ETHNOGRAPHISCHE KARTE.
Verbreitung der Menschenrassen.

Central Europe and the Non-European World in the Long 19th Century

Markéta Křížová/Jitka Malečková (eds.)

Frank & Timme

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Cover illustration: Ethnographic map in the article "Menschenrassen" (human races) in the
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Markéta Křížová and Jitka Malečková

1 Central Europe and the "Non-European Others": A Conceptual Framework

The present volume is a contribution to the ongoing discussion about what types of relations existed between Europe and the rest of the world in the long 19th century. Scholarly analyses of the contacts between Europe and the outside world had for a long time focused on various forms of relations between colonial powers and their colonies and, when dealing with the "Orient," on Western Orientalist discourses as the prevailing form of othering. Gradually, however, it has become clear that the relationship and character of the perceptions as well as both sides of the putative dichotomy, the West and the rest, had been and continue to be more diverse. More recent scholarship has disrupted the dichotomous understanding of Western (European) relations with Others and brought to attention the relevance of the concepts previously associated with colonial powers and their Orientalist attitudes also in other temporal, spatial and cultural contexts, namely countries and regions that were apparently outside both the imperial centers and their colonies.

This volume explores various ways in which the world outside Europe was perceived by inhabitants of Central Europe, a region that in spite of its toponym assumed the position either "in between" or on the margins of Europe as an imagined community that established itself in the course of the 19th century. We use the term Central Europe, despite its contested nature and changing connotations throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, because we believe it is useful in transcending the narrow focus on national histories and highlighting the entanglements of national actors in broader transnational processes without *a priori* assuming the region's opposition to Western Europe (as for instance the term Eastern Europe does). Analyzing how Central Europeans, or rather various groups within the region, positioned themselves towards those Others against whom the very idea of Europe was constructed can help us better understand the mechanisms of their own self-fashioning[1] and shed light on the informal strategies of economic, cultural, and ideological dominance. Moreover, such an analysis transcends a merely local significance, involving not just the specific social and political processes that took place within the region, but also the more general political, social and intellectual developments that encompassed the entire European continent, as the second wave of overseas colonization led to the dramatic increase of global entanglements.

While Central European societies, with rare exceptions such as the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary, mostly found themselves outside the actual realm of colonialism, they nevertheless engaged in colonial projects in a variety of ways and benefited from these inter-

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1   The term that Stephen Greenblatt used to analyze the self-presentations of individuals in the early modern era can be conveniently applied also to collective selves, exposed to the varied repertoire of Others. See Greenblatt, Stephen. *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*. Chicago – London: U of Chicago P, 1980.

actions.[2] Paraphrasing the concept introduced by Christoph Kamissek and Jonas Kreienbaum that inspired Bálint Varga's chapter in this book, they participated in the "colonial cloud," sharing the imagery and knowledge that emerged from the colonial relations and benefitting from the economic advantages generated by the colonial economies. But beyond the circulation of knowledge and wealth, colonialism was, primarily, a relationship of power. Starting from this premise and focusing on Finland, another European country involved in the colonial entanglements without actually possessing colonies, Ulla Vuorela developed the notion of "colonial complicity" to describe the aspirations of non-colonizers to partake in the colonial hegemony over the non-European world.[3] This approach to non-European Others could assume many forms, from pictorial and literary representations to missionary activities, which will also be addressed in the following chapters of this volume.

The notion of complicity does not only imply an active approach, or intentionality, but it also highlights an unspoken moral assessment on the part of the historian with respect to colonial atrocities.[4] Other scholars have suggested alternative concepts for specific situations, such as "colonial fantasies" studied by Susanne Zantop in the German lands in the

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2 Sauer, Walter. "Habsburg Colonial: Austria-Hungary's Role in European Overseas Expansion Reconsidered." *Austrian Studies* 20 (2012): 5–23.

3 Vuorela, Ulla. "Colonial Complicity: The 'Postcolonial' in a Nordic Context." *Complying with Colonialism: Gender, Race and Ethnicity in the Nordic Region*. Ed. Suvi Keskinen et al. Farnham: Ashgate, 2009. 19–20.

