### Budapest Summer Workshop Geography and Nation Building in Central and East Central Europe

Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE), Eötvös Collegium, Budapest, Hungary Ménesi út 11–13. July 11-12, 2013



#### **Workshop Organizers**

Róbert Győri, Eötvös Loránd University (Institute of Geography and Earth Sciences – Centre for Geography)

Ferenc Gyuris, Eötvös Loránd University (Institute of Geography and Earth Sciences – Centre for Geography)

Steven Jobbitt, California State University, Fullerton (Department of History)

### Workshop Overview

Bringing together scholars from Europe and North America, this two-day workshop provides a unique opportunity to gather and discuss new approaches to the study of geography and nation building in Central and East Central Europe. Engaging in recent methodological and theoretical developments in the field, papers will explore how nations have been variously constructed, deconstructed, and reconstructed geographically since World War I. Conscious of the political dimensions inherent within the production of geographical knowledge, papers will also explore the role that geographers themselves have played as active participants in the nation-building process.

Each session will have two or three presenters. There will be 25 minutes allotted for each paper, with an additional 30 minutes for critical discussion.

The workshop will also include a guided field trip on Saturday, July 13 to the Hungarian Alföld ("Puszta" tour).

There is no workshop fee. However, presenters will be responsible for their own travel and accommodations.

Because the overriding themes and questions of this workshop have not been discussed extensively at any international gathering to date, the organizers of the Budapest Summer Workshop are currently looking into the possibility of publishing these papers.

#### **DAY 1: SCHEDULE OF PRESENTATIONS**

Opening (9:30-9:40) László Horváth (Director, Eötvös Collegium)

#### Session 1 (9:40-11:00)

## Geographical Knowledge, Nation Building, and Political Power: Some Theoretical Considerations

This session introduces and explores contemporary theoretical frameworks that can be applied to our study of geography and nation building at the intersection of culture, politics, and ideology in modern Central and East Central Europe.

*Charles W.J. Withers (University of Edinburgh):* Historical geographies of science: thoughts from the Enlightenment

Peter Meusburger (University of Heidelberg): Nation building and compulsory schooling in multi-lingual states

Chair: Ferenc Gyuris (Eötvös University, Budapest)

Lunch Break (11:00-12:30)

#### Session 2 (12:30-2:15)

#### **Geography and the Paris Peace Talks**

Marking a turning point in the history of geography, World War I and the peace negotiations that followed saw geographers become more directly involved in nationalist politics and foreign affairs. Recognized by politicians as a legitimate and useful tool of state and nation building, geographical science played an important role in the drawing and redrawing of borders after the war. Focusing in particular on the involvement of geographers at the Paris Peace Talks, this session explores the impact geography had on the postwar remaking of Europe.

Michael Heffernan (University of Nottingham): The geographies of the Paris Peace Conference

Gaëlle Hallair (Independent researcher, Paris): E. de Martonne: a French geographer as "frontiers builder" for Central Europe at the Paris Peace Conference (1919–1920)

Zoltán Krasznai (European Commission, Directorate-General Research & Innovation): Paving the way for territorial revision: Pál Teleki and geographic expertise in the Hungarian delegation at the Peace Conference

Chair: Károly Kocsis (RCAES Geographical Institute, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest)

#### <u>Coffee Break (2:15-3:00)</u>

#### Session 3 (3:00-4:45)

#### **Geography and National Resurrection**

Geography's contribution to the Paris Peace Talks not only resulted in an increased geographical awareness in postwar societies, but also contributed to a renaissance of geographical science in Central and East Central Europe. Looking in particular at how geography evolved to serve revisionist ends (for example in Germany and Hungary), this session highlights the role that geographers played in the attempted resurrection of the nation after the war.

