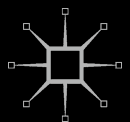




IMAGINING OUTER SPACE

European Astroculture
in the Twentieth Century

EDITED BY
Alexander C.T. Geppert



‘This wonderful multinational and multidisciplinary collection is greater than the sum of its fascinating parts. Crystalline aliens, a mysterious Siberian explosion, silicon-based life forms, *Tintin*, *Thunderbirds*, *Star Trek* and Raélians are just some of the many things which are examined in a brilliantly eclectic series of essays.’

—David Edgerton, Imperial College London

‘With generous references to the scholarship and original sources, as well as its own intelligent and well-integrated contributions, this book establishes a comprehensive new field of research – “astroculture.”’

—Michael G. Smith, Purdue University

‘Europe too has a history of imagining outer space, distinct from yet inextricably linked with global cultures of perceiving and experiencing the universe. This splendid volume offers a fascinating panorama of visions of the future. Anyone interested in the complex relationship between technology, space and culture will garner much from this groundbreaking work.’

—Helmuth Trischler, Deutsches Museum

‘Intriguing. [...] A book of essays filled with European perspectives on space and spaciness.’

—Alexis C. Madrigal, *The Atlantic*

Imagining Outer Space is a brilliantly organized compendium of current scholarship at the intersection between space history and the popular cultures of science/fiction. It also sheds new light on the often underplayed European contributions to imagining outer space as a richly inhabited human realm. It

successfully establishes “astroculture” as an energetic and growing area of scholarly production and debate.’

—De Witt Douglas Kilgore, *Science Fiction Studies*

‘However peripheral Europe’s contributions to the Space Age may have been, nothing was spared in the imagination. The matter was of exemplary global interest, after all. It is the details that count here, and the contributions in this volume offer plenty: crystalline aliens and Mars scenarios, spaceflight in comic strips and ghost rockets (a European equivalent to flying saucers), UFOs in postwar France and well-intentioned offers of interstellar communication.’

—Helmut Mayer, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*

‘*Imagining Outer Space* offers an interdisciplinary and transnational approach to the cultural and social history of the space age in Europe. It is its redrawing of the disciplinary boundaries of space history that should be most applauded. [...] Highly recommended not only to readers interested in the history of outer space and the Space Age.’

—Anke Ortlepp, *H-Soz-u-Kult*

‘With its emphasis on multidisciplinary, and its wide variety of contributions, topics, and themes, *Imagining Outer Space* demonstrates the rich potential that astrocultural studies holds for the field of the history of spaceflight, while at the same time, it truly contains something for everyone.’

—Janet Vertesi, *Quest: History of Spaceflight Quarterly*

‘This is clearly an important contribution to the literature and a stimulus to ongoing and future debates and endeavours in the intertwining realms of culture, space and technology.’

—Derek Hall, *Space Policy*

‘*Imagining Outer Space* offers rich potential in explaining the infatuation of spaceflight by Europeans of many different nationalities and cultures. [...] Without question, astrocultural investigation is one of the more interesting and original efforts to restructure spaceflight history in the early twenty-first century.’

—Roger D. Launius, *Technology and Culture*

‘Together, the chapters survey an excellent variety of topics that fall under the “astroculture” umbrella. Further research into European astroculture would be a valuable contribution to other social and cultural histories of Europe and to wider understandings of human engagements with outer space. *Imagining Outer Space* is a giant leap in that direction.’

—Jason Beery, *European Review of History/Revue européenne d’histoire*

‘This is an eclectic, detailed and [...] revelatory set of essays that delve into how (mostly Western) Europeans portrayed outer space, spaceflight and space exploration. It certainly fills a gap.’

—Jon Agar, *British Journal for the History of Science*

‘This volume’s fifteen diverse essays, substantive introduction, and valuable epilogue all examine various aspects of “astroculture” by considering and configuring the cultural and social significance of the Space Age both to and within the Atomic Age. [...] Fascinating.’

