile, the Huguenots also impacted seventeenth-century American culture because they formed the second-largest immigrant group in the colonies; only the Puritans in New England were more numerous. Huguenot texts from early America put forth a particular concern with suffering as a means of attaining salvation. Especially the story of Elias Neau, who served as a French galley slave because of his religious beliefs, was important to both European and American Protestants. Neau became an example of faith under pressure due to the pain and displacement that he suffered. Later in life, he ran a school for Native American and African slaves in New York, drawing parallels between their predicament and his own experiences. But most Huguenots seemed oblivious to such similarities, as they became large-scale slave-holders and -traders in the early Atlantic.

Margriet Fokken (Modern History)

Material culture and the affective bonds between Hindustani immigrants in Suriname, 1873-1916

In this paper I reflect on the question how historians working on non-western history and premodern societies can learn from one another when it comes to understanding community formation. I argue that historians working on non-western and premodern societies complement each other in reflecting critically on the sometimes assumed universality of modern European categorizations and concepts. Historians working on non-western history have long hailed the creativity, resilience and agency of colonial subjects. However, enquiries into the lives, views, identities and communities formed by enslaved and indentured people are hampered by a scarcity of sources that provide their point of view. I argue that historians working on non-western history need to combine different types of sources and go beyond the textual in order to successfully engage with these realms of knowledge. This is substantiated through a case study of the affective bonds expressed through the use of material culture. Most Hindustani had to leave their closest relatives behind when they left for Suriname to work there as indentured laborers. Social and familial ties were redefined and the objects like bracelets and pots took on a new significance, signaling bonds that were forged on board the ships that took them to Suriname and on the plantations. It is made clear that visual and material sources are vital for understanding identity and community formation in colonial societies.

Zweder von Martels (Latin Language and Literature),

*History as correction, political protest and moral support:
Groningen in the years preceding the Reduction (1594)*

In the years preceding the so called 'reduction of Groningen' (1594), Groningen was politically divided with regard to the revolt of Protestants against Philips II. This is also evident from two neglected but interesting chronicles of the catholic Cornelius Kempius (ca. 1616-1687) and the protestant Eggerik Phebens (died 1616). Each chose a topic which he hoped would please others on their side, either the catholic governors of the town of Groningen, or the reformed party, whose members had left the town in large numbers, waiting to return with God's help.

My paper focusses on the question which signs of resistance against and consent with the current situation can be detected in both texts, and on whether these signs correspond with what we know from other sources. Finally there is the question what such writings meant for the political course of each party and for its morale.

(Lecture will be given in Dutch)

Marco van der Schuur (Latin Language and Literature)

*Confronting Civil War under Nero: the Case of Seneca's
Tragedies and Lucan's Bellum Civile.*

Civil war was ancient Rome's national trauma. Both during the final decades of the Republic as well as during the entire history of the Empire, the fabric of the state frequently unraveled into a destructive struggle for supreme power between two or more strong men, which would not end before one of them had emerged victorious and (re-)established order. This paper offers a brief overview of the treatment of the theme of civil war in poetry written under Rome's first Imperial dynasty (27 BCE – 68 CE). It focusses on Seneca and Lucan, two poets writing in the final years of this dynasty, just before the outbreak of another civil war, from which the Flavian dynasty would emerge (69-96 CE).

In what are most likely to have been his final plays, probably written in the early sixties of the first century CE, the philosopher, politician and tragedian Seneca explored the strained relationships between brothers in two legendary royal families, putting the cities that they ruled on the brink of civil war. More or less simultaneously, his nephew Lucan was writing an epic on the far more real Roman civil war between Caesar and Pompey, a century ago by his time. This paper will concentrate on both authors' reflection on the relationship between civil war and the principate and the way in which the latter could easily unravel into the former – and vice versa. In both authors' works, the power of the ruler is absolute, as is the chaos that precedes the establishment of his rule or accompanies its dissolution in an inescapable cycle. However, there are also major differences between Lucan and Seneca in their moral and poetic evaluation of these principles.

Megan Williams (Early Modern history)

Problems Papered Over? Early Modern Strategies of Paper Supply in Wartime and Economic Crisis.

