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An overview of literary mapping projects on cities: literary spaces, literary maps and sociological (re)conceptualisations of space

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Abstract The status of literary mapping projects as applied to national capitals or large cities invites fascinating modes of exegesis. The use of literary maps, now one of the main tools in spatially-oriented literary studies, reveals, among other phenomena, the relationship between real and imaginary spaces. This essay proffers two options: maps used in literary studies in a limited fashion and in tandem with spatial studies—i.e., geographical analyses—or a renunciation of maps when literary imageries of cities are determined to be fictional and unreal. The latter possibility is supported particularly by modern sociological (re)conceptualisations of space, which, prior to the spatial turn in post-modernist studies, advocated the view that (city) space is a result of specific material features and of the social dynamics and practices of the users of that space. All considered, it is time perhaps that literary studies reconsider these models and the (appropriate or inappropriate) use of maps.

Keywords Capitals · Cities · Real and imaginary spaces · Literary maps · Modern sociological (re)conceptualisations of space

One of the questions that arose during the planning and initial phases of the three-year research project "Space in Slovene Literary Culture: Literary History and GIS-Based Spatial Analysis",[1] which was presented in an introductory lecture at an international conference on the rhetoric of space and capitals in literature, held in

[1] More on this project that was presented by the project coordinator, Marko Juvan (Research Centre of the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts) and I can be found at: http://isllv.zrc-sazu.si/en/programi-in-projekti/the-space-of-slovene-literary-culture-literary-history-and-the-gis-based#v.

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Ljubljana in 2011, was about comparable projects elsewhere in the world.[2] An online search for research in literary mapping led to the websites of very different projects,[3] among which those involving large cities were the most interesting. A thorough review revealed that they differed from one another by their analytic approaches to the capitals, and that they experimented with literary maps using very different literary texts. Not all the projects are being carried out by research institutions; some are individual attempts at literary mapping. There are also differences in the duration, size, complexity and level of detail of project programmes; and the content, intentions and goals, as well as in the type of academic cooperation involved. The Slovene interdisciplinary project connects literary studies and geography, and in this respect strongly resembles the multi-partner project involving the Institute of Cartography and Geoinformation in Zurich, the University of Göttingen and Charles University in Prague. In contrast, the projects on large cities mostly focus on textually constructed worlds, which is largely within the domain of literary studies alone.

In order to make it easier to determine which stage they have reached, geo-spatial literary studies projects available online were examined more closely. They can be divided into four groups. The first consists of projects that use thematic maps in order to show different actors in the literary field.[4] The second group includes projects that aim to study the relationships between real and imaginary spaces, but are interested in both literary actors (such as authors, printers and publishers) and literary texts, as well as the location of institutions and the media (e.g., newspapers).[5] Studies interested in natural phenomena (e.g., lakes) or individual

[2] This is the first project in Slovenia that tries to connect literary studies and geography through the Geographical Information System (GIS). The main goal is to study mutual influences of space and the development of Slovene literary culture with regard to writers' lives and literary locations between 1780 and 1940, with the help of maps.

[3] Most links are collected on Wikiversity under the heading "Literature and Space."

[4] One such project is the British UCL Bloomsbury Project, which is related to the Slovene one in the fact that it focuses on cultural and educational institutions, such as libraries, museums, schools, societies, academies, etc. that in the nineteenth century were important in the development of the historical London district of Bloomsbury as an intellectual centre. One of the project goals is to provide a historical and cultural map of London. More at: http://www.ucl.ac.uk/bloomsbury-project/index.htm. The REED (Records of Early English Drama) project centres on early English theatre and is interested in theatres, locations and audiences. It tries to trace theatre actors and performers, their tours around English, Scottish, and Welsh districts and around the rest of the kingdom, as the goal is to map medieval and Renaissance events. More at: http://mercator.geog.utoronto.ca/reedmapping/viewer.htm. An Icelandic project tries to locate the creation of manuscripts from the Middle Ages onwards. More at: http://projects.cdh.ucla.edu/icelandicms/bin/index.html. Another project that could be mentioned here is Mapping the Republic of Letters, which studies correspondence and supra-national intellectual communities that formed between the Early Modern Age and 1800, in which technologies like book printing played a key role, such as cultural and educational institutions (libraries, associations) that were also conveyors of knowledge.