—Pamela Gossin, *Isis*

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Astroculture After Apollo

(European Astroculture, vol. 2)

MILITARIZING OUTER SPACE

Astroculture, Dystopia and the Cold War

(European Astroculture, vol. 3) (forthcoming)



Alexander C.T. Geppert
Editor

Imagining Outer Space

European Astroculture in the Twentieth Century

Second Edition

European Astroculture
Volume 1

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If one undertakes to discuss what man ought to do with the planets, one must first say what one thinks man ought to do with himself.

Olaf Stapledon, *Journal of the British Interplanetary Society* (1948)

Die Geschichtswissenschaft muß den Sprung in die planetarische Zukunft wagen.

Hermann Heimpel, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (25 March 1959)

Aujourd'hui, il s'agit de l'espace à l'échelle mondiale (et même au delà de la surface terrestre, de l'espace interplanétaire), ainsi que des espaces impliqués, à tous les échelons.

Henri Lefebvre, *La Production de l'espace* (1974)

CONTENTS

Introduction

- 1 European Astrofuturism, Cosmic Provincialism:
Historicizing the Space Age** 3
Alexander C.T. Geppert

Part I Narrating Outer Space

- 2 Space, Time and Aliens: The Role of Imagination
in Outer Space** 31
Steven J. Dick
- 3 Heaven on Earth: Tunguska, 30 June 1908** 51
Claudia Schmölders
- 4 Imagining Inorganic Life: Crystalline Aliens
in Science and Fiction** 73
Thomas Brandstetter

Part II Projecting Outer Space

- 5 Projecting Landscapes of the Human Mind onto Another
World: Changing Faces of an Imaginary Mars** 97
Rainer Eisfeld

6 'Smash the Myth of the Fascist Rocket Baron':
East German Attacks on Wernher von Braun in the 1960s 117
Michael J. Neufeld

7 Transcendence of Gravity: Arthur C. Clarke and the
Apocalypse of Weightlessness 141
Thore Bjørnvig

Part III Visualizing Outer Space

8 *Per Media Ad Astra?* Outer Space in West Germany's
Media, 1957–87 165
Bernd Mütter

9 Balloons on the Moon: Visions of Space Travel in
Francophone Comic Strips 187
Guillaume de Syon

10 A Stumble in the Dark: Contextualizing Gerry and Sylvia
Anderson's *Space: 1999* 209
Henry Keazor

Part IV Encountering Outer Space

11 Life as We Don't Yet Know It: An Anthropologist's
First Contact with the Science of 'Weird Life' 231
Debbora Battaglia

12 A Ghost in the Machine: How Sociology Tried to Explain
(Away) American Flying Saucers and European Ghost
Rockets, 1946–47 245
Pierre Lagrange

13 Seeing the Future of Civilization in the Skies of Quarouble:
UFO Encounters and the Problem of Empire in Postwar
France 269
James I. Miller

Part V Inscribing Outer Space

- 14 Self-Reproducing Automata and the Impossibility of SETI** 293
Gonzalo Munévar
- 15 Inscribing Scientific Knowledge: Interstellar Communication, NASA's Pioneer Plaque and Contact with Cultures of the Imagination, 1971–72** 313
William R. Macauley
- 16 Alien Spotting: Damien Hirst's Beagle 2 Mars Lander Calibration Target and the Exploitation of Outer Space** 335
Tristan Weddigen
- Epilogue**
- 17 Look Up! Art in the Age of Orbitization** 353
Philip Pocock
- Bibliography** 381
- Index** 421

PREFACE TO THE PAPERBACK EDITION

The re-issuing of *Imagining Outer Space: European Astroculture in the Twentieth Century* in paperback format six years after its original publication coincides with the advent of two companion volumes. *Limiting Outer Space: Astroculture After Apollo* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2018) and *Militarizing Outer Space: Astroculture, Dystopia and the Cold War* (Palgrave Macmillan, forthcoming) take up some of the problems raised and issues discussed in the present book. The second volume of this trilogy, *Limiting Outer Space*, focuses on a single decade in the history of imagining, thinking and practicing outer space – the ‘long 1970s’ – and foregrounds a single problem, that is the reconfiguration of sociotechnical imaginaries and human expansion scenarios during the decade after the moon landings, the so-called post-Apollo period. The third and final book, *Militarizing Outer Space*, explores the militant and violent dimensions of outer space in science fiction and science fact, thus exposing the ‘dark’ side of global astroculture.