4 Vuorela alluded to such an understanding by presenting the dictionary definition of complicity – "participation in a crime" (Vuorela, "Colonial Complicity," 20). Filip Herza in his reassessment of current Czech and Slovak historiography with respect to the global history of colonialism and Central European involvement in it explicitly rejected this "inherently moralising concept." See Herza, Filip. "Colonial Exceptionalism: Post-colonial Scholarship and Race in Czech and Slovak Historiography." *Slovenský národopis* 68.2 (2020): 175–87.

period predating their expansion overseas,[5] "non-colonial colonialism," employed by Sarah Lemmen for the Czech lands,[6] "colonialism on the margins" that Kristín Loftsdóttir introduced for Iceland,[7] or "colonialism without colonies" analyzed by Barbara Lüthi, Francisca Falk, and Patricia Purtschaert using the examples of Switzerland and the Nordic countries.[8] These concepts denote a conscious joining of the hegemonic colonial discourses and a derogatory perception, construction, and stereotyping of colonial subjects, which were not based on direct colonial interests or overseas possessions, but concurred with the ideological justification of colonialism and at the same time were motivated by efforts of the non-colonial nations to profess their allegiance to a hegemonic, colonizing Europe. As Zantop and others have noted, colonial fantasies developed in close relationship to the evolving nationalist sentiments, and in fact helped to fortify them by projecting the hegemonic aspirations of the emerging nations on a global scale. "There was no escaping hegemonic discourses," Zantop concluded in her analysis.[9] That colonial

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5   Zantop, Susanne. *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770–1870.* Durham: Duke UP, 1997.

6   Lemmen, Sarah. "Noncolonial Orientalism? Czech Travel Writing on Africa and Asia around 1918." *Deploying Orientalism in Culture and History: From Germany to Central and Eastern Europe.* Ed. James Hodkinson and John Walker. Rochester: Camden, 2013. 209–27.

7   Loftsdóttir, Kristín. "Colonialism at the Margins: Politics of Difference in Europe as Seen through Two Icelandic Crises." *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 19.5 (2012): 597–615.

8   Lüthi, Barbara, Francesca Falk, and Patricia Purtschert. "Colonialism without Colonies: Examining Blank Spaces in Colonial Studies." *National Identities* 18.1 (2016): 1–9.

9   Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies*, 209. For the connection between colonial fantasies and the hegemonic concept of Europe see also Delantey, Gerard. *Inventing Europe: Idea, Identity, Reality.* New York: St. Martin's, 1995. 56.

knowledge production did not require a colonial state of its own is also demonstrated in the chapter by Barbara Lüthi in this volume.

There is, however, a certain contradiction in the scholarly interpretations of non-colonial colonialism. While seeing the non-colonizing nations as partaking in the joint discourse of power, scholars still separate them from the body of the "colonizers proper." More inclusive is the concept of "coloniality," introduced by the Peruvian sociologist Anibal Quijano in the 1980s. According to Quijano, while the term colonialism should be used to refer to specific sociohistorical configurations (for example, the Spanish and British colonial empires in the Americas and Asia), "coloniality" denotes the complex ideological matrix of modern Europe as a global actor and encompasses even the historical actors that did not actively take part in colonial ventures.[10]

Central Europe occupies a specific position in the ideological matrix of "coloniality." On the one hand, it was to some extent an object of the (quasi-)colonialist attitudes of powerful neighbors and of "hegemonic exoticism,"[11] and on the other, Central Europeans showed similar attitudes towards areas outside (or on the margins of) Europe.[12] Within his tripartite world-systems model, Immanuel Wallerstein assigned to the

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10 Quijano, Anibal. "Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America." *Nepantla: Views from the South* 1.3 (2000): 533–80; see also Mignolo, Walter D., and Madina Tlostanova. "The Logic of Coloniality and the Limits of Postcoloniality." *The Postcolonial and the Global*. Ed. Revathi Krishnaswamy and John C. Hawley. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2008. 109–10.

11 Welz, Gisela. "Transnational Cultures and Multiple Modernities: Anthropology's Encounter with Globalization." *ZAA* 52.4 (2004): 410.