[5] The project Digital Literary Atlas of Ireland, although dealing with a short time period (1929–1949), tries to provide a unique view of individual places and locations precisely through the mapping of the lives of authors and their works. It deals with 14 authors, including Samuel Beckett. It incorporates an interactive map around which the user moves by clicking, and presents a town in a particular period through the eyes of authors and their work. More at: Digital Literary Atlas of Ireland. A similar project is the Grub Street Project: Early Modern London's Literature and Publishing, as it is an attempt to present textually constructed urban spaces such as eighteenth-century London, whilst the maps serve as a presentation of the printing tradition so that attention turns to other literary actors. Maps function as recognition tools in the understanding of the literary communication, life, trading patterns and topography of the city.

regions as represented and shown through literature form the third group,[6] whilst projects on capitals are in a group of their own. There is no point in treating the projects involving cities as a separate category as this would give the wrong general impression about both the importance of the individual types of projects, as well as the prevalent content, research practices and methodologies used. The projects that study literary images of capitals are to a large extent textually oriented, so that in spite of the innovative use of maps and interest in the literary activities they illustrate, they are still relatively close to traditional approaches to literature. This is most apparent in the fact that they are focused on textually created images of urban areas. In contrast, a conclusion could be drawn from other projects that have more affinity with empirical and contextual methods, according to which literature is seen as a system of literary interactions, whilst literary mapping functions as a recognition tool in the understanding of the development of literary culture within a specific time and space, and in the understanding of the topography of cities (e.g., attempts to map the location of the media, publishers and bookshops within the context of the historical and cultural development of cities). This is why, taking into account a range of attempts, I would not say that projects devoted to the role of capitals in literature are exactly flourishing, and even less that there is a growing number of them—on the contrary, it could be said that there is a proliferation of other, albeit related spatial projects.

If we narrow our view to geospatial projects on cities, we can see that their interest lies mainly in connection with the "big" names of world literature (such as Dostoyevsky, Shakespeare, Joyce, etc.) from the Middle Ages to the Modern Age and the present. It is understandable that they are nearly without exception focused on cities in certain countries (London, Kansas City, Dublin, Saint Petersburg), as large cities are a kind of focal point of modern social processes, as well as being centres of the cultural, political, economic and financial activities in the countries and regions in which they are situated. As regards projects dealing with literary depictions of large cities, the critical observer sooner or later faces the question of how these projects resolve the relationship between real places and those imaginary spaces[7] that are connected with specific facts and events and are at the same time symbolically overvalued, as they are intended to be visualised in the spatial literary studies that experiment with literary maps. In this respect, projects on cities are close to the penultimate group of projects studying the influence of individual regions on literature and vice versa, a relationship paralleled by that between facts and imaginary spaces. We can thus see these projects as a subgroup of the projects on cities. Both (sub-)groups of projects give rise to a number of theoretical and

[6] The Lancaster University project Mapping The Lakes is limited to two texts (Thomas Gray, Samuel T. Coleridge). The main aim is to study influences between literature and landscape, i.e. show the landscape's influence on the literary presentation of space. We must also mention here the project *A Literary Atlas of Europe* (the website was last edited in 2009), which was financed for 3 years (project coordinators: Lorenz Hurni and Barbara Piatti). This deals with three regions (Lucerne/Gotthard in Switzerland, Prague and North Friesland). The project Cultural Atlas of Australia (CAA), from the University of Queensland, is multimedia oriented and has certain similarities with some of the projects listed above. It tries to examine locations presented in theatre, literature and films.

