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Becoming Vigilant Subjects

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Contents

Part 1 Self-making through Vigilance 7

Part 2 The Projects 23

Part 3 The Sources 62

Part 4 Conceptual Intersections
of Subjectivation 86
A) The Subjects 86
B) Key Moments 107
C) Constellations 124
D) Performances 144

Part 5 Findings and Outlook 166

References 173
List of Authors 191
List of Figures 195

Part 1

Self-making through Vigilance

How does vigilance affect the formation of the self and how does this process vary across different time periods? And conversely, how do watchful individuals engage with, and potentially change, social situations at specific moments and within particular constellations? How might these processes of subject formation affect an individual's understanding of themselves?

These were the main questions examined by one of the working groups of the Collaborative Research Centre (CRC) 1369 'Cultures of Vigilance' at Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München. The group has analysed the historical and cultural variations of vigilance, as well as its current forms.[1] The discussions within our working group focussed on the various ways in which a subject[2] emerges and is transformed through 'vigilance', paying particular attention to socio-material and political constellations in different epochs. Our work draws on case studies from medieval literature studies, social and cultural anthropology, and early modern and modern Eastern European history. This book evolved

as a result of our discussions, and in it, we propose a set of heuristic tools that can serve to address questions relating to subjectivation in varied contexts of vigilance. To this end, we have pursued an agenda based on our specific sources and data material, which enables us to scrutinise the nexus of vigilance and subjectivation in detail. We thus do not intend to compile a complete or universal catalogue of criteria, nor do we seek to present a revised theory of subject formation, although we do depart from previous studies on subjectivation. Rather, we aim to develop tools, adequate for our case studies, that allow us to explore the emergence of a vigilant subject in a nuanced way. In this regard, our study thus lays the groundwork for further research and refinement.

In his later work, Michel Foucault understands subjectivation not merely as an insertion into an existing social position but emphasises the potential for shaping the self through practices centred on the individual. By means of this care of the self (*souci de soi*), existing orders can be modified, and alternative subject positions created. This conscious confrontation with the self is the focus of attention, whereby these self-reflections not only have an inward effect on the formation of the subject, but also on relationships to the outside. It is this reflexive moment that Catherine Trundle calls 'self-ex-

ternalisation',[3] which moulds social relations and entails a potential for change. Yet these processes do not just happen in a kind of neutral sphere, but are rather shaped by specific, identifiable, and often uneven, power-loaded constellations. Subjection has a double meaning, for it refers to the process of becoming subordinated by power as well as becoming a subject.[4] Judith Butler[5] views the subject as non-coherent and always relational, constantly in the making and shaped by symbolic orders, norms, and discourses – which she sees as manifestations of power.[6] They constitute the frame for subjectivation processes, which entail an act of subjection to power. Butler has described this aspect by considering psychic life in detail. In her view, power is not 'internalised', but rather has ambivalent effects. It is through submission to power – e.g., norms and discourses – that the subject emerges. However, this process entails an act of subjugation and domination at the same time, pointing to the ambivalence of subjectivation. As such, subjectivation is contradictory and even paradoxical: it is a process that oscillates between dependency and autonomy, and involves resistance.[7]

We contend that subjectivation occurring through unequal power relations is particularly marked in colonial and quasi-colonial, but often framed as post-colonial, relationships. Frantz

Fanon[8] and W.E.B. DuBois[9] each described a process through which people become alienated from their own subjecthood through their attempts to meet the expectations of the coloniser or the dominant actors in society. Fanon, who writes from a psychoanalytical vantage point, finds that Black people in the colonial and postcolonial Algerian context physically embodied the 'white gaze' of the coloniser in the ways that they move in the world.[10] In physically incorporating the coloniser's gaze there is a sense in which surveillance of the – in this case – colonial state is no longer needed, though this alienation is fostered by colonial institutions. DuBois,[11] drawing on his own experience, writes of a process occurring among Black people in the early twentieth century USA, in which perceiving themselves through the eyes of white[12] people results in a 'double consciousness': '[…] this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others […]'[13] may cause internal conflict and a fragmentation of the self.

Butler has elaborated the critical, subversive moment in her studies on sex, gender and desire and thus focuses on the fragility and incompleteness of the practices that accompany subject formation.[14] Equally significant are language, the speech act, discourse, and the body as materialisation of subjectivation. This is developed by means

of performance, which is characterised by the repetition of norms and discourses permeated with power which makes it effective.[15] It is precisely in this that the possibility of change, displacement and subversion exists since a reproduction is never identical. This process also reveals the parallel existence of permanence and change, which at first seems contradictory. But, through human action, which can contain both reproduced and new aspects, social structures change, in the sense of a performative becoming as an unfinished process.[16] These processes cannot be considered in isolation, but against the background of specific constellations, i.e., in the context of the social interactions in which they occur. The embeddedness of social practices means that it is particularly fruitful to understand processes of subjectivation against the background of vigilance.

The concept of vigilance that we work with is related to, but differs fundamentally from surveillance, which is associated with the description of the Panopticon by Michel Foucault based on Jeremy Bentham's prison architecture and highlights the idea of being observed by a centralised eye from above.[17] However, as Arndt Brendecke and Paola Molino suggest, many fundamental social services like security rely 'on observations made and communicated by regular citizens who neither observe

"from above" nor are representatives of any particular institution'.[18] In this regard, their interest focuses on studying 'services rendered by people who willingly report what they have seen, heard or sometimes smelt',[19] linking individual attention with institutional tasks, such as security in the light of terror attacks.[20] The authors argue that interaction between private attention and broader institutions is mediated by complex cultural, linguistic, and social relations, which can be framed within discussions about the *civic self*. In line with the approach of the CRC, we understand vigilance as a form of individual watchfulness, in our cases exercised by non-state actors, specifically ordinary individual citizens, whose observation is linked to a specific goal, beyond an individual task. Of particular interest is the link between attention and broader institutions and goals beyond the individual. This nexus is important in the relationship between, for instance, a believer and the presumed omnipresent watchfulness of God, as well as between a good citizen and the state. The link between individuals and mediating institutions (e.g., the church or institutions of the state, such as the legal system) points also to the relationship between subject positions and particular group identities.

As the CRC's research projects have shown, there are overlapping forms of vigilance involving

continuous attentiveness: when individuals know that they are observed by others or anticipate that they will be; or, when the subject observes him or herself and evaluates both his or her own thoughts and actions as a form of introspection. These different perspectives intersect with one another because subjects are always embedded within networks of relationships whose norms and values influence how they judge their own actions; the observed subject anticipates that his or her actions are under scrutiny. How individuals transform themselves into attentive subjects is therefore entangled with how they are ascribed specific positionalities by others.

Thus, we contend that practices of vigilance entail a transformative potential. For instance, an individual can become a watchful citizen and thus transform into a kind of guardian in a particular situation. Another might, by carefully monitoring their own actions as a religious novice, be considered suitable for promotion to a role as a monk, able to advise others on appropriate vigilance over their own conduct. As a result, watchfulness becomes a part of what constitutes this particular subject. In addition, to be a 'citizen' or a 'guardian' entails specific subject positions in which vigilance is inherent. We seek to better understand these multi-layered processes and the ways in which in-

dividuals establish – or challenge – their often normative and discursive positionality, e.g., as good citizens, staunch believers, ethical protesters.[21] For example, we see Romani women being watched and stopped by police based on stereotypes of their ethnic, social and gender affiliation, and prosecuted in a Czech courtroom as 'parasites' breaching 'socialist morality' and where they are 'educated' so as to correct their social behaviour. Their own need to be watchful of the police in this context constitutes them as vigilant subjects as they attempt to outwardly present themselves according to ideals of the socialist subject, rather than the subject they are perceived as by Czech authorities. In another example, women migrating to marry must present themselves in documents as 'good citizens' during processes relating to the obtaining of visas. In contrast, in another case, we see a subject in the process of formation in present-day San Diego, when a Honduran-American man, who is able to pass for 'white', asserts that he is a member of a group being denigrated (Latinos), rather than feeling the need to fully blend into the dominant society. His agency in that situation stems from being in a privileged position as a white Latino while also being 'woke' or sensitised to the issue of anti-Latino discrimination, so that he actively chose to intervene, though not obliged to do so. Vigilance may become a duty,

a responsibility that constitutes the subject as a good citizen who is cautious of danger, a believer who is alert against sin and watches out for the devil, or a protester who is attentive with regard to racist acts. We scrutinise the role of watchfulness toward oneself and others in these settings and ask how the positionality of an individual changes in situations of vigilance. It is precisely this transformative potential that we link to subjectivation and the wider context within which the individual operates.

The focus of this book is therefore on the becoming – rather than being – of subjects against the backdrop of heightened attention, which is directed toward objectives beyond individual goals and tasks. As we show in the descriptions of our individual projects (part 2), this relates in our cases largely to the realm of religion, citizenship, and migration. However, it is important to note that many subject positions such as the 'good convert' or 'good citizen' represent ideal figures and encompass models, which individuals may aspire to, but are never able to entirely fulfil. Instead of only researching ideal types or constructing static categories, we have chosen a more flexible, praxeological approach focusing on individual actors, which allows for a more nuanced, non-essentialist understanding of these processes. This approach

enables us to carve out the tensions between social ideals and individual everyday practices in the formation of subjectivities. It is precisely this interplay between an individual's actions and the broader context that we pay particular attention to in constellations marked by vigilance. We seek to bring to the fore the frictions, contradictions and inconsistencies that occur within these processes. Thus, a particular focus is on the ambivalences and aporias, which are inherent in the practices through which the actors in question make sense of the world.

Further, we also show that the subject is not just shaped by the context of vigilance, but also engages with this context and may have the potential to change it. We are interested in the agency or limitations that emerge through watchfulness and in vigilant situations. This again points to the relationship between the individual and society more broadly and the specific constellations through which the watchful self emerges. In addition, this perspective enables us to better understand the interplay of different components (including non-human entities, symbols, materials, and places). For example, the exchange between the devil as the subject of literature in one of our case studies, and the reader, who themselves becomes its subject that is shaped through the moral told in the story. Nuanced answers are also possible because

we consider different social, historical, and regional constellations and contexts.

The interdisciplinary and cross-epochal approach of our working group creates considerable added value for the analysis of subject formation as an effect of vigilance. At the same time, a comparative perspective also brings challenges. Not only do different disciplinary approaches and sources exist, but notions of the subject also vary across time and contexts. For instance, in European medieval spiritual or devotional literature, the subject is thought to originate in and strive toward God. It evolves in a society shaped by these beliefs, resulting in a tendency in today's research to discuss the becoming of a subject in terms of habituation. Christianity – as Peter von Moos stated in his essay on *attentio* in the Middle Ages – strongly encourages the individual to mirror the imagined eye of God in their own introspection and to develop self-control.[22] Certain rituals (e.g., confession) play crucial roles in forming the subject, as do texts, like homiletic or exemplary stories, sermons, and prayers. In early modern history, the term 'subject' and others such as 'person' were increasingly used as analytical tools.[23] Complicating the master narrative of ever-increasing Western individuality and the discovery of the individual (in the Renaissance, seventeenth century philoso-

phy or during the Enlightenment), early modern subject formation involved a strong relational embeddedness of individuals' self-understanding into collective social and religious communities, such as estates, citizenship, and confessional churches.[24] Finally, the presented case studies seen through an anthropological lens are concerned with contemporary notions of the subject, engendered and shaped by a complex and wide range of agents and socioeconomic and political factors, such as transnational movements, rationales of changing places, undoing borders and striving for a 'better life' in a 'better place'. Individuals become subjects through dynamic intersubjective relations with others who are also becoming subjects,[25] influenced by specific circumstances – in the case of this book, we are interested in circumstances specifically related to vigilance.

What all the disciplines in our working group have in common is that our approaches focus on the *becoming* of the subject and not on being. We start from the changeability of the subject, exploring this in the context of each respective epoch in which the subject concept in question originated.[26] It is thus always tied to a specific constellation: Notions of the subject are interwoven with their corresponding epoch and change in relation to their historical, social, and regional context. To

some extent, the subject can be seen as a mirror of their time, milieu, and region. The historical analysis of concrete practices of subjectivation and their transformations make the socially-transforming dynamics of subjectivation processes visible.[27] Significantly, we will illuminate different epochs and thus subject formations viewed through the various disciplinary lenses in our working group.

Interdisciplinarity is not only associated with different approaches, questions, and work across epochs, but also with a considerable expansion of the spectrum of sources, ranging from text-based sources, spiritual songs and poetry and court records to ethnographic data (see part 3). It is this highly diverse set of sources that allows for a nuanced and novel scrutiny of the relationship between subjectivation and vigilance. The sources are all the more important because we follow an inductive approach in our research and derive our findings from individual projects based on the available empirical evidence. This methodological approach allows for fine-grained work on the data itself, without defining concrete categories of investigation in advance. Rather, these are developed from the empirical material in the course of our work. In this way, the range as well as the contingency of the effects of subjectivation and vigilance can be considered in their specific context.

Further, we always view individual subject formations in relation to, and entangled with, other human subjects and non-human actors. From this perspective, we highlight the relationality of all actors involved and illustrate the interdependencies of relationships.[28] In this way, we point beyond the micro-level of individual action and take into account overarching contexts, structures, and power relations. Nevertheless, our approach, as all theorisations, inevitably remains somewhat reductionist, for the complexity of the empirical realities can never be fully depicted.

The essayistic and casuistic nature of our inductive approach, both in the texts presented here and in the method of our working group, productively synthesises discussions in a collaborative writing endeavour among six different CRC projects. As part of our writing process, we commented on each other's projects in regular discussions, pointed out cross-cutting themes, and worked on concepts and terminologies. The result is this book, which discusses four transversal axes that we propose as vantage points for vigilance and subjectivity. As cross-cutting themes, they refer to a) the description of the subject that is at the centre of each analysis, b) key moments that trigger subjectivation, c) the specific constellations in which subjects emerge, form and change, and d) performative

aspects that render the subject socially intelligible. These vantage points emerged in our discussions as being relevant for researching the nexus between vigilance and subjectivation.

It is important to note that the different themes do not stand side by side in isolation, but are nested within one another, even if we have separated them out for heuristic reasons. For example, we have identified situations in our sources in which particular 'moments of vigilance' emerge. They represent incisive subject-forming events that are usually intensely experienced and can be described as subject-creating moments[29] – such as moments of decision-making, confession, change, setting a course, etc. However, they are part of, and indissolubly embedded in, broader constellations (e.g., social, political, spatial, temporal) – even if we describe these 'key moments' as such for heuristic reasons.

In what follows, we first briefly outline the respective disciplinary projects (part 2). They span from the Middle Ages to the early modern period in Europe to contemporary issues in Soviet and post-Soviet countries and the USA. We then discuss the respective sources and how they inform our understanding of vigilance and subjectivation effects (part 3). This is followed by the four cross-cutting issues we distilled from our work in

the CRC working group: subject, key moment, constellation, performance (part 4). We conclude the book with an outlook on further possible lines of research that may shed light on the connection between becoming a subject and vigilance (part 5).

Part 2

The Projects

In this section, we briefly outline the individual research projects carried out at the CRC from which each of the authors draw. The first case study of vigilance in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands, written by Jonathan Alderman, Catherine Whittaker and Eveline Dürr, stems from research for their collaborative social anthropology project investigating the response of individuals who are mistaken for migrants, and thus experience discrimination and exclusion, in the city of San Diego. This project has been placed first because it was the point of departure for discussions within the subjectivation working group. A second ethnographic project, by Alena Zelenskaia and Irene Götz, is concerned with the impact of the extended border regime on the formation of the subject position of female marriage migrants from Russian-speaking countries, who have to meet certain expectations concerning what is seen as an appropriate marriage when entering the EU. Taking a historical perspective, Christiane Brenner's contribution is part of her CRC project on prostitution in socialist Czechoslovakia and examines how

vigilance plays a role in the subjectivation of Romani women in Czechoslovakia through the study of court records. Brendan Röder's case study discusses how citizenship in early modern German cities was formed through a specific ritual, 'oath taking' day, which in itself was not only a moment of heightened vigilance but also an attempt to inscribe the duty of constant watchfulness into participants. From the discipline of literary studies, Hannah Michel looks at medieval didactic narratives that focus on the devil and the way his continuous observance has shaped the behaviour of different subjects – intra- and extra-textual alike. Agnes Rugel examines fifteenth century spiritual songs, which speak about the religious conversion process of Christian believers, with a close look at the thin line between subjectivation and vigilant adherence to God.

Watchfulness in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands

Catherine Whittaker, Jonathan Alderman, Eveline Dürr (Social and Cultural Anthropology)

In our research in the city of San Diego, we examine how people living in a borderland develop practices of watchfulness that help them to navi-

gate daily life. According to feminist Chicana author Gloria Anzaldúa,[30] a borderland denotes the space in which antithetical elements mix, combining in unexpected ways. It is a space of friction, where differently racialised people with multiple cultural ties 'occupy the same territory, where under, lower, middle and upper classes touch, where the space between two individuals shrinks with intimacy'.[31] The encounters that occur within these spaces and situations are shaped by power imbalances and structural violence. In the case of San Diego, the legacy of the Mexican-American War (1846–1848) was such that many of those people living in California became foreigners in their own land and their descendants have, to some extent, been treated as such ever since. Our research examines vigilant practices that individuals of Latin American descent (Latinxs[32]) adopt in response to being racialised as migrants, despite being native U.S. citizens, and the processes of subjectivation that occur as a result.[33]

In our research, we focus on individuals who self-identify as Chicanxs. The Chicano movement came into existence in the 1960s, at the time of the U.S. civil rights movement, but it is the result of the borderland created by the Mexican-American War and the moving of the border southwards. This borderland incorporated many people into

the U.S. who had only been Mexicans since 1821. Although legally citizens of the United States, their citizenship is at times contested by Anglo-Americans because of their cultural connections to Mexico.

The watchfulness of Chicanxs and other partially connected groups in the city of San Diego is a response not just to the surveillance of the state, but also to the vigilantism of non-state actors patrolling the border separately from, but often tolerated by, state migration forces. This vigilantism can extend away from the border itself, into the city of San Diego, for example, against representations of Latinx culture in Barrio Logan, the district which is our main research site. Here, some Anglo-Americans regard Latinx cultural representations as 'foreign' and a threat to their Anglo-American conceptions of national culture. We ask how Chicanxs respond to the various overlapping forms of vigilantism and surveillance shaping the U.S.-Mexico borderlands. In our study, we reveal that they employ their own practices of watchfulness, self-defence, healing, and consciousness-raising to resist racism and to seek respect and cultural recognition.[34] We thus investigate forms of watchfulness directed towards oneself as well as towards others in a borderland context. We found that the contested nature of belonging in the borderland creates a

particularly watchful self that is attentive both toward one's own conduct, while being distrustful of others, and the structures that constrain people's everyday lives. Our interlocutors living in the city of San Diego took surveillance by state agencies and institutions such as the police and migration control agencies as well as non-state actors into account, and incorporated it into their daily lives as watchfulness.

Our research shows the built environment to be part of a culture of vigilance, but also that vigilance can have a transformative effect on the built environment. In the city of San Diego, relationships of coloniality, a term coined by the sociologist Aníbal Quijano to describe quasi-colonial relationships in post-colonial societies,[35] were reinforced through the construction of particular infrastructure through the neighbourhood inhabited by Chicanx and Mexican-American people, Logan Heights, without their consent. First, the I-5 motorway, completed in 1963, cut through Logan Heights, dividing it into two neighbourhoods, Logan Heights and Barrio Logan. Then, the Coronado Bridge was built in 1969 to connect mainland San Diego with the wealthy island of Coronado, passing over the neighbourhood of Barrio Logan, exacerbating air pollution for those living there, and becoming a physical manifestation of the

coloniality that people in Barrio Logan experience on a daily basis. However, we argued that the construction of the bridge was significant in the subject formation of local people.[36] The response of people from Barrio Logan and Logan Heights to this unwanted infrastructure involved actions through which they reflected on themselves and their belonging in the United States. Murals were painted on the supports of the bridge depicting both local and wider struggles against colonialism and injustice. They were painted by local people, and painters identifying as Chicanxs from around the Southwest United States, projecting an image of Chicanxs as inclusive and supportive of other connected groups, such as Mexican and other Latin American migrants.

What defines Chicanxs as a community to this day is the oppositional nature of their organising, which questions societal systems of power that treat Anglo-American lives and culture as more valuable than Latinx, Black and other less privileged groups. The Chicanx cultural organisations that formed around the 1960s at the time of the civil rights movement took inspiration from the struggles of non-Chicanx groups. For example, the Brown Berets, a community organisation whose members have effectively functioned as guardians of Chicano Park since its creation, took inspiration from the Black

Figure 1: Mural in Chicano Park, San Diego.