Matteo Proto (Alma Mater Studiorum, University of Bologna): Italy as "geographical expression": Nation building and regional geography (1900–1920)

Zsolt Bottlik (Eötvös University, Budapest) – Gábor Demeter (Institute of History, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest): Geography in the service of power and national aspirations: ethnic mapping in the Balkans (1856–1914)

Nicolas Ginsburger (University of Nanterre-La Defense, Paris): Building Yugoslavia: the Serbian geographer Jovan Cvijić as state-maker during the First World War and the Peace Conference

Chair: Zoltán Hajdú (Research Centre for Economic and Regional Studies, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Pécs)

### <u>Coffee Break (4:45-5:30)</u>

#### Session 4 (5:30-6:50)

**(Re)Constructing the Nation: Critical Reflections on the Geographical Imagination**Focusing on the relationship between nation building and the geographical imagination, this session offers new theoretical approaches to help us understand the way in which nations have been conceived in both geographical and ecological terms over the course of the twentieth century.

Norman Henniges (Leibniz Institute for Regional Geography, Leipzig): The geographer Albrecht Penck (1858-1945) and the origin of the map(s) of the German Volks- und Kulturboden

Kathryn Ciancia (University of Wisconsin, Madison): Making and unmaking regional space: nationalism, geography, and internal boundaries in Poland's Eastern Borderlands, 1918–1939

Chair: Agnes Laba (Herder Institute, Marburg)

#### **DAY 2: SCHEDULE OF PRESENTATIONS**

#### Session 5 (9:30-11:15)

### (Re)Constructing the Nation: Critical Reflections on the Geographical Imagination II

Steve Jobbitt (California State University, Fullerton): Watershed nation: the ecological foundations of Hungary's hydrological imagination

*Róbert Győri (Eötvös University, Budapest):* In defence of the nation: Hungarian geography in peace and war, 1920–1945

Ferenc Jankó (University of West Hungary, Sopron): Inventing Burgenland: Geography and regional identity in post-WWI Austria

Chair: Lajos Timár (University of Debrecen)

Lunch Break (11:15-12:45)

#### Session 6 (12:45-2:30)

# Burying the Resurrected Nation: Communism and the Re-Orientation of Geographical Science I

If revisionist geographies in the countries of the former Central Powers were the products of the defeat and dismemberment after World War I, then the need to bury the newly resurrected nation was an unavoidable consequence of World War II. This session examines how Hungarian and East German geographies were purged of their nationalist content after the war, suggesting in particular that the pragmatic reorientation of geographical science in these countries was in part a direct and very conscious act of Soviet colonization.

Judit Timár (Centre for Economic and Regional Studies, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Békéscsaba): International rather than national? The relationships between western Marxist and 'vulgar' Hungarian Marxist geographies

Ferenc Gyuris (Eötvös University, Budapest): Constructing communism instead of building the nation: the Sovietization of Hungarian geography

Norman Henniges – Bruno Schelhaas (Leibniz Institute for Regional Geography, Leipzig): "Bourgeois" geography and the Sovietization of academic geography in the German Democratic Republic, 1945–1969

Chair: Róbert Győri (Eötvös University, Budapest)

Coffee Break (2:30-3:15)

#### Session 7 (3:15-4:35)

# Burying the Resurrected Nation: Communism and the Re-Orientation of Geographical Science II

Márton Czirfusz (Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Centre for Economic and Regional Studies, Budapest): Reworking nation: significance of the division of labour in narrating the Socialist space-economy

Zoltán Gyimesi (Eötvös University, Budapest): The contested rehabilitation of the past: the double narrative and the republication of Tibor Mendöl's Introduction to geography (1950-1953) in 1999

Chair: Lajos Rácz (University of Szeged)

<u>Coffee Break (4:35-5:20)</u>

#### Session 8 (5:20-6:30)

# Geography and Nation Building After Communism: Staying Silent, Evoking the Past, or Seeking Alternative Futures? (Roundtable Discussion)

This concluding roundtable will involve all workshop participants in a critical discussion on questions of geography and nation building in the post-communist period. What role has geography already played in the resurrection of the nation since 1989? What role should it play in the future?

