The Second City in Literary Urban Studies: Methods, Approaches, Key Thematics

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Thinking about the urban has often been overwhelmed by questions of magnitude, including statements of relative size (in terms of population, GDP and area size) or primary importance in quantifiable terms. Cities commonly conceive of themselves as centres, but they may in fact be just as capable of definition in the terms of their varied peripheries (see Ameel, Finch and Salmela), and in terms of their place within a set of complex and mutual relationships with other regions and urban centres. A focus upon perceived centrality and quantifiable primacy may cause cities of all sizes to exaggerate their own importance in a sort of collective myopia, or to make creative use of alternative notions of national or international impact. The flexible uses of the word *capital* in the

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context of various specializations or subjective impressions are one indication of this tendency. Grapevine, next to Dallas, advertises itself as "the Christmas capital of Texas"; Portsmouth, New Hampshire, faces some competition as "the Christmas capital of America"; and numerous cities and smaller communities around the globe are calling themselves, more or less systematically, "the Christmas capital of the world." Such imaginative rhetoric seems based on the drive for primacy and the assumption that collective mental mappings of different areas of life, both locally and globally, are going to maintain their dependence on the idea of a single geographical centre.

This myopia can also be seen in the disproportionate attention given, in urban policy, urban studies, and indeed in literary urban studies, to a small set of privileged and virtually unchallenged "first" cities. On a global scale, one can find a distinctive group of cities that could be called "alpha" world cities: New York, London, Paris and Tokyo in economic terms (see Taylor). All cities below the "alpha" level tend to be seen in contrast to these first cities. The sense of city hierarchies also applies to a great extent within individual countries and national literatures, so that the importance of Helsinki within Finnish literature and culture, for example, comes to seem magnified beyond the importance it has on average in the daily lives of the majority of Finland's residents, who do not live either in Helsinki or in its surrounding region. The Finnish cities of Turku, Oulu and Tampere are routinely conceptualized as subordinated to Helsinki, which in turn is trumped in a Nordic context by Stockholm, itself existing in a relation of dependency to cities at the top of this mental pyramid. Such a hierarchical scheme, however, does little to explain the complex relationships between actual cities or their counterparts in the literary realm. This is perhaps most evident in nations without clear metropolitan primacy: the relationship of New York City to other cities in the USA is far from clearly hierarchical, and the same could be said of, for example, cities in Germany and Italy, countries which have fairly recently emerged from a patchwork of previously independent states. And what to say of capitals that have been stripped of their status (St. Petersburg), twin cities (for instance Malmö–Copenhagen as a Scandinavian capital), or what urban geographers have long called "specialized-function cities" (see Harris and Ullman 94–95)—places that have had national or global primacy only in a specific life sector (Oxford in England; Las Vegas or Detroit in the USA)? How to account for, and

analyse in their own right, literary representations of cities below the threshold of undisputable "firstness"?

The objective of this volume is to counteract this lack or blind spot, in which a small set of alpha cities with the strongest magnetic effect over whole countries and global areas are often taken to be the types for all cities. Most cities are far smaller than these, and exist in some sort of relationship of secondariness. While such secondariness can also be defined in quantifiable terms, this volume emphasizes the importance of relationships, functionalities, and experiences in a way comparable with the so-called "mobilities turn" in human geography. This, characteristically, "links science and social science to the humanities" (Cresswell 551) by introducing individuals' stories to disciplines formerly more quantitative in outlook. Coming from the opposite direction is work produced under the heading of "digital humanities." Here, disciplines such as literary studies and history have opened up to approaches requiring the coordination of sizeable teams to handle "big data" sets—and in the process opened up controversy about the nature and role of the humanities in the twenty-first century (Kaplan; Allington, Brouillette and Golumbia). This volume, taking a holistic view of cities which draws on developments in both urban studies (including urban history, geography, sociology and planning) and literary studies, situates itself among these developing negotiations and rapprochements.