[7] Here I am relying on what is probably the best known representative of the postmodern movement in geography, Soja (1996), who uses the terms real and imaginary spaces.

methodological dilemmas, and it is fair to assume that many questions about spatially oriented projects in general could be answered by resolving them. As we are considering spatially oriented literary studies, one of whose aims is the integration of literary maps into literary research, the main question revolves around the use of topographical maps outside geography. Overall, spatial projects on cities use maps mainly for the presentation of specific facts that appear in literary texts. But a closer look shows that even they favor limited use of maps in literary studies (e.g., in relation to facts and topography, or only to show selected aspects of literarily constructed worlds). The question as to in which instances maps should be used has already been resolved in part by Piatti et al. (2009), who are enthusiastic about the opportunities offered by digital cartography, even though they state that locations in literature can often be defined only loosely or cannot be mapped at all. Two proposals stand out among the others: that geographical and topographical information that can be extracted directly from a text be mapped (e.g. when the story is clearly set in actual towns: toponyms), or that zones or radiuses in which fictional stories take place be marked on a map. This, however, does not solve the problems of mapping in instances when it is necessary to use a map to show, for example, different perspectives (of narrators, literary characters). The issue of the methods and scope of the literary mapping of fictional urban spaces is also unresolved. This is why literary mapping seems most plausible where the constituents of the fictional text are relatively closely attached to reality (e.g., when literary characters orient themselves according to and move around actual places).

We could arrive at an answer to the question of what to take into account in the analysis of space in literature and what are the realistic options when mapping textually created urban worlds by considering culturological and sociological ideas and models of space that have influenced our reflections on space since the early twentieth century. Among older models is the Marxist tradition; among the younger representatives of space and city discourse are *urban studies* (Michael Dear and others) and modern sociological studies (e.g. Löw 2007, 2008), which advocate the position that cities are a formation involving physical, i.e. material factors (such as size, density, spread) and the cultural practices of their inhabitants and users. This is very much connected with the dilemma of the mapping the two types of textual facts which relate to realia on the one hand, and on the other to the behaviour and practices of (literary) characters that formulate the images of the literary space, but are more difficult to note on a map compared to actual facts. This is confirmed by the fact that topographical data are strongly prevalent in the maps accompanying projects on cities, whilst the literary events, the mobility of characters and the relations of the characters or the narrator to specific points in space, their social dynamics and interactions continue to be subject mostly to a linear description, which seems understandable and acceptable. Among the projects relating to cities, the one that stands out most is that on Saint Petersburg, whilst the projects of the same kind that map Joyce's Dublin in the early twentieth century, medieval and modern London and other English medieval cities, as well as Kansas City in America—whilst taking into account various authors and literary works from different time periods—try to note in more detail mostly the natural elements of the

topography of these cities with their more immediate and wider surroundings, and the social phenomena of the urban environment as they appear in the selected novels, plays and short stories. These also embody social relations, but can with a little extra effort be located in a similar way as natural-geographic phenomena. Waterways, i.e. rivers and sources, elevations and other relief forms are included; transport routes are also marked and a great deal of attention is paid to the more important locations such as squares, parks, streets, etc.[8] On the maps, there are separate references to churches, heritage sites and architectural achievements, as well as administrative and ecclesiastical units such as parishes, municipalities and neighbourhoods, involving a mixture of natural and socio-geographic elements. Also marked are private and public institutions, i.e. all kinds of locations that appear in literary works and can be shown on a map (homes, i.e. houses and apartments, cafés, businesses, state institutions, places of entertainment, cultural and natural sites), whilst the behaviours of the fictitious characters, their movements, orientation and perception of space, etc. are, due to their multi-dimensionality, presented in a very curtailed manner. The project on Saint Petersburg, under the auspices of the School for Slavic and Eastern-European Studies at the University of London, is trying to visualise Saint Petersburg through Gogol's short stories (*The Overcoat*, *The Nose*, *Nevsky Prospekt*, *The Portrait*, *Diary of a Madman*) and Dostoyevsky's *Crime and Punishment*, and hints at a number of solutions for showing information on maps. Two types of maps are proposed. Whilst on the first map all the locations are marked at which the events mentioned in Gogol's short stories or in Dostoyevsky's novel take place,[9] the second map is intended to show the locations to which either the characters or the narrator refer. Whilst the first type of map is thus supposed to carry specific facts, establishing for the reader–observer a kind of network of literary event sites, that would bring to the fore where in (real) space the density and dynamics of events is the greatest and where the lowest, I see the (cognitive) value of the second type of map in that the city, the city districts and zones in their numerous dimensions of meaning would come to the fore—i.e., how they are constructed and perceived through the minds of various characters. If a user clicks on the marked real place or zone on the interactive map, an excerpt from the relevant text appears in which the zone is mentioned or referred to by one of the characters.