Panthers. Our research has shown Chicanxs taking part in intersectional struggles against structures of oppression in the United States to this day.[37] This became particularly evident in the Black Lives Matter protests, during which vigilant Latinxs participated in the protests against the killing of George Floyd. Thus, our study highlights the watchfulness of people who feel belonging across multiple communities, and who find common cause through their awareness of the structural oppression they have to deal with on a daily basis.

One of the foci of this project is to understand the nuances of subjectivation in San Diego. Specifically, the aim is to grasp the ways in which individuals perceive themselves and how they create meaning in the process of subject formation, which takes place in a fragmented, racialised and unequal context. Through ethnography, we show how vigilant behaviour significantly moulds the subjectivity of individual research participants. In this book, we draw on material from a semi-structured interview with one of our research subjects we call Nacho, a child of Honduran migrants to the U.S. who was himself born and raised in San Diego, on the U.S. side of the U.S.-Mexico border. Nacho describes himself as looking like a 'white Californian'. While Nacho's mother, who could not speak English when she arrived in the U.S. as a teenager, has ex-

perienced micro-aggressions from classmates and colleagues among others, his father was exposed to direct harassment by the police and migration police in particular. Going to and from work, Nacho's father was often asked by the police for his papers in order to prove that he was legally allowed to reside in the U.S., and even after thirty years of paying taxes in the U.S., Nacho's father still has a precarious residence status as a green card holder. However, because Nacho does not always appear as identifiably Latino, and can therefore 'pass' for an Anglo-American, he has not suffered the same kind of discrimination that his parents have. Nacho, though, was raised by his parents to be proud of his Honduran roots. In the texts that follow, we show how Nacho struggles with this multiple belonging. Despite being able to pass as a 'white Californian' he feels responsibility at times to defend aspects of his self that are not easily visible to others meeting him for the first time. A key moment that we identify is when Nacho responds to someone insulting Latinos by identifying himself as Latino, to reflect the other man's racism back at him and shame him. In this way, he contested a discourse propagated through the U.S. media and reproduced by Anglo-Americans in daily life of Latinxs as a threat.[38] In doing so, he spoke up for an idea of pluriethnic, diverse belonging in the U.S., rather

than a citizenship based on cultural assimilation. We argue that key moments such as these are significant in the subject formation of migrants and U.S. citizens who are assumed to be so.

The Immigration of Spouses: Marriage Migration from Russian-speaking Countries to Germany and the Border Regime

Alena Zelenskaia and Irene Götz (European Ethnology and Cultural Analysis)

Germany has recently become one of the world's top destinations for migrants, and this trend is reflected in the number of individuals migrating there to marry. A significant number of migrant spouses arriving in Germany over the last two decades have been Russian or Ukrainian.[39] The immigration of spouses from most non-EU-states is tied to two opposite rationales and EU policies. It is a constitutionally granted right that families and married couples should be able to reside together in a country of their choice; however, EU states demand restrictions on immigration and differentiate between wanted and unwanted migrants according to both national and European rules. Thus, migrants from so-called third coun-

tries (countries that do not belong to the EU, nor the European Free Trade Association) are subjected to visa requirements before entering the European Union and so mostly have to rely on either a temporary tourist visa, a working permit, or a marriage visa. Although a guarantee exists that migrants have the right to be reunited with their spouses/families within the EU, an extremely bureaucratic procedure of paperwork and screening is involved. Before migrants even enter the EU, the relevant consulates act as gatekeepers inspecting a given individual's paperwork and examining their credentials closely within the context of processing their visa. If the consulates' staff are suspicious about whether a marriage is 'worthy of protection', in accordance with the German constitution, an interrogation of both spouses is sometimes undertaken to clarify whether the marriage has merely been registered for immigration purposes. Within this context, cultural norms and notions play an important role, such as, for example, the difference between 'unions of love' versus 'marriages of convenience'.

As it is impossible to prove a marriage to be 'legitimate' in nature and the validity of a union is defined using culturally coded characteristics, administrative bodies apply different strategies to position couples on a scale stretching from 'not

suspicious' to 'abusing the marriage migration system/fraudulent'. This border control regime exerts particular vigilance with regard to certain characteristics that arouse suspicion, such as big differences in age, class and/or education, couples having only known each other for a short time, or only ever having met online.[40] However, these couples are not only regarded with suspicion by staff working for these administrative bodies. The marriages are often viewed as suspect by the spouses' own families, neighbours and acquaintances on social media, as both interviews with migrant women from Russian-speaking countries and the study of social media groups of women migrants from Russia and Ukraine have shown in our project.

This project sheds light on this extended system of surveillance that has been put in place by the European Union's border regime, and, in particular by the German border regime, coupled by a more informal and lateral form of vigilance in everyday life, as well as the cultural values on which the two are built. Our research is informed by the findings of ethnographic fieldwork, discourse analysis, social media analysis and interviews with migrants from Russian-speaking countries. On the basis of our results, we argue that the surveillance conducted by bureaucrats is tied to a wider system of informal 'everyday vigilance', which exerts pres-

sure on (future) migrants to inspect and evaluate their attitude towards their (future) husband, to check whether said husband is reliable and trustworthy and, last but not least, to portray themselves as having legitimate reasons to marry said husband during numerous daily encounters with peers and parents. Given these findings from the field, this project identifies the cultural values of a variety of actors and institutions, as well as commenting upon their strategies and practices, first focusing on the migrants' reports of experienced or anticipated forms of vigilance and how they shape their own self, practices, and attitudes. The case study presented below, based on one of the interviews with marriage migrants from Russia and Ukraine, is one example of how such cultural values entail a process of forming an 'appropriate' subject worthy of being accepted as a legitimate marriage migrant.

Liliya's case stands out from the many others in the project's sample in a certain way. It sheds a nuanced light on the many layers of the subject position in question and provides insights into the context in which this self is formed and performed. The subject position that is aspired to, and which Liliya consciously attempts to develop, can be described as one of a 'truly loving' and committed wife. 'True love' has to be displayed in everyday practice by mutual respect, equality, fidelity,

monogamy and trust. These traits of a truly loving wife – and caring mother – serve as cultural norms, and prerequisites for a legitimate marriage. In cases in which both border regime workers and a couple's family, neighbours and friends might regard them with suspicion, these 'honest purposes' and 'adequate behaviour' have to be displayed in a distinct way. Liliya's spouse does not meet the aforementioned cultural codes expected of him, but instead is likely to be viewed as an older man looking for a young woman from an 'Eastern' country to marry. Furthermore, they met on an online dating platform and did not spend an 'adequate' amount of time together before Liliya decided to move in with her husband. Given these 'inadequate' traits, which convey inequality between the couple, Liliya struggles to embody the norms of an 'appropriate' couple – and the failed attempt to mould her husband according to them – can be conceived as a reaction to her worry about not being able to embody normative expectations.

In order for bureaucrats working at consulates and foreign offices to 'accept' a marriage as 'appropriate', it must be viewed as being rooted in true love and coupled with the wish to start a family, and so demonstrating this is the only possible route for a family to be reunited in an EU-country, such as Germany.[41] Other reasons, such as seeking a

better future in a wealthy EU-country are not accepted as justifications for legitimising binational marriages in which one partner originates from a 'third country'.

This means that both partners have to justify and (re-)shape their inner attitudes and outer 'performances' of attachment and love. 'Rational' choices, such as seeking a caregiver in the case of the older German man or improving living conditions in the case of female migrants have to be hidden or at least embedded within the overall emotion of 'true love'. This feeling is to be composed alongside certain rules and entails a set of manners towards which subjectivation is directed. As Facebook profiles of women from Russian-speaking countries show, youth, attractiveness and a self-stereotyping process of attuning to the widespread ideal of a 'warm and feminine Russian beauty' are taken for granted as an asset on the international marriage market. Yet, marketing one's own capital as a 'potentially truly loving and caring women' also arouses the suspicion of (female) compatriots within certain social media groups. These groups, in which female would-be-migrants exchange information about marriage migration to Germany, exhibit numerous cases of vigilant behaviour and a general mistrust of these women by other Russian migrants. The latter tend to insinuate that

their compatriots are only interested in marrying wealthy German men and, in doing so, betray both the state and their partners. Thus, the border regime must be defined as an extended one that includes various forms of informal acts of vigilance by peers, social media contacts, and future family members, amongst others.

Liliya's is not an exceptional case. Russian and Ukrainian citizens, like other citizens of third countries, usually have to operate within the official and unofficial categories into which they are pigeonholed in consulates, foreign offices and during border control checks. Thus, they are identified as migrants whose aim is to marry a rich husband; they are stereotyped as 'housewives', ending up dependent on a new family and in the worst case on a state's social welfare system. Yet, the subjectivities of marriage migrants, which entail ongoing self-observation, are not only a product of the (anticipated) scrutiny of bureaucrats. As Liliya's case illustrates, these migrants feel that they have to demonstrate that they have really married their spouse for what are deemed acceptable reasons. The interviews, which Alena conducted with Russian, Ukrainian, and Belorussian migrant women who intended to migrate soon or had migrated many years ago, were filled with such justifications. This self-legitimising seemed to be based on a wide

range of diverse suspicions, which had – at least at the beginning of their given relationships – accompanied their own questioning of themselves with regard to whether their decision to marry could be viewed as morally right or wrong.

Three Women on Trial in Czechoslovakia

Christiane Brenner (Modern Eastern European History)

In Czechoslovakia, several thousand people were tried for 'parasitism' every year from the 1960s onwards.[42] It could be said that 'parasitism' was a typically socialist crime. The offense itself was a violation of the general duty to work, by earning an income from activities that were considered 'improper', including prostitution. As work constituted one of the main pillars of socialist order, 'parasitism' was considered to be a violation of the 'socialist way of life'. If found guilty, one could be sentenced to up to three years imprisonment. The harshness of the state in dealing with this phenomenon made it difficult for individuals who had once been labelled 'parasites' to (re)integrate into society. Often, these people originated from disadvantaged backgrounds, and repeatedly ended up

in prison. This made them part of an 'antisocial milieu' whose existence, as Thomas Lindenberger has argued,[43] contributed to the stabilisation of the 'socialist order'.

I wish to contribute to our discussion on vigilance and subjectivity with an analysis of three trials held at a Prague-based district court in 1963 involving Roma women. The reason why I have chosen these specific examples is that they represent a special situation of vigilance with the state authorities, who surveyed 'socialist morality', as well as individuals belonging to a group suspected of having a distinct lack respect for these morals because of their ethnic, social, and gender affiliation. Based on the court files, which also contain the interrogations of the women, I explore the possibilities open to the women to present themselves as subjects. How could they talk about themselves and about their own agendas?

The three women standing before the district court could not prove they had a regular job, all three belonged to the Roma minority, and none of them was officially registered in Prague. The very fact that they were not legal citizens of Prague meant that these women were breaking the rules. For one of them, this even constituted a criminal offense because she was registered in the so-called Gypsy-register. This register was intended to force

Roma to settle in one place.[44] It generally prohibited them from moving from their assigned place of residence without police permission.

Emilie N., was 21 years old.[45] She originated from České Budějovice (Budweis) in southern Bohemia and had spent part of her youth in a state-run children's and youth home. After coming of age, she returned to České Budějovice and started a job working as a cleaning lady. The interrogation protocol notes that she left this position in February 1963 without any notice and travelled to Prague. Apparently, Emilie knew where to meet people and obtain support to find lodgings. The protocols state that she had spent time with 'dubious women with no permanent residence or employment', and visited well-known pubs and bars, where she could always find someone willing to pay her bill. During her interrogation, Emilie N. stated that she had repeatedly escaped before any sexual encounter could be initiated with men with whom she had been drinking. On several occasions, however, she had also gone to an apartment or dormitory with a new acquaintance she had met whilst drinking. Emilie N. was sentenced to two years in prison for 'parasitism', rioting, and for hurling insults at police officers during her arrest. She was not given probation because she already had previous convictions.

The judgement of the second defendant, Tatjana P. (1940),[46] was even harsher. She was sentenced to 26 months' imprisonment without probation. The court justified this lengthy sentence, on the one hand, by the fact that Tatjana P. had already been convicted three times for 'parasitism', and, on the other hand, because she had violated the conditions associated with Tatjana P.'s entry in the 'register'.

The file on Tatjana P. comprises more than 50 pages, including several lengthy interrogations of the accused. Nevertheless, it is hard to understand what had happened during the weeks before her arrest in the early hours of 9 September 1963, on Wenceslas Square in Prague. Statements in one protocol contradict those in another. Also, the investigators spent little energy on finding out whether Tatjana P. had made her living in Prague by working as a prostitute; rather, it was something that was simply assumed. An illness for which Tatjana P. was hospitalised in Prague for several weeks was only addressed to discover whether the man who had helped Tatjana on the way to the hospital had given her money, and if so, whether this had been a payment for sexual services. The court showed considerably more interest in statements about Tatjana's alleged bad character, her ingratitude toward socialist society and her criminal en-

ergy, which had manifested itself not least in the fact that she had returned to an 'itinerant lifestyle'.

The case of 22-year-old Jarmila N.[47] has many aspects in common with the other two. Like the other two women, Jarmila N. had left her hometown of her own volition. She had travelled to Prague and had been taken to the police station by the police in Wenceslas Square some weeks later after refusing to show her identity card. Despite the similarities, Jarmila's case differed from Emilie's or Tatjana's. Jarmila arrived in Prague without any idea of how she was going to survive in the city. She was homeless and slept in the park. Just how she managed to keep her head above water during her time on the street could not be clarified during the interrogations. The police could not prove that she had been involved in prostitution, so the charge of 'parasitism' was dropped. This was a surprising turn of events during the trial. After all, there was no question that Jarmila had not worked since she had last been released from prison. However, the judge recognised that she had actively sought work – she had even asked at the local National Committee for a job – but had not found anything. What was even more surprising was that the judge attributed this failure to the fact that Jarmila was Roma.

The four-month prison sentence the court eventually imposed might seem lenient consider-

ing Jarmila's previous criminal record. However, considering other factors discussed during the trial, the sentence appears in a different light. Jarmila had been mentally ill and had spent some time in a psychiatric ward. According to a psychological report requested for the trial, Emilie was not only of low intelligence, but also 'showed clear traits of mental deviation'. Instead of providing her with treatment though, the court sent her to prison until the end of her advanced pregnancy.

The task of the officers investigating the cases of Emilie N., Tatjana P., and Jarmila N. was to bring 'the truth' to light. For this purpose, they interviewed the three women, listened to witness statements and, in one case, asked psychological experts for their opinion. Rather than reflecting 'the truth', the court files attest to the social ideals prevalent at that time, the contemporary understanding of law and justice, the personal assessments and perhaps also the moods, sympathies or antipathies of the judges involved in the individual cases. We can only speculate as to who the representatives of the state were acting in the service of socialist vigilance and justice. As for the women who were being judged, it is even more difficult. There is not much further information to be found on these three women other than that which can be found in the files. Regarding Tatjana P., there is a

Figure 2: ‘Tatjana P.’ in photos taken in 1960 when she was processed after her arrest by the police. In 1963, she was put out on the wanted list.

police wanted notice with two photos from 1960. Handwritten notes on the covers of the files on Tatjana P. and Emilie N. reveal that in later years they were required to attend new trials.

The aim of my contribution is to trace individual agency in the court sources. Court proceedings such as the ones involving Emilie N., Tatjana P. and Jarmila N. were events shaped to a high degree not only by the rules of socialist jurisdiction, but also by ‘common knowledge’ on social class, ethnicity, and gender. Although this was an extremely unequal situation, I argue that it is still possible to reconstruct the defendants’ attempts to make themselves visible as individuals with their own history and characteristics. Looking at their statements from a subjectivation perspective, the

performative and temporal aspects are particularly important. For this reason, it is my aim to find signs of how the women played close attention to how they portrayed themselves and tried to control their emotions whilst being interrogated. My main concern here is to trace the development they underwent throughout the course of the court proceedings – that is, what they *become* through their statements over the course of a few weeks. The point this project makes is that this transformation was an attempt by the women to adapt to prevalent norms and, by doing so, to communicate what was important for them personally.

Watchful Citizens in Early Modern Germany

Brendan Röder (Early Modern History)

My contribution to this collective reflection on vigilance and subjectivation focuses on the formation of citizenship in an early modern German city. In particular, I will describe the yearly ritual of oath taking as a key moment in defining an ideal of a good citizen that can fruitfully be interpreted as a subject type. As I will argue, constant watchfulness of one another and vigilance with regard to

potential hazards was one of the core elements of this ideal.

Discussing the urban citizen in an early modern German context as a subject type presents a terminological challenge. Even though there is extensive research on early modern ego-documents, many originating in an urban context, few works apply the perspective and terminology of subjectivation to this historical field.[48] The term 'bourgeois subject', which evokes the French variant of burgher/*Bürger* as a privileged member of medieval and early modern urban communities, can be misleading. It has strong connotations of nineteenth century class struggles and implies a certain degree of teleology in describing a process leading up to a universal modern type of subjectivity. The same is true for the term 'individual', which is described in an influential research tradition dating back at least to Jacob Burckhardt's work (1818–1897) as a particularly modern phenomenon.[49] Instead of applying an established term, I will start by asking who those citizens participating in oath day were and what they did, who was excluded and what insights the perspective of subjectivation provides into these processes.[50]

The urban ritual of oath day might seem an unusual topic with regard to discussions relating to subjectivation. Indeed, it is very much centred on the

formation of a collective (citizenship). While there have been some attempts to look at how collectives themselves (e.g., nations or cities) are addressed as subjects, I want to stress a different potential that speaking about subjectivation in this context has.[51] The term addresses both the subjection of the individual to the norms of the collective and how being a citizen allowed individuals to affirm their subject position. Of course, the reference to oneself as a citizen happened not only on a specific day, but continuously in many spheres of life (from legal actions as citizens to exercising a profession). While the connection between individual and collective is relevant for many historical contexts, the early modern 'relational society' provides particularly illustrative material for this social positionality of the subject.[52]

The day upon which citizens joined together to swear their citizens' oath constituted an important ritual in many so-called free imperial German cities (free imperial referring to the fact that they did not have an overlord apart from the reigning emperor and were allowed to function as self-governing entities).[53] In a legal sense, the city as a collective of citizens was founded through their original oath (*coniuratio*) that was repeated every year (*coniuratio reiterata)*, even when the city – its buildings, institutions etc. – firmly existed independently of this ritual.

As I will demonstrate below, vigilance was a crucial part of the formula of the citizens' oath. As a part of their loyalty to the existing political and social order, citizens had to be watchful against anything that could be harmful to the ruling authorities, their fellow citizens and the city as a whole. In Cologne, for instance, citizens had to avert or report anything harmful that they 'know, hear, see or perceive'.[54] Interestingly, the required watchfulness is not described by one single term but by a variety of verbal forms that refer to the cognitive and perceptual forms of attention appealed to. The subject that one is supposed to become through swearing the oath is not only characterised by a mental assent to its duties but is also addressed in its sensory and bodily capacity (its sense of vision, hearing etc.).

These thoughts on oath day can be linked to my larger project on sensory vigilance against danger in the early modern city of Augsburg. Taking up questions from urban and sensory history, the project analyses the embodied and material dimension of watchfulness and shows how listening attentively and keeping a close eye on one's surroundings, but also the recognition and observation of foul odours, as well as the touching and tasting of objects were all part of every citizen's daily life and essential to the functioning of the urban community as a whole.

While my remarks below will be limited to the ritual of oath day, it is worth noting that the relatively young field of sensory history has addressed forms of subjectivation in several important ways. In his pioneering work *The Foul and the Fragrant. Odor and the French Social Imagination* (orig. 1982), French historian Alain Corbin described an increased intolerance toward strong odours as a crucial part of the formation of a bourgeois subject in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century. From the new bourgeois standpoint, their own self found its opposite in lower class bodies which not only gave off bad smells due to a lack of bodily hygiene, but which also did not possess the same sensitivity to smell and their odorous surroundings as the new bourgeoisie did. In Corbin's interpretation, olfactory vigilance and the lack thereof served as a social marker.