Ongoing investigations shaped by the Association for Literary Urban Studies (ALUS) have given rise to this book, which develops from a related impetus to that which stood behind its predecessor from the same editorial team, *Literature and the Peripheral City* (Ameel, Finch and Salmela). In that volume, urban peripheries were defined variously as the geographical outer limits or stigmatized and off-limits areas of cities. Compared to peripherality, secondariness is perhaps at once more ordinary and more visible, a condition that is hidden in the open. Most urban dwellers experience their cities as somehow secondary to other, bigger or more famous, cities. Changing fashions or technological innovations are typically experienced as arriving from elsewhere, be this the "capital of the nineteenth century" that was Walter Benjamin's Paris, the skyscraper Manhattan of the twentieth century or the global financial capitals of the twenty-first. And yet literary urban studies (e.g., Lehan) have tended to follow classics in sociology (e.g., Sennett) and urban planning theory (e.g., P. Hall) by viewing first (or "alpha") city experience as the canonical, representative source of information about "the"

city. Continuing the work set out in *Literature and the Peripheral City*, this present book provides, in its examination of the literary secondary city, another relation of otherness to the metropolis in literature. Both volumes are explorations of neglected areas in literary urban studies. The study of the second city is a distinct activity and merits not only the attention of specialists in a particular region. Readings such as those of Diyarbakır and Narva offered in this volume lead to new views of urbanity and of modernity and modernisation.

SECONDARINESS IN URBAN STUDIES

The city has long been connected to ideas of regional and national primacy. Such associations can already be found in the Greek geographer Pausanias's travel description of the cities of Roman Greece in the second century AD, and appear in more recent times in Lewis Mumford's studies of the ancient Greek polis, which may have been village-like in terms of size but was the only ruler of its immediate surroundings and therefore, in political terms at least, a first rather than a second city (Mumford 119–57). The second city thus grows in some way stealthily, in the relationship of a satellite of sorts of the first. This statement applies particularly to cities such as Birmingham or Detroit which, while they grew to immense size in the industrial era of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (like many cities in China in the twenty-first), remained vulnerable in comparison with national capitals because of their specialized and dependent nature.

In urban studies, the notion of the "secondary city" has gradually come to prominence during the last decades of the twentieth century, especially in the study of cities in the developing world. Quantifiable factors have featured prominently in their definition and, following Kingsley Davis's classification of Class II cities, some researchers have focused on population, in particular (typically 100,000 to 500,000), to define secondary cities (see Tan 13). While Davis's classification from the 1960s is still applied, it is useful to note that more recent quantifying definitions label secondary cities as having populations between 500,000 and three million inhabitants (Brillembourg and Klumpner). Quantifiable factors, then, would seem to become fast outdated, offering only the crudest of methodological frameworks. In more recent studies, secondary cities have become increasingly defined in terms of their function, their relationships with metropolitan and other urban centres, as well as in terms of the specific kinds of urban experiences they enable. Still, when defined

in relation to other cities, secondary cities tend to be understood, first of all, for what they are not—in relation to a "first" city (such as a capital or other clearly economically/culturally dominant city in a national or international context), that is.

As more recent qualifications in urban studies testify, secondary cities are not only to be defined by their size or dependent relationship to a metropolis, but by their specific functions. Thus Brian Roberts and Rene Peter Hohmann, in a study supported by the United Nations Human Settlements Project UN-Habitat, define what they call "secondary cities" as "urban jurisdictions performing vital governance, logistical, and production functions at a sub-national or sub-metropolitan region level within a system of cities in a country" (3). Secondary cities may be specialized-function cities or draw their specific characteristics "on the basis of their urban function as focal centers of cultural, political, and ritual networking" (K. Hall 12). The function of a single city within a network of cities is understood not only as dependency vis-à-vis the metropolis. Even more important is a network of other secondary cities and urban centres, which "distinguishes secondary cities from the metropolitan centres" (K. Hall 3). In globalizing times, second cities are sometimes able to bypass "first" cities in the way they come to form networks of cities (as argued in Bart Keunen's contribution to this volume). Ultimately, secondary cities are also set apart from the metropolis and smaller urban settlements by the kinds of experiences they evoke.

To illustrate how second cities produce specific kinds of urban experience, one can look at what Simon Parker calls the "'the Four Cs' of the urban experience—culture, consumption, conflict and community" (4). All these express themselves continuously in urban dwellers' everyday lives. For example, the fact that second cities rarely have architecture associated with political leadership on the national level—parliamentary buildings, ministries, residences of heads of state—frees central areas for other functions and can be a fundamental factor shaping these cities' public space in comparison with the capital cities of the countries in question. Furthermore, the same industries and resources that have often historically shaped second cities also facilitate specific ideological currents, consumption patterns, and ways of communicating, all discernible as particular "structures of feeling." For Raymond Williams (*Marxism* 130–34) this concept was to be defined temporally, as characteristic of a given period or generation, but a spatial application based on contrasts between places seems equally useful. Although such city-specific

structures may resist precise empirical description, they create, in relation to other cities, experiential worlds not reducible to stereotypical representation.