Chair: Steve Jobbitt (California State University, Fullerton)



#### **Abstracts**

Bottlik, Zsolt (Eötvös University, Budapest) – Gábor Demeter (Institute of History, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest): Geography in the service of power and national aspirations: ethnic mapping in the Balkans (1856–1914)

Our goal is to compare the ethnic mapping of different Balkan countries and Great Powers between the 1860s and 1939 in order to compare the terminology used, the classification of population, methodology, visualisation techniques, ethnic distribution of different nations, and the political goals these maps tended to serve. Beyond the well-known maps of Boué, Davidovich, Erben, Lejean, Kiepert, MacKenzie and Irby, and Sax, recently explored and analyzed Austrian archival sources on the Macedonian question prepared for the Mürzsteg programme (1903) are also presented. These maps enlighten Austrian views on the Balkan policy and illustrate how geographers and cartography contributed to the development of diplomatic affairs, especially in the case of the creation of Albania (Nopcsa, Ippen, Rappaport), the last masterpiece of the Austro-Hungarian diplomacy. These maps are compared to the former Austrian map on Macedonia (1897), and to the ethnic map of the Bulgarian Kanchov, the Serbian Cvijic, and the opportunist Gopcevic (amongst others) prior to 1912. The contradictory results of different population censuses are also shown to illustrate the difficulty of the situation and the difference between patch maps and maps using different diagrams to symbolise population number and density. The latter technique was a precedent for the "carte rouge" that was adopted by Teleki Pál (Versailles Peace Treaty), but first employed by the Albanologist Nopcsa. Later this technique of "carte rouge" was also used by Germay in the famous 'Handwörterbuch des Deutschtums' (1933) regarding the 'Volksdeutsch' in Banat and Bachka.

Ciancia, Kathryn (University of Wisconsin, Madison): Making and unmaking regional space: nationalism, geography, and internal boundaries in Poland's Eastern Borderlands, 1918–1939

This paper explores the regional construction and reconfiguration of Volhynia, a multiethnic province in the eastern borderlands of interwar Poland. It shows how Polish politicians and academics, from the late 1920s onwards, attempted to prevent Volhynia from becoming a conduit for Ukrainian nationalism by promoting Polish-Ukrainian rapprochement through regional museums, journals, and fairs. By the mid-late 1930s, however, as Poland's nationality politics became increasingly radicalized, scientific commissions began to suggest that it no longer made sense to consider Volhynia as a coherent unit, and they proposed new policies—and indeed new administrative borders—that bolstered aggressive policies of assimilation. Rather than accepting Volhynia as an unproblematic unit of space, the paper demonstrates how geographers, demographers, and other members of the academic community played a key role in shaping concepts of region and nation (and the relationship between the two). It also encourages us to look beyond

the traditional historical focus on contested international borders in the wake of World War One in order to consider how internal boundaries played—and continue to play—a key role in both domestic and international politics.

*Czirfusz, Márton (Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Centre for Economic and Regional Studies, Budapest):* Reworking nation: significance of the division of labour in narrating the Socialist space-economy

After WWII, the nation as a central concept did not disappear completely from Hungarian geographical narratives, although it had to be reworked completely in and for the new scientific order. One of the main ideas of emerging economic geographers was that Hungary as a whole was the frame for the new Socialist space-economy. The spatial (and social) division of labour represented a means by which the new, meaningful, and complete national order might be built. This paper gives some preliminary notes on how the spatial division of labour was conceived by Socialist economic geographers as an important building block of Hungarian national space, and also on how this line of argument was populated by an international group of figures, ranging from Marx to Stalin. Therefore, the paper also rethinks connections between "Socialist" and "Western" economic-geographical theorisations of the space-economy.