Mark M. Smith's work on the history of race has similarly stressed the othering function of the senses. In *How Race Is Made: Slavery, Segregation, and the Senses* (2006), Smith shows how U.S.-American Southerners drew on their senses to construct racial difference between essentially 'white' and 'Black' subjects. Different senses worked together in othering processes. As Smith argues, the absence of clear visual markers led to stereotypes based on smell and other sensory impressions. This is not a

relic of the past. As legal scholar Alan Hyde has argued with regard to the 1992 case of homeless Richard Kreimer being banned from a public library, the sense of smell is often employed to create distinctions between the self and those with whom one does not wish to 'converse with or embrace'.[55]

These few examples show that (sensory) practices of vigilance should always be analysed for their segregating social effects. We can ask how they draw boundaries between individuals and social groups and how they create and assign different forms of subject status. This attentiveness to mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion guides my view on one specific mode of shaping the early modern citizen subject. It will become clear that the ritual of oath taking not only integrated men of various social positions but was also highly exclusionary in many ways. As I will show, vigilance was part of the ideal of citizenship in the sense that it was not just an additional or external feature of the citizen but had to be exercised not least precisely in policing this subject formation.

Diabolic Vigilance in Tales from the Late Medieval and Early Modern Periods

Hannah Michel (Medieval Literature Studies)

It may come as a surprise to some of today's readers that the devil seems to be almost ubiquitous in the Middle Ages. Be it in literature, sermons or as a superstitious remnant in folk belief – it is rare to find a text without any mention of the devil, even if it is only a proverbial mention, in secular and spiritual texts alike. And while he is suspiciously pervasive, trying to describe him in detail proves to be a rather complex endeavour: On the one hand, he is a literary figure, but religious belief and the representation of superstitious relics are rife, on the other.[56] This omnipresence is reflected in the myriad of fears that surround demonic influences. Thus, the faithful believer is called to remain permanently vigilant both with regard to the effects of these influences not only on themselves but also on others, since the devil can affect the body and mind in many shapes and forms.

Much like Goethe's Mephistopheles, who disguised himself as a poodle and thus managed to enter Faust's home unnoticed,[57] the devil in medieval literature is often described as the kind of danger that calls for the utmost caution because

of his inconspicuousness. He can affect thoughts, making evil ones seem like one's own, disguise himself as a fellow friar or as a suspiciously good-looking person trying to tempt the faithful to stray from their path.[58] This appeal to the believer's vigilance that is supposed to guarantee their salvation is one that is always mirrored by the devil's constant observation. Any sin that has slipped the ecclesial, institutional notice, such as confession, is one that demonic forces can use to exercise their power over an individual.

This mutual awareness between humans and devils and the general uncertainty with regard to one's salvation can be seen as the starting point for complex techniques pertaining to religious belief. Constantly exploring one's conscious[59] and maintaining a strict daily schedule[60] can help one to withstand temptation, but can never guarantee total safety. Literature, on the other hand, portrays the great variety of demonic threats, complementary to such techniques of the self.[61] By describing the various dangers in detail, the reader or listener can acquire knowledge about these risks and adjust their behaviour accordingly. In these cases, the lesson and the figure of the devil are closely intertwined in that they assist in transforming the believer into a well-behaved, faithful subject who is free of sin. In the context of subjectivation, narratives

including demonic figures prove to be especially interesting, for they accompany processes of friction and change.

This may be one of the reasons our research has shown that the devil is particularly present in texts that are didactic in the broadest sense. It is the kind of literature to which one can ascribe a concrete use that is of most interest to our project. The *exemplum* genre, in particular, fills this requirement, since it is often part of sermons or used for teaching. A good example of this specific genre that will be further discussed in my analyses is the *Dialogus miraculorum* by the Cistercian monk Caesarius of Heisterbach, written in the early thirteenth century. Here it becomes evident how the devil can be used as an instrument to exercise control for a specific social group – in this case the monastery. Furthermore, the Cistercians were well-known as travelling preachers in addition to their duties in the monastery.[62] The stories that show a great variety in topics and settings seem to have been highly applicable far beyond the monastery. That at least would explain their longevity, since some of these stories can be found in story-collections as late as the early modern period.

What is surprising, however, is that the devil is not only shown as an example *ex negativo*, but that many stories remain ambivalent in their meaning

and interpretation. By putting some responsibility onto the reader, this complex interaction accompanies the process of subjectivation initiated by literature and specifically by the devil. Interestingly, the devil does not necessarily appear as a singular entity in these stories, but the words *diabolus* and *daemon* are used in singular and plural forms, respectively, and often even interchangeably. This enforces the idea of an omnipresent evil while also exhibiting great variety with regard to demonic ontology. While Lucifer may appear as *the* Devil, he is perceived as residing at the top of a complex infernal hierarchy.

Although it is not unusual to read about the devil as a figure with many ambivalent characteristics,[63] it is notable for a story that originated in a monastic context – a context to which we would ascribe very strict rules and beliefs. One should not try to completely equate literary content with the social and historical reality of the time, but literature and the insights gained therefrom can serve as a legitimate addition to historically-oriented research. This interaction between a (reconstructed) reality and the textual evidence is one that is discussed further in the observations that follow.

Furthermore, it is vital to elaborate on how the literary content, especially the *exemplum*, can initiate and shape processes of subjectivation. Here,

it will be important to analyse which subjects are interacting and therefore part of the process, especially under the premise of how and whether literature can be interpreted through the lens of subjectivation. And as we talk about the subject as the recipient, it is equally crucial to consider the devil not only as a potential assistant in the storytelling but as a subject himself. Whether there are underlying power structures that influence what is being taught and how the devil is situated in relation to them will be essential in understanding such didactic texts, especially since not all of them leave the reader with a clear moral message, but often remain ambivalent and unresolved – introducing tension rather than solution.

The Sentinel's Role in Becoming Vigilant

Agnes Rugel (Medieval Literature Studies)

This project concentrates on the *Hohenfurter Liederbuch* as its main source, a spiritual song and prayer book dating from the fifteenth century, which is to found in the Vyšší Brod Monastery (Stift Hohenfurt) in the Czech Republic. It examines the approximately 35 songs about the conversion of a so-called *Sünder* (sinner). Many of those

songs are dialogues between the sinner and a voice. This voice functions as a wake-up call, constantly reminding the sinner that he must change his life (the sinner is described as male). Looking at the medieval lyrical context, we encounter a similar constellation in love poetry. In these poems a sentinel often functions as the wake-up call for a pair of lovers who usually have to part at daybreak. This genre of *Tagelied* (courtly love songs: a particular form of medieval German language lyric, similar to the Provençal troubadour tradition, which was taken up by the German Minnesinger) is important in both its secular and its spiritual form. Parallels between both suggest that in the case of the spiritual songs one can speak of a sentinel, even if the voice is not labelled as such explicitly. The project's primary focus lies in defining the key characteristics of this sentinel's voice. As a component of the relationship between the sinner and God, the voice is central to the project. The labels assigned to it across the songs differ from real-life figures (preachers) to different dimensions of the self (soul, conscience).

Thirty-two of the songs have a melody. Some of them are defined as *contrafactures*, which means that either text or melody have a non-sacred origin or original context of use, and the corresponding melody or text is from the opposite realm.

However, mystical poetry especially – another genre these songs draw from – shows that the separation between sacred and worldly or non-sacred serves mainly analytical purposes rather than describing a clearly divisible practice, since in this genre in particular, both realms borrow from one another. The *Hohenfurter Liederbuch* frequently uses the combination of spiritual content and secular tunes and it draws from a wide variety of melodies. A (cautious) hypothesis about the impact of such a combination proposes that the performance of these songs would be able to initiate a conversion process in the reader/the audience. This process could be stimulated by reminding the reader/listener of the worldly context in using melodies that are commonly known from a non-sacred context. In resituating this melody in a sacred context, it could then perform the integration of the sacred with a worldly setting, allowing the recipient to follow-up on this integration as a first step of conversion. This is one of the methods with which the songs might have instructed the reader/listener and one means of assistance they offer.

This hypothesis is also supported by the songbook's content, which reveals the interaction between the waking voice and the sinner. The songs provide specific insight into a conversion process, presenting the sinner in constant conflict with the

self via an ever-new positioning within the relationship with both God and society, on a temporal scale between now and eternity, and on an emotional spectrum ranging from suffering to joy. The implied image of man is one that consists of a polarity between body and soul, as well as reason and the senses, which resolves in a harmonic unit as long as the sinner strives for the ideal self in attainment of vigilance as a virtue. The waking voice attributes the 'not-yet' and 'no-longer' as interchanging states of salvation to the sinner. Often, the voice laments the sinner's life as already lost or it challenges the sinner to do more in order to come closer to his own salvation. Both states are presented simultaneously in the sentinel's voice and find their tense expression in the often used image of night turning to day. The voice is located between the sinner and God, simultaneously partaking in either role and mediating between the asymmetry of desire between them. When God is described as waiting for the sinner's attention, the voice calls the sinner to repent and to turn toward God. When the sinner is described as in low spirits, believing his standing is reduced in the eyes of God, the voice turns in prayer to God and the Saints. This voice is partly locatable within the sinner (in the songs, for example, the voice is assigned the speaker role for the 'soul' or 'conscience'), and could be regarded

as an instance of the sentinel in the self, acting as a mediator between transcendence and immanence.

This project closely examines the metaphor of sleep and waking and how it portrays the conversion process. The process of conversion is portrayed as a transformation during which the sinner's self-awareness increases, rather than as one during which internal parts of his self are neglected by subjugating it to laws of religious practice proposed in the songs (such as confession or prayer). The sinner in the *Hohenfurter Liederbuch* is subjugated to the unconscious when asleep in sin. The moment of awakening describes a moment of reflection in which the sinner becomes aware of himself and is guided beyond himself at the same time, redirecting him back into a relationship with God. The call awakens the person addressed from this state of unconsciousness to an awareness of his own self and salvation. Tension exists between the need for action and the state of sleep from which the addressed sinner cannot free himself alone. Awakening, furthermore, involves both the soul and the heart: the chosen way of life affects the soul, which serves as a moral compass. The heart plays a reinforcing role in feelings of repentance. Metaphors, images, and pictorial traditions complement the biological process of waking up so that conversion becomes conceivable

as a comprehensive process of becoming conscious.

As such, the sinner is an exemplary model for recipients, who is brought near to them through songs, metaphors and poetry for didactic purposes. Passing through different stages of crises during the conversion process, the sinner serves as a role model, engaging in and thereby demonstrating a vigilant practice of self-observation. The awakened sinner is guided by the waking voice to the boundary he must cross toward God. This boundary is the decision that he has to make for God. As a mediator between God and the awakened, the voice emphasises the tension between action and passive reception. Conversion is portrayed as a complex process during which the awakened person makes a decisive, albeit by no means solo, contribution. The voice can therefore be located within the inner self, while simultaneously originating from the outside. The confrontation with one's own fragility thereby becomes part of the vigilant attitude portrayed as well as enforcing it. The project shows how vigilance is presented in these spiritual songs as a crucial dimension of religious practice and stimulated the recipients. This can be seen textually in the use of a sentinel`s voice, figurative language, and the combination of spiritual texts with melodies whose origins were non-spiritual.

Part 3

The Sources

The material used in this book to investigate subjectivation and its relationship to vigilance has been gathered from different types of sources. These range from songs as a medium for messages, to text-based sources, and empirical data collected in ethnographic fieldwork based on participant observation and interviews. We also include moralising censured stories, lyric poetry (*Ich-Wahrnehmung*), court documents and written conversations within Facebook groups. These sources were produced for different purposes and audiences: while some documents were intended to last for centuries, others again were designed for an administrative act affecting those present within a defined period and, again others are hastily written comments produced for the benefit of a third person at a given moment. The authors of some of our examples are anonymous because they represent an institution. Others are individuals recounting their own personal experiences. Each text contains language that reflects these different situations and purposes.

We believe that the sources and methods used are complementary in offering various ways to approach subject formation through diverse historical periods. Firstly, the ethnographic writing in two of our case studies allows us to understand aspects of subject formation that occur in the present day through the researchers' participant observation and interviews with individuals whose subjectivity is defined by their proximity to, or crossing of, a border. Secondly, using historical sources allows us to investigate the process of subjectivity against the backdrop of a specific historical period and situation while considering the power relations that determined it. The different sources place the subject at various distances of removal from the reader. In contrast to historical sources, ethnographers are able to interview the subjects of their research themselves. Contrastingly, the subject is portrayed through the eyes of the prosecution, judges and the court stenographer in court records, but has little opportunity to talk for herself or himself. In 'ego-documents', such as autobiographies, the subject is able to address the reader directly, rather than have their thoughts mediated by a writer or an interviewer. Meanwhile, in the folk tales and liturgies examined, while subjectivation occurs within the texts themselves, it is mirrored by their pedagogical intent, which is for subjectivation to occur at the

level of the reader, their recipient. We discuss the specificities of our sources in detail below.

Observation and Participation

In contrast to more text-based sources, social relationships are central to ethnographic work. Participant observation, the most prominent methodological tool in anthropological research, involves the anthropologist spending extended amounts of time with interlocutors. This can entail around a year of fieldwork, in which the anthropologist lives with the group being studied, and joins in with their work and leisure activities. This way the anthropologist can both observe the practices of the research subjects, but also physically and often emotionally experience what they do. Conducting research through establishing relationships over an extended period of time requires an ongoing reflection on the positionality of the researcher and more often than not, notions of 'insider' and 'outsider' are collapsed during the process of fieldwork.

The tension between 'observing' and 'participating' points to the continuous negotiation of 'closeness' and 'distance' of social relationships in anthropological research. Thus, the 'field' in social anthropology is constituted through the dynamic

relationships of all actors involved. In the case of our project on Latinx/Chicanx subjectivity in San Diego, watching and observing, as well as being watched and being observed, are to some extent both research topic and methodology at once. In our specific case, however, it is important to consider that ethnographic research was conducted during the COVID-19-pandemic. This limited the amount of face-to-face research that could take place and some material was collected online by Catherine, who was the main researcher. This inductive approach requires both flexibility and attentiveness to the local situation.

In writing ethnography, the anthropologist attempts to reveal the self-understanding of the community studied and considers their embeddedness in broader sociopolitical structures and power relations. A key feature of ethnographic research is that it is possible to explore what people say and to observe what they actually *do.* Thus, ethnographic research not only relies on discourses but is particularly well suited to analyse social practices. As the main instrument of research, the anthropologist must reflect on his or her own positionality and relations with the community studied.

The main source that we draw on in our example is a semi-structured interview and informal conversations conducted with an interlocutor we

call Nacho, who is phenotypically ambiguous and can pass as Latinx or 'white'. Through participant observation in San Diego, Catherine became familiar with the broader context of the events that Nacho described in the interviews. Overall, it was useful to have a close personal relationship to see different ways in which watchfulness has played a role in the process of his subject formation. However, it also took an emotional toll on Catherine, as many of her friends in San Diego had experienced significant trauma in their lives and often continue to struggle with medical, economic, and familial troubles, that go beyond experiencing racism. Becoming emotionally invested in her interlocutors made it difficult for Catherine to distance herself from the field at times. However, being part of a larger research team allowed for this, as Eveline and Jonathan provided multiple perspectives on data from a certain emotional distance. This included Eveline and Jonathan participating in joint fieldwork in San Diego with Catherine, supported by Carolin Luiprecht as a research assistant, in September 2021. Collective fieldwork allowed the group to discuss the empirical material and the fieldwork process itself while still in the field.[64]

In addition to participant observation and interviews, other sources were included to better understand the existing social situation in San

Diego. Auto-ethnographic and pop-cultural material has been put in conversation with the material gathered in interviews and elsewhere. The history around policymaking in the U.S. was looked at in detail initially, as the racialisation of immigrants in the U.S. through law and its contested implementation plays an important role in the interlocutors' lives. Likewise, an ethnographic approach to politics reveals resistance to the implementation of legal regulations that disenfranchise affected individuals, such as by undermining their claims to citizenship. The limitations to research resulting from COVID-19-related restrictions meant that digital sources, such as Facebook pages of Chicanx organisations, became even more vital than they might have been otherwise. Social media, in particular, has proven to be a useful resource for the examination of Chicanx self-narratives.

Interview and Digital Ethnography

The research conducted on marriage migration to the European Union involved anthropological methodological tools such as participant observations and interviews, similar to those used in the San Diego study. However, given the travel limitations imposed by the COVID-19-pandemic and

the dispersed character of the group being studied, Alena had to adapt to these conditions and find new ways of approaching her field and pursuing her research questions. As participant observation within the realm of German civil service offices was not possible, cyberspace initially became the main field of discourse-centred online ethnography, which included the systematic observation of online activities, as well as semi-structured interviews and surveys of online actors. This hybrid fieldwork in terms of online and offline practices made the study challenging as it involved text-based analysis, as well as the analysis and production of social interaction. As Catherine had done, Alena adapted her methods to the local situation and became involved with the social movement 'Love is not tourism', following Russian-speaking and global online discussion groups and participating in demonstrations, one of which took place in Frankfurt am Main for example.

Through her personal blog on Telegram and several Facebook groups, Alena was able to recruit 18 participants for her study. The participants were both male and female, aged between 23 and 63 and geographically scattered across Germany. Three interviews were conducted with both partners, either as full-fledged interviewees or as commentators. Most participants were open to follow-up

questions and intimate conversations. Liliya remained in contact with Alena, introduced her to her daughter and to 'the professor', as she called the man who would become her future husband. Thus, she extended the opportunities for observation. Alena participated in Liliya's life as a friend, commenting upon decisions in her private life whenever Liliya needed support.

The analysis presented in this book rests on numerous personal Telegram messages, photos, documents and a recording of the couple's wedding. The two-hour, semi-structured interview in Alena's house turned out to be an ideal situation, in which Liliya was able to disclose her hopes and fears and provide insights into her thoughts and observations about both herself and others. Liliya travelled with her child to Alena's house, where she was interviewed. It was crucial for her to talk in a confidential atmosphere, where she could not be heard or observed by her then-fiancé. The environment of Alena's home had an unexpected impact on Liliya, specifically making her reflect on the normativity of her relationship. Liliya said that the Professor's house was dark and had a neglected garden. She also observed how Alena's husband interacted with their children and thought out loud that she dreamed about the children she would like to have with 'the Professor'.

Alena more than once had the impression that she herself, also a married Russian mother in Germany, served as a projection screen upon which Liliya developed her narration of the self as a committed wife and mother. This interaction on equal terms provided a deeper understanding of the interlocutor's subject formation as a result of anticipated or experienced vigilance by the 'world outside' to which Liliya reacted. This 'world outside', which directed her self-reflection on her subject position, comprised her mother, Russian men in general and in particular, German men, whom she dated on social media platforms, 'the professor', whom she could not trust, and the border control system, amongst others.

The self-positioning of the researcher is one of the heuristic necessities of anthropologists in the field, sharpening their lenses and influencing their interactions. Shifting between the positions of a qualitative researcher and a marriage migrant herself represents one of the key journeys and crucial experiences from which Alena's doctoral study departs and benefits. The necessity of highlighting her role as a marriage migrant in order to gain trust contributed to Alena's own ongoing subject formation. This process of having to deal with forms of subjectivation also contributed to becoming acquainted with the field. Although Alena had ne-

ver classified herself as a marriage migrant, having enough qualifications to emigrate through another path, she still had to subjectify herself as a 'wife following a German citizen' in order to gain a national visa prior to starting her work as a doctoral researcher and employee of LMU Munich. Thus, she could not help but become attentive to the practices and classifications employed by German bureaucrats in the German consulate in Russia. She was initially forced to make herself the central figure of an auto-ethnography. Alena's own bodily experience of being subjectified by the border regime contributed to her sensitivity towards female marriage migrants and their needs and sorrows, while this 'being one of us' in turn opened doors and fuelled the process of trust-building in a sensitive and intimate field.

Trial Records

Using trial records as historical sources raises a range of questions. I would like to discuss two of them here. First, I am interested in the relationship between social order, power and justice. Second, I would like to develop the question of whether trial records, or rather the records of the interrogations they contain, can be read as self-testimo-

nies/ego-documents 'written' by the defendants.[65] Viewing these questions through the lens of vigilance helps us to consider how trial records may show how defendants become subjects in the eyes of the law (whether through their own actions resulting in them portraying themselves in a certain way or from the courts' point of view).