Recent urban studies have highlighted the importance of research into secondary cities, drawing, again, on both quantifiable and experiential arguments. More than 40 per cent of the world's population is expected to live in secondary cities by the middle of the twenty-first century (Roberts 40), and various studies have argued that secondary cities may well be more competitive in economic terms and more desirable as living environments than the megacities which remain dominant in the literature on cities (see, e.g., Kresl and Ietri, Notteboom et al.). If secondary cities, mid-size cities and "second tier cities" have become increasingly foregrounded in urban studies as warranting a distinctive treatment (see, e.g., K. Hall; Markusen et al.), this also has relevance for literary urban studies, long preoccupied with narratives of the metropolitan urban condition (see Simmel; Wirth; Williams, *Politics*). From local urban service centres or specialized cities to networks of smaller cities, the notion of the secondary in relation to literary urban studies is a rich field demanding more attention from scholars.

From Second Cities as Sites of Contestation to the Post-Urban *Città Diffusa*

While they may seem merely subordinate, second cities also have a capacity to contest power relationships that is frequently denied to the primary cities in whose sphere they operate. As Francesco Marilungo shows in his contribution to this volume, the city of Diyarbakır in eastern Turkey has moved from being a national military outpost for the Turkish state within a region chiefly peopled by non-Turkish inhabitants, to becoming the key site for the expression of Kurdish identity within the boundaries of Turkey, while taking on imaginative characteristics that oppose it to those of Istanbul in writing, for example in terms of tradition as against modernity. Many of the discussions of literary second cities contained in this book bring out contests between rival cities and rival interpretations of the same cities. The English port city of Bristol, vital in the slave trade and in the Atlantic-focused phase of the British Empire, attracted both panegyric and vicious satire during its eighteenth-century heyday. Narva in Estonia during the twentieth century underwent a series of sudden and violent

transformations, from chocolate-box survival of the baroque to completely Sovietized and remade town, its population nearly all transplanted from elsewhere, to an eastern border post of the European Union, looking across a river at its Russian partner town mere metres away.

However, to express things in terms of binaries in which primary and secondary can easily be distinguished may in a networked age of technology be oversimplistic. In the present collection, this position emerges most clearly in the studies of networked and broadly urbanized regions in industrialized portions of Western Europe offered by Bart Keunen and Giada Peterle. Such regions do not appear uniformly urban, and indeed the appearance of the rural represented by features such as woods and fields has not been eliminated within them. But the lives of their tens of millions of inhabitants are networked with one another via practices such as road and rail commuting and home-working, and represent a twenty-first century urbanity rather than any sort of rural existence. This sort of networked environment is, in one interpretation, post-urban. In the twenty-first century, the era of "networked" information flows heralded by Manuel Castells (453–59), several other phenomena call into question the traditional dichotomies evoked by the city. These include the "third landscape" theorized by Gilles Clément, in which plant growth and forms of pre-urban human life recolonize formerly built-up areas such as blocks in US inner cities, and the identification of urban villages (Keunen, below) or "nebulous" settlements created by networks of roads (Castiglione and Ferrario 67–68; Peterle, below).

The urban/rural opposition is not the only dichotomy that needs to be challenged in a book about literary second cities. In examining complex spatial relationships, the contributions in this volume build upon but go beyond the postmodern critique of binary oppositions exemplified by Jacques Derrida's early view in essays such as "Plato's Pharmacy" (1972). Derrida's case is that anything defined as secondary always works to unpick or expose the abnormality and oppressive nature of the pairing within which it is subordinated, unveiling the injustice of the dominant partner's claim to define norms. Many of the secondary city positions analysed in this book do indeed function as sorts of critique of the geographies of primacy in which they are positioned. Equally, they often point towards a much more networked, multi-nodal and scaled model of the relationship between geographies, power and cultural forms. An examination of the characteristics of secondary cities can focus on a synchronic

assessment of various cities and what sets them apart, but it could also be carried out in more diachronic terms, examining the changing nature of cities in history.