12 Central Europe was clearly not unique in this respect. A similar situation was described for instance for Ireland. See Lennon, Joseph. "Irish Orientalism: An Overview." *Ireland and Postcolonial Theory*. Ed. Clare Carroll and Patricia King. Notre Dame: U of Notre Dame P, 2003. 130 and 156.

region the role of the periphery of the West, interpreting its marginal positioning through the economic and political developments of the period from the 16th to the 18th centuries.[13] Larry Wolff, inspired both by Wallerstein and by Edward Said, traced the origins of the dismissive gaze of the Western Europeans on Central and Eastern Europe to the period of Enlightenment.[14] While Wolff's arguments have been criticized for the author's choice of sources and their interpretation, for example for projecting Cold War divisions back to the 18th and 19th centuries,[15] various sources produced by Central Europeans suggest that they were aware of similar views and showed a certain defensiveness against a perceived disdain on the part of other, especially Western nations. As the texts in the present volume demonstrate, the persistent oscillation between the self-perception as those dominating and those being dominated constitutes one of the characteristics of Central European self-fashioning in the modern era.

Representations of non-European Others by (Western) Europeans have often been analyzed within the framework of Orientalism, even when dealing with Others that had little in common with the Muslim Middle East and could hardly be comprised in 19th-century notions of the

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13 Wallerstein, Immanuel. *The Modern World-System, Vol. I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century*. New York: Academic, 1974. Wallerstein's theory with respect to Central Europe is resumed by Kubik, Jan. "How to Think about 'Area' in Area Studies?" *The Rebirth of Area Studies: Challenges for History, Politics and International Relations in the 21st Century*. Ed. Zoran Milutinovic. London: I. B. Tauris, 2020. 67–69.

14 Wolff, Larry. *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1994.

15 Franzinetti, Guido. "The Idea and the Reality of Eastern Europe in the Eighteenth Century." *History of European Ideas* 34.4 (2008): 361–68.

"Orient,"[16] to the extent that Orientalism has become almost a catchword for the processes of othering in general. In contrast, a number of works have shown that even regarding the Middle East, Orientalism was not always hegemonic and unchallenged and that there was a heterogeneity and fluidity to Orientalist discourses.[17] Parallel to the debates bringing a more nuanced understanding of "coloniality" in various times and places, different types of attitudes to (not only "Oriental") Others have given rise to various concepts drawing inspiration from Said, but point-ing out the specificity of (Western) European attitudes to certain regions. For Southeastern Europe, these include "Balkanism"[18] and "nesting Ori-entalism,"[19] whereas the concept of "Ottoman Orientalism" shifts the focus from Western Europeans to Ottoman Turks who, according to Ussama Makdisi, perceived the inhabitants of the periphery of their empire (and especially the Arabs) as pre-modern and backward com-pared to the imperial center and its Ottoman-Turkish elites.[20] The elites used Ottoman Orientalism to prove that, unlike the inhabitants of the eastern provinces of the Ottoman Empire, its center was already joining Western modernity. Andre Gingrich's "frontier Orientalism"[21] describes

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16   See, e.g., Latin America as an object of Orientalism, as it was analyzed in Camayd-Freixas, Erik, ed. *Orientalism and Identity in Latin America: Fashioning Self and Other from the (Post)Colonial Margin*. Tucson: U of Arizona P, 2013.

17   Çelik, Zeyneb. "Colonialism, Orientalism and the Canon." *Art Bulletin* 78.2 (1996): 202–5; Lewis, Reina. *Rethinking Orientalism: Women, Travel and the Ottoman Harem*. London – New York: I. B. Tauris, 2004. 3.

18   Todorova, Maria. *Imagining the Balkans*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009.

19   Bakić-Hayden, Milica. "Nesting Orientalisms: The Case of Former Yugoslavia." *Slavic Review* 54.4 (1995): 917–31.

20   Makdisi, Ussama. "Ottoman Orientalism." *The American Historical Review* 107.3 (2002): 768–96.

21   Gingrich, Andre. "Frontier Myths of Orientalism: The Muslim World in Public and Popular Cultures of Central Europe." *Mediterranean Ethnological Summer School*. Ed. Bojan Baskar and Borut Brumen. Vol. 2. Ljubljana: Inštitut za multikulturne raziskave,

the relationship of the Austrians and other (Central) Europeans not to overseas colonies, but to the Other who resided just behind the borders of their empire and who had for centuries endangered its territory. Frontier Orientalism, expressed in both folk and high culture, in Gingrich's words refers to a contested border where the eternal "we," the Austrians, are contrasted with the Oriental "Turk"; it furthermore differentiates the Turk as a traditional enemy from the image of the Muslims of Bosnia after Austro-Hungarian occupation. This concept, as Charles Sabatos's chapter in this volume shows, has also inspired studies of other cultures in Central Europe.[22]