A court process follows a standardised procedure that is binding for all parties involved. Similarly, a criminal case file is a highly formalised document and is written and composed following fixed rules. These rules are meant to guarantee that the legal system functions as it should. The procedure by which courts reconstruct violations of norms and, by dint of the verdicts given, specify the seriousness of offenses, allows conclusions to be drawn about social order and its hierarchy of norms and values, which the judiciary is supposed to protect.[66] Stolleis refers to court processes as judicially supported techniques of 'norm control'.[67]

In the case of the Romani women accused of working as prostitutes, in addition to the importance attributed to work in socialist Czechoslovakia in general, my sources reveal social inequalities and ethnic discrimination. As to the obvious discrimination exhibited within them, I have already mentioned the limited freedom of movement and a particularly severe restriction for Roma who were

included in a special register as formerly itinerant persons. What is more difficult to grasp, however, are inequalities resulting from how trustworthy or honest a person is considered to be. Perceptions of that kind do not result from written laws, but from what a society considers to be 'common sense'. Thus, it can be argued that the portrait of the accused depicted by the court reflects a consensus of societal values. Of course, far-reaching conclusions on shared values cannot be drawn based on only three files. This requires an analysis of serial sources, something that I have carried out as part of my research project, which is based on a large number of files generated over the course of several decades, presenting arguments put forward by numerous judges, lawyers, witnesses and representatives of society.

Evidently, the voices of those who represent what counts as 'social normalcy' can be heard loud and clear within the documentation relating to the trials. But what about those individuals on trial? Is there room for the agency of the accused in a situation in which both interrogation and repeated questioning take place?

At first glance, little of this can be found within the material. The women have to repeatedly provide information about themselves, their family background, education and previous employ-

ment. Like every citizen in a socialist state, they have given this information many times in their lives. We can assume that they are familiar with this practice of self-representation that served to position a person in the social structure of society, which, in addition to class origin, included political commitment.[68] Even if this first part of every interrogation might seem like a meaningless ritual, it prepared the ground for what followed. Under the eyes of the assembled court for all three defendants, the picture of a 'typical Romani woman' emerged, while basic information was requested time and again: Tatjana P., Emilie N. and Jarmila N. all originated from large families, they were not particularly well-educated (at least one of them was illiterate), their work biographies were patchy, and they had never been 'socially active'. It was against this background that the court's assessment of their individual failings took place.

Concerning the women, an ambivalent attitude toward their own origin and family can be observed. The paternalism of the family – of parents and older siblings – played an important role in the women's decision to move somewhere else. At the same time, there was no place outside the extended family network where they could go and hope for support. Each of the women repeatedly addressed the issue of being Romani as a collective-

ly experienced disadvantage within society and as a cause (or one of the causes) of a difficult personal situation. However, all three women vehemently rejected the accusation that they were using prostitution as a means to solve the difficult situation of not having a place to stay and for lacking a steady income.

Two of the women, Tatjana P. and Emilie N., showed signs of remorse, the latter after having left her family and a job she hated in České Budějovice. However, when Emilie N. was confronted with an impending two-year prison sentence, she began to fight. After her release from jail, she argued, she would be twenty-three, 'and that's too late to start a new life', especially since her siblings would despise her as a former convict. Jarmila N., in turn, argued that what she needed was not punishment, but help: 'I am sick at the nerves and demand to be cured in an institution.'[69]

The women's statements in court were made from a relatively disadvantaged position and – we can assume – made them feel uneasy. Ex post, it is impossible to find out whether the transcripts include the exact wording or whether sentences were shortened or language corrected. As a historical source, statements made in court are problematic when it comes to finding out 'the truth'. However, they provide insights into ways in which subjects

are conveyed through argumentation, and the development of a story. In the example of the three women, their reaction to attributions and interpretations does tell us something about who they wanted to be – or rather, who they did not want to be: a cheap worker in a lousy job and a young woman under the thumb of older family members. Above all though, they did not want to be seen as prostitutes.

Normative Documents and Historical Ego-documents

For most historical projects, direct physical and emotional engagement with research subjects, as described in the anthropological case study above, is not possible. The link between our research subjects and us remains fragile. It is highly debatable, for instance, whether living through the COVID-19 pandemic gives us any form of privileged access to past pandemic experiences. This is not simply a question of quarantined people in early modern plague times not using zoom, for instance, but rather about the commensurability of present and past experiences, as described in textual or visual sources, in general. If anything, certain questions that we ask our sources change

their meaning and urgency in each context. The perspective of the history of senses in situations of perceived danger that my own project follows is influenced by the COVID-19 pandemic. It is clear, however, that the definitions of dangers and the reactions expressed in the sources may differ completely from our own.

The project is mainly based on two groups of textual sources: Normative documents such as laws, regulations, behavioural manuals and guidelines and documents closer to social practices such as petitions and various forms of ego-documents. The latter consists of a broad spectrum of sources, within some of which a person willingly tells their own life story (as is the case in an autobiography) or unwillingly makes statements about themselves. The formula of the citizen oath, for instance, gives us normative elements of a good citizen. As I have described, the oath prominently involves a call to vigilance. The formula itself (or the fact that people were present on oath day) does not tell us whether citizens lived up to this in any way and whether anybody reported anything dangerous or suspicious. Reading denunciations and following legal cases brings us closer to answering these questions even though they do not necessarily convey historical truth. Statements about the self were often mediated, especially when the documents that

contain them were recorded by inquisitors, advocates or scribes.

Just as the production of normative documents is itself embedded in social reality (political negotiations etc.), the utterances that people made before courts, offices and fellow citizens follow, reflect and engage with social norms, a question that Christiane Brenner discusses in more detail when speaking about twentieth century trial-records. Even such a special and highly individualised research subject such as Matthäus Schwarz, who depicted himself in various costumes throughout his life, was part of the normative horizon of his time.[70] As the perspective of subjectivation underlines, expressing oneself will always be a question of autonomy and heteronomy. Looking at both levels of sources described is therefore highly advisable, if not a necessity, when attempting to understand past subjects.

Folk Tales

As with most projects in this book drawing on historical subjects, my research is entirely text-based. The main group of texts is the collection of short *exempla* from the early 13th century by the monk Caesarius of Heisterbach, called *The Dialogue on*

Miracles. Looking into other collections of short tales from the late Middle Ages to early modern times reveals that the same stories are frequently re-told and re-interpreted. One such example is the collection of folk tales by Johannes Pauli, *Schimpf und Ernst*, published in 1522. Like Caesarius, Pauli follows a didactic purpose in the broadest sense, since the stories are meant to educate and entertain. Given that a lot of the same material can be found in both collections, their particular narrative framing invites a comparison.

This is especially noteworthy when looking at stories that originally remain largely ambivalent in their meaning. One of the most questionable tales in the *Dialogue on Miracles* is one in which the devil appears as helpful and sympathetic.[71] The narration follows a knight who has had a young man serving him for many years. Only through various happenstances, most notably finding a cure for the knight's sick wife, does he notice that the young – and suspiciously beautiful – man has been a demon in human disguise all along. However, instead of betraying his master, the devil proves himself to be loyal. The only thing he asks of the knight is to take the money that he originally offered the demon for his diligent service to buy a church bell. The unusual portrayal is also noted by the novice who asks: 'Who could have expected any such con-

duct from a demon?' Surprisingly, the intradiegetic figures who should be responsible for explaining and reducing ambivalence (especially in a text used for teaching purposes) do not provide any form of further explanation, but only point out the unconventional element in the story and then refer to the next story in the collection ('I will give you another example of devilish kindness, if I may call it so, which will surprise you no less than this').

In a much later retelling of the story, the church bell turns out to be a ruse: The demon, knowing that the people were used to turning up to Mass slightly early, hoped to disturb the prayers by installing a bell.[72] The grey area and the remaining uncertainty inherent in Caesarius' version of the story is completely eradicated, thus creating a demonic character who is much more unambiguous in terms of morality.

While the devil seems to be a kind of literary figure with the potential to introduce ambivalent interpretations of one and the same story, the surrounding mechanisms of re-telling and sometimes even censoring tell another tale. Following the same material through multiple time periods and collections and seeing it contextualised differently can at least give an indication of the social climate surrounding it or be an indicator for the authors' intentions. In this case, Pauli seems to have wanted

a portrayal of demonic forces that leaves less room for misinterpretation. In terms of vigilance, this instance of a re-telling seems important in that the framing keeps a close eye on the narrative. The way in which authors re-write a story thus provides insight into how authors can fulfil an almost watchful function in relation to the text and the content they provide – which seems to be especially notable in stories that contain pedagogic intent.

Spiritual Songbook

The *Hohenfurter Liederbuch* is a songbook, which dates from the beginning of the fifteenth century. It measures 14 cm by 10 cm and has 141 leaves. Thirteen of these are blank, but the rest are inscribed with songs from a spiritual context. In the second half of the book almost all the songs contain a melody. The songbook is not complete, as the melody of the last song is missing and the last pages are empty.

The songbook lies in Vyšší Brod Monastery (Stift Hohenfurt), on the southern Czech border. The monastery was founded in the thirteenth century by the Rosenburg family. Nonetheless, the author is unknown. Three drawings and a few mentions in the songs concerning a 30 year-old led

Figure 3: *Hohenfurter Liederbuch* depicting a man (maybe the sinner) held captive by a multi-eyed devil, 15th century, Vyšší Brod Monastery, ms 8b, fol. 78^{r}.

early research to believe the author to be a 30 year-old lay male, writing about his conversion. Recent research, however, has not found any evidence for this in the source, meaning that the author remains unknown. The manuscript was edited at the end of the nineteenth century and has been mentioned and partly examined in several articles devoted to sacred song, as well as in musicological studies on folk song in the East-Central European region.

As mentioned above, the lyrics in the second part of the book, in particular, speak about the path of conversion in *contrafactures* (the combina-

tion of sacred texts and what were originally secular melodies). This raises the question of how a medieval recipient would experience a song that, on one hand, textually calls for conversion, but yet melodically recalls a folk song implying a love story. Song 51, for example, is about how the sinner remembers his conversion process and struggles to desire God, while the melody's original song is about love and missing one's beloved, commemorating the shared love.

Further details about the manuscript are noteworthy. Almost every song has a red heading that explains the content in few words. How songs and headings were read in combination is of particular interest: did the headings guide the individual reader through the cycle? Did it help in selecting the appropriate song for a performance in front of the congregation or just for individual contemplation? With regard to the manuscript, one question is how traces of use are to be interpreted: were songs on the dirtier pages used more often? Here, many questions lead again and again into the realm of practice, which for the Middle Ages must, to a great extent, remain a realm for speculation: Were there recitals for fellow monks or did these take place as part of the liturgy? In what way were lay people involved?

But not only is the manuscript a source, its publication is equally of interest in this context.

It is worth mentioning who the first editor of the *Hohenfurter Liederbuch* was. It was not edited by the monastery, but rather by Wilhelm Bäumker, a researcher of musicology and literature studies, and a doctor of Theology. In the foreword to the 1895 edition, he expresses pride in presenting this songbook to the public. He cites previous researchers, who – when the songbook went missing during the eighteen-sixties – regretted the loss of the songbook for the history of 'Catholic church songs'.[73] The editor sees his work as a valuable contribution to the history of church song and religious literature of the fifteenth century as well as to musicology. The 1895 edition primarily focuses on making this songbook accessible to a more general public. To this end, Bäumker transferred the four-line-musical notation to the five-line-system commonly used today. The music from the fifteenth century seems to be readable, but the modern reader needs to be attentive so as to not forget that fifteenth century rhythms, dynamics and the range of emotions expressed through music are scarcely accessible to the modern recipient but rather have been transformed into a new musical experience.

At first glance, there seems to be no connection to the way anthropologists engage with their research subjects as described above. However, in this case, the source itself suggests several ways of

calling the recipients' attention to itself. Melodies, the combination of sacred text and secular music in the form of *contrafactures* and red headings can be seen to engage the reader with the manuscript and its content. At the same time, the researcher's attention is challenged not to confuse one's own musical experience (easily provoked by Wilhelm Bäumker nineteenth century edition) with what can be said about fifteenth century renditions of spiritual songs.

Part 4
Conceptual Intersections of Subjectivation

In this part, we present the transversal axes that we identified in our case studies as pertinent for the investigation of the nexus between subjectivation and vigilance. We have distilled four cross-cutting themes that refer to a) the subjects, b) key moments, c) constellations, and d) performances.

A) The Subjects

In this section, we discuss how the subject is imagined in the different socio-temporal contexts and constellations across our case studies. We see that diverse ways of describing the subject come to the fore in different epochs. However, all subjects seem to be in a liminal state, somewhere in-between: between different cultures and bureaucracies, between ideals of socialism and specific images or ideals of women, between the sacred and profane, or on the path to conversion.

Across several case studies, we see also different dimensions of citizenship: the duality of being

subjected to the ruling elite, while at the same time being a certain self. In the study of the early modern city in particular, we see people pledging to be particular kinds of citizens – alert citizens. Being incorporated into a national society involves subjectivation according to the ideas of citizenship that exist within that society; recognising what is expected of someone belonging to a society and subordinating oneself to these expectations, whether as a racialised subject, socialist subject, or the ideal of a wife and female migrant. Likewise, religious texts from the Middle-Ages invite subjectivation through showing the incorporation of external values. Spiritual songs express the conflict of the I in relation to the harmony they are promised to achieve through conversion, accepting themselves as sinners, making them wary of sin, and orienting themselves toward God's directives. Meanwhile, the narratives of stories involving the devil, which are instructional in nature, actively attempt to transform the reader, as well as revealing underlying subjectivation mechanisms.

Common to all case studies are varying degrees of incompatibility of the I with the subject forms and positions described in the different projects. The actual subjectivation might last for a certain amount of time or serve a specific cause. However, throughout the studies, the identification of the I

with the subject position they are supposed to obtain is precarious. A change of situation or context, a change of needs, might break the congruence. What we see across the case studies is a conscious or unconscious response to external expectations and a latent tension between self-determination or autonomy and being subject to authority.

A Self-observant Subject in the Gaze of Authority

Nacho is a watchful subject in multiple respects. To begin with, he is the cautious son of a volatile father, who could be angry, drunk, and out of control on some occasions, and loving and fun on others. Thus, from earliest childhood, Nacho learned to anxiously monitor the affective states of his family in order to keep them happy with him. This affective alertness was in service of maintaining harmony within his family and for his own safety. However, with respect to being ordered about, he often acted in defiance of his father's desires, not allowing himself to be pushed around by the strong-willed, somewhat controlling former U.S. Marine. He was not an obedient son, but an alert and observant one.

Nacho's father had a strong desire to protect his Honduran identity and that of his family.

As a result, Nacho is also to some extent alert to threats toward his and his family's Honduran and Latinx[74] identity, including their citizenship statuses (see Brendan Röder's project on the 'good citizen' below). While Nacho's mother obtained citizenship in the 1990s, his father decided not to, despite qualifying for it as a former U.S. Marine. To become a U.S. citizen, Nacho's father would have to give up his Honduran citizenship. To remain a Honduran citizen, despite not having lived there for most of his adult life, gave him the option of buying property in Honduras and spending his retirement there, allowing him to care for his elderly siblings. The downside of his choice is that his Green Card renewal failed as a result of President Trump's policies connected to stopping the spread of the pandemic. This placed him in a vulnerable position regarding his ability to return to the U.S. and points to the uncertainties of belonging, place-based identity and citizenship. Nacho's father's example highlights that decisions over citizenship, if they are able to be made by individuals, are made for both affective and strategic reasons.

Nacho's mother came to the U.S. as a teenager, and went to school when she could not yet speak English, but she also spoke a different kind of Spanish to her Latinx classmates (who were Mexican), and got made fun of for being different. Partially

in relation to the discrimination his parents experienced, but also because of discrimination he witnessed first-hand, Nacho is watchful when dealing with white Anglo-American individuals, as he is aware of the possibility that they might speak or act in racist ways. For example, between the ages of 16 and 24, Nacho worked at a swimming pool and (as will be described in a different section) once confronted a man who directed a racist slur toward union and civil rights leader César Chávez, calling him a 'lettuce picker'. Despite presenting as 'white' in many situations and blending in with his largely white friend circle, here Nacho affirms his broader Latino identity in order to signal to the racist that he is being watched.

Nacho is also attentive toward his own conduct because of his formation as a sinful subject in connection with his parents' Catholic upbringing. As we can also see with the awoken sinner in Agnes Rugel's case study, Nacho's reflection on his own conduct shows that he remains alert to the ever-present gaze of God, even though he no longer considers himself a Catholic.

This case study shows that identity-formation, which involves self-determination and autonomous positioning, is in some ways linked to, but still different from subjectivity. In Nacho's case, he describes himself as a subject in the gaze

of authority, and hence, a subject who needs to be self-observant in relation to the Catholic religion/God, his parents, Honduran/Latino cultural belonging, and U.S. society.

Marriage Migration and the Formation of the Gendered Subject

Liliya, who is 30 years old, comes from Ukraine and has a five-year-old daughter from a previous relationship. She is going to marry a 50-year-old German, who holds the position of professor at a German university. She has already moved into his house, where her future husband lives with his three children, born in wedlock with a German woman. He divorced two years ago, and one year later, Liliya 'met' the 'professor', as she refers to her groom with a mixture of respect, pride, and distance.

Liliya's sense of self, which she reflected on in an interview with Alena, is disclosed on the threshold of her wedding ceremony at a German civil registry office, which will take place in a month's time. As a venue, the civil registry office in general becomes a space where two individuals transform themselves into 'husband' and 'wife'. This act is accompanied by both interpersonal obligations and

citizens' rights and is a performative practice taking place under the attentive eyes of an audience. As with the citizen's oath in early modern cities, the wedding ceremony consists of a ritual involving a betrothal or pledge and is based on ritualised public observation. The couple promises one another and the guests to live together in the covenant of faith, hope, and love and to stand by one another under any circumstances.

Before pledging mutual love in front of the witnesses, Liliya used the interview for self-analysis, in which she confirmed her seriousness as a bride, emphasising her appropriate loving and caring attitude (it can only be assumed that she anticipated the potential suspicion of her interviewer due to the 'inappropriate' age difference between her and her groom). Awaiting her change of status through marriage, she scrutinises herself, her life choices and migration as driven by the search for love. In her conversation with Alena, she confirms that she has made the right decision in marrying the professor. The professor's questionable love (he had already betrayed her several times) becomes a pivotal issue, through which she constitutes herself by ongoing introspection and comparison. This self-observation, which complements inner and outer expectations, deals with intersecting categories of gender, nationhood, class, health, and

education. As she views herself, she is an educated, yet precarious Russian woman and single mother dedicated to her future position as a loving wife, who has migrated to start a better life in Germany.

Liliya's autobiographical narrative displays changes and ruptures in her subject position. Raised by a non-supportive mother, Liliya describes herself as an unconfident person with an 'inferiority complex'. Yet, her mother had influenced Liliya's choice of profession. She became an artist. Notwithstanding the fact that Liliya enjoyed her work, it never provided her with a decent income. As a single mother she struggled to earn a living, sometimes working as a tutor at eight places simultaneously. When her daughter contracted Lyme disease, Liliya realised she was 'incapable of keeping her child healthy due to her living conditions'.

This critical incident became a turning point which led to Liliya creating an account on a dating website in order to search for a foreign husband who could make her happy and secure her child's future financially. She had to re-shape her subject position and evaluate whether she met the requirements of the market-informed way of self-representation:

> I realised that I am not capable of ensuring the health of my child in the situations in which we lived with my partner. And I thought I was caring

> enough, beautiful enough to try out, well, on this market. If the relationship is seen as a market, I might also have some value and maybe I can find someone there. I didn't really have any hope, though; […] I looked at some women who had three children and husbands, and according to my estimation, they were less smart, less pretty, and older than me, but they were happy!

Liliya views herself in two contradictory ways at the same time. On the one hand, she deems herself vulnerable with respect to her material and familial situation, while, on the other hand, she refers to owning assets based on her body and appearance. When advertising herself to foreigners, Liliya weighed up her value on the marriage market. She did not believe that a young man from Europe would be interested in a woman with a 'past' and could love her, so the 'professor', who is 20 years older than Liliya, appeared to be the ideal candidate at first. Besides, he has an observable genetic disability that manifested itself at a mature age, and caused certain psychological problems which, in turn, led the professor's wife to divorce him. In Liliya's initial view the professor was adrift in German society, just as she was an outcast in Ukraine. From the moment they became acquainted, she began to develop herself into an affectionate subject, conceptualising love as based on equality, mutual exchange, and shared values. Liliya was happy that she had enchanted

someone handsome and 'respectful', which helped to improve her own self-esteem and add value to her in the eyes of her mother.

However, as we shall see in the key moments section, the turning point of their relationship was after she moved to Germany. While her re-location strengthened their relationship in some ways, it also created conflict in others which have caused Liliya to doubt the relationship and her position as the 'wife' within the marriage.

Socialist Subjects

The Czechoslovakian communist utopia promised that the poor and underprivileged would be liberated, all of whom would become socialist subjects. In a society without exploitation, those who had lived on the margins of society during capitalism would receive education and be able to support themselves and their families with proper work. This expectation for the future included that crime would disappear – and together with it phenomena such as prostitution.