Drawing on current research within multidisciplinary urban studies, Keunen (Chap. 2) sets out to present a novel taxonomy of cities against the background of centuries of urban history. He classifies them not according to absolute size or prominence, as happens in the familiar differentiation of alpha, beta and gamma world cities, as well as in notions such as the metropolis, the provincial capital, and the colonized periphery, but rather in terms of their "states of matter" or "states of aggregation." Keunen's view of density builds on but radically modifies the classical "growth model" of urban studies set out in the 1930s by Louis Wirth, for whom quantifiable scales of density, size and heterogeneity constituted the key qualities of modern urbanism: being bigger, denser and more heterogeneous meant being closer to an urban ideal of sorts. For Keunen, examining Europe in the period after the 1960s, the city can of course be, but need no longer be, dense. An old sort of solidity dating back to the mercantile cities of the fifteenth-century Low Countries and Germany now exists alongside the "liquid state" of industrial-era cities, some growing rapidly while others, potentially as in the Rust Belt USA of the twenty-first century, are also dramatically contracting. The third category is "the gas-like state in which we find late-modern 'post-industrial' urbanity" exemplified by the networked cities and suburbs of large urbanized areas. A last urban "state of matter" perceived by Bart Keunen describes the virtualization of urban life—what could be called the ionization phase.

Within the perspective of the present collection, Keunen's model enables the argument that the secondary is no longer secondary. Has everywhere in an urbanized region, then, become on the one hand secondary, on the other just as important as everywhere else? Do Piccadilly Circus and Times Square risk becoming obsolete monuments to an era in which primary cities really did exist and had identifiable centres? Perhaps not. Hierarchies of size and function hardly evaporate fully as cities take new shapes or move towards more fluid "states of matter." However, the precise contexts in which these statuses are defined or suggested matter more than ever.

The inclusion of more fluid, diffuse urban environments under the typology of the second city also has resonance in urban studies research. In Roberts and Hohmann's classification, three categories of secondary cities are identified:

1. Subnational cities that are centres of local government, industry, agriculture, tourism or mining;
2. City clusters associated with expanded, satellite and new town cities which surround large urban metropolitan regions; and
3. Economic trade corridors that are urban growth centres or poles planned or developing along major transport corridors. (Roberts and Hohmann 3)

The second category, in particular, would seem to be a close relative of Bart Keunen's typology of the "gas-like" urban state—an urban environment that became increasingly dominant in the second half of the twentieth century. While it is, by definition, more diffuse, more protean than more traditional forms of secondary cities, which can at least be situated on a geographical map with somewhat more precision, we argue that the diffuse city region has a distinctly secondary character. The third section of this volume will be devoted to an exploration of this form of secondary city in literature.

Overview of Contributions to This Book

Bart Keunen's essay "World Cities and Second Cities: Imagining Growth and Hybridity in Modern Literature", which follows this chapter, touches on several methodological and thematic issues that will recur later in the volume, contextualizing subsequent chapters within a broader theoretical framework. Incorporating the findings of the Ghent Urban Studies Team (GUST), which he co-directs, Keunen has carried out a series of research projects since the beginning of the current century to seek alternatives to the "growth model." He argues that the fetishization of magnitude has dominated urban studies since the work of Louis Wirth and the Chicago School of sociology in the 1920s and 1930s. The chief conclusion drawn by Keunen, that the dominant urban condition need not be that of the metropolis or "alpha" city but can equally be that of the mid-sized city or even of extended semi-urban sprawl, has resonances which are heard throughout the book.

The rest of the volume is structured so as to reflect the variety in literary secondary cities, while being aware of the ground that remains to be covered. A wide range of literary authors comes in for attention, most of them from the twentieth and twenty-first centuries but with comparative consideration of early modern urban secondariness. A first group

of essays, "In the Shadow of the Alpha City," problematizes the image of cities that are limited in functions and size when compared to the metropolis, by bringing out the contradictions and contestations inherent in cultural productions which for various purposes mediate and represent these cities, including Birmingham and Bristol in the UK, Las Vegas in the USA, and Tartu in Estonia. While the inclusion of these cities can be argued by the fact that they are situated in quantifiable terms below the threshold of alpha cities, the exploration of their literary image in these chapters belies the notion that such second cities are merely lesser versions of their metropolitan counterparts, or that their literary representation can be collapsed with the literary tradition of alpha cities.