All three volumes are the product of work conducted, choreographed or coordinated by the Emmy Noether research group ‘The Future in the Stars: European Astroculture and Extraterrestrial Life in the Twentieth Century’ at Freie Universität Berlin which I had the pleasure of directing from 2010 to 2016. As the publication of this *European Astroculture* trilogy was not planned from the outset but rather coalesced over the course of our collective expedition, there is no systematic rationale behind the thematic succession of these three volumes. What they have in common, however, is the endeavor to establish ‘astroculture’ as a new field of historical inquiry; the will to decenter space historiography by pushing its geographical focus beyond the borders of the two Cold War superpowers; and the quest to de-exoticize the history of outer space while allocating it the place it deserves within mainstream historiography of the twentieth century.

For the paperback edition a few factual errors were corrected and some minor improvements made. Web links have been checked, authors’ biographies updated,

and a limited number of references added to keep an already comprehensive bibliography as current as possible. Otherwise, all 17 contributions remain as they were originally published in 2012, unaltered in form and format.

Finally, I would like to express sincere gratitude to our funding body, the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG), and, above all, to everyone who contributed to this enterprise's launch, lift-off and landing.

Shanghai
November 2017

Alexander C.T. Geppert

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

When contemplating outer spaces and other worlds, the ‘pleasures of the imagination’ are infinite – and the conceptualization, compilation and composition of the present volume has indeed proved such.¹ Early versions of all articles published here were originally presented at the first international conference on the cultural history of outer space in twentieth-century Europe, held on 6–9 February 2008 at the Zentrum für interdisziplinäre Forschung (ZiF) of Universität Bielefeld, Germany. Entitled *Imagining Outer Space, 1900–2000* and generously co-funded by the ZiF and Fritz Thyssen Stiftung, this conference congregated nearly 70 scholars from more than a dozen countries, with the common aim of historicizing outer space and analyzing its cultural significance in the European imagination, particularly since 1945.

Subsequent to that first gathering, the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft has beneficently underwritten the establishment of an independent Emmy Noether research group, ‘The Future in the Stars: European Astroculture and Extraterrestrial Life in the Twentieth Century,’ located at the Friedrich-Meinecke-Institut of Freie Universität Berlin. Special thanks go to the core members of this group, Daniel Brandau and William R. Macauley. Together, we have already begun to take up and deepen many of the themes raised in this volume, with a view to integrating the cultural history of space into mainstream historiography of the twentieth century, so-called *Zeitgeschichte*. This collective venture will continue to propel such a ‘leap into the planetary future’ over the next five years.²

Organizing an event on this scale and preparing the ensuing book for publication entails the accumulation of unforeseen debts of gratitude. First of all, I would like to thank the ZiF and its former Managing Director, Ipke Wachsmuth, the late Johannes Roggenhofer, ZiF’s Executive Secretary, as well as Barbara Jantzen, Scientific Assistant to its Board of Directors, for their trust in the intellectual potential of a certainly unusual, yet hardly exotic topic. Trixi Valentin, head of ZiF’s conference office, proved to be the epitome of cordial

professionalism and ensured that the event went off without a hitch. Without the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung's generosity, the enterprise could never have been launched. Claudia Schmölder's help on all matters concerned was absolutely central, her experience as always truly appreciated, and I am most grateful for her sage advice and long-standing sense of proportion. Finally, my superb research assistants Dorothee Dehnicke, Friederike Mehl, Tom Reichard, Katja Rippert, Magdalena Stotter and Ruth Haake proved as instrumental as possible. Jennifer Pierce and Severin Siebertz also helped substantially in preparing the manuscript for publication. I am truly obliged to all of them.