The ideal type of socialist self was embodied by the 'New Man'. Not only was the 'New Man' envisioned as having many positive qualities such as truthfulness, loyalty, diligence, and being

devoted to the collective, but also as a vigilant citizen. He – the 'New Man' was always imagined as male – was supposed to monitor society and the socialist way of life of his fellow citizens. At the same time, he was called upon to be introspective, to work on himself and to fully develop into a socialist citizen. Although the ideal citizen was characterised as male, there were also female counterparts: the mother, the female party activist and, in first place, the female worker in industry and agriculture, symbolised during the formative years of socialism by female tractor-drivers. So, the 'New Man', despite being conceived as male, 'included' a female ideal, which was spelt out here and there in stories.[75]

State policy toward the Roma minority in socialist Czechoslovakia clearly demonstrates the effects that resulted from the discrepancy between the promise of liberation and emancipation, on the one hand, and the reality of the socialist way of life determined by rigid norms, on the other. In the 1950s, the goal was to assimilate the Roma through education.[76] This approach could be called repressive optimism. By the 1960s, the period I am referring to, this sense of optimism was long gone.

In early modern cities, the citizen's oath defined what it meant to be a (good) citizen. From the perspective of subject formation, yearly oath taking can be seen as a practice through which individuals inserted themselves into the specific subject form or position of 'citizen'. This process did not create equality or homogeneity. Rather, the subject position 'citizen' was a zone that individuals of otherwise very different professions, wealth, age etc. could occupy or inhabit.[77]

Citizen was a highly exclusive category in early modern towns. Only men over a certain age could be full members of the urban community and participate in the yearly oath-taking day. The first oath day was said to be a formative social and political event in the life of a young man. In every city I have researched, the ritual not only excluded women, but also foreigners and clergymen from beyond the municipal jurisdiction, even if they shared other economic and social attributes (for instance, widows managing a workshop). The very act of creating citizens therefore also implied a powerful act of othering and creating non-citizens (women, foreigners etc.), which resonates with what happened to Romani women in the socialist society discussed by Christiane Brenner.

What exactly did these men pledge to be or become on oath day? Such key duties as loyalty and obedience to the council and the laws were supplemented by a wider array of characteristics to which everyone should aspire. Additionally, religious adherence could be added to the formula of the oath. Vigilance in order to help avert dangers to the city and the ruling council was key to this norm. In particular, they had to report anything they saw or heard that could harm the city. Together, these amount to the formulation of a norm of being a 'good citizen'.

Those male citizens who did not participate on oath day fell out of the grid of good citizenship. Their very absence rendered them potentially negligent and untrustworthy as fellow citizens and political subjects. In 1590, for instance, the weaver Georg Neher was put in irons as a punishment because he had missed the ritual, claiming that he had had to work at home in order to support his family[78]. In 1645, the butcher Georg Killreitter was arrested because he had taken a ride outside of the city on the day instead of taking his oath.[79] These examples show how quickly a seemingly formalistic and abstract form of community building could have direct consequences for one's personal status as a free, honourable and loyal citizen.

The dire consequences for those who absented themselves also illustrate the nexus between vigi-

lance and subjectivation. Given that the oath day was an institutionalised moment of heightened vigilance, the two men's absence had been noticed and duly reported. Their withdrawal from this civic ritual did not mean that they could escape the process of subjectivation as citizens. Neher's justification that he was a good weaver (as well a good husband and father) at the time was not acceptable because what was at stake was him belonging to the subject form 'good citizen'.

The perspective of subjectivation links the dimensions of becoming a self and of being subjected to something or someone. This duality allows us to address a key political tension in early modern urban citizenship. In theory, full members of free imperial cities in the Holy Roman Empire governed themselves and the power of the city government ultimately derived from all of them, the community of citizens. At the same time, they were subjects (*Untertanen*) of the existing governing bodies, the burgomasters and city council, to whom they pledged unconditional loyalty and obedience. Technically speaking, the act of taking the oath was a self-determined act, but it was also an institutionalised duty. Ordinary citizens were therefore subjected to an oligarchic ruling elite, while also being a certain type of politically autonomous self. Although in reality the former dimension increasingly outweighed

the latter in the early modern period, oath day always retained a moment of self-determination for the citizens present.

Elusive Subjects

From the perspective of literary theory, there is an abundance of subjects in and behind texts. In the twentieth century, in particular, multiple theories have focussed on either the author (and their death) or the reader. As Agnes Rugel remarks in her text, an 'I' can be found in either the speaker or the recipients. But contrary to all historical and anthropological research, in the field of literary studies – especially those focusing on the Middle Ages – we are either left to analyse fictional subjects or have to accept that the subjects behind the text remain, for the most part, elusive. Authors are often anonymous or, if they are known, their biographies fragmentary.

In the *exemplum*, the process of forming a subject whose behaviour conforms with the norms of Christianity, for example, the audience is not necessarily visible in the written text. Although we only see the protagonists undergo some kind of growth and development, the audience is also supposed to be taught certain rules and norms

through these stories and are therefore part of the subjectivation process. Often this is shown by directly addressing the audience or even putting a figure who is representative of the audience into the text. The *Dialogus miraculorum*, for example, is presented as a dialogue between a monk and a novice, where at the end of (almost) each *exemplum* the novice is given the space to ask questions and clear up any ambiguities that may remain. While the discussion does not necessarily arrive at a clear moral standpoint regarding those events that took place in the story, the narrative frame certainly enforces the idea of an interactive pedagogic setting.

But can we even speak of a 'subject' when looking at fictional characters? As Judith Butler puts it, an 'I' emerges only when one is opposing power and claiming one's supposed independence. However, the individual can only perceive themselves as a subject if they perceive the relations between themselves and the power structures that both require and restrict their own agency, therefore existing in a state of ambivalent opposition and subjection to the structures around them.[80] The protagonists of *exempla* certainly exist in a perpetual state of either conforming to or opposing norms and power. Since a moral can only be taught by showing the wrongdoings of certain individuals, human faults and failures are inherent in the narrative.

However, it is certainly notable that the devil plays an important part in many of these stories. While the concept of 'The Devil' modifies over time and is subject to cultural changes and differences,[81] he often serves as a narrative foil to exemplify incorrect behaviour. While he, on the one hand, disturbs social order, his behaviour, on the other hand, leads to displaying underlying structures of rules and power that otherwise would have remained invisible. In a way, the devil functions as a negative example similarly to the subjects that are ascribed otherness in the case of Christiane Brenner's descriptions of the socialist ideal. By excluding and including certain groups and behaviours, especially those deemed contrary to societal expectations, the established standard continuously perpetuates itself.

In addition, what Luhmann calls the 'seduction activism' (*Verführungsaktivismus*) as the modus operandi of the devil[82] serves to initiate these processes of transgression. This way, he can almost be seen as a catalyst for subjectivation. Paradoxically, the fact that the devil himself is in a constant state of denying God's power while at the same time being very much constrained by it makes him much more than just a literary device. Therein lies the potential of literature and it is probably not surprising that the devil has become the tragic pro-

tagonist in many tales, one of the earliest and most famous ones being John Milton's *Paradise Lost*.

Ultimately, the process of subjectivation in my research can be described as a complex interplay of different subjects who are participants in this process but positioned on different narrative layers. For the intradiegetic subjects, like the protagonists of a story or the devil in particular, their actions potentially show the audience what to do or what not to do, as for example, with proper social conduct. The dialogue partners in the narrative frame provide commentary while at the same time representing the pedagogic situation that takes place outside of the narrative. These actors, however, mostly remain elusive.

The I as Sinner

In late medieval spiritual songs we encounter two subject positions that must be taken into account: the I as protagonist and the I as recipient. In this case study, the main theme of the spiritual songs from the *Hohenfurter Liederbuch* is the wake-up call to turn to God.

The I as protagonist is referred to as a sinner, whose state of being is illustrated by different metaphors − the metaphor of being asleep and the

metaphor of being trapped. The first song, song 40, confronts this sinner with his own sinful state. It begins with a call to leave behind this state of sleep, which means limited consciousness and limited freedom, defined as the state of sin. As such, it forms the initial subject position. In the following songs (40–44, 48–50), the I responds to this call on a continuum between cluelessness, denial, acceptance, despair, and optimism. Under the exterior gaze of the waking voice, the I starts to detach itself from the initial subject form: Upon being called, the I discovers that it is made up of various instances such as soul, conscience, body, reason and sensory perception. With the help of metaphors, leaving that sinful state is shown to be equal to becoming conscious of these dimensions of the self. But upon realising them ('waking up'), the I is at once confronted with the possibility of losing these dimensions again: depending on the I's way of life, the soul or the body can be lost.

The I is subjugated into this initial subject position. Thanks to this wake-up call, the sinner gains autonomy over himself, being enabled to feel, reason, and decide. And yet, after being woken up by the call the I constantly engages in a conflictual relationship with itself under the continuing call to change its life. The figure of the watchman behind the call to conversion aims to

unify the I with the different parts of its self (soul, conscience, body, reason and sensory perception). Conversion and obtaining self-unity are therefore part of one and the same process. Recognising oneself as a sinner, and therefore acknowledging the initial subject position, marks the beginning of the sinner's conversion process. He then embarks on a path of repentance that involves self-reflection, contrition and confession in order to shift from recognising his constituent parts to a lived unity with them. The 'gaze' referred to in the example of Nacho could be compared with the wake-up call, which finds its historical parallels in a medieval Christian's obligation to confess one's sins. However, the way the wake-up call functions in this subjectivation process differs from the 'gaze' that Nacho perceives as being directed at him. Rather than reducing his capacity to reason, feel, decide and reflect, it enables the sinner's further development.

The I of these poems represents not only the sinner but also offers a subject role to the recipient. The examples of this 'crosscutting theme' discuss the conflict between becoming a self autonomously and self-determined entity in opposition to surrendering to a position defined by culture, education, state or system. This conflict can result in a vigilant subject, one who is constantly

challenged to observe the adjustment to the given norms. *Vigilantia* in medieval contexts is a highly complex term, for it has been shaped by various lines of tradition. It entails listening, caring and watchfulness, to name but a few of its characteristics. As a spiritual attitude, it is developed and practiced through devotion.[83] By identifying with the I in these songs, the recipient is invited to practice this devotional attitude, the *vigilantia*. This is done, for example, through prayers at the end of most poems. Upon accepting this invitation, the recipient turns to God for the duration of the performed prayer.

In addition to these subject positions, these late medieval spiritual songs portray a process that only continues when prompted and nurtured from outside (the wake-up call) as well as being desired from within (recognising one's different parts, participating in prayer). The subject in these songs strives for devotional immersion, whose conditions are a relationship with God, a relationship with the caller and one with himself. In this context, becoming autonomous and self-determined means, in short, to strive to be free from sin.

B) Key Moments

In this section, we focus on particular moments, which we have identified as specific instances of attention that illustrate the nexus between vigilance and the process of becoming a subject. We understand these moments as key subject-forming events. They appear to be turning points for the subject in question, a crucial experience or a crossroads in their lives, and in some cases, they are narrated and understood as such by these subjects themselves. Key moments may sometimes even explicitly separate a 'wrong' way of living from a 'right' one, or an 'old' self from a 'new' one, as in the case of monastic literature, while sometimes they can also act as more subtle moments of subjectivation. They can also be remembered, dated, and marked and serve as examples, models or warnings to others. While key moments may occur spontaneously and by chance in a person's life – even against their will, such as being stopped by the police – they may also be planned, ritualised or be part of everyday practice or (bureaucratic) routine. These moments are often partly defined by how the individual behaves in relation to their wider social conditions, but also attune them to their position within it. These key moments for subjectivation become intelligible through the specific, decisive constellation in

which they take place. Together, they allow us to ask to what extent the subjects are able to understand and re-tell the stories of the key events that lead them to becoming who they are.

Speaking Back to Discrimination

Nacho does not have a stereotypical phenotype that would allow Anglo-Americans to unambiguously identify him as Latino. He therefore has a certain amount of choice in whether to reveal himself as Latino when speaking to others. This is evident in an incident that happened when Nacho was working as a swimming pool attendant. One day, a white Anglo customer came in complaining that the pool had been closed the previous day because of César Chávez Day (which has been a national holiday on the 31st of March every year since 2014, after it was introduced to mark the birth and legacy of civil rights leader César Chávez). When the customer declared that the pool had been closed 'because of some lettuce picker', and Nacho's white Anglo boss said nothing, Nacho turned to the customer and told him, in a bitingly sarcastic tone, 'Well, you know, I'm a lettuce picker'. The customer had the quickest swim that he had ever seen. By contesting this discriminatory comment, Nacho expressed a

certain protectiveness toward his own community. He could just as easily have ignored this remark, as it had not been directed at him. However, Nacho felt that, whether or not he should think of himself as the subject of the comment, it denigrated an important aspect of himself as an equal citizen. Referring to Latinxs as 'lettuce pickers' is to implicitly call their citizenship into question. Millions of Mexicans have arrived in the U.S. as temporary agricultural workers since the introduction of the Bracero program in 1942, specifically set up to provide a route by which Mexicans could come to the U.S. to work, but not one directly linked to citizenship.[84]

Nacho feels the need to respond to comments such as these because they are not singular, random utterances. Rather, he sees them as influenced by the pervasive narrative projected by the media, which negatively portrays migrants as supposedly 'invading' the U.S. – a narrative which some Anglo-Americans repeat uncritically. Given that Nacho, unlike his parents, is not inevitably perceived and treated as a migrant, he does not have to be always cautious in his behaviour. This gives him more options to respond to comments such as these. Nevertheless, there is often an outside element that triggers the moment of subjectivation, whether that is a religious or state institution, or

someone, as in Nacho's case, who repeats the dominant racialised classificatory discourse. What follows is the speech act, in which the alert person represents themselves before this secondary person or institution.

This key moment caused Nacho to reflect on how he views himself, and how the community that he identifies as being a member of is viewed by outsiders to that collective. In defending his community against the stereotype that the visitor to the swimming pool has of Latinxs, Nacho projects himself through the lens of this same stereotype, not as someone powerless, but rather as someone willing and able to defend himself.

The Betrayal

There were several important incidents that shaped Liliya's sense of self. Moving to Germany marked a watershed in Liliya's life. After a year and several meetings in person, Liliya relocated to Germany to 'tie the knot'. Their initial long-distance relationship changed once she became a member of her would-be-family; this was a key moment in the transformation of Liliya's self. Within a short period of cohabiting with the professor in his house prior to registration, she placed herself in the posi-

tion of 'wife', side by side with her future husband. In her new home, Liliya closely monitored several matters. She became attentive to everything that happened in the home environment, including the professor's relationship with his children, his attitude toward her and her daughter. Liliya particularly kept an eye out for possible signs of the professor's being tempted by other women. She checked his old cell phone, read his correspondence hidden in the attic, wondered where certain items in the house came from and questioned the price of his presents to her. Liliya was driven by jealousy, which had gradually evolved after their first phase of courtship came to an end, when she accidently took the professor's mobile phone and discovered that while declaring his love to Liliya he had been exchanging tender messages with another woman, which ultimately led to temporary separation.

Fidelity, monogamy, and trust serve as a foundation for 'true love', and Liliya believes that a marriage should be founded upon these values. Becoming a subject within this regime of love, is deemed – in Liliya's eyes – to justify the strategic decision taken by both spouses to improve their personal situation through marriage.

Inadvertently checking the professor's mobile phone was to become a further key moment in their relationship, since it sowed seeds of mistrust

in her with regard to her betrothed. Accidentally, and upon purposeful investigation, she continued to discover that the professor had relationships with other women whilst engaging in one with her. These women were Russian, Ukrainian, and German. As a result, Liliya no longer viewed their relationship as unique or as egalitarian. She started to ask the professor the same questions many times: 'Why did you take a woman from a "third country"?' 'Why did you choose me?' She repositioned herself as a victim, as a 'woman from a third country', thus constructing the 'firstness' of the professor as a citizen of the '*first* world'[85]. Liliya was afraid that the professor had only married her in order to make her his personal caregiver in the future, while not being ready to share anything valuable with her (children, assets), and monogamy. In terms of power and class, Liliya sees herself as dependent and 'dirt-poor'. This subject position held by Liliya was that of an 'outsider within', a troubled, powerless woman in an unhappy relationship.

Caught by the Police

In the case of the three women on trial, as in nearly every other case in the court files, police control constitutes a key moment, when the women were

viewed with suspicion as potential prostitutes. The police would stop women in the streets, sitting in a bar or waiting in front of a club and ask them for their documents. This control involved checking whether they were registered in Prague and could prove they had a regular job and had a stamp from their employer in their identity cards.

As representatives of public order, the police could, of course, control any citizen at any time. However, there were obvious reasons why policemen chose to check whether certain people were obeying rules and particularly certain women. The most obvious factor was an individual's appearance, outfit, makeup and phenotype. What also played an important role in determining whether someone was considered suspicious was the place she or he was picked up; and, finally, the time of day or night she or he was spotted there. Additional aspects that were significant but hard to grasp included the suspected individual's attitude and behaviour such as walking slowly, loitering, checking out men passing by, appearing to be drunk or disorientated.

Thus, the police played an important role in creating the 'Roma prostitute' as a subject. Following Stuart Hall, the police can be characterised as the 'primary definer'.[86] Policemen not only collected information about a given person, but also produced interpretations of the women

being controlled, beginning with selecting whom to control, to the detailed procedure of the controls themselves, and the writing of reports for the police records.

The decisions and actions of policemen took place against the backdrop of a shared knowledge of the 'socialist way of life' and its rules and regulations. The associated social practices did not fundamentally differ from that which Agnes Rugel describes as playing out in a monastery: The rules for a proper life were supposed to be reaffirmed and strengthened by people obeying them day by day and protecting themselves individually and collectively from anyone violating these rules. Anyone deviating from the norm – for whatever reason – had to be careful not to draw attention to her- or himself. This points to the significant relationship between individual subjectivity and the collective gaze, particularly present as we see in this case, in societies in which individual expression and deviation from collective mores is discouraged. A woman who offered sexual services in public in exchange for money found herself in a difficult position: While she had to seek the attention of any potential customer, she had to avoid being noticed by the police.

Unlike in Nacho's case, Romani women could not choose whether to reveal themselves as 'different' or 'other'. They were recognisable as belonging

to the Romani ethnic group at first glance, and their very appearance determined how they were treated by the police. In turn, Romani women were aware of how the majority of Czechoslovak society perceived them. The manner in which they reacted to police controls was shaped by this knowledge and sometimes by previous experiences, perhaps also by stories shared with other women. After an initial moment of shock and resistance, all three women tried to develop a meaningful, comprehensible narrative for the police: One that explained their (not perfectly legal) presence in Prague and the lack of a regular job – but also more broadly their life and family background, the individual steps of their education and professional career, or rather, the reasons they were not able to find regular work.

The interrogations continued over some time; initially, they took place at the police station, and later while they were in custody. While the narratives the women presented could vary over the course of time, they were always about their conflict with the norms of a society, which they failed to meet without personal blame. Their efforts to shake off an externally ascribed racist and classist stereotype of the 'Roma prostitute' can be seen as an act of interpellation in Butler's sense.

In the case of Nacho described above, the question of personal subjectivity was triggered by a chance encounter. Because he was not addressed directly by the racist comment, remaining silent or not positioning himself openly would have been an option. The Romani women described by Christiane Brenner could hardly evade being singled out by the police without making themselves even more suspicious. In contrast to both these very different examples, the yearly oath day in the early modern city was a highly formalised and collective event, compulsory for all male citizens.

This ritual was distinguished from daily routine as a key moment in urban life in sensory and material ways. A special type of bell called on citizens to participate (for instance, the *Schwörglocke* [Oath Bell] on the Ulm Minster). During the ritual, the city gates were kept locked and nobody was let either in or out. This was a security measure as well as a spatial evocation of the exclusive city community.

To focus on this particular moment when speaking about subjectivation requires some explanation. Theories of subject formation have fruitfully stressed the continuous and habitual, often even non-reflexive dimension of becoming

a subject through language, clothes, bodily behaviour etc. In a similar vein, recent research on early modern cities has stressed that social belonging was not only a matter of economic or formal legal status, but was also something that had to be continuously performed and reaffirmed in practice.[87] If we follow this line of thought, then the explicitly marked moment of the oath can only ever be a part of these processes. It was, however, crucial to becoming and remaining a (good) citizen. Rather than simply stating a given legal or social fact, the participants spoke out about who they were – and implicitly who they were not – and thus acted out their belonging to the collective. Only after this moment, especially in the case of new citizens or young men, could they affirm their subject status by other practices: They could confidently address courts, authorities, other inhabitants and outsiders as citizens of their particular city. They had all the rights and obligations that came with this status.