This paper explores how, when the Italian Wars and related economic crises led to an irregular, expensive, and uncertain supply of an increasingly necessary civic and political resource in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Austria, entrepreneurs and statesmen shifted from importing Italian-made paper to the stimulation of domestic and southern German paper production and distribution. Though scholars work with paper on a daily basis, the historical role of this durable, portable, affordable, and material technology of communication and administration has often been overlooked. Although paper was manufactured in Italy by the 1270s, arriving there from China via the Muslim Mediterranean, paper-mills were not widespread across the European continent until the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries -- precisely the period in which historians have traditionally seen incipient "states" striving to develop more effective communication with and jurisdiction over populations which eventually came to be described as "citizens". Paper played a crucial role in this process. The paper draws on archivally-preserved financial records of merchants, papermakers, and princely government to trace how citizens and statesmen responded to challenges of paper provision in an era of financial, military, civic, and confessional crisis.

Annette Harder (Ancient Greek Language and Literature)

Mirrors for the Athenians? The Presentation of Citizens' Reactions to Disasters and Dilemmas in Greek Tragedy.

In eight Greek tragedies of V BC we find choruses of (elderly) male citizens. These choruses are of different status and nature. They may be old men who stayed behind while a war was fought and are now facing the return of the king, either triumphant as in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* or defeated as in his *Persae*. Or they may be elderly citizens of Thebes, confronted with the problematic behaviour of their kings, as in Sophocles' *Antigone* and *Oedipus Tyrannus* and Euripides' *Heracles*, or of Athens or other towns, involved in the moral dilemmas of their kings, as in Sophocles' *Oedipus Coloneus* or Euripides' *Heraclidae* and *Alceste*.

One may ask how these bodies of citizens are reacting to the events in the plays and how they are presented? Do they accept a subordinate role and adapt to the circumstances? Do they protest? Do they present an alternative and try to change the course of events for the better? What are the effects of their attitude? Are they able to survive if they do nothing or are they successful if they protest or take action? What lessons could an Athenian audience learn from the citizens' behaviour and attitude?

Sabrina Corbellini (Historical Dutch Literature)

Translation as Resilience. Religious Texts in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe.

Main aim of this paper will be to investigate the use and the function of the vernacular in the changing religious landscape of Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe. Challenging paradigmatic views of the exclusive focus on Latin as religious language and on repressive measures adopted by the Church of Rome in order to restrain the circulation of religious texts in the vernacular, the contribution will concentrate on strategies adopted by vernacular textual communities with aim of promoting and enhancing a process of vernacularization that had already started in the late thirteenth century. It will in particular stress the importance of “informal textual communities” in the organisation of this “linguistic resilience”.

The concept of community is of seminal importance for the reconstruction of cultural transmission and for the promotion of translation activities. As a matter of fact, “all learning takes place in some kind of community, whether it be a formal place of instruction, a lay or religious community, or simply an informal network of two or more friends” (Mews & Crossley 2010). These groups of literate laymen and women (in the double meaning of non-religious and non-Latinate), whether they comprised particular parishes, devotees of prominent preachers, members of guilds, brotherhoods and chambers of rhetoric (to cite but a few examples), were bound by religious discourses and activities shaping their personal and collective lives. Far from being passive recipients of religious messages, either written, oral or visual, they were actively engaging in a process of appropriation, transformation and translation and were dynamically expanding their discursive horizons and enlarging “the full range of texts [they could] read in print and manuscript and the

oral discourse in which they participated” (Narveson 2012). Through their engagement in reading, writing, performing and organising religious texts and activities, laymen and women were continuously interpreting the “religious” (in the widest sense of the word) and re-shaping it in their quest for identity in one of the most critical moments in Europe’s cultural history.

Dagmar Reichardt (Historical Romance Literature and Culture)

Giovanni Verga: Verism as Resilience.

Since the Renaissance times, Italy has played a crucial and complex intellectual role in the context of how to face facts produced by mankind and how to cope proactively with human reality. In this paper I intend to show how this tradition was picked up in the 19th century by Sicilian writer Giovanni Verga, after the Risorgimento and the unification of Italy, and how strong its impact still is today in terms of sustainability.