The first two of these chapters concern different centuries in England. There, ever since the sixteenth century, London has loomed grotesquely large in comparison to other cities. Eighteenth-century Bristol and twentieth-century Birmingham, in fact, both seem potentially overwhelmed by the capital. Yet literature concerned with these two secondary cities indicates varied responses to this sort of subordination which can amount to acts of contestation. Jason Finch writes on Birmingham, in terms of population clearly the second city of the United Kingdom. Indeed, those associated with it continue to insist on the status and title of "the second city" (see Kirby). But while numerically very large, Birmingham occupies a far more recessive cultural position. Major cities in the North of England such as Manchester and Liverpool, and the two main cities of Scotland, Glasgow and Edinburgh, all have higher cultural profiles. Indeed, Birmingham's image is connected to the absurd and even the embarrassing. This is the starting point of Finch's chapter "Comic Novel, City Novel: David Lodge and Jonathan Coe Reinterpreted by Birmingham", which investigates links between two broadly postmodernist Birmingham comic novels and the image of this particular city in Britain. Birmingham's heritage as former manufacturing powerhouse of the British Empire lends itself to the contradictions of the comic novel, and casts light on a Britain in which such a city needs to be hidden and mocked.

Poetry had a public role in eighteenth-century England. It was written and read in an environment which assumed readers' knowledge of its conventions and specific sub-genres. Among these were the formal descriptive poem of praise and the satire, which itself had various types. Adam Borch's chapter ("'A Sort of Second London in Every Thing but Vitiousness': Bristol in Eighteenth-Century Poetry, 1700–50") on the

port city of Bristol in western England explores the relationship between praise and dispraise of an individual second city on the one hand and, on the other, several other fields of contest and competition: the relation of individual cities to the national polity; the varied rates of growth of provincial cities over the century; the view of the capital (just another city albeit larger? Or something entirely apart from all other towns in the kingdom?), both implicit and explicit, taken in poems written ostensibly about somewhere smaller and less prominent.

These two chapters on English cities are followed by a chapter on Estonia, focusing on that small European country's undisputed second city, Tartu. In "Cities within a Second City: The Case of Literary Tartu", Mart Velsker and Ene-Reet Soovik examine this riverside university city in southern Estonia which forms several contrasting pairings with Tallinn, the commercial, industrial and maritime capital in the north of the country. This chapter attempts to transcend a stereotyped view of Tartu as a nationalistic "city of good ideas" or place of the intellect by concentrating on recent literature that deliberately defamiliarizes (thereby creating contests and debates within the national cultural sphere of Estonia). Such writing focuses on evidence of disturbing and violent pasts in the city, from the plague of the early eighteenth century which nearly wiped out the city to the legacy of the Soviet occupation in the twentieth century.

The specialized heterotopic role of Las Vegas within the USA, filled with symbolism about the nation, is the topic of the next chapter. In "Still Learning from Las Vegas: Imagining America's Urban Other," Markku Salmela investigates the status of this almost entirely manufactured city of leisure, which itself became an archetype used by the most influential theorists of postmodernist architecture as a place, almost perversely, to be "learned from" rather than ignored or despised. Since the Second World War a body of narratives has grown around Las Vegas which interpret its position of otherness yet homely familiarity in relation to the canonical US cities and to the daytime or work-day life of the nation. An important fact about such specialized cities is that—especially in the post-industrial age—their peculiar and fully acknowledged dominant features do not constitute a comprehensive descriptive framework for their inhabitants' urban experience. Las Vegas has remained a "city of exception", as Salmela puts it, but like other urban places it also exists as part of bigger networks of community and communication, and is nowadays mostly governed by the same patterns of agglomeration that manifest themselves in other settings.

The two chapters in the second part of the book, entitled "Frontier Second Cities," complement one another and build on the material gathered in the first section, by paying attention to the multiple and transnational pasts of second cities which occupy border zones. It is not only in writings on major and world-famous cities such as London, for instance in a tradition of writers inspired by Iain Sinclair, particularly his *Lud Heat* (see Groes 94–119), that urban street-plans and toponyms of one period encode the conflicts of others. The notion of contested memory is vitally important to this section, as it brings together the dense textures of dormant memories and politically inspired visions of the future. The complexity of the urban palimpsest offered by Diyarbakır (Turkey) and Narva (Estonia) is not lessened by any dependence upon a metropolis but, rather, enlivened by their place in a transnational network of cities, in which they perform specific cultural roles.