Oath day was a moment of intensified observation within the community. As mentioned above, noting who was present and who was absent was of great importance. Given that alertness toward anything that might threaten the city was also part of the oath formula, oath taking was both a moment of vigilance, in terms of the situationally increased observation and visibility of the indivi-

dual in the community, directed at a goal beyond the individual, and a moment of emphatic appeal for continuous caution in the future.

As with any ritual, the meaning of oath day could be subverted and changed over time. Some observers have stressed that toward the end of the early modern period, far from being a solemn event, it was mainly an occasion for festivity and drinking. In modern times, several cities have revived the day as a folkloristic tradition, but the ritual has changed its meaning. While such events most likely play a role in community building, attendance or absence is no longer as intricately linked to questions of political and legal belonging and the duties and rights attached to being a citizen.

Everyday Devils

Similar to the life of the citizen in early modern times, monasteries in the high Middle Ages were a place for a social community where all members had to adhere to strict rules for the collective to function properly. But in contrast to exceptional acts of confirmation and reaffirmation of social status, everyday life in the monastery was, and still is, structured by a seamless succession of countless

moments that reaffirm the religious individual in their identity and status. This sort of continuous religious practice, consisting, for example, of daily prayer and studying scripture, becomes evident as constitutional for the individual and collective only when they are lacking.

A revealing source for all kinds of failings is the *Dialogus miraculorum* or *Dialogue on Miracles* by the Cistercian monk Caesarius of Heisterbach. The stories that are used to teach novices about the correct Christian conduct show a variety of problems that can arise in a monk's life – not least because of the latent danger of devils and demons working perpetually to seduce and distract pious men from their devout work.

In one of the stories, a monk is trying to immerse himself in Holy Scripture, only to be repeatedly disturbed by a demon sitting in his room, blowing out his candle and turning the pages.[88] What is telling is that the demon is not attacking the monk in a life-changing moment, but instead uses everyday occurrences to undermine religious practice, since this sort of misconduct is one that is far more likely to happen in a monastery. Here, the demon becomes a mere stand-in for minor mistakes that – should they become ubiquitous – could pose a real danger to the monastic community and their strictly scheduled routine.

The importance becomes even more evident when the failure is made public. One *exemplum* recalls the apparently authentic incident of a *scholasticus* entering a Cistercian monastery, where the devil starts planting doubts in his head, causing him to notice all the pleasures he left behind in favour of a sparse monastic life without nice clothes, meat, or spices. The devil furthermore prevents him from getting up on time and turns out to be a general nuisance. In the end, what makes the *scholasticus* stay and ultimately obey the social order is not the promise of a pious life but rather the impending mockery and gossip of his confrères.[89] What is presented as the primary threat is being excluded from the collective rather than an individual failing. Thus, public exposure plays into the interests of the monastic community that demands absolute obedience.

These two *exampla* show how the stories are interwoven with various forms of watchfulness – toward oneself and toward others. Self-regulation and reaffirmation are constitutive for the community and function both on an individual and a collective level. As an outsider, the devil simulates a system failure that gets to play out within the secure framework of a fictional text. Diabolical interference can thus be used as a story-telling device to continually confirm the subject's social status,

which is – in this context – closely linked to religious practice.

Awakening

As mentioned above in the previous theme 'Subject', the key moment in the *Hohenfurter Liederbuch* songs is the wake-up call. This is especially prominent in Song 40, the first of the cycle devoted to the sinner. This song aims at initiating a process that would lead the addressed sinner to an awareness of his deficiencies. Its goal is conversion, the method used is introspection, which is portrayed as a conflictual relationship between the heart, the soul and bodily needs and desires. The awakening is meant for the awakened person to become aware of the discrepancy between a way of life, where only bodily desires are considered, and the ideal life, where the desires of heart and soul enter the realm of consideration. Both heart and soul are crucial for salvation, therefore the inclination toward fulfilling only bodily needs has to be fought. The wake-up call emphasises this tension. Being awake is therefore the state that the awakened person is meant to reach.

The wake-up call points to an awareness that the sinner is understood as a being capable of

entering into dialogue with him- or herself. Prior to the awakening, the waking voice defines the sinner as unfree, using the metaphor of the prisoner to express this predicament. The waking voice has a close relationship to the awoken person and seems to know more about the sinner than the sinner himself. Two poles of orientation are set up with the aim of leading to the goal of conversion: The sinner is required to have a relationship with his own self, on the one hand, and with God, on the other.

The ideal subject in these songs is understood as one who has a connection to transcendence as an essential quality. This connection consists in the orientation of the subject toward God, and a relationship of corresponding attention between both. The wake-up call mainly aims at encouraging the awakened to decide to re-orientate himself toward God. The subject formation therefore consists of a set of decisions, playing out on the border between a God transcending time and space and the sinner's existence in time and space. This is illustrated in Song 40 by a blurred separation of the tenses: Future, past, and continuous present run through the awakened's decision-making process, which is simultaneously not linear. Rather, the wake-up call represents a moment in a repetitive process since the sinner is repeatedly called upon. The confrontation with one's own fragility forms

part of this vigilant attitude, as well as enforcing it. The possibility of thereby attaining eternal life fills the present, since a realisation of this possibility is contingent upon a decision, which can only be made in the present, when called upon. Awakening and deciding must be constantly repeated in the face of distractions on the path to conversion. The portrayal of God as merciful renders this dynamic possible. The main function of the wake-up call, therefore, seems to be to encourage the sinner to take this step toward conversion. The decision to do so is envisioned as being accompanied by a conscious recognition and a repentance of what made this step necessary in the first instance.

Cognitive instructions play a key role as part of the wake-up call. In addition, the waking voice also conveys instructions for the physical expression of intense and intimate prayer, as well as conveying encouragement not to lose faith. It calls upon the awakened one to prepare himself anew upon hearing the wake-up call. Only by deciding over and again to live an attentive relationship with God, is freedom, joy and eternal life seen to be obtainable. This state can only be reached when the awakened persons have become aware of their own subject positions. The wake-up call therefore forms the key moment in the *Hohenfurter Liederbuch*.

C) Constellations

Situations, which we have framed in the former section as key moments, are shaped by, and embedded in, specific constellations. These comprise socio-political conditions, belief-systems and cosmologies and may include, for example, aspects such as God, the church and conceptions of sin, and wider society. Further, we stress that constellations are not confined to the realm of the social and interaction between different subjects, but comprise many more contextual dimensions, such as spatial arrangements, temporalities, the built environment, and other non-human elements, which may range from animals to technological devices. It is the interplay between these diverse spheres and categories that we take into consideration when scrutinising 'constellations'.

Despite the many differences in our case studies, certain common patterns exist: From pre-modern societies to the present day, we can observe that watchfulness develops in the context of 'face-to-face-societies', characterised by physical presence and interaction, be it, for example, through the confession of the sinner, or the verbal oaths sworn during oath day, or even the early modern written narratives which involved a certain amount of face-to-face interaction, as many people who received

their message were not able to read. Even encounters with the state in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries do not pit ordinary people against faceless bureaucracy. As shown in the cases of socialist ideology in the Czechoslovakian courts and the procedures that Russian women have to go through to portray themselves as legitimate brides, encounters between the women and the state functionaries are shaped by mutual watchfulness. What will be explored in this section, therefore, is the conception of society that the subject is embedded within, how this affects the formation of the subject, and how this subject, in turn, affects the society of which they themselves are a part. These dynamics also address the scope of the subjects' agency and the interplay between some external impulses (incentives, threats) and the extent to which the social conditions allow subjects to remain 'in-between' as their subjectivity emerges.

Messy and Vigilant Borderlands

Our research in San Diego is situated within borderlands, which are more than just specific political spaces. Individuals growing up near a border experience daily frictions between contrasting cultural narratives of belonging, and face choices about how to position themselves in relation to vague and con-

stantly moving boundaries. In our case, this includes borders between hegemonic notions of 'American' and 'Mexican' identity. The U.S.-Mexico borderland is a space where ambiguity reigns, where national sovereignty is put on display and challenged at once, where people are separated and classified, but also constantly cross borders which have been constructed to keep them apart. It is a space in which differences are stressed, but also incorporated and made undone.[90]

In the U.S.-Mexico borderland, people of different phenotypes, with different languages, religions and histories occupy overlapping geographical space. This borderland creates an ambiguous space of belonging, as many Latinxs find themselves belonging neither to one place nor the other, while they may also belong to both. The shifting and hardening of the border has turned people into so-called 'aliens' in their own homes and led to their children and grandchildren being treated by many Anglo-Americans as not belonging on the U.S. side of the border. And yet, because they were born in the U.S., they are not just Mexicans either. Even in today's San Diego, many people legally residing there, and whose parents and grandparents were born there, have to confront Anglo-American assumptions that they are (possibly unauthorised) migrants and are forced to justify their right to be

in the United States. Some may even fear deportation from their own country. Watchfulness as a daily practice is inherently related to the borderland and shapes individuals' lifeworlds in this space.

The city of San Diego itself is thus defined by this borderland. The precariousness of living within such a borderland was accentuated by the political climate during which this research took place between February and December 2020. It led up to the election at the end of Donald Trump's period as U.S. President, during (and prior to) which his rhetoric and policies, i.e., emphasising the need for a wall to keep migrants out, constantly stoked the fears and suspicions of Anglo-Americans toward migrants, and toward Latinxs in particular. This increased the need for Latinxs to be cautious in their everyday behaviour. Informed by this national-level political discourse, the encounters they and their neighbours have had with representatives of state agencies, such as the police, shape them as watchful subjects.

The messiness of the borderland contrasts sharply with the strictly ordered nature of the monastery, with practices which distinguish insiders and outsiders in the city, or the practical implementation of laws and regulations enacted by the powerful in courts of law and state bureaucracy.

As with the U.S.-Mexico border, the geographical contact zones between the European Union and its neighbouring 'third countries' are complex. Particularly, the EU-Ukrainian border, which is an external border of the Schengen area, 'opened up' in 2017, permitting tourists, family members and businessmen to travel from Ukraine to the EU without visas. This local border traffic defines a new regional dimension of externalisation, based on new technical enhancements enabling a form of wide-spread digitalised control. Before the 2020 pandemic, Ukrainians, who already possessed biometric passports and met other entry conditions, could easily bypass the existing EU external border controls. No longer needing a tourist visa to enter EU states is widely regarded – by Ukrainians – as an achievement in terms of international relations and as a first step toward freedom of movement.[91]

This 'liberalisation', paradoxically enabled by a severe, yet simplified biometric control mechanism, allowed Liliya and her future husband to meet several times in Europe before they got married to get to know one other better. Nevertheless, as will be discussed in the next section, marriage as an objective is still framed within the context of closed externalised border control, which Lili-

ya overcame by obtaining new passports for herself and her daughter. These discrepancies in the differentiation of purposes of travel make the EU-Ukrainian border an ambiguous space for defining what it means to 'belong'.

The COVID-19 pandemic also posed challenges in Liliya's case. Although Ukrainian tourists still faced closed borders in 2020, as local border traffic had been halted, the programme 'Love is not tourism' was introduced. This enabled Liliya to enter Germany with her second passport. 'Love is not tourism' offered a novel path for undoing the borders and escaping an existing regime, which formerly forced potential marriage migrants to collect and translate documents, sometimes prove their 'honest' objective to marry an EU-citizen out of 'true love', before being accepted as a newcomer seeking to found a family, or be reunited with members of their own family.

However, whilst the relatively straightforward movement across the Ukrainian border has (prior to the war in Ukraine) made life easier for Ukrainian marriage migrants, the Russian/EU border, which most of our interlocutors who came from Russia had to cross, presented a much greater obstacle. Russian citizens, like other citizens from third countries, usually had to deal with the official and unofficial categories into which they were pigeon-

holed in consulates, foreign offices, and during spot checks by border control authorities. Thus, they were identified as 'marriage migrants looking to marry a rich husband', 'housewives', ending up dependent on a new family and, in the worst-case scenario, on the social welfare system. Inspections carried out by bureaucrats, as reported by Alena's interlocutors, entailed the women engaging in self-observation. They felt they had to justify that they had really married the 'right' partner, that they had married because of love and that they would find ways of making a living on their own. This self-legitimatising took into account a wide range of suspicions, which had – at least at the beginning of their relationship – accompanied their questioning whether they had made the right decision.

Education – the Courts in a Socialist Society

If compared with the complexity of the borderlands, the courtroom appears to be a space in which strict order reigns: hierarchies are undisputed, roles clearly assigned, and proceedings conducted based on laws. A court of law signifies something much larger than just a group of individuals whose profession is to apply the law. Rather, a court is meant to represent broader society and its values. This

idea is expressed in 'Western' democracies, too, by the fact that the judiciary announces its decision 'in the name of the people'. Often, courts also have lay judges. However, in socialist societies, the expectation of popular participation in the judiciary went much further. This expectation was also reflected in the way trials were conducted.

Immediately after the communist takeover of Czechoslovakia in 1948, the justice system underwent extensive reforms. These reforms included the introduction of people's courts (*lidové soudy*) – that is, courts in factories and town halls in which lay people could preside over dispensing justice. In addition, fast-track trained people's judges received accreditations to reside over regular court proceedings. By the early 1960s, as the trials of the three young Roma women were taking place, which will be described in the section that follows, this revolutionary fervour had long since faded. Unchanged, however, was the claim that citizens should observe, judge and, if necessary, educate one another. For one thing, the 'masses' were present in the courtroom thanks to the presence of lay judges who formed part of the presidency of the court. Their presence was also underpinned by the court hearing testimony from people not even directly involved in the actual case being heard – such as, for example, former employees, members of the lo-

cal street committee or of mass organisations. Their role was to report on the defendant's reputation at work or in his or her neighbourhood, on his or her work ethic, and whether she or he was committed to the community and had a positive attitude toward socialism. Statements such as the following on Tatjana P.: 'The public condemns her for her behaviour' or made during Emilie N.'s trial: 'society has given her a helping hand, but this effort was in vain' were often included in the justification of the sentence meted out, thus contributing to the performative nature of trials, as will be discussed in a later section.

It can be concluded that in socialist countries, in theory at least, an offender was obliged to justify his or her failure to society as a whole and had then to be put back on the 'right track' with the help of society. Additionally, according to the socialist understanding of the function of the judicial system, a trial was considered as an educational event, one which should not be about punishment, but rather about acquiring insight and a collective effort for improvement. Looking at the trial records, the dominance of the punitive aspect is striking. There is no question that witness statements and judgments tended to reinforce social, ethnic and gender-related inequalities – traces of a sensibility for these asymmetries are incredibly rare in the court files.

The Borders Inside and Outside of Early Modern Augsburg

As previously mentioned, participation on oath day was obligatory for male citizens above a certain age whilst others were excluded by default. This points to the fact that while the oath-taking ritual itself structured urban life and particularly the way that communal belonging and norms were affirmed, it was always already framed and structured by norms and circumstances. As I will show, the oath-taking ritual glossed over significant differences, such as the personally and collectively extremely important religious divide. At the same time, it took up and emphasised dividing lines between genders or between locals and foreigners. In what follows, I want to focus on the more general material and normative context of this urban phenomenon. I will limit myself to the object of my overall project, early modern Augsburg.

The city's population increased significantly from about 19,000 inhabitants in 1500 to approximately 45,000 right before the Thirty Years War (1618–1648), when it dropped dramatically to only 16,000. The influx of new inhabitants made the drawing of social boundaries particularly urgent. At any moment, full citizens were only a minority among urban dwellers. They were also

not themselves a homogenous group. Most citizens subscribed to the new faith since the Reformation of the early sixteenth century. As French historian Étienne François put it, Augsburg was divided by an 'invisible border', which significantly hardened at certain times of conflict and then more permanently after the fixation of the city's bi-confessional status in the Peace of Westphalia of 1648. François meticulously uncovered the division amongst the citizenry along confessional lines in marriage patterns, naming, burial and other daily practices. The long-lasting ritual of oath taking, then, integrated not just men of various economic standings and professions but also of different confessions without levelling these differences.

Regarding control over foreigners, although Augsburg was located deeply within the early modern Holy Roman Empire, it can be described in some ways as a border town, to some extent comparable to the situation in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands. As a free imperial city, Augsburg was an independent political entity and given that the city possessed almost no surrounding territory, one entered 'foreign' territory almost immediately when moving outside the city walls. Lechhausen, currently within Augsburg's city borders, for instance, then belonged to ducal Bavaria with different laws and political authorities.

Identity checks for people entering would usually take place at the gates. Full citizens were apparently either known to the guards as locals, or credibly appeared as such by virtue of their own assertions, behaviour, or attire. Thus, identity checks, or the absence thereof, reinforced the sense of belonging or non-belonging that became part of citizens' and non-citizens' subjectivity. Only in special circumstances, such as in times of plague, did citizens returning to Augsburg have to show health passes documenting their past travel routes. From what we know, these checks routinely involved written documents for non-residents. Jews, for instance, who were only allowed to reside in the villages outside of the city and to enter Augsburg for the day, had to receive (and pay for) an identification document at the gate each time. In times of crisis, vigilance was increased, and certain types of individuals were not permitted to enter the city under any circumstances.

Oath day was clearly not the only mechanism for inclusion and exclusion and for the shaping of different subjects. Gender can serve to illustrate the interplay between the specific ritual and more general social and cultural structures. The exclusion of women from oath day may seem obvious for the period under consideration here. Arguably, however, the apparent naturalness of exclusion to contem-

poraries was the result of contingent processes and had much to do with how religious reforms played out in early modern Germany. The religious shift of the sixteenth century had the potential to radically change gender relations. However, an initial emphasis by religious reformers on female prophets and the priesthood of all believers shifted into a vertical vision of order. As Lyndal Roper put the question in her research on the Holy Household: How did the Reformation take a conservative turn in terms of gender relations?[92] Roper argues that once the shift had been domesticated in the world of urban guilds and workshops, it proposed an ideal of 'civic righteousness' appealing to male heads of households (*Hausväter*). At its heart lay a threefold subordination: wife to husband, children to parents, and servants to masters. The authorities could assume the paternal role toward their subjects. This model remained influential even if the legitimation of order was successively framed as more generally Christian rather than being explicitly Protestant.

The Social Dimension of Storytelling

The collection of *exempla* shows that a great variety of faults and mistakes could lead the faithful believer astray. This variety becomes especially evident when comparing stories that take place in dif-

ferent social settings. The monastery is just one of many social systems that has its own set of norms and values that these stories invoke and reinforce. And even the strict and ascetic monastery is shown to be surprisingly tolerant toward mishaps, contrary to what one might presume at first glance.

Many monastic stories, in which demons assume a central role, primarily focus on events that could disrupt strict schedules or endanger social order. And yet, many *exempla* that take place outside the monastic setting broaden the historical perspective by introducing town- and city-communities as a social context. Here, devils and demons seem to manifest themselves wherever rules and boundaries are put to the test. In one of these stories,[93] a priest in Mainz notices little demons sitting on the train of a woman's extravagant dress. He then publicly makes an example of her overly ornate dress as one which is inappropriate, and probably not in line with her social status. This shows not only a clash of religious ideals with the lived reality in a city inhabited by a much more diverse group of people, but also calls such behaviour to public attention – therefore implying that 1) the community is part of the system meant to uphold certain rules and should therefore be equally as attentive to transgressions as the offender; 2) that the church sees itself as an integral part of everyday jurisdiction,

which can be seen by the self-evident authority that the priest's actions imply; and 3) that the rules of Christianity occasionally clash with the realities of everyday life and aren't necessarily followed as strictly as they might be in a monastic environment, for example.

That last conclusion could be seen as one of the reasons so many stories focus on the importance of Confession as a means of reintegration. While following Christian morals is important for fostering a sense of community, upholding peaceful coexistence is even more crucial. It may be surprising for today's reader that stories written down in a monastery explicitly broach the issue of homosexuality rather than keeping silent about it: 'There was in the same house a young monk who came to him frequently, and with whom, at the instigation of the devil and with the consent of human frailty, this confessor sinned once, but only once. As soon as it was done, he began to lament and weep bitterly, and said to the younger man: "We have sinned grievously; out of shame we cannot confess this sin to others; but I think that you had better make confession to me, and I to you, and each receive penance from the other."'[94] However, the confession was not effective, for in the wake of the death of one of the monks, his ghostly apparition warned the other of the torments awaiting them in hell. Fearing eternal damnation, the

young monk decides to confess to the abbot. But the abbot is absent and the wait only increases the young monk's sense of shame, so much so that he is unable to confess even after the abbot returns. The abbot, for his part, is aware of a sin that has not been confessed, for the dead monk had confessed to him on his deathbed but failed to state the name of his partner. The abbot then decides to take matters into his own hands: '[…] he gave orders to the whole congregation, both priests and those of inferior rank, whether healthy or sick, that at a certain festival all should confer at the high altar; for he thought that the guilty party would surely not dare to approach. So, he sat by the altar, examining the faces of everyone present.' His plan proves to be successful: the young monk withdraws and finally decides to confess.