Ginsburger, Nicolas (University of Nanterre-La Defense, Paris): Building Yugoslavia: the Serbian geographer Jovan Cvijić as state-maker during the First World War and the Peace Conference

This presentation deals with the active role between 1914 and 1919 of Jovan Cvijić (1865-1927), a world-renowned professor of geography in the University of Belgrade and a prominent member of the nationalist movement for the creation of a Pan-slavic State in South Eastern Europe. I shall consider Cvijić's activities during and after the First World War in terms of dynamic circulations within international political and intellectual circles. These "circulations" include personal circulations as a refugee after the invasion of Serbia in 1915, first in Switzerland, then in France, where he was invited in 1916 as a professor: text and map circulations between 1917 and 1919, with lectures in Paris, articles and pamphlets in French and English, and works for the New York *Inquiry*, all for the sake of Allied victory and in order to influence French and American official positions; and circulations of geographical arguments during the Paris Peace Conference as the leading territorial expert of the Serbian delegation, through reports and direct oral discussions with or against other geographers, for example de Martonne. I shall therefore argue that, from Cvijić's point of view and under his influence, Paris became the place of a long and major international geographical Congress with political and spatial consequences of national interest, in particular the creation of the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians, later called Yugoslavia.

*Gyimesi, Zoltán (Eötvös University, Budapest):* The contested rehabilitation of the past: the double narrative and the republication of Tibor Mendöl's *Introduction to geography* (1950-1953) in 1999

When assessing the contested past of Hungarian geography, we are confronted with a postsocialist context of complex narratives. Due to the lack of textbooks on geography and its history, and a curious urge for rehabilitation, some works of pre-socialist nationalistic Hungarian geographers (Pál Teleki, Tibor Mendöl, Ferenc Fodor) have been republished after the system change. Tibor Mendöl is a good case study, because his *Introduction to* geography was written during the harsh era of 1950-53. In his original study, he forged a "double narrative" of his own ideas and a colonialistic "great discoveries" account with a distinct Marxist-Leninist perspective to fulfill contemporary demands. As a result of this, however, he literally set a "hermeneutic trap" for later rehabilitators. After Mendöl's death, his work also fell from memory, and through the whole era the teaching of geography's history was held subordinate in the curriculum. In 1999 however, the study rose from oblivion as it was republished by the communist geographer György Perczel to again serve as a textbook widely used in higher education. But in order to achieve this, it has also received an additional chapter from Ferenc Probáld to "modernize" the text. Perhaps even more obscurely, the original has been reedited, with most of its compromising baggage and Marxist-Leninist language having been deleted or simply rewritten. The editor gave no clue on the specific context and origin of the book, writing in the preface that the "grateful students" sought to "present it to the reader in its most complete form," admitting only that "smaller parts" had to be eliminated due to "the progression of our discipline." In my presentation, I will argue that, apart from the dually noteworthy aim of rehabilitating and establishing a well-needed textbook, this attempt also served to settle the contested past in a presentist fashion, and while the study actually fails to fill the biting void of available upto-date textbooks, Mendöl's own study ironically served to keep his story forgotten.

*Győri, Róbert (Eötvös University, Budapest):* In defence of the nation: Hungarian geography in peace and war, 1920–1945

The territorial fragmentation of the Hungarian Kingdom at the end of WWI rendered geography "a strategic science" in Hungary: geography was to play a key role in strengthening national identity, in promoting and supporting revisionist ideas, and in preparing plans for territorial revision. Founded after the war, the Institute of Political Sciences (IPS) was charged with collecting and processing statistical data relevant to East Central Europe, though its principal aim was to provide scientific support for the "rightful" revision of the Trianon peace treaty. Hungarian revisionism achieved partial success on the eve of WWII when some lost territories were re-attached to Hungary. The statistical material and maps produced by IPS proved to be crucial before the arbitration courts. This paper seeks to reveal how geography in general and the activity of IPS in particular contributed to the defence of national space indirectly in peacetime but more directly during wartime.

*Gyuris, Ferenc (Eötvös University, Budapest):* Constructing communism instead of building the nation: the Sovietization of Hungarian geography

After World War II, Hungarian geography faced a controversial situation. The discipline, uncorrupted by Fascist and Nazi views, inherited a high position in academic life and public education, a strong institutional background, well-trained staff, and the positive image of a key architect of national resurrection. The new communist puppet regime, however, eager to meet Soviet political expectations, regarded "old" geography a harmful one, which was to be demolished now to open the floor for a "new" geography serving Marxist-Leninist ends and contributing to the construction of a communist society. This necessitated that a new geography with the same level of embeddedness was brought into being, but one totally free from the conceptual features on which the success of "old" geography had been based. The first aim of this paper is to throw light on the personal, institutional, and disciplinary changes (the "Sovietization") occurring in post-war Hungarian geography. Second, the paper serves as a case study to explain in a Latourian framework of science studies how external influences, coming not simply from other disciplines or from outside the academy, but from foreign centers of an occupying empire, can enable the destruction of "old" science and its substitution by a brand new one.