[8] I would like to mention Eco's lecture *The Strange Example of via Servandoni* (1995), where he talks about the combination of the fictitious and real world and indirectly answers questions about the use of literary maps. Rue Servandoni appears in Dumas's *Three Musketeers*, although in 1625 the street was called Fossoyeurs (Eco 1999, pp. 95–113). This complicates what occurs on a map of Paris from that year, when Servandoni street did not exist. If we insert the street, the map would be problematic in an urbanistic and onomatological sense. In his lecture *Possible Forests* (pp. 75–94), Eco reports how in his novel *Foucault's Pendulum*, where he otherwise refers to real spaces in the French capital, he led the reader to believe that the story takes place in real Paris. This example seems less problematic for mapping, but there is again the question of what is the point of using the map for those places where fictitious events do not match real ones. Although it is possible to show the streets and spaces that are mentioned, through Casaubon, who does not see the actual fire, Eco disconnects the Paris of his book from the real Paris.

[9] The same applies to the Canadian and American project, where emphasis is on the material features in space, but the symbolic sphere is neglected.

Moretti (2005, 2011, pp. 79–110) hinted at a few specific solutions in spatial analysis, among which the "maps" of Mary Mitford's village stories (*Our Village*, 1824–1932) are most interesting. In order to show narrative space, Moretti (1999) added the use of a circular or concentric "map" to the forms of linear trajectories, triangulations and binary fields from the book *Atlas of the European Novel*. He used the map to show the relationships between the characters, collective events and the natural scenes from that collection of stories, which served to demonstrate the central composition of a British village story that is built on oppositional relations between the countryside and the town. I imagine that in addition to Moretti's examples, it would be possible to combine the two types of maps in different ways and connect more closely the topography and the experience of individual parts of the city through the characters and the narrator. This could be done with "deformed" maps, which present a kind of subjective mapping and with which it is possible to visualise the locations in which characters can be found, as well as the zones they mention or experience. In such cases the map is deformed in those places—i.e., the space around the hot spot is enlarged. This type of map is being tested in the Hungarian project on Budapest (Dániel Feles, Krisztián Gergely, Attila Bujdosó, Gáspár Hajdu),[10] which is a part of the SubMap project, in which the possibilities of subjective mappings of cities and countries are studied. An interesting example is a sound supported animation that shows references to Hungarian towns and villages in newspapers between 1998 and 2010; each animated frame represents 1 day and each second a new month. When a place in Hungary is mentioned in the news, the map distorts in a convex fashion. This map is good for understanding the dynamics of the appearance of Hungarian towns in the news, but less useful if we are interested in shorter time periods, because the user cannot watch the film in slow motion (1 s should show 1 day). The forces that distort the map could to a certain extent be translated into the zones most experienced by literary characters or most connected with a special activity or mood, etc. This would allow for physically remote zones to come closer, which is not necessarily in harmony with the physical rules of space and reality. I see the combination of these two types of maps and the use of deformed maps as one of the ways in which, in addition to actual facts, the constructions of city spaces that are mostly the result of individual social construction processes could be mapped. This throws a different light on the appearance and image of a city, which is thus no longer so one-sided and only based on, for example, the material heritage, but is at the same time the result of the subjectively and culturally conditioned experience of space that is