While this volume would not exist without the Bielefeld conference as its precursor, I should like to stress that the book by no means simply presents its 'proceedings.' Quite to the contrary: while I do regret that a strict, unsentimental selection of contributions was imperative, this book comprises a limited set of carefully chosen and thoroughly revised articles, painstakingly arranged in both thematic and largely chronological order, asking complementary questions and speaking directly to each other's concerns. I must also single out the help of several illustrious commentators whose much appreciated insights and criticism shaped the conference and, in turn, this volume. They include Peter Becker, Ralf Bülow, Paul Ceruzzi, Andreas W. Daum, Peter Davidson, Steven J. Dick, De Witt Douglas Kilgore, Kai-Uwe Schrogl, Angela Schwarz, Helmuth Trischler and Bernd Weisbrod. At Palgrave Macmillan, editors Michael Strang and Ruth Ireland gamely took on yet another lengthy manuscript and oversaw its publication with the same care that I had come to appreciate through previous collaboration. In a similar vein, cooperating with Penny Simmons proved again a true pleasure; I could not have wished for a more thoughtful and meticulous copy-editor. I also gratefully acknowledge the enthusiasm and encouragement of the two anonymous reviewers.

Imagining Outer Space endeavors to break new ground in the historicization of outer space by introducing the notion of 'astroculture,' inserting a distinctly (West) European element into the hitherto largely US- and USSR-centered historiography, elucidating the complex relationship between science and fiction, and emphasizing the significance of outer space as a site for the projection of competing versions of the future. The volume brings together original and innovative work by both junior scholars and some of the most distinguished experts in this small, but rapidly burgeoning field of historical research. Featuring 15 contributions – plus an introduction and an epilogue – from representatives of nine disciplines and eight countries, *Imagining Outer Space* is in itself an exercise in international transdisciplinarity. It is for this reason that the lion's share of my gratitude goes to the authors themselves, and it is with great respect that I acknowledge their unceasing willingness to travel thus far with me, both in time and space.

Berlin
August 2011

Alexander C.T. Geppert

Notes

1. This is, of course, John Brewer's term. See his *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, London: HarperCollins, 1997.
2. Hermann Heimpel, 'Der Versuch mit der Vergangenheit zu leben: Über Geschichte und Geschichtswissenschaft,' *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (25 March 1959), 11. See http://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/fimi/astrofuturismus/C_IOS/Hauptseite.html for the complete conference program; for further information on the Emmy Noether research group 'The Future in the Stars: European Astroculture and Extraterrestrial Life in the Twentieth Century,' consult <http://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/astrofuturism>.

LIST OF FIGURES

Ever since American pilot Kenneth Arnold observed nine shiny ‘saucer-like aircraft’ flying in formation from Mount Rainier to Mount Adams in Washington State, USA, on 24 June 1947, such disc-shaped missiles have been known as ‘flying saucers.’ The cover image is based on German graphic designer Klaus Bürgle’s dramatic 1971 interpretation of the UFO’s founding myth. © Gösta Röver, Freie Universität Berlin.

Figure 1.1	Cover page of the <i>Illustrated London News</i> , featuring a space station, 1951	5
Figure 1.2	Cover of David Bowie’s hit record ‘Space Oddity,’ 1969	7
Figure 1.3	Illustration to explain and publicize the West European space effort, 1961	11
Figure 1.4	Fictitious map of Mars, published in <i>Punch</i> , April 1956	15
Figure 1.5	Future encounter with extraterrestrial intelligences on a distant planet, as imagined by graphic designer Klaus Bürgle and published in the popular science journal <i>Das Neue Universum</i> , 1965	18
Figure 2.1	Poster for <i>First Spaceship on Venus</i> , the American version of <i>Der schweigende Stern</i> , directed by Kurt Maetzig, 1962	33
Figure 2.2	Deep view of a section of the universe taken by the Hubble Space Telescope, 1995	37
Figure 2.3	The three men responsible for the success of Explorer 1, William H. Pickering, James Van Allen and Wernher von Braun, 1959	42
Figure 3.1	Map showing the approximate location of the Tunguska Event, 1908	52
Figure 3.2	Trees felled by the Tunguska explosion	52
Figure 3.3	Map of the Tunguska Event, 1925	54
Figure 3.4	Map of the Tunguska Event, 1949	55
Figure 4.1	Liquid crystals, 1917	81
Figure 4.2	Mr. Spock communicating with the silicon-based life form Horta, 1967	86