Giovanni Verga wrote his short story *Temptation!* (*Tentazione!*) 1883 in times of peace, bringing to perfection his Veristic style. It tells the story of three male characters that yield to the temptation of violence against a woman raping and killing her and as a consequence are put in jail for their crime. By applying Pierre Bourdieu's notion of the *domination masculine* (1998) and Gayatri C. Spivak's concept of subalternity, I'd like to show that Verga seems to be particularly interested in psychological aspects of male identity and in his aesthetical intentions as author.

Verga leaves one question open: how can we overcome the brutality of nature and/or the bestiality of mankind? Here, I will briefly mention the historical follow-up of Verism in terms of social resilience in 20th century Italy (Neorealism, post-colonialism, migration literature, new realism), and will conclude by pointing out how these currents relate to the idea of a sustainable society.

Bart Ramakers (Historical Dutch Literature)

*Haarlem in de 16e Eeuw: het Toneelwerk van de Rederijker
Louris Jansz als Instrument voor de Veerkrachtigheid van
Burgers.*

Over een periode van bijna dertig jaar, vanaf de late jaren vijftig tot in de jaren tachtig van de zestiende eeuw, schreef de Haarlemse rederijker Louris Jansz een twintigtal toneelstukken waarin hij meer of minder rechtstreeks reageert op ingrijpende ontwikkelingen en gebeurtenissen – voedselschaarste, godsdiensttwist, immigratie, beleg – waarmee hijzelf en zijn stadgenoten geconfronteerd werden. In mijn lezing zal ik nagaan op welke wijze Jansz' werk niet alleen getuigt van zijn persoonlijke veerkracht in tijden van crisis, maar ook hoe zijn toneelstukken door hun vorm en inhoud pogen die veerkracht op te wekken dan wel te behouden of te versterken. Ik zal daarbij een beroep doen op de inzichten van Andrew Zolli en Ann Mary Healy in hun boek *Resilience: Why Things Bounce Back* (2012).

Raingard Esser (Early Modern History),

*'...te erhaldinge van alle goede frunttschap en naaburschap':
Citizens' Solidarity Across the Changing Border of the Eighty
Years' War'*

The paper will take a look at a contested border region of the Eighty Years' War characterized by substantial political changes and some redrawing of its many border lines. These changes had to be intellectually, culturally and legally absorbed in historiography, in commemorative and other practices reflecting enduring or changing loyalties to concepts of belonging and identity. These loyalties might have been harnessed to a religious confession, ethnic or linguistic markers, political ideologies, local tradition or family bonds. The discussion will take Willem Frijhoff's concept of identity as a starting point and will apply the categories that he has proposed to an analysis of Upper Guelders. According to Frijhoff identity includes three elements: praxis, imagination and identification. The paper will investigate responses to the crisis of war and partition facilitated by regional agents such as the members of town and regional councils and the Catholic Church which at times also crossed the political borders produced by the fortunes of war.

Wim Jongman (Ancient History)

The Antonine Plague: the Beginning of the End.

From the mid 160's AD the Roman Empire was ravaged by a lethal epidemic of (probably) smallpox that killed perhaps a third of its population. Recent research has begun to show that this demographic disaster inaugurated a massive economic decline. In my paper I shall document the extent of this economic discontinuity. Unlike the Black Death of the fourteenth century, the Antonine Plague did not stimulate economic innovation, but inaugurated a period of stagnation and oppression. What were the social and political trajectories and mechanisms that led to this very different outcome?

Remi van Schaik (Medieval History)

Financial crises and socio-political conflicts: an inter-urban comparison of guild movements in the early 16th century.

In 1525 a guild riot against the municipality broke out in Groningen and led to a temporary guild regime. Guild movements are also known from Utrecht, where the unrest began in 1521 and in fact continued until 1528, from Deventer, in 1526 to 1528, Brussels in 1528, and from Kampen in 1529, while in Zutphen after an initial burp in 1494 riots broke out in 1526 and again in 1538 to 1539. In all cases, a crisis in the management of urban finance was the stumbling block, but the context in which the tensions unloaded seems to be different. External and internal political relations, but also internal urban social relations and local and regional economic conditions play a role. The aim is to gain visibility on structural or incidental factors by comparing conditions and sequence of events.