Hallair, Gaëlle (Independent researcher, Paris): E. de Martonne: a French geographer as "frontiers builder" for Central Europe at the Paris Peace Conference (1919–1920)

This paper analyzes the role of geographers at the Paris Peace Conference (1919-1920) with a focus on the French geographer Emmanuel de Martonne. The paper explores the role geographers played from three perspectives. First, we present the geographers' commitments outside the academy during World War I. Second, we investigate how they mobilized their geographical knowledge in different advisory committees preparing the Peace Conference, and later on in the 1930s (for example in de Martonne's *Géographie universelle* about Central Europe). Finally, we deal with the disputes and contradictions, and the efforts to settle them, in the Peace Conference commissions, looking in particular at de Martonne, who was sitting face to face with his geographer colleagues and even friends from Central Europe. In sum, the paper is aimed at analyzing the issue from different points of view, taking a multidisciplinary approach that embraces geographical, political, and military aspects, and which offers a kind of geographical anthropology. In a case study of the Banat question and related boundary drawings, we show the real role that geographers played in the story, and discuss whether it was major or minor.

Heffernan, Michael (University of Nottingham): The geographies of the Paris Peace Conference

Drawing on recent work by historians and sociologists of science and visual culture, this paper explores the rhetorical deployment of cartographic images and associated geographical texts in early 20<sup>th</sup> century politics, with particular reference to the geographical archives assembled in the city of Paris during the post-World War One peace

negotiations. The paper considers the circulation of maps and related texts within and between the key locations where major national delegates established themselves. By following specific maps and geographical reports through the corridors and smoke-filled rooms of Paris in 1919-20, the paper seeks to connect the two distinctive geographies of the peace negotiations – the external geographies devised by an emerging scientific discipline to simplify and communicate complex geopolitical debates about national spaces and territories, and the internal social geographies of the conference itself as it was played out in the hotels and the other venues across the city.

Henniges, Norman (Leibniz Institute for Regional Geography, Leipzig): The geographer Albrecht Penck (1858-1945) and the origin of the map(s) of the German Volks- und Kulturboden

In 1925 the geographer Albrecht Penck (1858-1945) published the map of the German "Volks- und Kulturboden", which became one of the most influential geopolitical concepts of the Weimar Republic. With this map Penck laid the foundation for a revisionist and even further expansionist justification of "German cultural work" or rather cultural superiority in East Central and Eastern Europe. Penck claimed with a simple but effective cartographic visualization that it was not the political territory with the current state borders that would shape the "true" historical territory of a "Greater Germany," but rather the area of German language and people ("Volksboden") as well as the German-influenced cultural landscape ("Kulturboden"), with or without the German people living there (including huge parts of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Rumania). This presentation aims to examine how concepts, terminology, and visual narratives of this theory were developed and increasingly radicalized in the context of the late Habsburg Monarchy, World War I, and the early Weimar Republic. The reconstruction of the early history and the emergence of this geopolitical concept will be illustrated by the interrelationship and the mutual reception between Penck, his disciples, and the performing cartographers. It is intended to show how the experience of geographical excursions, contemporary cultural concepts, as well as the social network of the "Vienna School" of physical geography provided the basis for the formation of Penck's theory as a reaction to a changing political and social environment. Finally, the paper will attempt to reconstruct a genealogy of previous maps and geopolitical concepts, which were synthesized into the map(s) of the German "Volksund Kulturboden".