[10] More at: http://urbantick.blogspot.com/2011/06/submap-subjective-map.html.

something no less important when we are talking about the literary image of a city in which real spaces are converted into symbols.[11]

It was Henri Lefebvre, the pioneer of the modern sociological notion of space, who talked about a symbolic re-evaluation of space that sharpens sensitivity to socio-cultural and individual symbolisation practices that are woven into the (material) space. Taken as a whole, however, sociological (re)conceptualisations of space resolve the dilemma of capturing (topographic) data and information that cannot be mapped simply by rejecting maps.[12] Lefebvre underlined the processual nature of the constitution of space and disproved the notion that space is just a kind of a base for social processes, since it is also structured through social behaviours, relationships and practices. Attention now turns to the users of space, their individual experiences and spatial practices (the "social production of space"), which increases interest in those aspects of literary works that help to structure space and make it multi-layered, but evade visualisation. This includes social dynamics and characters' actions in a particular space, the relationships among them, the relations of characters or the narrator to the material in space or their perception of space. Lefebvre (1991) critically[13] introduced his idea on the intermingling of spatial facts, social and individual practices in the construction of spaces and the social production of space in his essay *The Production of Space*, which could be said to belong to the Marxist theoretical tradition. He showed how space is connected to the manner of social (re)production itself,[14] which means we cannot talk about it without taking into account the dialectic relationship of both kinds of spatial relations. In his introduction, Lefebvre (2006, p. 330) said that (natural) space is a kind of a (visual) background or decor, on which more or less

[11] On the website of the spatial project, Sarah J. Young agrees with doubts about what is the point of connecting topographic aspects of cities and the concepts of individual locations that are the result of individual construction processes and may be far removed from actual reality. She is referring to Gogol and Dostoyevsky, where we are dealing with rather different texts. If Dostoyevsky is precise in his description of locations and there is enough co-textual information even when locations are not explicitly stated, the image of Saint Petersburg offered by Gogol is different. He frequently refers to public spaces that are not always described in detail and it is therefore difficult to ascertain where exactly something is taking place. Young is thus interested how in such cases it would be possible to mark on a map the movements of the characters or how we could include topographical data that are not precisely defined, and she agrees that the mapping in such cases has to be imprecise. With regard to the usefulness of such a map, it would mean that it has to be viewed with a certain distance and not as exact data. This raises additional questions: for example, how to show different aspects of time when the experience of the same locations by the same characters is changing in time, or how to map a geographical location from different perspectives and with multiple foci or how to visualise movement. This consideration lends additional support to the assumption that there is no universal rule for literary mapping and that it is necessary to take into account the special features of the texts we wish to map and decide on the usefulness of the use of literary maps.

[12] Moretti's "maps" are really diagrams—and the author even says this—that show the mutual dependence of or relationship between two or more forces within a space.

[13] In connection with Lefebvre we cannot entirely overlook the fact that his ideas also criticise capitalism since he develops them on the assumption that capital and state, both of which control space, ensure their ruling status in this way.

[14] Reproductive relations include, for example, bio-psychological relations between the sexes, each individual organisation of society, whilst production relations include, for example, the division of labour (Lefebvre 2006, p. 331).

every object in space can experience a symbolic re-evaluation. As natural space is practically no longer accessible, this would mean that space is always social space. And as such it is changeable. Lefebvre models the social production of space on three levels: first, on the level of spatial practices, which includes the above mentioned (re)production relations and where the issue is the division and organisation of labour in society; second, on the level of (symbolic) representations of space that include knowledge about space and (non-) specifically express or maintain relations and the proportions of power in society;[15] and on a third but not least important level of social space, relating to spaces of symbolic representation. These are linked to both spatial practices and social relations, as well as to symbolisation and art, which could be described as accompanying space. Or to put it differently, it is space as it is (collectively) experienced and represented through symbols, images, etc., belonging to the inhabitants, users, artists, scientists, etc., who control it in this way (Lefebvre 2006, pp. 330–334, 336).