Francesco Marilungo, in "The Capital of Otherness: A Geocritical Exploration of Diyarbakır, Turkey," examines an ancient city which today is simultaneously primary—as the symbolic and political focal point for the Turkey's Kurdish population, and as the biggest city of southeastern Turkey—and secondary, as geographically distant from Turkey's twin urban foci of Istanbul and Ankara. Marilungo's study of Diyarbakır teases out this simultaneous primacy and secondariness by juxtaposing the modern cultural history of the city (in particular the impact upon it of twentieth-century Turkey's foundational policy of secularization) with literary artistic representations. These frequently dramatize conflicting sexual and emotional desires which allegorize and reinterpret relations between Turk and Kurd, or between Diyarbakır and Turkey's metropolitan north-west. The geographical relationship also becomes a temporal one in which the east of Turkey as the "past" of the region retains the power to question or undo the top-down force of modernity.

Like Marilungo, Elle-Mari Talivee in "Narva: A Literary Border Town," explores a city that is liminal and which has over time moved between the orbits of different primary cities but without, as in the case of Diyarbakır, ever asserting itself as a primary city. Narva's literary history in Estonian associates it with fragility. Indeed, this is a border town that was almost completely destroyed during the Second World War and, arguably, replaced with another city occupying the same geographical coordinates and bearing the same name but with an entirely different population, architecture and even street layout: a second Narva, perhaps.

In Juri Lotman's theory of semiospheric cultural and linguistic transla-
tion operating via dynamic peripheral points of interchange, as deployed
by Talivee in the chapter, Narva stands as an eccentric rather than a con-
centric city, its existence and signification formed by its position on the
edge of a cultural sphere, be this that of the German-speaking provinces
of imperial Russia, or of an independent Estonia, a status denied by the
intense Sovietization of the town which occurred in the forty years after
the Second World War.

The third main part, "The Diffuse Second City," develops the chal-
lenge to an account of the urban fundamentally built around magni-
tude which was proposed by Keunen earlier in the book. This group of
essays focuses on an ever more prevalent form of urban secondariness:
the diffuse secondary city made up of interlinked small cities, suburban
sprawl and urban overspill. The literary case studies from Italy, Sweden
and Finland assess the nature of such growing clusters of urbanism, all of
them driven by what the sociologist John Urry has labelled "auto-mobil-
ity." Each of these sectors can act as both the "other" city to the urban
core of the city centre and as a counselling or critical model of a whole
society. Each chapter here is concerned with a specific portion of con-
temporary Europe outside the most famous metropolises, and with the
writing such zones have occasioned.

Lieven Ameel and Tuomas Juntunen, in "Riku Korhonen's
Kahden ja yhden yön tarinoita as Satirical Reflection on the Suburban
Fragmentation of Community," focus on how the suburb and its rep-
resentation can act as a secondary and repressed city-within-a-city. The
suburb in question, moreover, is itself part of a secondary city, in the
terms of Roberts and Hohmann: Turku in south-west Finland. The
chapter examines the close correlation between the fragmented, diffuse
urban experience and the narrative structure of the novel, which presents
a kaleidoscopic perspective on a large set of characters. This complex
structure invites a reading that emphasizes how the narrative mirrors,
questions and re-enacts the fragmentation of the urban fabric and the
social cohesion in the post-industrial city.

The next chapter, by Sophie Wennerscheid, "'Away from here
to Tjottahejti': Spatial and Sexual (Re-)Orientation in Places of
Secondariness in Contemporary Swedish Fiction," is concerned with the
same era in small-town Sweden and thus makes detailed comparison pos-
sible with the Finnish environment explored by Ameel and Juntunen.

The phenomenological approach deployed by Wennerscheid opens up the projection of possible cities, showing how the improvisations of the individual body-subject, in the terms of Merleau-Ponty, interact with the positioning by social forces of subjects, analysed in more recent and explicitly critical phenomenologies of the body such as that of Sara Ahmed. Within this analysis, Wennerscheid focuses on specific categories of urban sites occupied and reclassified by youth, including cellars, unoccupied school buildings and areas of waste ground.