(Lecture will be given in Dutch)

Dimitry Kochenov (Corporate Law and European Law)

The Citizenship Paradigm

To redeem the Union in Europe, which is hijacked by the substitution of the grand promise of peace and better life for all – the idea of European unity – with the internal market ideology, which meant to serve as a means of integration, rather than an end in itself, this paper suggests to deploy the concept of European citizenship as a means of integration alongside the internal market, proposing the citizenship paradigm of European integration to inform the Union's future. This proposal based on a combination of the initial promise of European unity and the potential of EU citizenship is not purely utopian and is directly rooted in the primary law as well as in the very purpose of the integration project.

Julia Dijkstra (ReMa Art History and Archaeology,
Groningen)

Keeping up appearances: Antwerp cityscapes as acts of resilience and civic self-representation.

In the sixteenth century, Antwerp was one of the leading cities in Europe as far as wealth and cultural activity is concerned. However, this ‘golden age’ of Antwerp came to an end after the political difficulties of the second half of the century. Due to the blockade of the river Scheldt after the Fall of Antwerp in 1585, the city lost its most important economic stimulus and presumably became more introvert, both economically and culturally.

By focusing on the Scheldt and its activity in the Antwerp cityscapes, this paper aims at contradicting this view. It proposes that, although the harbour became less significant in the international trade, the city kept trying to present itself as open to the outside world far into the seventeenth century. A selection of different representations dating from 1550 – 1650 will be examined. Both prints and paintings will be analysed according to viewpoint, the ratio of water, sky and city elements in the picture plane, type of ships and other significant maritime details. The primary aim is to see how the cityscape of Antwerp changed in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, and how this development relates to ‘the story of Antwerp’.

By tracing changes in the representation of the Scheldt in these cityscapes, this paper will argue that the rise of the cityscape as a genre presented the perfect model for the self-representation of the city. It enabled Antwerp to suggest continuity in political and economic turbulent times. The same can be said of the burgher portrait of Nicholaas Rockox, made by Anthony van Dyck (1621). Citizens like Rockox played an essential role in the formation and representation of Antwerp as prosperous, because they were part of

Antwerp's identity themselves. Therefore this paper suggests that these 'portraits' of Antwerp and of its burghers should be understood as acts of resilience, strategies employed to change the public's opinion about the city in order to re-initiate economic activity and to consolidate Antwerp's political position.

Aaltje Hidding (ReMa CMRS, Groningen)

Forbidden Fruits: Christian Amulets as Sources of Resilience.

The aim of my paper is to start the discussion about the identity of the writers of Christian textual amulets and to discover who were responsible for the provision of this forbidden source of resilience in times of crisis.

The fourth century witnessed profound changes in the religious world and scholars have since long been discussing about how these changes happened. Some say this century was an ‘age of anxiety’, a time full of conflicts in which pagans and Christians stood in straight opposition to each other. Others argue that the borders between pagans and Christians were rather vague and public conflicts occurred only rarely. According to them, this time was marked by a gradual adaptation of pagan culture into a growing Christian framework.

In the study of Christian amulets, both conflict and continuity are present; magical amulets were both widely spread among Christians and officially condemned by church fathers and church councils. Whereas many scholars have noticed this contrast, the question who actually wrote these amulets and who thus provided the Christians with this forbidden source of resilience has not yet been answered. However, there are indications that the Christian clergy was behind the provision. Church fathers would have liked to see a perfectly Christianized world, but the clergy seems to have understood that Christianity also had to be paganized.

Amulets are, to use the definition of Eckstein and Waszink, all objects that give their supernatural power and their power to ward off evil to whatever place they are connected to. With regard to the scope of this paper, I will narrow this definition down to Egyptian textual amulets made of papyrus. Usually, scholars agree that the writers were on the margins of literacy. Some amulets contain spelling

mistakes and are indeed written in an inexperienced hand. Other amulets, however, are faultless and contain references that reveal a deep knowledge of the Scriptures. According to Horsley, the clergy were probably involved in the writing of these amulets because they had readier access to biblical or liturgical texts to copy from, or because they were more likely to be literate. Additionally, Frankfurter argues that these amulets were written by literate monks and clerics when, in fourth-century Egypt, they took over the role of ritual expert from the temple priests. Because church councils forbade not only their Christian flock to wear amulets, but also prohibited their own clergy from following the practice, it seems that some writers did indeed belong to the Christian institution.