The most important consideration given the problems at hand is that many (ontological) aspects of social space are accounted for theoretically. Lefebvre takes into account both the material lines of force that influence experience, perception and social relations within a space, and that can mostly be localised, and social relations and social practices that together shape the space, yet cannot simply be put on a map but require interpretations that exceed the capabilities of visualisation. Another important facet of this theory is that the author has, through the third component, underlined the significance of the symbolic conceptualisation of space, since it is clear how important literary ways of symbolising space are dialectically involved in spatial representation. Symbolic conceptualisations not only supplement other spatial practices, but can question and transcend the existing discourse and ruling orders, and simultaneously fabricate other spaces as well (Löw 2007, p. 54). One of their characteristics is a parasitic relationship with the real world, while evading the laws governing that world, and often exceeding the capabilities of cartographic representations.

Lefebvre goes on to say that every society produces and claims its own space, which cannot be subsequently simply claimed through texts, even though these can contribute to a certain extent to knowledge of a specific space. Space must therefore be researched in its genesis (whilst taking into account the everyday rhythm of city life, the relations between the centre and the suburbs, etc.), which is, again, difficult. The author wonders what, for example, we in the West, with our way of thinking, know about Asia. In this sense those texts that refer to space and to which Lefebvre does not grant the possibility of simply conveying images of space can only serve as indicators of this complex process of the social production of space. This can also not be claimed through, for example, representations of (re)productive relations in cultural creations, sculptures, architectural works, etc., meaning we can approach it only by dealing with space in the multitude of transitions between spatial and discursive practices or differently conceptualised worlds (of artists, writers, urbanists, scientists, technicians, etc.). From this theoretical standpoint, visualising data that refer to literarily constructed city worlds (irrespective of their links to

[15] In addition to buildings and monuments, Lefebvre also mentions works of art.

specific facts) seems much more implausible. Not only because it still remains unclear how to put on a map the intersecting of spatial practices (symbolic) conceptualisations and the space of representations (which include the material and social aspects), but also because in order to do so it would be necessary to present literarily conceptualised spaces together with those created by other social practices.

From the multitude of conceptualisations and terms that marked the spatial turn in the humanities and social sciences and represent discursive milestones, let us also mention those of Georg Simmel and Foucault (2006). Although they did not talk about the spatial turn in their analyses of society and culture, they re-directed attention towards the social production of space, so that the spatial turn from the 1980s onwards in fact named something that had existed long before in critical reflection and in philosophical and sociological studies. The German sociologist Georg Simmel (2006) spoke about the mutual influence of material and socio-spatial aspects as early as 1903 in his essay Die Großstädte und das Geistesleben, which, although it was published earlier, I mention after Lefebvre because Simmel's model of space is not quite as well constructed, even though it is based on numerous examples. Simmel documented many examples of 'spatial projections' from various historical periods and different cultural environments, which are interesting here because he sought the reasons for their forms in the qualities of social relations. He was interested in how much and in what way social energies and relations affected forms in space.[16] In this model the gap between spatial projects that enable a relatively clear geo-spatial placement and the social construction of space that cannot be captured with geo-spatial coordinates also becomes apparent. After Simmel, in the early 1930s, mythical, theoretical, and aesthetic spaces were dealt with by the philosopher Cassirer (2006), in connection with his philosophy of symbolic forms. Here too, aesthetic spaces are symbolically enriched spaces freed from pragmatic laws, once more highlighting the meaning and role of practices of symbolisation that configure space and also cast doubt on the possibility and sense of mapping these dimensions. In the 1980s de Certeau's thoughts on spatial practices (2006)[17] were influential, just like Bourdieu's (2006) slightly more recent essay on social and symbolic spaces,[18] where he advocates the position that otherwise invisible and intangible individual and social behaviours of the actors are at work. This makes it clearer that in literary geography we really need to think about and decide which entities of literarily constructed city spaces it is possible and useful to map, and which simply cannot be conveyed on a map. Bourdieu (1996)