Figure 4.3	Desert varnish seen through an electron microscope	89
Figure 5.1	<i>New York Times</i> article on two Martian ‘canals,’ August 1911	103
Figure 5.2	Arm of alien in a promotional poster for George Pal’s film <i>War of the Worlds</i> , 1953	105
Figure 5.3	Edgar Rice Burrough’s ‘Princess of Mars,’ as imagined on the cover of the 1925 German translation	107
Figure 6.1	West German film poster of <i>I Aim at the Stars</i> , released in fall 1960	119
Figure 6.2	Illustration from a pre-publication leaflet for Julius Mader’s anti-von Braun book <i>Geheimnis von Huntsville</i> , ca. 1963	123
Figure 6.3	Film poster for the East German film <i>Die gefrorenen Blitze</i> , 1967	127
Figure 7.1	Photograph of Arthur C. Clarke, ca. 1965	142
Figure 7.2	Depiction of a ‘gravity well,’ 1968	151
Figure 8.1	Frequency of interpretations of outer space in FAZ articles between October 1957 and March 1962	169
Figure 8.2	TV-presenter Heinrich Schiemann with a small model of the Apollo Lunar Excursion Module, ca. 1969	177
Figure 8.3	Life-size Apollo Lunar Excursion Module used by the German science television show <i>Aus Forschung und Technik</i> , ca. 1969	182
Figure 9.1	Humorous scene from Hergé’s comic strip <i>On à marché sur la lune</i> , 1954	192
Figure 9.2	Comic hero Dan Cooper on the cover of <i>Tintin</i> , September 1958	197
Figure 9.3	Scene from Albert Weinberg’s <i>Dan Cooper</i> comic strip <i>Le maître du soleil</i> , 1958	199
Figure 9.4	Cover of one of Peyo’s <i>Cosmoschtroumpf/Astrosmurf</i> comic albums, 1970	201
Figure 10.1	View inside Commander John Koenig’s office on Moonbase Alpha, <i>Space: 1999</i> , 1976	210
Figure 10.2	Command Center, <i>Space: 1999</i> , 1975	211
Figure 10.3	Professor Bergman with a photo of Skylab 2 on the wall of his laboratory, <i>Space: 1999</i> , 1976	218
Figure 12.1	‘Origins of the Flying Saucers,’ <i>Life Magazine</i> drawing by Boris Artzybasheff, July 1947	246
Figure 12.2	Photograph of American pilot Kenneth Arnold, 1947	248
Figure 12.3	Article published on the first page of the <i>East Oregonian</i> , June 1947	249
Figure 12.4	Two German Rheintochter missiles on the cover of the French science magazine <i>Science et Vie</i> , February 1946	254
Figure 13.1	Cover of <i>Radar</i> magazine, September 1954	271
Figure 13.2	Drawing of two alien faces that appeared in a French television show featuring Marius Dewilde, 1981	275
Figure 14.1	John von Neumann’s conceptual proof of the possibility of a self-reproducing automaton	296
Figure 14.2	Structure of a polypeptide chain	301
Figure 14.3	Young male monkeys at play	302