In the proposed paper, I will make a comparative study of the hands in which the textual amulets are written. Spelling mistakes, choice of words, and handwritings may yield a greater understanding of the scribes who were responsible for the provision of this forbidding source of resilience in times of crisis.

Sanne Roefs (ReMa Art History & Archaeology, Groningen)

*The March of the Statues in early Quattrocento Florence:
Resilience in Art?*

In this paper, I will discuss the statues, made for the Orsanmichele at the beginning of the Quattrocento in Florence. These statues represent the patron saints of the guilds of Florence and stand at the beginning of the return to the *all'antica* style in art, the Renaissance. Famous examples are the *Quattro Coronati* by Nanni di Banco, the *Saint George* by Donatello and the *Saint Matthew* by Ghiberti. In the art-historical literature these statues have been seen as manifestations of resilience in a time of crisis. I wonder if they can indeed be defined as such. Therefore I will focus on the following question: to what extent can the statues at the Orsanmichele be seen as manifestations of resilience in a time of crisis?

First of all I will discuss the writings of Hans Baron and Frederick Hartt. These authors have shaped the theory in which it was stated that the sculptures at the Orsanmichele were acts of resilience. Then I will take a closer look at the church of the Orsanmichele. This church was originally the grain market of the commune of Florence. In the fourteenth century it became a church where the 21 guilds of Florence would gather to celebrate the feast days of their patron saints. In the first decade of the fifteenth century the major and middle guilds of Florence all commissioned larger than life statues of their patron saints to be placed at the exterior of the church. Were these statues acts of resilience?

Florence Scialom (Cultural Anthropology & Development Sociology, Leiden)

Alternatives to Economic Growth: Citizen Engagement in Re-Defining Measures of Progress and Re-Gaining Control of Local Economies.

Many scholars now argue that economic systems need to fundamentally change; that society's faith in endless economic growth is leading to increased social inequalities as well as unsustainable pressure on the planet's non-renewable resources (Latouche 2004, Kallis 2011). In contrast, many policy-makers in Europe have responded to the most recent global financial crisis through reliance on rhetoric and practices which assume that we can get back to growing economies, and therefore return to 'business as usual'. Those opposing this approach argue that returning to growth is fundamentally not possible; instead suggesting we have come to the "end of growth", and that our societies and economies need to fundamentally adapt to this new reality (Heinburg, 2011). If we follow this critical line of argument it becomes clear that we urgently need to reconsider economic growth as a primary indicator of societal progress. Furthermore, from this perspective the current political response to the financial crisis seems fundamentally misguided.

Many who advocate the necessity of an end to growth propose that one viable alternative is a move towards localisation; smaller local economies, requiring less production and consumption (Fournier 2008). Localisation practices can provide a vehicle through which growth-focused policies can be challenged from the grass-roots, by groups of organised and active citizens. In some places, citizen engagement in localisation practices is increasing against a wider backdrop of economic crisis in Europe; rather than joining protests or becoming apathetic many citizens are choosing to actively engage in their local economies and challenge mainstream models

which continue to seek endless economic growth. Gathering empirical data on the feasibility of existing localisation alternatives has become imperative in this current context.

Through a case study in Totnes (United Kingdom), I have observed the influence of activist group Transition Town Totnes, which is inspiring many people in the community to organise themselves around localisation principles in order to ensure they are resilient in the face of crisis. Those who are involved in the Transition process in Totnes are actively engaged in public life, seeking ways to ensure their community is ready to respond to challenges and external shocks. I have investigated the extent localisation practices in Totnes challenge the dominant growth paradigm, and what impact this has on the local economy and community life. Through reframing economic ideas and practices so that they are directly in service to the local community and the environment, many people in Totnes are actively and collectively improving their resilience from the bottom-up, in the face of misguided political leadership and increasingly uncertain times.