This story shows that anything could become a topic of discussion if it is made clear that the behaviour will not to be repeated and that the wrongdoer also confesses with no intention of repeating the misdemeanour and with true *contritio* in his heart. As with the story that takes place in Mainz, the individual's lapse in moral conduct is brought up as a matter of communal interest, for in both cases the clergy notices this deviant behaviour and refers to it within a public space. Subsequently, the crime is confessed, the dress changed – and the old

order re-established. In general, the genre of the *exemplum* is one that is much more praxis-oriented than theological theory and thus allows for a large degree of leeway that one would not suspect if one were to only study theological writings. It also shows how social control can be executed: Through close observance and impending damnation – immanent or transcendent alike.

Poetry and Contradicting Metaphors

Metaphors in poems form specific constellations in combining different systems in a highly intentional way. A 'system' according to Wellbery in the context of metaphors consists 'of elements and their relations'.[95] Constellations of such systems have an impact on the recipients in sending them on a heuristic search.

To understand how that works, we must turn to 65b of the *Hohenfurter Liederbuch.* As a hymn to the morning, it says: [96]

I see the day dawning
with its red dawn
no light can compare with it
on this whole earth

This first stanza describes a constellation consisting of the red sky, a bright shining light and a first-person narrator watching this sky. The red light announces the appearance of the sun and the I interprets these factors as signs of the passing of time toward the arrival of day. We refer to this as a natural system.

As in many other *Tagelied*-songs, metaphorical meaning has been attributed to this natural system, as here depicted in Stanza 14:

> *Now shine forth bountifully,*
> *you eternal light without end!*
> *Before you all enemies must flee*
> *with their ghosts*

Here, we have a system comprising three elements: a never-to-be-extinguished light; the I praising the bountiful light; and enemies, both to the speaker and to light. 'Bountiful' signals the metaphor, here meaning generous or giving freely; it conveys more of a divine quality or a personal attribute than the description of natural phenomena such as light. If the recipient is not clear by this point, the last stanza reveals the metaphorical relation between the natural system of daybreak and the theological system:

So let this be sung
in praise of the bright day:
the true Son of God,
who was born into this world.

Thus, the system parallel to the natural process is incarnation, the Christian belief that God becomes man by virtue of the birth of Jesus Christ.

Given that this theological system could be rather complex to grasp, the poem speaks mostly in the language of the natural system. The elements from the theological system are God, the Son of God, the world and the speaker. In the natural system, these elements are night, dawn, and daybreak. Each of these three phases transforms into the next phase through the passage of time, which results in the changing quality of daylight, influenced by the rising sun. In the poem, night is identified as a period of distress and used as a metaphor for the period before the salvation experienced through the birth of Jesus Christ. Dawn is the foreshadowing of day, which, in the theological system, is equated with the Mother of Jesus Christ, Mary, and her conception of Jesus as the son of God. The passing of time is therefore equated with a step-by-step revelation of God. Time, it is implied, should not be measured in seconds, minutes, or hours, or in the movement of celestial constellations, but rather

by man's proximity to salvation. Light is the centre of the metaphor. In all natural process, light is a spectacle, growing from a dim shimmer to full sunlight. As such, it provides visibility to us on Earth. Corresponding elements in the theological system can be described variously as: the salvation-bearing presence of God; salvation itself; a bountiful indication of a path toward salvation; or the generation of a life of the soul.

The relationship between both systems does not define the corresponding elements clearly. The structure of the metaphor allows one system to be understood quickly, while the other, in this case the theological system of incarnation, remains unclear. Metaphorical constellations therefore usher recipients into a realm of possible interpretations from which they have to choose. Attributions such as *'you eternal light without end'* contrast with the image of the light of the coming day, a light which disappears and reappears repeatedly. Heightened awareness and attention to meaning is raised precisely because of the discrepancies between interlinking elements in both systems. Metaphors therefore pose two challenges to the recipient: Firstly, the opaque connection between elements of two systems, where the endpoint remains an element to be revealed through the more easily understood system. Secondly, when both elements have con-

tradictory characteristics and yet are unmistakably meant to be assigned to each other. Both cases enhance the recipient's alertness, whereby the inherent tension sends recipients on a search for meaning, asking themselves how they should interpret the contents of what they have heard or read, and how to judge them using their own capacity for reason.

D) Performances

In this section, we highlight the role that third parties play in performative contexts in the crafting of subjectivity, whether by their active intervention or by their mere or implicit presence. A crucial aspect of becoming a subject is often performing this subjectivity in front of, or interacting with, others. In each of our contributions, two characteristics are evident: a certain action, often a ritualised and symbolic practice, which is more or less expected, and an audience that is watching and witnessing. It is in this situation of acting and witnessing that subjectivity emerges and can change. Thus, the particular context in which the performance occurs is significant, as also discussed in the previous section.

Performance takes place within a specific time and place. A certain practice, attitude and appro-

priate display is expected by the audience, and the subject takes this into account in their (inter-)actions. Thus, they incorporate the others' expectations into their self-observation and behaviour. The third parties vary from an imagined ever-watching God, to members of the police, judiciary and state bureaucracy, to ethnic counterparts, parents, spouses and fellow alert citizens. The subject emerges driven by the necessity to obey, comply, stick to externally imposed expectations and rules; it is shaped and re-shaped in the very moment of speech acts, manifest in embodied practices, clothes, and ritualised behaviour. The performative context is an intrinsically attentive one. In some cases, the repeated performance of the same actions triggered by external expectations became a part of what creates the subject. Subjectivity is therefore a product of our practices,[97] rather than being the source of them. These practices react to and interact with what is ascribed by others and their expectations. This becoming is not necessarily (indeed, is unlikely to be) a smooth process, but can be a fragile one, it may contain inner struggles, or lead to deviating interpretations, simulation, and distancing between the subject and audience, with respect to the others with whom they interact.

Nacho's case reveals certain ambivalences in relation to the freedom to choose how to present oneself to others. While his parents were subjected to racialised labelling and classified as 'Latino' and therefore perceived as 'migrants' by others, Nacho can pass as white. Thus, in situations in which it is not obvious to his 'audience' that he is Latino, he has more options concerning how to present himself to others and how to both perform as a subject and to exhibit himself as one. In Catherine's interview with Nacho, they discuss various ways in which specific audiences' gaze influence the expression of his subjectivity as well as his behaviour more broadly.

Nacho's personal sense of vigilance was constructed partly through the assumption that his every move was being watched: by his family growing up, and by God, even though he was not a devout Catholic. 'God sees you in the dark… Being a picky skinny kid, you know, not finishing my food being a sin, you know. I was pretty convinced I was going to hell by like eight years old'. God as an ever-present witness to his behaviour therefore had an impact on how he disciplined himself. Nacho became aware that his parents and others that might be mistaken for migrants also carried themselves on the street as if they had the feeling

of being watched at all times and thus must be careful with regard to their appearance and actions, regardless of whether they were actually observed or not.

In the example given as a 'key moment' in Nacho's self-representation, when Nacho confronted the man who had made a racist remark against César Chávez, the confrontation itself instigated a performance of his subject position. Rather than simply accepting the comment, by letting the man know that he saw himself as one of those 'lettuce pickers' being referred to, Nacho outed himself as Latino in front of the man as his audience, in response to the offensive comment. This is important, as the performative power of his speech act lies in the specific situation in which it is articulated. Further, this performative act lends power to the utterance itself – self-labelling himself as Latino in the face of such hostility. However, performing 'Latinoness' is ambivalent and contingent. While Nacho broadly sees himself as Latino, in other contexts he might reject expressions of Latinoness performed by others. At university he was invited to join a Latino fraternity but declined the offer when he passed the stall at the freshers' fair where reggaeton music was playing because the members of the fraternity were generally projecting a stereotypical image of Latinoness that mostly drew

its content from aspects of Mexican-American culture. The frequent conflation of Mexican-American culture with Latinx culture in San Diego is a direct consequence of Mexican Americans being by far the largest group of Latinxs there. As a Honduran, Nacho did not join this group because his self-image did not match the way that the Latino fraternity represented what it meant to be Latino. Through Nacho's story we see that the existence of an audience is significant in how he and others present themselves. The way in which certain others perform Latinoness led to Nacho choosing to disassociate himself from them.

Proving 'True Love' in the Performative Space of the Embassy

A particular performative situation occurred at the German Embassy in Kyiv, when Liliya was applying for the fiancée visa for herself and the entrance visa for her daughter as an accompanying minor. Liliya had to provide many documents (see fig. 4). This included a 'performance' of her relationship with the professor. Liliya attached pictures of them together in Switzerland, as well as passport stamps and flight tickets that proved that they had met in Germany and Ukraine.

Figure 4: Documents collected by Liliya and the 'Professor' for the German Consulate in Kyiv.

The performative space of the embassy represents the disciplinary regime that produces specific subject positions. As Moya Lloyd clarifies subjection (*assujetissement*) to Judith Butler, 'in order to continue as a subject, individuals have to submit to the very power that subordinates them'.[98] Liliya followed all the German embassy's requirements. For example, the embassy did not like the way in which Liliya's diploma had been stapled or how her divorce certificate was laminated. She had to obtain second copies of these papers, respectively, causing a delay which postponed her reunification with the professor.

Liliya did not recall any specific line of questioning during the interview at the embassy. However, she did remember that the document processing lasted longer than the couple had expected. The professor called the German embassy in Kyiv and the foreign registry office in Germany in an attempt to find out how long their application would take. Neither the embassy, nor the foreign registry office could provide any information on the matter, which created uncertainty and disrupted the couple's ability to plan for the future, as well as sustaining power relations of subordination.

Once Liliya finally handed over the passports to the employee at the embassy, she decided to accelerate her emigration by applying for new passports for both herself and her daughter (which is possible in Ukraine in such circumstances). Once in possession of these new passports, she entered the EU as a tourist and moved into the professor's house. The passport that had been stamped with the fiancée visa was received by Liliya's mother, who later sent it illegally via courier post to Germany. This act of undoing the border by reapplying for passports, often practiced by labour migrants, is also an act of successful resistance to the dynamics of subordination executed by the German embassy as part of the EU border regime. Liliya subverted the power relations that had previously subjugated her.

One month after the interview, the marriage ceremony between Liliya and the professor took place at a German civil registry office. Alena was invited as a guest, but not long before the ceremony Liliya wrote her a message that the professor had 'fought the bride's maid back', meaning that Liliya could not have any other guests except for her daughter and her translator. The other three 'tickets', out of a maximum of five guests which the then COVID-19 restrictions allowed in their region, were allocated to the professor's children from his previous marriage. Liliya was upset and started to doubt once more whether the professor's feelings toward her were sincere. The performative situation of a betrothal, which is meant to be witnessed by many people, was later realised as a private event and in a digital setting, with many guests from Liliya's side, including Alena, participating as Zoom-icons without being able to observe the ceremony in full due to camera angle restrictions and with no possibility of being personally involved in any significant manner.

The case study of Liliya and the professor shows performance to be essential for the portrayal of the self during bureaucratic procedures such as the ones described here, in which intimate personal arrangements need to be presented and judged in public. As with Christiane Brenner's case

study, public officials make moral judgements as to whether one is genuinely presenting oneself.

Tatjana's Story

Observing that in court cases, in addition to their function of interpreting the law, performative elements also come into effect has led legal scholar Cornelia Vismann to compare court situations to a theatre play.[99] In this drama, tension is established and – after all parties have been heard – released with the pronouncement of a sentence. Part of this denouement and conclusion of the story is that the guilty party confesses her or his guilt and accepts whatever punishment is deemed appropriate. One could go so far as to say that the individual on trial is confessing to being a sinful subject. Here, the parallel is evident not only to Greek tragedy, but also to Christian rituals.

Within a socialist understanding of justice, the task of the court was to reconstruct more than just the specific act of a person that had led to her or his arrest. Given its educational mission, a much more comprehensive investigation was called for in socialist courts. In her book on the 'life history' of the German Democratic Republic's legal system, Inga Markovits wrote that a judge would have to

get to 'the bottom of the pathology' of the defendant's life history in order to lead her or him back into society.[100] In doing so, the judge was supported by representatives of society, who reported on the reputation of the person on trial – her or his work ethic, social behaviour and political attitude.

However, in the case of Romani women, the 'pathology' diagnosed by the court was not a purely individual one. It existed, as it were, from the outset, as these women belonged to an ethnic minority whose lifestyle was regarded as 'archaic' and inappropriate. In order to force the Roma to adapt to the socialist way of life, the Czechoslovakian government had passed a law in 1958 that prohibited 'wandering' and required potentially nomadic Romani to be registered in a central registry. For people on this list, migration of any kind was forbidden. Tatjana P., one of the three women in my case study was on this list, so she had already committed a crime by leaving her place of residence and work.

The drama unfolding in court is thoroughly illustrated by her particular case: Tatjana had put up fierce resistance against her detention on Prague's Wenceslas Square. When first interrogated, she attributed her detention and control by the police to the fact 'that I am a Gypsy'. She explained that her reason for leaving Kladno and travelling to Prague was her independent decision to escape unbearable

working and living conditions. 'No one gave me permission, I went by myself, I already gave the reasons.' Later, she revised this statement during interrogations. The departure from Kladno becomes an impulsive act; Prague is no longer the destination, but rather a stopover in search of a new job somewhere else. And the bitter accusations against a society that does not give her a chance anyway, transforms into an admission that in her fury she forgot to ask the local National Committee for assistance in finding a new place to stay.

It can be doubted that the unfolding of Tatjana's story – making a conscious decision, blaming a series of unfortunate coincidences and, finally, an admission of guilt – can be interpreted as merely tactical, that is, only as an attempt to persuade the court to give her a lighter sentence. From a performance perspective, these modifications to her story do not lessen the defendant's credibility. Rather, one might argue that the accused undergoes a process of education under the watchful eye of a court that represents society as a whole. Developing a more acceptable story is part of complying with the norms of socialist community.

To build on the exploration of the performative dimension of subjectivity and vigilance, I will focus on the social and spatial setting of early modern oath taking. In the case of Nacho in the modern-day U.S., the option to pass as 'white' at the key moment described above not only depended upon his phenotype, but also on the unfamiliarity between observers and the observed. Many observers have noted this kind of anonymity to be typical of modern urban life.[101] This is relevant for the present context of subjectivation and vigilance, because, following Simmel, one could argue that bigger cities were sites of less mutual observation and vigilance and of greater anonymity and indifference, leaving more freedom to individuals to fashion themselves. Herbert Gans' work on urban villages has criticised this idea, which in any case might not be valid for early modern cities of considerably smaller size than nineteenth and twentieth century cities.[102] Nevertheless, we can see that the idea of greater freedom due to less social attention in urban settings was already a *topos* in early modern travel accounts.[103] Against this backdrop, it seems fruitful not to think of less or more, but rather different modes of vigilance. As the other contributions in this book also demonstrate, vigi-

lance and self-fashioning took place in various settings, for instance, through direct observation, but also through written communication, in different media and through reference to present, absent or even imagined others.

Meetings between strangers certainly took place in early modern cities as well. Nevertheless, they have been described as social systems much more based on face-to-face interaction and familiarity between inhabitants than modern, especially modern urban, communities.[104] While there has been some debate as to whether the idea of a society based on face-to-face interactions adequately captures the importance of written communication in Medieval and early modern urban settings, the oath-taking day certainly proves the importance of presence and performance in the making of the urban community. It was crucial that men joined together physically in a specific location and observed each other while taking the oath (see figure 5). As mentioned above, any absence on oath-taking day was often noticed and punished. In Ulm, we find explicit condemnations not only of people who spent that day outside the city, but also of those who claimed they had taken the oath at home[105].

The oath-taking ritual was predicated on seeing and being seen. Significantly, as a key mo-

Figure 5: Rudolf Ellenrieder: *Oath Day in Ulm* (1823), engraving from a gouache of 1650.

ment of mutual observation it was spatially arranged in a hierarchical way. As shown in figure 5, the Council members to whom loyalty was pledged were placed above the square in the windows of the so-called oath-house. Interestingly, today the mayor of Ulm gives an account of his actions in office and swears an oath to uphold the city's constitution from the middle balcony on oath day every year.

The performance on oath-taking day was not just a visual, but also an aural matter. Not only did the bells announce the beginning of the rituals, the oath was spoken aloud together. In many cities, the

urban laws and the duties of the citizen were read aloud on this occasion. Gradually, these readings were reduced to the most important duties and sometimes replaced by the publication of printed versions.[106] This did not change the character of the oath-taking day as an event based on immediate bodily presence.

For any outsiders joining the community, who were usually not widely known in the city, the so-called new citizen's oath was routinely preceded by self-identification and a certain degree of vetting.[107] One had to bring a certificate indicating a free and legitimate birth from one's place of origin and show that one had not been and was not actively involved in any legal conflicts. At the moment of oath-taking, the mayor would ask 'are you X who wants to be a citizen?' and the new citizen would answer: yes, 'I am X' before taking the oath. The audience in this case was, of course, a small office holder representing the community. The full-scale performance of the newly acquired citizenship would take place on the following official oath day.

Education

I will take the points made about premodern society and apply them here to Caesarius of Heisterbach's

pedagogical dialogues. As Brendan Röder and Agnes Rugel have mentioned, premodern society can be described as one that functioned on a 'face-to-face' level. A similar argument could be made for literature. Due to a large part of the public being illiterate, combined with limited written resources, literary experience was very much defined by, and relied upon, personal interactions.

In the *Dialogue on Miracles* the purpose of teaching students is stated on the very first page: 'It has been my duty, in my responsible post, to rehearse to the novices some of those miracles that have been wrought within our Order in our own times and are still of daily occurrence; and I have been asked with much insistence by many to perpetuate them in writing. For they said that it would be an irrevocable loss if those accounts should fall into oblivion, which might serve for the edification of posterity'.[108] Just as in Christiane Brenner's text, we can perceive a performative form of education designed to shape the subjectivity of its recipient. Even the historiated initial of an illuminated manuscript, which is now housed in Düsseldorf, shows the details of an older monk reading to a young novice.

The prologue also identifies the following stories as representative of an inner journey which the reader or listener should follow. The overall structure should represent the spiritual becoming of a devout

Figure 6: Close up of the first page of the Prologue in an illuminated manuscript of the *Dialogus miraculorum*. This historiated initial illustrates the scene described in the prologue: It shows a monk, possibly Caesarius of Heisterbach, teaching a young novice who is listening attentively.

subject, starting with conversion and culminating in death. Interestingly, the process of teaching, otherwise an ephemeral process, becomes permanently fixed in the written text: The *exempla* are each framed by a short dialogue between a monk and a novice that explain or further elaborate on the subject matter.

Given that managing everyday life as a pious individual is the collection's professed intention,

it comes as no surprise that the stories contain various instructions for techniques relating to both mind and body. The behavioural response is highly ritualised, especially when dealing with diabolical temptations. Apart from making the sign of the cross, there is also more pertinent advice on how to notice and withstand the allure of demons.

One example would be the importance of keeping a close lookout for demons' backs: In a story about a demon going after a sworn virgin, there are multiple signifiers that indicate the devil's true nature. When the demon, in the guise of a good-looking young man, approaches the maiden, she looks closely for certain signs such as hoarse breathing or his back. When the novice interrupts to ask about this particular feature of the story, the monk then explains: 'Demons, as I have understood from another vision, have no hinder parts, and this is why a demon who appeared very frequently to a certain woman, when she asked him why he always walked backwards when he went away, replied: "We are allowed to take the human form, but nevertheless we have no backs."'[109]

Techniques such as these provided everyday strategies that ultimately contributed to living a devout life, while also implementing a general habit of awareness toward oneself and the dan-

gers that lie in giving into the devil's temptation. This awareness is ultimately grounded in a specific knowledge that has been developed through a form of performative education, as can be observed in the *Dialogue on Miracles*. Here, the descriptions of specific ways to defend oneself against demoic influence are very detailed and even needed to habitualise defence-mechanisms, supported by the repetitive structure of the text itself. It is notable how conflated these strategies become in the broader religious context: On the one hand, they contribute to the potential salvation of the individual, and therefore represent a transcendental motivation, while, on the other hand, they uphold social order, and therefore heavily focussed on the immanent aspect of life.