Figure 15.1	Reproduction of the interstellar message inscribed on NASA's Pioneer plaque, 1971–72	314
Figure 15.2	Artist's impression of NASA's Pioneer F spacecraft during its Jupiter flyby, December 1973	317
Figure 15.3	Pioneer F spacecraft at NASA's Kennedy Space Center, February 1972	318
Figure 15.4	Photograph showing the position of the interstellar plaque attached to the Pioneer F spacecraft, 1972	319
Figure 15.5	Enlargement of the schematic diagram on the Pioneer plaque indicating hyperfine transition of neutral atomic hydrogen, 1972	321
Figure 15.6	Enlargement of detail on the Pioneer plaque showing an illustration of a man and woman, 1972	325
Figure 16.1	High-resolution electron microscope image of meteorite ALH84001, 1996	336
Figure 16.2	Colin Pillinger and the Beagle 2 model, 2001	337
Figure 16.3	Sample of Ferrari <i>rosso corsa</i> paint on Mars Express Orbiter, 2002	338
Figure 16.4	Damien Hirst, Beagle 2 <i>Spot Painting</i> , 2002	340
Figure 16.5	Damien Hirst, <i>Spot Paintings</i> , detail of chart, 1997	343
Figure 16.6	Simulation of Beagle 2 on the Martian surface, released May 2002	345
Figure 17.1	Galileo Galilei, <i>Dialogue Concerning the Two Chief World Systems</i> , 1632, frontispiece	355
Figure 17.2	<i>SpacePlace: Art in the Age of Orbitization</i> , participatory mobile media projections, 2006	359
Figure 17.3	<i>SpacePlace: Art in the Age of Orbitization</i> , participatory web 2.0 repository screenshot, 2005	360
Figure 17.4	<i>SpacePlace: Art in the Age of Orbitization</i> , datastructure flowchart for mobile access to <i>SpacePlace</i> database, 2005	361
Figure 17.5	Piero Manzoni, <i>Socle du monde: Hommage à Galileo</i> , 1961	364
Figure 17.6	Ilya Kabakov, <i>The Man Who Flew Into Space From His Apartment</i> , 1981–88	367
Figure 17.7	<i>Moon Museum</i> , Ocean of Storms, moon, 1969	370
Figure 17.8	Paul van Hoeydonck, <i>Fallen Astronaut</i> , 1971	372
Figure 17.9	Ronald Jones, <i>The Bed Neil Armstrong Slept in his First Night Back from the Moon</i> , 1969–98	374

ABBREVIATIONS

AI	Artificial Intelligence
ARD	Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BIS	British Interplanetary Society
BNCSR	British National Committee on Space Research
BRD	Bundesrepublik Deutschland
CETI	Communication with Extraterrestrial Intelligence
CNES	Centre National d'Etudes Spatiales
COPERS	Commission Préparatoire Européenne de Recherche Spatiale
DDR	Deutsche Demokratische Republik
DEFA	Deutsche Film-Aktiengesellschaft
DFG	Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft
DVLR	Deutsche Versuchsanstalt für Luft- und Raumfahrt
ELDO	European Launcher Development Organization
ESA	European Space Agency
ESPI	European Space Policy Institute
ESRO	European Space Research Organisation
ET	Extraterrestrial
ETH	Extraterrestrial Hypothesis
ETI	Extraterrestrial Intelligence
EU	European Union
FAZ	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>
GfW	Gesellschaft für Weltraumfahrt
HAEU	Historical Archives of the European Union
ID	Electromagnetic Identification
IGY	International Geophysical Year
IM	Inoffizieller Mitarbeiter
IONS	Institute of Noetic Sciences
ISS	International Space Station
JPL	Jet Propulsion Laboratory