Maria van der Harst (Social Cultural Science, Nijmegen)

Joan van Geel (Social Cultural Transformations, Utrecht)

*Navigating Together; Key Actors in Today's Greek Society
Working their Way through the Challenges of a Crisis.*

Since 2007, Greece is facing a constant economic decline, a rising state debt and severe intervention in internal politics by the *Trojka* (European Central Bank, International Monetary Fund and the European Commission). In addition to the vast economic changes, demographic circumstances are fundamentally different since approximately 90% of the immigrants desiring to reach Europe now cross the porous Greek borders. Inevitably, these profoundly changing economic and demo-graphic circumstances pose a strong demand on people's coping capacities. This combination of rapidly changing determinants of society provides a fertile ground for indeed rising racism and xenophobia. The analytical concept 'social navigation' assumes that a *changing* climate in society necessitates a constant quest for ways to manoeuvre around the diverse and changing obstacles people encounter in times of crisis. People are thus not merely reacting upon their environment, because the changing character of society requires their coping mechanisms to be reconsidered repeatedly. Apart from extreme neo-Nazis, willing to use violence against immigrants, there are a number of groups in society actively involved in anti-racist movements aiming to counter such violence.

We focus here, on both these young Greeks engaged in such movements (whom often position themselves on the left side of the political spectrum), as well as on African immigrants. Both groups constitute key actors in the current Greek society. They are involved in the central debates about citizenship, democracy, migration policies and the continuous cutbacks that are impeded on Greece. Simultaneously, both groups are seriously affected by the crisis and

occupied with surviving. On the basis of the concept 'navigation', we will analyse how the coping mechanisms of these two different groups are mutually intertwined. The ideological perspectives of leftist youngsters express sympathy with the deteriorating position of African immigrants; however, their personal problems often restrict them in sufficiently supporting them. Consequently, African immigrants are more restricted in their attempt to invent new coping mechanisms to overcome the challenges caused by the economic crisis and rising anti-immigrant sentiments.

Kirsten Poortier (Literary & Cultural Studies, Groningen)

Tactical New Media and Electronic Civil Disobedience

Today's civic resistance often is not about storming the barricades and overturning society as a whole. Does this mean that we do not believe in change and resistance anymore? Have we accepted the capitalist ideology, even in times of economic crisis?

In *The New Spirit of Capitalism* Boltanski and Chiapello (2005) discuss the transformation of the capitalist ideology between the 1960s and 1980s. They explain that we often take recourse to artistic values and visions to provide us with the means to criticize the capitalist spirit from an autonomous position. But capitalism has shown itself to be quite creative in its response to this kind of critique. The artistic critique calling for authenticity and freedom was met with a new capitalist work ethos which incorporated artistic values of versatility, creativity, and self-management. The question is whether it is possible to form an artistic critique which can resist this kind of capitalist appropriation and at the same time be powerful enough to make a difference.

It is a common intuition that, in order to be critical, we need distance between us and the object or event we are criticizing. But how can we distance ourselves from our own involvement with society? Michel de Certeau (1984), philosopher of everyday practice, argues that even when we are immersed in a cultural structure, we still practice agency. We might lack overview, but every time we *use* cultural artefacts and conventions, we *appropriate* them and deviate from them. This tactical activity does not require distance. Today's citizens can be critical *from within* their engagements rather than from an external, autonomous position.

Cultural theorists Rita Raley (2009) and Geert Lovink (2002) investigate how tactical practice can be found in today's new media art. New media are used to disturb and obstruct the work of

government agencies and commercial multinationals, for example with denial of service attacks. Such a temporary disturbance works much like a physical sit-in, slowing down the servers of these institutions. Other forms of civil disobedience are more playful and visual. For example, *They Rule* (2001) by Josh On and Futurefarmers visualizes power structures of large companies, by showing a map of connections between board members. Users of their website can browse through directories and investigate the connections that show up. In this paper I will discuss different kinds of new media art tactics that resist the capitalist ideology of governments and multinationals, and investigate the new understanding of *critical resistance* on which these practices are founded.

Sjoukje Kamphorst (ReMa CMRS, Groningen)

A funeral to remember. The imagined past of the Athenian funeral oration as a source of resilience.