Jankó, Ferenc (University of West Hungary, Sopron): Inventing Burgenland: Geography and regional identity in post-WWI Austria

The history of Burgenland is a success story, particularly from a Hungarian point of view, even not considering the trauma of postwar area-loss. It is a success of regional development. Compared to Western Hungary, Burgenland underwent a remarkable modernisation after World War I and had great success in creating its identity as a province. Seeing these processes, one important task arose for historical geography: to analyse how the province of Burgenland was geographically constructed, how its shape

was filled and formed with geographical thought, and how its nature was recognized and interpreted. The aim of this presentation is to contribute to the exploration of these questions concerning postwar geographical discourses by drawing on academic approaches in Austrian geography, in German political geography of the interwar period, and in the closely related local thought. The examples, highlighted in the paper, demonstrate the two different strategies of inventing and identifying a new-born province, underlining the differences and emphasizing the similarities with Alpine Austria (or with the German *Kerngebiet*).

Jobbitt, Steve (California State University, Fullerton): Watershed nation: the ecological foundations of Hungary's hydrological imagination

In 1919, the Hungarian Geographical Society published a series of pamphlets intended to raise awareness about pending international threats to Hungary's territorial integrity. Proclaiming that "you can't break up Hungary without breaking the laws of nature," Hungarian geographers (and soon-to-be irredentists) claimed in no uncertain terms that the Kingdom of Hungary formed a near-perfect watershed unit, and that dismembering the nation would violate not only the nation's territorial and cultural unity, but also its fundamental ecological and hydrological integrity. Given the importance of the headwaters to integrated watershed management, ecologically-minded nationalists argued that Hungary's borderlands, and in particular those in the grand arc formed by the Carpathian mountains in northern and eastern Hungary, needed to be protected, and assured by international law. By looking closely at the arguments made by geographers, hydrological specialists, and field naturalists, this paper hopes to provide new environmental perspectives on the politics of ecology and identity formation in Hungary in the first half of the twentieth century. Such an approach will add to our understanding of Hungarian identity formation in general, and to our understanding of interwar Hungarian revisionism in particular.

Krasznai, Zoltán (European Commission, Directorate-General Research & Innovation): Paving the way for territorial revision: Pál Teleki and geographic expertise in the Hungarian delegation at the Peace Conference

Hungary lost the First World War as part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Tumultuous events (the dissolution of the Monarchy, revolution, foreign occupation, a communist putsch, and counter revolution, to mention but a few) made the Hungarian preparation for the Paris Peace Conference extremely difficult. Nevertheless, Hungarian geographers, led by the geographer and important interwar politician Pál Teleki, had a crucial role in this intense preparatory work. Although Hungarian geographers considered, realistically, that their contribution could not have a major impact on the deliberations of the Peace Conference, their important preparatory work for the peace talks became the backbone of interwar Hungarian geography. Teleki and his fellow geographers produced a body of monumental work in terms of both its modernising efforts and patriotic engagement that became a great source of interwar political propaganda. This paper explores the geographic

expertise and the underlying political agenda in the Hungarian Peace delegation with a strong focus on cartographic sources.

*Meusburger, Peter (University of Heidelberg):* Nation building and compulsory schooling in multi-lingual states

In the period of nation building, the task of the school system was not only to form a disciplined labour force well prepared for participating in the industrial revolution and to provide the basis for various modernization processes. Schools also had to create and support national unity, national identity, and cultural memories. Ethnic, linguistic, and cultural diversity was not in the interest of the newly established nation states. Identification of citizens with the new nation was regarded as a fundamental prerequisite of political stability. Schools were considered an important instrument in the assimilation and education of "underdeveloped" ethnic minorities. This paper will discuss some of the policies and administrative measures used in the school system of various countries to support nation building and to assimilate or suppress ethnic minorities. The selection of teachers, the language of instruction to be used in schools and various other measures were of paramount instrumental value in nation building, state nationalism, and nationalist movements of minorities.