Confession

It is almost impossible to say anything certain about the performance of the songs in the fifteenth century songbook from the abbey in Vyšší Brod. Some traces of use provide evidence that the Marian songs were viewed more frequently than others. The melodies underpinning almost every song suggest that these songs might have been sung, probably to an audience of monks, as the location

of where they were conserved would imply. Given how it is not possible to uncover the performative aspect of the songs with certainty, we must consult the content, in which a sinner is called upon and shepherded toward conversion.

Conversion is the general concept which summarises the different steps described in these songs. Going to Confession is mentioned as a crucial part of this process. As the sacrament for dispensing penance, Confession became obligatory once a year in the thirteenth century. In order to prepare for the sacrament, Christians contrast their own intentions and actions with the moral and ethical ideals embodied in the church's teachings. As was shown in the discussion about the vigilant subject, the songs are a way to propose ideals for this purpose, concentrating on an experienced unity in a vigilant relationship with God.

Vigilance is central to how the believer lives up to these ideals. Tension between the sinner, his self-understanding and his actions, arises from the comparison between these ideals and his practices, which forms the basis of Confession, which then becomes a face-to-face encounter with a priest who demands to know whether the sinner had any prior discernment about his own sins. Even if a list of sins actually existed, which a priest could use as a guideline to find out what sins the confessor may

have committed, the sinner is responsible for comprehensively examining the self. The same applied when didactic literature such as *Der Seele Rat* was used; it served as a guide to Confession, preparing the sinner for the various steps necessary for the sacrament. The self has to be observed thoroughly, as priests are not omniscient when it comes to an individual's sins. At the same time, according to church teachings, the presence of a priest is required as the person who enables the face-to-face encounter and thus acts as a mediator for God's forgiveness in order to absolve the sinner. Although the songs in the songbook aim at a mostly introspective, spiritual examination of the self, some songs deal with how to prepare the body for Confession. These bodily practices are still rituals in Christianity to this very day: receiving communion, going on pilgrimages, fasting, as well as such religiously imbued gestures as genuflecting or crying out loudly during prayer.

Confession per se is a sacrament that aims to reconcile the believer with those ideals he or she has not been able to achieve. It requires the confessor to appear in person, and is in its scope individually oriented. However, from the very first discussions about Confession in the early church, there has always been a communal element: the scope of letting sinners return to the community of believers, irre-

spective of their sins. Here, in the performative act of Confession, we can encounter a productive tension between a highly individual process and Confession as part of a reintegration process into the community of believers. The question of how to obtain a balance between an ideal of society in the church (here understood as community of all Christians baptised according to the roman rite) and whether every sinner can be granted salvation, regardless of their sins, persists. The priest with his power or duty to grant the sinner God's forgiveness is confronted with this tension, and can resolve it in confession.

Just as in the case study of Nacho, there is the assumption that God sees everything at any given moment. While this perception intensifies self-examination, ultimately leading to Confession, it is simultaneously considered a consolation. In this case study of medieval German literature, God's omnipresence seems indirectly tangible: Self-examination is followed and determined by a performative act in Confession because it is perceived as the place and moment in which an encounter with God's gaze is possible – in a human counterpart. Through this performative act, Confession therefore puts the sinner in a position to strive toward the ideal of being an alert believer observing his or her own attainment of virtues that imply a life well lived, both in personal and social terms.

Part 5

Findings and Outlook

How do processes of subject formation relate to vigilance? As we have outlined in this book, a key aspect is the anticipation – conscious or subconscious – of being watched. This anticipation is based in one's construction of how one might be perceived in the eyes of another. Moreover, in several of the contexts that we have described in this book, it is each person's duty not only to work on oneself, but also to make sure that others do so, too. Subjectivity and vigilance are thus intimately connected. As one incorporates vigilance into one's daily practices, so, too, do these practices feed into the construction of an individual's subjectivity.

Beyond these general remarks, however, it has not been our purpose here to provide a universal account of the relationship between vigilance and subjectivity. Rather, we see the strength of our working group's collaboration in highlighting temporally, locally, and socially specific dimensions of subjectivation and vigilance. The cautious subject of the socialist era that emerges in Czech court documents is not the same as the attentive subject in

public oath-swearing ceremonies in early modern Augsburg. What we see throughout the case studies are overlapping forms of vigilance, in which the subject is observed, but also observes him- or herself as well as – at times imagined – others. A good example of this is Confession in the late Medieval and the early modern period: the confessing subject anticipates outside observers, but they may not even be there. However, the subject observes themselves and their own actions based on an assumption of being watched. Thus, internal change is triggered from an (imagined) 'outside' and subjectivity is produced in performative practices, but may be reproduced as an authentic expression of self. This catalyst for vigilance then may be something absent, hidden or invisible – but that is powerfully present through imagination.

An important commonality across our examples is that subjectivation emerged in spaces of 'in-betweenness', as particular watchfulness is needed at interstices or produces them. In these spaces the subject is caught between a compulsion to adapt (e.g. to hegemonic power relations) on the one hand, and a compulsion to act (e.g. to resist such power relations) on the other. Because of this in-betweenness, the subject is often not clearly positioned or easily identifiable at any given moment. Subjects always exist in relation to the constel-

lations in which they emerge. The ways in which these relational processes happen are relevant in themselves. This also means that the subject is never absolute or 'complete', as they are always embedded in some kind of context and can change along with the context – they may be just one dimension of this very same context. For example, in Brendan Röder's case study, tensions emerge in the subject formation of early modern citizens, posited as autonomous selves that are also subject to authority. In the Czech courtroom, individual behaviour was evaluated against the backdrop of the socialist ideal of a citizen. The examples draw on different vantage points from which to consider the impact of the so-called faceless state that is typically ascribed to a modern, bureaucratic society. They suggest that interactions with the state influence subject formation, but we have yet to learn more about how this differs from premodern 'face-to-face' societies. More generally, we are left with the question: How much agency do actors have within the structure of the state and within any other wider society?

Another theme cutting through the presented projects is the significance of self-observation for the crafting of subjectivity. However, this is not just any kind of self-observation, but one that incorporates being observed by others. For example, the U.S.-Mexico border is not only a heavily-

surveilled space, but it also 'offers multiple mirrors from which to view oneself and others'.[110] Thus, for many Latinxs, living in the borderland means having to reflect on their ethnic and national identity and how this positions them toward Anglo-Americans and Mexican nationals.[111] Accordingly, mutual scrutiny is linked to self-observation, illuminated by an awareness of how one is perceived by others. This is how vigilance is anticipated and becomes inextricably linked to subjectivation processes. In our projects, this process has different nuances and is related to notions of 'otherness'. The racialised Romani women are perceived as 'others' who are unwilling and unable to conform to the ideal of the socialist citizen. Similar boundary work can be seen on oath day in the early modern city. Those excluded from the very act of subjectivation are also subjectified by exclusion. As 'otherness' is often perceived as a potential threat to social order, it tends to be closely watched – and this vigilance, in turn, affects the self-image of othered individuals.

Across the projects, we have also highlighted the ways in which processes of subjectivation are condensed into key moments, often involving far-reaching consequences. We have found that an impulse from the outside seems to be important, such as a confrontation, in which the subject is forced

into, or ascribed to, a particular subject position. (Potentially) offensive labels, such as 'lettuce picker', 'prostitute', or 'sinner' are attached to often disadvantaged individuals. While individuals are never totally free to choose which subject position to inhabit, some may have more agency than others, such as a 'white-presenting' Latino in contrast to Roma women, who are doubly marginalised as prostitutes and a racialised group. Agency emerges precisely in the tensions between autonomy and heteronomy. In some cases, vigilance contributes to this agency as a response to racism and other forms of discrimination.[112]

Several questions remain with regard to the sources we have worked with to trace processes of subject formation: With respect to the stabilisation of subject positions, future research should examine whether there are specific markers or symbols that stabilise a situational decision (e.g., whether to join the monastery). How is the new status, for instance, of a novice or a monk, put on display? What narratives might be found in which someone did something and became another through this practice? Can we identify other kinds of evidence for subjectivation, such as a particular image of the process, a specific dress, a pious attitude, or can we observe a changing habitus of the persons concerned? Can subjectivation be stabilised – or is this

not possible because it is always in flux? Can these tensions be empirically verified, and the resulting ambiguities theorised?

Further research should also consider the role of the body and of temporality. Beyond the specificities of different historical contexts that we have presented in our contributions, different time scales, ranging between the momentary to the eternal, imply different forms of subjectivation. From a Butlerian perspective, rather than being defined by seemingly unchanging categories, such as race or sexuality, the same individual may perform different, even contradictory, subject positions over time, which is to say that they put on a performance for those around them aimed at highlighting self-chosen or prescribed subject positions.[113] Indeed, social differentiation is not based on essential qualities of individuals, but instead depends on repeated performances of identity, which are not only orientated toward the present, but also anticipate future possibilities.[114] Moreover, postcolonial approaches to subjectivation highlight the connections between materiality and temporality. According to Mbembe,[115] subjectivity is always linked to temporality, such as when Africans are viewed as 'living fossils', being relegated to the prehistory of humanity in the Eurocentric imagination. Focusing on the material, embodied

dimension of subjectivation, Weheliye has argued that race, as a set of sociopolitical processes, is central to notions of the human and depends on anchoring political hierarchies in human flesh.[116]

Therefore, based on the interdisciplinary perspectives presented and compared here, we argue that vigilance has much to tell us about subjectivation, in the same way as subjectivation is key to understanding the nuances of vigilance, and its effects on the micro-level of individual interactions between people and with institutions. There is much potential for future research to build on these considerations, as we have just started to tap into this unexplored field of research. Finally, researchers themselves need to be cautious about the subjects they construct and are in danger of reifying in their own work. In that sense, we, too, might do well to become attentive subjects.

Remarks

1 For more information on the CRC, see https://www.en.sfb1369.uni-muenchen.de/index.html. We are grateful to Bettina Kleiner, professor of Gender Studies and Qualitative Methods at Goethe University in Frankfurt a.M., for her comments on an earlier version of this text. We also thank Carolin Luiprecht, who worked as a research assistant at the CRC, for taking the minutes at our working group's meetings. We are additionally particularly grateful to Martina Heger for her support and patience during the publication process.

2 While we realise that not only can individuals, but also communities and, to some extent, organisations, be addressed as 'subjects' (Alkemeyer et al., *Jenseits*), we focus here on individuals and their relationship to the wider community to which they belong.

3 Trundle, *Americans in Tuscany*, p. 4.

4 Foucault, Warum ich Macht untersuche; Butler, *The Psychic Life.*

5 Butler, *The Psychic Life*, see also Bulter, *Haß spricht.*

6 Butler, *Haß spricht*. Rather than focusing on power relations that structure subjects, the philosopher Jacques Rancière (*Disagreement*) is interested in how politics produce new fields of experience. Therefore, he defines what he calls 'subjectification' as 'the production through a series of actions of a body and a capacity for enunciation not previously identifiable within a given field of experience, whose identification is thus part of the reconfiguration of the field of experience' (Rancière, *Disagreement,* p. 35).

7 A certain binarity becomes apparent here, which Butler actually seeks to overcome. This is also evident in the construction of a constitutive outside from which an individual demarcates him/herself in the act of subjectivation (Butler 1993; see Behrens, *Komeplexen Subjektivierungen auf der Spur*, p. 185).

8 Fanon, *Black Skin*.
9 DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk.*
10 Nielsen, *On Social Construction*.
11 DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk.*
12 Although we capitalise 'Black', to highlight that it is a socially constructed category (and following a wider consensus to do so, particularly in U.S. scholarship), we have deliberately chosen not to capitalise 'white' when referring to a group of people with this phenotype and the socio-economic privileges that it very often affords, to avoid equating the experiences of people racialised as 'white' with those of 'Black' people as an oppressed group.
13 DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, p. 8.
14 Saar, Analytik der Subjektivierung, p. 25.
15 Butler, *The Psychic Life.*
16 Butler/Athanasiou, *Die Macht der Enteigneten*; Behrens, *Komplexen Subjektivierungen auf der Spur*, pp. 191ff.
17 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish.*
18 Brendecke/Molino, The Cultures of Vigilance p. 11.
19 Ibid.
20 See also Emerson's (2019) study on vigilant subjects, in which the degree of uncertainty involved in the perception of risks, e.g., terror attacks, and the specific temporality and futurity this entails is stressed.
21 Butler, *Das Unbehagen der Geschlechter*.
22 v. Moos, Attentio est quaedam sollicitudo.
23 Freist, Praktiken der Selbst-Bildung.
24 Janke, *Vom Individuum zur Person*; Zemon Davis, Boundaries and the Sense; Füssel, Die relationale Gesellschaft.
25 Toren, Intersubjectivity as Epistemology.
26 Behrens, *Komplexen Subjektivierungen auf der Spur*, p. 278.
27 Cf. Alkemeyer et al., Einleitung, p. 24.
28 Cf. also Haraway, *When Species Meet.*

29 Cf. Reckwitz, *Subjekt*, p. 159.
30 Anzaldúa, *Borderlands*.
31 Ibid, p. 19.
32 In Latinx and Chicanx, the letter x replaces the vowels a and o (so instead of Chicana/o, or Latina/o). Chicanx and Latinx have come to be used over recent decades as more inclusive terms than their gender specific alternatives.
33 Whittaker et al., *Watchful Lives*.
34 Ibid.
35 Quijano, Colonialidad del poder.
36 Alderman/Whittaker, A Bridge that Divides.
37 Whittaker/Dürr, Vigilance, Knowledge, and De/colonization.
38 Chavez, *The Latino Threat*.
39 *Migrationsbericht der Bundesregierung*, p. 115.
40 Zampagni, Unpacking the Schengen Visa Regime, p. 10.
41 See Scheel/Gutekunst, *Studying marriage migration.*
42 Sbírka zákonů Československé republiky (1945–1959) and Sbíika zákonů Československé socialistické republiky (1960–1989) available at: https://www.psp.cz/sqw/sbirka.sqw.
43 Lindenberger, Asoziale Lebensweise.
44 Zásadní směrnice o práci mezi cikánským obyvatelstvém ČSR. 1958, 8. apríl Praha.
45 AHMP, 1T 69/1963.
46 AHMP, 2T 151/1963.
47 AHMP, 4T 220/1963.
48 For different terms and discussion over possible sources see Schulze, Jancke. On subject formation, see Alkemeyer et al., Einleitung.
49 Corbin, *Pesthauch und Blütenduft*.
50 For a praxeological approach to subject formation in early modern history, see Freist, Ich will Dir selbst ein Bild von mir entwerfen.
51 Alkemeyer et al., *Jenseits der Person.*
52 Füssel, Die relationale Gesellschaft, pp. 115–137.

53 May, Willy Haas.
54 Schwerhoff, *Köln im Kreuzverhör*, p. 209.
55 Hyde, Offensive Bodies.
56 See also Dinzelbacher's comprehensive study on the devil in the Middle Ages (Dinzelbacher, *Angst im Mittelalter*). Further/Nola, *Der Teufel*, esp. pp. 197–328.
57 Goethe, *Faust. Der Tragödie erster Teil*, here the line 'Das also war des Pudels Kern! / This was the dog's core!' (V. 1323) is especially significant and represents a sudden awareness of the true nature of the seemingly harmless dog.
58 These examples are explained in detail in the following discussions.
59 Breitenstein, *Vier Arten des Gewissens*.
60 Described by Schneider and Nösges in their introduction to their edition and translation into German of the *Dialogus miraculorum*. In the following texts, the Latin excerpts follow the edition by Schneider and Nösges while the English translation is quoted from the edition by G. G. Coulton and Eileen Power.
61 A broad overview can also be found in our project's anthology: Bockmann et al., *Diabolische Vigilanz*.
62 Smirnova, *The Art of Cistercian Persuasion*.
63 Especially later works come to mind, such as John Milton's *Paradise Lost* or even Mephistopheles in Goethe's *Faust*.
64 See Whittaker et al., *Watchful Lives,* ch. 2.
65 Schulze, Ego-Dokumente.
66 Brückweh, Dekonstruktion von Prozessakten.
67 Stolleis, *Das Auge des Gesetzes.*
68 Černá, Bilder der (Un-)Zuverlässigkeit.
69 This is a direct translation from Czech: "[…] jsem nemocná na nervy a žádám, abych byla lečena v nějakém ústavu". AHMP, 4T 220, interrogation, March 19, 1963.
70 Rublack/Hayward, *The First Book of Fashion*.
71 Caesarius von Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles* 5, p. 36.

72 Pauli, *Schimpf und Ernst*, pp. 63–64.
73 Bäumker, *Ein deutsches geistliches Liederbuch*, p. iiv.
74 In this context, Latinx refers to people living in the U.S., with ancestors or cultural affiliation in Latin America.
75 Nečasová, *Nový socialistický člověk,* ch. 4.
76 Spurný, *Nejsou jako my,* ch. 5.
77 Villa, Subjekte und ihre Körper.
78 Roeck, *Eine Stadt in Krieg und Frieden*, p. 211.
79 Tlusty, *The Martial*, p. 11.
80 Butler, *The Psychic Life*, pp. 9–13.
81 Di Nola, *Der Teufel*.
82 Luhmann, *Die Religion der Gesellschaft*, p. 164.
83 See v. Moos, Attentio est quaedam sollicitudo, pp. 265–307, p. 267f.
84 Chacón, *The Border Crossed Us.*
85 The modern legal term 'third country' used by the EU is not to be confused with the outdated term 'third world country', coined during the Cold War era to distinguish countries which are neither allied with NATO, nor with the communist bloc and which have been seen as 'underdeveloped'. Since the 1990s, the concept of 'third world countries' has been replaced with the more positive term 'developing countries' and is now considered politically incorrect or even derogative. Nevertheless, it still circulates among the public along with its counterpart – 'first world countries', a term that distinguishes the most 'developed' countries of the richest West from the rest of the world. In the post-Soviet context, people identify themselves neither as citizens of the poorest 'third world', nor as citizens of the 'first world'. In Liliya's narratives, she uses the latter term to describe the professor's superiority while implying that she herself does not come from the 'first world'.
86 Hall, *Policing the Crisis*, p. 57.
87 Freist, Praktiken der Selbst-Bildung.
88 Caesarius von Heisterbach, *Dialogue on Miracles* 5, p. 53.

89 Id., *Dialogue on Miracles* 4, p. 49.
90 Anzaldúa, *Borderlands*; Hernández, *Coloniality of the US*.
91 It is important to note that this paragraph was written before the war which Russia's president Putin wrought upon Ukraine and in the wake of which the opening up of EU borders for refugees has gained new momentum.
92 Roper, *Holy Household*.
93 Caesarius von Heisterbach, *Dialogue on Miracles* 5, p. 7.
94 Id., *Dialogue on Miracles* 3,24, p. 157.
95 Wellbery, Metapher und Metonymie, pp. 139–156, p. 140.
96 All translations by the author.
97 Butler, Performative Acts.
98 Lloyd, *Judith Butler,* p. 97.
99 Vismann, *Medien der Rechtsprechung*.
100 Markovits, *Gerechtigkeit in Lüritz*, p. 242.
101 See Simmel, The Metropolis, for example.
102 Gans, *The urban villagers*.
103 Burke, Cities, Spaces and Rituals.
104 Schlögl, *Anwesende*.
105 Petershagen, *Schwörtag*.
106 Ebel, *Bürgereid*, p. 37.
107 Ebel, *Bürgereid*, p. 60.
108 Caesarius von Heisterbach, *Dialogue on Miracles* (Prologue), p. 1.
109 Id., *Dialogue on Miracles* 3,6 p. 132.
110 Vila, The Polysemy, p. 138.
111 Ibid.
112 Applebaum, Vigilance as a response; Whittaker et al., *Watchful Lives.*
113 Cf. Kleiner/Geipel, Auf den Kopf gestellt.
114 Ibid.
115 Mbembe, *On the postcolony.*
116 Weheliye, *Racializing Assemblages.*

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List of Figures

Figure 1: Photo: Catherine Whittaker.

Figure 2: In: Informační věstník VB, 1963, No. 3.

Figure 3: Photo: Agnes Rugel with kind permission of Vyšší Brod Monastery.

Figure 4: Photo: Liliya.

Figure 5: In: Specker, Hans Eugen: *Ulm. Stadtgeschichte*. Ulm 1977, plate 2.

Figure 6: In: Caesarius of Heisterbach: *Dialogus miraculorum* (MS-C-27), 14th century, Prologue, p. 1r. Full manuscript online at: http://digital.ub.uni-duesseldorf.de/ms/content/titleinfo/9217348).