One of the differences between classical and frontier Orientalism, according to Gingrich, was that while the former was connected with imperialist ideology, the latter was closely tied to nationalism. Nationalism permeated relations to non-European Others throughout Europe, but its role was not the same everywhere. In Central Europe, and in multinational empires more generally, nationalism emerged in a situation of non-existing national states, which undoubtedly affected relations with the world outside the empire. A particularly interesting example regarding the place of non-European Others in the construction of national identity are the Magyars. In their search for national origins in the 19th century, some intellectuals in Hungary turned towards the East

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1998. 99–128; Gingrich, Andre. "Blame It on the Turks: Language Regimes and the Culture of Frontier Orientalism in Eastern Austria." *Diskurs – Politik – Identität / Discourse – Politics – Identity*. Ed. R. De Cillia et al. Tübingen: Staufeenburg, 2010. 71–81; Gingrich, Andre. "The Nearby Frontier: Structural Analyses of Myths of Orientalism." *Diogenes* 60.2 (2015): 60–66.

22 See, e. g., contributions to Sabatos, Charles D., and Róbert Gáfrik, eds. *Frontier Orientalism in Central and East European Literatures*. Spec. issue of *World Literature Studies* 10.1 (2018).

and argued that Magyars had common roots with the Turks as members of the Turanian family.[23]

The Magyars who believed to have Oriental roots can serve as an example of the diversity of attitudes towards non-European and specifically "Oriental" Others in 19th-century Europe. One criticism of Edward Said's analysis of the Western appropriation of the Orient was that his overgeneralization did not allow for positive views towards the Muslim Middle East in the West. Said in fact hinted at the possibility of more diverse views when he mentioned the tendency among some 18th-century thinkers to exceed their contemporaries' judgments of Eastern societies by "sympathetic identification" or "identification by sympathy."[24] While the instances of compassionate identification referred to by Said tend to be interpreted as merely confusing or concealing the real interests of the West,[25] Charles Sabatos's chapter in this volume takes "sympathetic identification" as a starting point for his interpretation of the representations of "the Turk" in examples of Slovak Romantic literature in which he identifies "hidden elements of kinship" between the Slovaks and the Turks.

It can be argued that both coloniality in Quijano's definition and Orientalism are but time-specific cases of the universal intellectual process of

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23 Ágoston, Gábor. "The Image of the Ottomans in Hungarian Historiography." *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 61.1–2 (2008): 15–18. On the linguistic theories see Gal, Susan. "Linguistic Theories and National Images in 19th Century Hungary." *Pragmatics* 5.2 (1995): 155–66.

24 Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage, 1979. 118.

25 See, e.g., Piep, Karsten. "The Nature of Compassionate Orientalism in Elizabeth Gaskell's *Cranford*." *The CEA Critic* 75.3 (2013): 246.

othering, the "societal constructs of separation and distinctiveness,"[26] a constant feature in the life of every individual and every human community. The Others could be identified within a society at a moment when its members perceived the need for stronger mutual ties. In such situations, some groups could be artificially separated from the body of the society by legal norms as well as by prejudices and their alleged inability to meet the standards of "normal" behavior. But Others were often identified outside one's society and it is the latter that is the focus of this volume. The process of othering is constantly renegotiated as societies develop and influence each other; the Other is not a fixed category, but rather a flexible and complex form of relationship, which was invoked in various ways at different times and for different purposes.[27] Concurrently, the constitutive marks of otherness, as well as those traits that society identifies as signs of those who belong to it, can change over time.

An important mode of othering emerged in close relationship with the overseas discoveries and colonization of the modern era—one based on "races" as supposed innate biological differences among peoples, organized in hierarchical order. While the origins and implications of racial thought (not only) with regard to non-Europeans have been stud-

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26   Sonnis-Bell, Marissa. "Introduction: Arbitrary Constructions and Real Consequences of the Self and Other." *Strangers, Aliens, Foreigners: The Politics of Othering from Migrants to Corporations*. Ed. Marissa Sonnis-Bell, David Elijah Bell, and Michelle Ryan. Leiden: Brill, 2019. 1.