The aim of this paper is to study two funeral orations from Lycurgan Age Athens to better understand the role of the past as a source of resilience during the identity crisis brought about by Macedonian rule. According to theories of Nicole Loraux and Rosalind Thomas, the traditional Athenian funeral oration was instrumental in creating an idea of a shared heroic past, serving to some extent as the city's 'official memory'. These theories have greatly furthered the research into the Athenian genre of the funeral oration. A greater understanding of the meaning of the past for shaping civic ideology, focusing on the fifth-century, has been offered by for instance Julia Shear.

The Lycurgan period, characterized by the activities of the orator and statesman Lycurgus, has not yet been extensively studied in this light. Ushered in by the battle of Chaironeia in 338 BC, at which the Macedonian Philip II triumphed over Athens, the period can be described as a time of identity crisis for the Athenians. This sense of decline inspired a series of reforms aimed at reinforcing not only military strength, but also civic pride. Interest in this turbulent episode of Athenian history has greatly increased in the past five years, as attested by a flurry of new publications. The two funeral orations of Demosthenes and Hypereides have however not yet been connected to this context of crisis and revival. Conveniently located at the very beginning and at the very end of the period, they should be able to provide us with some insight in the role of the past in reinforcing the city's self-esteem.

I will use the theories of Loraux and Thomas on the funeral oration, combined with the newly developing research into the Lycurgan period, to gain an idea of the role of the past in the shaping of Athenian civic resilience in the face of the Macedonian hegemony.

Leonie-Carlijn Groot Bramel (ReMa Art History & Archaeology)

The construction of the black body as antitype to white society in early German advertisement.

The presentation analyzes the use of black stereotypes in early German advertisement from the foundation of the German Empire in 1871 until the time around world war one. It evaluates the symbolic meaning of these figures, their function in the context of product advertisement, and especially their use as antitypes to German mass society.

Since the beginning of advertisement in the 1870s, black figures appear regularly in this field. These generally infantile, ridiculous and cartooned figures represent a broader context of thinking, an idea, and can thus be read as allegories. They are construction and expression of a euro-centralistic, patriarchic world view and epitomize the cliché of white superiority, commune at the time. Thus, they aim to legitimate the unbalanced power relation between North and South.

Through the enforcement of differences between Black and White, not only in advertisement, but also in other fields of popular culture, an antitype to the German society was created. In comparison to the other a feeling of social integration could be created, enabling advertisement to address easily a big audience. In the persuasive context of advertisement, black stereotyped figures can function on different levels. They were used as eye catchers, leading the spectator's attention; the particularities of their representation appealed to the ideology of mass society and thus made the advertisement's argumentation more comprehensible; and the stereotypes allowed the advertisement picture to create clear structures of identifications.

Alisa van de Haar (ReMa CMRS, Groningen),

The Comeback of Peeter Heyns: Rebuilding a Reputation in the 1585 Antwerp Diaspora.

When in 1585 Antwerp, the flourishing trading metropolis of the Low Countries, came in Habsburg hands, its Protestant citizens were given four years to decide whether they would convert to Catholicism or be exiled from the city. Most of them did not need this long to make up their minds and within the first year, 21,000 people, a quarter of the city's population, had left their homes and often also friends and family behind in search of a new life elsewhere. One of them was Peeter Heyns (1537-1598), a well-known rhetorician, translator, and master of a French school for girls, the Laurel Tree, which attracted the daughters of the some of the richest merchants in the area.

Heyns, accused of Protestantism, saw himself forced to leave his home town in 1585. His family followed later and together they wandered towards Frankfurt and Stade to settle, some years later, in Haarlem. There, Heyns proved to be exemplarily and inspirationally resilient in a period of personal and communal crisis. While he had been a famous man in Antwerp, he was just one of the many immigrants that seemed to flood his new town Haarlem. Instead of losing heart and withdrawing from public life, he started to rebuild a name for himself. He opened a new Laurel Tree and, with the help of his son, he (re)published many of his written works, among which there were a collection of fables, French instruction books, a pocket atlas, and three of the plays Heyns had written for his pupils to perform while still residing in Antwerp. The proposed paper will show how these texts, containing references to the Dutch Revolt and supporting the case of rebel leader William of Orange, not only allowed him to rebuild his fame as a writer, connoisseur of the French language, teacher, and supporter of Orange, but also added to the communal memory culture of the Antwerpians in exile.