*Proto, Matteo (Alma Mater Studiorum, University of Bologna):* Italy as "geographical expression": Nation building and regional geography (1900–1920)

The role of spatial categories and cartography in shaping national identity has received poor or no attention from scholars studying nation building in Italy, especially for the postunification and interwar period. Through the institutionalization of geography in the university in the last decades of 19th century, and the establishment of the most important geographical and cartographical organisations, the relation between geography and national image acquired a crucial position. Related to the tradition of statistical inquiry, Italian geographers moulded a powerful image of national identity strongly established on spatial categories and cartographical representation. These spatialities were bound to the surveys concerning the measuring of Italy's "surface." A meaningful example is the concept of the geographical border developed by Giovanni (1846-1900) and Olinto (1876-1926) Marinelli—main figures in academic geography—in order to fix the political border on the alpine watershed. This notion arose from the concept of *regione integrale* (integral region) in order to establish the knowledge and the domain on a given territory. Intensely promoted by media on the eve of the First World War, the conception of a geographical border played an important role in determining Italian claims at the Paris Peace Conference and, later, the nationalist and imperialist politics in the fascist period.

Schelhaas, Bruno (Leibniz Institute for Regional Geography, Leipzig): "Bourgeois" geography and the Sovietization of academic geography in the German Democratic Republic, 1945–1969

Looking at the history of German geography for the period 1945–90, we have to realize that the development of academic, school, and applied geography was strongly influenced by the opposing political and institutional systems in the two German states. Despite this double development, a kind of all-German geography survived until the 1960s, and partly, also, throughout the entire duration of the German division. The situation for German geography after 1945 was accompanied by many difficulties. Besides individual fates of war, imprisonment, displacement, chaos and destruction, the main problem in the Soviet Occupied Zone was a lack of qualified academic staff and a "brain drain" into the western zones. During the occupation period and into the first years of the GDR, a remaining group of "bourgeois" geographers managed the reconstruction of academic geography at the geography departments, but within a socialist framework. This tension between continuity and "antifascist-democratic reconstruction" led inevitably to conflicts and compromises between the traditional academics and the new socialist elite. In particular, the implementation of Marxist political and economic geography, instead of human or cultural geography, was an instrument of enforcement of an independent GDR geography. In many aspects we can recognize a parallel development in both German geographies, not so much within physical geography, but within regional and human geography. German geography was a mirror image of Cold War politics. The contacts between East and West became more and more problematic, but they remained active until the collapse of the GDR.

Timár, Judit (Research Centre for Economic and Regional Studies, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Békéscsaba): International rather than national? The relationships between western Marxist and 'vulgar' Hungarian Marxist geographies

Internationalism is a pillar of Marxism. In spite of this, there have been hardly any connections between "eastern" and "western" Marxist geographies for decades. How could some seemingly similar texts written by the followers of the Marxist school of thought acquire very different meanings in totally different social and institutional contexts? What are the similarities and differences between the main incentives of "Marxist" geographies inside and outside of national academia, between the initial objectives, themes, theoretical issues and implications? For a better understanding of the re-orientation of geographical science in the era of post-war communism, this paper focuses on these questions by comparing mainly the narratives of *Antipode: A Radical Journal of Geography* to the two national geographical journals of Hungary.

*Withers, Charles W.J. (University of Edinburgh):* Historical geographies of science: thoughts from the Enlightenment

Recent moves to 'de-essentialise' The Enlightenment – to speak of Enlightenment, or, even, of enlightenments – have been distinguished by their recognition of this intellectual movement's spatial dimensions, most evidently beyond Europe or nations of European origin. At the same time, re-appraisal of the Enlightenment has been paralleled by studies in the historical geographies of science, that range of work which has as its central concerns the making, movement, and reception of science in different places and over space. The paper examines these two related historiographical developments in order to consider their utility in understanding and explaining the connections between geography and nation building. The paper, necessarily more suggestive than definitive, is in three parts. The first part reviews work in the historical geographies of science to identify the principal features of this recent interpretative turn. The second part reviews the spatial turn in Enlightenment studies. The third part brings these two perspectives together to offer observations upon matters central to our concerns, observations which cohere around questions of material agency, the nation as the unit of geographical enquiry; epistemology, practice, and

disciplinary formation; and the agency of particular things, including patronage.