[16] Among the numerous examples in the essay I found particularly interesting the example of "the negative form of spatial projection" based on authoritative relations in a society; it is the example of a depopulated village in which the dissatisfaction of the community with the head of the family is manifested. The author gives a number of examples from which it is clear how different social energies can be localised (Simmel 2006, pp. 307–308).

[17] Michel de Certeau differentiates between a space and a place. A space is determined by vectors, speed and variability of time, so that it is a kind of a combination of mobile elements or a result of the activities of historical subjects that give it direction and temporise it. In other words, space is a place with which man does something. To use de Certeau's (2006, pp. 345–346) example, a street changes into a space through the movement of people along it.

[18] Social space is modelled in the same way as the distribution of social groups, with regard to economic and cultural capital.

also gives a dynamic of movement to a space that is not emptied but is a kind of juncture of subjectivities, a setting of cultural and social practices. When he talks about the position of actors in space, which he believes to be conditioned by the distribution of economic and cultural capital, he advocates the view that the position (within a social space) influences (actors') notions about that space (Bourdieu 2006, p. 365). He thereby in fact correlates and synthesises the objective structures and individual notions that actors have about space, which are in his view primarily determined by the environment and the society that influence individuals' behaviour.[19] Views about the possibility of mapping probably do not need to be repeated here.

Among the younger representatives of the modern sociology of space, Martina Löw follows Marxist tradition and Giddens's theory of structuration, in which man's activities and social structures are mutually connected. Löw conceptualises space as "spatial structures" which include the arrangement of elements, goods and people in a space and this arrangement is determined by social rules. According to her, in addition to political, economic, legal and other structures society also has temporal and spatial structures which are realised through social behaviour. Human behaviours establish these structures and this participate in the constitution of space. On the other hand, spatial structures are also a pre-condition for social activities since they structure those activities. Löw widens or transfers the duality of structures and behaviours to the duality of space. Just as spatial structures encourage a certain type of behaviour, they are reproduced through behaviours within the process of the constitution of space (2007, pp. 63–66).[20] Or to put it in another way, spaces in fact do not exist; they are constituted through social behaviours. The modern sociological concept of space, according to which both aspects are important in the analysis of spatial constitution—i.e., the elements in the space and the relations between them, or material facts and social behaviours—further sharpens perception of the social production of space and also provides an answer to the dilemma regarding maps. In connection with literature there is, irrespective of references to specific facts, always a symbolic re-evaluation of spaces, whilst spaces within the text are also constituted through the activities of characters and relationships between them, or through the stance of the narrator, for which a graphic representation on a map is, in my opinion, not suitable. Mikhail Bakhtin's paper on time and space from the late 1930s speaks in support of this. It shows that dealing with the category of space in literary studies began relatively early, even though I would refrain from calling Bakhtin (1981) a harbinger of the spatial turn. Crediting him with the spatial turn is probably the consequence of renewed interest

[19] The notion of habitus is connected to this. It is hard to avoid when Pierre Bourdieu is mentioned, though I do not believe it is vital in the present context. Habitus is seen in the complex of tendencies and susceptibilities that an individual in a society internalises and that influence his activities, making the individual strongly socially determined. This also applies to spatial configuration.