The section on diffused second-city environments continues with Giada Peterle's "Moving Beyond Venice: Literary Landscapes of Movement in Northern Italy's 'Diffused City.'" For Peterle, the global literary and artistic fame and hence, while the city has not been a national capital for centuries, the primacy of Venice in north-eastern Italy must be supplemented, contested even, by an understanding of its setting in a huge "diffused city" stretching between it and Milan, 270 kilometres to the west. Literary accounts of this zone convey a dislocated ordinariness which Peterle refers to as "territorial" and which is inseparable from mobility. The secondariness of this landscape and the experiences it evokes seem connected to the obscure or the un-beautiful, as indicated by the photographs Peterle includes by Ignazio Lambertini of Marghera in the mainland portions of Venice typically of no interest whatsoever to tourists. The non-famous expanses of the diffuse city challenge the notion that urbanity must be encapsulated in the beauty and paradoxically too-well-known uniqueness of a site like Venice, set in its famous lagoon.

Literary Second Cities closes with an afterword by the geographer Marc Brosseau, reviewing the contributions and developing the notion of literary second cities from the point of view of the emerging field of literary geography. Brosseau's reflections indicate a larger territory than before for the interpretative, cultural or phenomenological approaches associated with the humanities. From the point of view of the one-time "spatial science" of geography, these approaches have had an important role in deepening and problematizing conventions of enquiry since the 1980s, while, somewhat paradoxically, within traditionally "humanities" fields, they have come under increasing pressure by demands on the humanities to integrate more quantitative research modelled on the natural sciences.

Conclusions: Second Cities, Literary Urban Studies and the Spatial Humanities

Taken together, the contributions to this collection indicate the possibility of practicing either a more documentary geographical approach in which literary texts cast light on actually existing places, as Marc Brosseau indicates in his afterword to be the dominant tendency among geographers with literary interests, or to reflect on the urban in a more phenomenological way. As a field of study that addresses representations of space in literature, literary urban studies is part of a much broader field that includes literary geography, the spatial humanities and geocriticism (see Alexander; Bodenhamer et al.; Westphal). The continued interest in spatial issues has coincided, amongst others, with the rise of "big data" in the humanities, a growing interest in the possibilities represented by new digital resources, and calls for "distant reading" as an alternative to potentially myopic traditions of close reading (see Moretti). While remaining aware of such recent trends within urban and digital humanities, this volume emphasizes the role of literary urban studies as a discipline within the spatial humanities that continues to focus on processes of reading and writing. The textual dynamics exhibited by represented space within a complex set of reference points that include the actual world as well as a range of fictional and imaginary realms contain no easy division between toponyms on the real-world map and wholly fantastic sites. Eric Bulson, in his *Novels, Maps, Modernity*, shows how for James Joyce, Virginia Woolf and Alfred Döblin, references to actual place names perform radically different strategies within the poetics of a text (107–31). In this sense, many of the contributions to this volume continue the long-standing interest in literary representations of the city within literary studies, manifest in works ranging from Virginia Woolf's pioneering "Literary Geography" (1905) to the later books by Pierre Citron, Volker Klotz, Richard Lehan, and others. What many of these studies share is an awareness that "Dickens' London and London, England, are located in two different countries" (Pike 13)—that every literary city is a second city of sorts in the sense that it is always a mediated vision, an interpretation and a means of representing what, in its totality and multiplicity can never be rendered in full.

Such strategies can only meaningfully be traced through a practice of rigorous textual analysis, and through a practical engagement with

cities and their texts, taking into account the specific *literaturnost*, in the terminology of Roman Jakobson, of cities in literature. This is not to say that a measure of distant reading or the use of large data sets is not useful: on the contrary, such approaches can enable researchers to identify what kinds of texts or textual passages are worthy of closer scrutiny. Literary urban studies wants to combine the broad reaches and wide range of spatial humanities with fine-grained reading practices. The present volume presents such an endeavour: wide-ranging in geographical scope, informed by an awareness of the ground that has been covered by earlier research, and with the urge to scrutinize localities within this field that have, as yet, remained underdeveloped. Literary second cities, as shadow-cities of sorts, are precisely such locations, whose examination may shed light, in turn, on the perceived alpha cities as well as geographical entities on a much larger scale.

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