27   The processes of othering (not only) in Central European contexts were explored in several edited volumes, see, e. g., Klusáková, Luďa, ed. *"We" and "the Others": Modern European Societies in Search of Identity*. Prague: Karolinum, 2000; Klusáková, Luďa, and Karel Kubiš, eds. *Meeting the Other: Studies in Comparative History*. Prague: Karolinum, 2003. James Clifford, among others, also considered an active construction of the "Other" an inseparable part of the construction of both the individual and the collective Self. See Clifford, James. *Writing Culture*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1986. 23.

ied extensively for Western Europe or individual colonizing powers, for Central (and Eastern) Europe the problem has only recently started to be addressed by historians. Given their lack of direct contact with non-European "races," racial categories had not been considered relevant for the inhabitants of Central Europe, who, in constructing power hierarchies, allegedly did not use the argument of "whiteness" or deny humanity to other "races." Racial imagery has come forth mainly in the study of Central (and Eastern) Europe's contemporary history, especially with reference to the Holocaust and Nazi ideologies.

Several recent studies, however, challenge these notions. Brigitte Fuchs has analyzed racial thought in Austria both in the 19th and the 20th centuries, the imagining of "national bodies" and the use of racial nomenclatures for constructing inner hierarchies within the nation, in close relationship to the hierarchizations based on gender and class.[28] The volume edited by Marius Turda and Paul Weindling, devoted to eugenics and racial hygiene, presents a pioneering attempt to study the history of eugenics in Central and Southeastern Europe from a comparative perspective.[29] Filip Herza has in several of his texts explored the relationship between nation building in the Czech lands before and after World War I and the epistemologies of race. While mostly focusing on the biologization of "Czech specificities" within the imagined entity that would later be called the "Indo-European race," Herza also reflected upon the integration of the non-European "races" into the de-

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28 Fuchs, Brigitte. *"Rasse", "Volk", Geschlecht: Anthropologische Diskurse In Österreich 1850–1960*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2003.

29 Turda, Marius, and Paul J. Weindling, eds. *Blood and Homeland: Eugenics and Racial Nationalism in Central and Southeast Europe, 1900–1940*. New York: Central European UP, 2006; see also Turda, Marius, ed. *The History of East-Central European Eugenics, 1900–1945: Sources and Commentaries*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015.

bates.[30] Lenny Ureña Valerio has focused on the complicated efforts of Polish intellectuals, travelers and migrants of the Prussian-Polish provinces who in the situation of a non-existing national state had been considered culturally backward and biologically inferior and subjected to racialized hegemony by Germans, while they themselves had actively pursued such racialized hegemony in Africa and South America.[31] The described examples, however, cannot be generalized for the entirety of Central Europe.[32] Despite first steps in this direction, racial imagery in Central Europe still requires more thorough and comparative research, especially with regard to the late 19th century, and it is only touched upon in the present volume. Also, the transfer of racial concepts across borders within the region and throughout Europe only receives cursory remarks, for example in Jitka Malečková's chapter which mentions the impact of racial categorizations common in Europe in Czech intellectuals' writings on the Turks.

While the understanding of Europe was being constructed and undergoing changes over a long period, the idea of Central Europe is more recent. Leaving aside the late 19th and the 20th-century visions of *Mitteleuropa* on the one hand and attempts to set aside the Poles, Czechs and Hungarians and distinguish them from the rest of the Eastern bloc under communism on the other, we use the term descriptively, and not

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30   Herza, Filip. "Sombre Faces: Race and Nation-Building in the Institutionalization of Czech Physical Anthropology (1890s–1920s)." *History and Anthropology* 31.3 (2020): 371–92.

31   Ureña Valerio, Lenny. *Colonial Fantasies, Imperial Realities: Race Science and the Making of Polishness on the Fringes of the German Empire, 1840–1920*. Athens: Ohio UP, 2019.

32   The already mentioned belief in the common Magyar and Turkish roots on the part of some intellectuals included a racial aspect: the Turks and Magyars were seen as belonging to the same "Turanian race."

as an ideological concept. Historically, separating Central Europe as a specific entity fulfilled various aims: in the 20th century it was often directed against Soviet Russia and, as Todorova has noted, after the fall of Communism, the concept of Central Europe (as well as Southeastern and East-Central Europe that replaced the formerly used term Eastern Europe) has become an ideological device.[33] In contrast, our loosely delineated Central Europe combines geographical and cultural-historical characteristics and refers to the region located roughly in "the center" of the European continent that once belonged to the Habsburg Empire, although we are aware of the problematic nature of this (and for that matter any other) definition.