[20] The author explains the constitution of space on two mutually connected processes—"spacing" and "Syntheseleistung". Whilst in the second process spaces appear due to people actively connecting elements involving perceptual, presentational and other processes, "spacing" means the construction and placement of elements in space (2007, p. 64). With this, Löw affirms the thesis that in the appearance of space material aspects are involved that cannot be separated from traditionally constituted meanings and the behaviours and activities of their users.

in his *Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel* prompted by spatial theory in the late 1980s. What is significant with regard to Bakhtin is that this breakthrough study on spaces does not include a single map.[21] Thus various forms of graphical representations and schemas, such as organisational, classificational or chronological schema, would be much more suitable for the presentation of abstract semantic spaces than "real" maps, but this would demand additional study.

Another indirect answer to this is provided also by Altnöder (2009) in her paper with the promising title *Die Stadt als Körper*: *Materialität und Diskursivität in zwei London-Romanen*, which in an analysis of literary images of the British capital in a slightly different context also draws attention to the contributions of sociological discourse. She does not consider graphical representations, even in cases where real facts are recognisable from the text. Altnöder deals with images of London as they are structured via a number of characters in two contemporary novels: *Bleeding London* (1997) by Geoff Nicholson and *London Fields* (1989) by Martin Amis. With regard to theory, she leans mostly on Siegfried J. Schmidt's constructivist concepts, as revised in *Re-Writing Constructivism*. In his explanation of constructional processes, Schmidt connects material aspects with the socio-cultural, discursive practices of subjects (Schmidt in Altnöder 2009, pp. 302–303), which is not insignificant if we know that Altnöder, in her treatment of literary images of the city, refers to the anthropomorphic concept of a city as a body, which includes both the materialness (of the specific reality) of the city, and its discursive aspects (experience, perception, behaviour and social relations). In her analysis, the interconnection of material and discursive aspects is most clearly shown when we get to know London through the eyes of Stuart in Nicholson's novel. It becomes apparent how problematic it is to study, for example, only physical space and its architectonics without taking into account the experiences and behaviours of the subjects, which speaks in favour of a very careful use of maps or graphical representations, patterns and diagrams (e.g. Moretti). Stuart, in contrast to Mike, another character in the same novel, knows London inside out and, as an owner of the tourist agency The London Walker, leads his culturally interested tourists along routes that reflect his experience and knowledge of London, and that have a logic of their own. Thus, in addition to the route following the traces of well-known persons, there is also Stuart's London, which is unknown to anyone but him (Altnöder 2009, pp. 306–307) and is a reflection of Stuart's subjective experience of the capital. London now begins to show different faces that have little in common with actual facts and the physical-geographic dimensions of space, thereby sharpening the acuity of subjective perception and comprehension of the city world,[22] which can be neither found nor represented in detail on any kind of map.

Looking from the literary studies point of view, modern sociological (re)conceptualisations of space, prominent among them Lefebvre's, long before the spatial turn provided answers to questions both about the relationship between real and fictitious

[21] In the early 1970s the Russian structuralist Yuri Lotman analysed literary texts by drawing semantic spaces. He showed how the use of signs can be culturally conditioned and how a text's signs and semantic fields point to extra-textual relations in space.

[22] Altnöder, for example, illustrates this very clearly with the metaphor of a city as a palimpsest body.

spaces and about the use of maps in literary research. In their analysis of the constitution of space they did not overlook the material facts and factors, but they did not link them very substantially to cultural practices and social circumstances. This has practical cognitive value both from the viewpoint of literature as a socio-cultural symbolic practice and from the viewpoint of the treatment of literary and (inter)textually constructed images of cities that use actual facts, but are by virtue of characters' perspectives also removed from the original context and, due to their lack of single meaning, cannot be shown precisely on a map. This is why, in spite of the interesting solutions literary cartography offers (hatching, drawing of zones, diagrams, deformed maps), it is necessary to think again in a critical way about the here models presented. This can be seen as a unique call to spatially oriented literary studies, which in my opinion should not uncritically adopt spatial studies—i.e., a geographic approach, with forced employment of maps—but rather should consider culturological and sociological ideas. This could also allow deflect the reproach that the spatial turn in literary studies is just another fad in postmodernist studies.

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