However defined, "Central Europe" was certainly not a homogeneous region and in the period we are dealing with its parts lacked any common sense of identity, perhaps apart from the various degree to which they felt a political belonging to the Austrian (and from 1867 Austro-Hungarian) Empire. From the perspective of power, for example, Austrians, followed by Hungarians, were on the one end of the spectrum, while Slovaks and various minorities in both Cisleithania and Transleithania were on its other end (with the Czechs, Slovenes, Croats and Poles who lived under Habsburg rule somewhere in between). This undoubtedly also had an impact on their colonial ambitions. Other differences were related to geography or rather geo-politics, specifically associating the Croats and Slovenians with the Balkans, or to history, for instance the consequences of Ottoman rule over parts of Central Europe. The areas discussed in the volume had faced an imminent threat of Turkish occupation and for centuries their population had participated in wars

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33   Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, 141. Todorova (140–60) provides a detailed discussion of the concept of Central Europe.

against the Turks. Large parts of Hungary, including both the Magyar- and Slovak-speaking populations (as well as the region's southeastern parts), were under direct Ottoman rule, the Austrians had to face Ottoman attacks on Vienna, whereas in the Czech lands, the Turkish threat affected Moravia more substantially than the rest of the country. Central Europe is also characterized by a strong ethnic/linguistic, religious, and cultural diversity. Even in the subsection of the region included in this volume, the Hungarians (or Magyars) differed from the German-speaking Austrians as well as from the Czechs and Slovaks who represented the numerous Slavic population of the empire. Due to the cultural and religious diversity, the variously defined Other was of great significance for its inhabitants: the most relevant Others were the neighbors, living next-door, and the conflicts with the neighbors were often projected on images of more distant Others.

This book does not aim at a comprehensive history of the relations of the Austrian (or Austro-Hungarian) Monarchy or its constitutive nations with regions outside Europe. Rather, it tries to display a variety of approaches and also of the parts of the world that Central Europeans imagined and represented. It shows this on a sample of cases that do not cover the entire Central European region, but focus in particular on the Czech lands (Bohemia and Moravia), Hungary, and Slovakia, while other areas, such as Austria and regions more to the east and southeast of Europe, are mentioned in a more cursory way, especially in Robert Born's chapter on Orientalist art. Furthermore, Switzerland appears as a comparative example in Barbara Lüthi's reflections. The selected areas are representative of the region in that their inhabitants were among the most active groups of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in asserting both their national identity in the 19th century and a "Central" rather than "Eastern" European identity in the late 20th century. The case studies include different sets of sources, analyzed using different methods.

Instead of trying to find a common methodology that would suit the whole volume or to enrich the already abounding repertoire of labels and concepts in order to grasp the region's cultural and geopolitical "specificity," the authors of the individual chapters make use of various existing approaches. This way, the volume shows that even a comparably small region consists of a variegated spectrum of cases that can be studied by multiple approaches, each of which may fit one situation, but does not necessarily describe Central Europe in its entirety. At the same time, the selection of the cases reflects the composition of the panel at the Sixth European Congress in World and Global History, organized by the European Network in Universal and Global History in Turku in June 2021, in which the contributors to this volume took part.

Central Europeans were involved in contacts with the non-European world, not to mention regions on the margins of Europe, in varied and complex ways. To some extent they adopted the perceptions and hierarchies that had been formulated by West European colonial powers, as they were attracted by the "appeal of the empire"[34] and felt the need to confirm their belonging to the "civilized" West. As elsewhere in Europe, and maybe even more than elsewhere, the idea of civilization (namely intellectual endeavor and technological progress) was promoted in Central Europe as an exclusive marker of Europe. Being part of the European modernity meant participating in the European project of knowledge production through exploration or at least through commenting on explorations of the far away regions.[35] But there were also specific strategies

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34 Rupprecht, Tobias. *Soviet Internationalism after Stalin. Interaction and Exchange between the USSR and Latin America during the Cold War*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2015. 2.

35 Dzenovska, Dace. "Historical Agency and the Coloniality of Power in Postsocialist Europe." *Anthropological Theory* 13.4 (2013): 394–416.