MfS	Ministerium für Staatssicherheit (DDR)
NACA	National Advisory Committee on Aeronautics
NASA	National Aeronautics and Space Administration
NASM	National Air and Space Museum
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
n.d.	No date
n.p.	No publisher/pagination
NRC	National Research Council
SDI	Strategic Defense Initiative
SED	Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands
SETI	Search for Extraterrestrial Intelligence
SF	Science Fiction
SRA	Self-Reproducing automaton
UFO	Unidentified Flying Object
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America
USAF	United States Air Force
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VfR	Verein für Raumschiffahrt
ZDF	Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Debbora Battaglia is Professor Emerita of Anthropology at Mount Holyoke College and Five College Fortieth Anniversary Professor. A sociocultural anthropologist, she specializes in alterity and world-making at intersections of science, technology and cosmology. Her books include the edited volume *E.T. Culture: Anthropology in Outerspaces* (2005), and she is the author of numerous articles on outer space in public and expert knowledge spheres. In progress are two book projects, *Seriously at Home in '0-Gravity'* and *Aeroponic Gardens and Their Magic*.

Thore Bjørnvig holds an MA in the History of Religions from the University of Copenhagen. A former associated member of the Emmy Noether research group 'The Future in the Stars: European Astroculture and Extraterrestrial Life in the Twentieth Century' at Freie Universität Berlin, his research focuses on intersections between science, technology and religion, with a particular emphasis on outer space. Recently published articles include 'The Holy Grail of Outer Space: Pluralism, Druidry, and the Religion of Cinema in *The Sky Ship*' (2012) and 'Outer Space Religion and the Ambiguous Nature of *Avatar's* Pandora' (2013). Together with Roger D. Launius and Virgiliu Pop, Thore Bjørnvig has also co-edited a special issue of the journal *Astropolitics* on spaceflight and religion (2013). He blogs on astroculture for the Danish popular science news site videnskab.dk and the Nordic popular science news site sciencenordic.com.

Thomas Brandstetter is a historian of science and technology. He has published on a variety of subjects, including the history of astrobiology. Thomas Brandstetter's book publications include *Kräfte messen: Die Maschine von Marly und die Kultur der Technik* (2008).

Steven J. Dick was the 2014 Baruch S. Blumberg NASA/Library of Congress Chair in Astrobiology at the Library of Congress's John W. Kluge Center. From 2003 to 2009 he served as the NASA Chief Historian and Director of the NASA History Office; from 2011 to 2012 he held the Charles A. Lindbergh Chair in Aerospace History at the Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum in Washington, DC. Steven Dick is the author or editor of twenty books, including *Societal Impact of Spaceflight* (2007, co-ed.); *Discovery and Classification in Astronomy: Controversy and Consensus* (2013); and *The Impact of Discovering Life Beyond Earth* (2016, ed.). Minor planet 6544 Stevendick is named in his honor.

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Einführung in die Physiognomik (2007); *Balzac: Leben und Werk* (2007, co-ed.); and *Faust & Helena: Eine deutsch-griechische Faszinationsgeschichte* (2018).

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Introduction

European Astrofuturism, Cosmic Provincialism: Historicizing the Space Age

Alexander C.T. Geppert

‘Outer Space’ is an expanding subject.
D.J. Gibson, British Foreign Office (26 October 1959)¹

Ubiquitous, limitless and ever-expanding as it may be, outer space has a history too. Over the course of the twentieth century, the dark, infinite and unfamiliar vastness that surrounds us has stimulated the human imagination to an extent hitherto unknown. Numerous ventures to ‘explore,’ ‘conquer’ and ‘colonize’ the depths of the universe in both fact and fiction must be read as attempts to counter the prevailing *horror vacui*, the fear of empty spaces and voids of infinity felt and explicitly formulated since the sixteenth century. They all aim at overcoming what Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) termed in 1917 humankind’s ‘cosmological mortification,’ the humiliating decentering of the earth effected by Nicolaus Copernicus’s (1473–1543) heliocentric cosmology. Three decades and two world wars after Freud’s observation, influential British futurist and science-fiction writer Arthur C. Clarke (1917–2008) identified a related ‘desire to know, whatever the consequences may be, whether or not man is alone in an empty universe’ as the one key motive underlying all human efforts to overcome gravity and reach out beyond humankind’s natural habitat on planet Earth.²

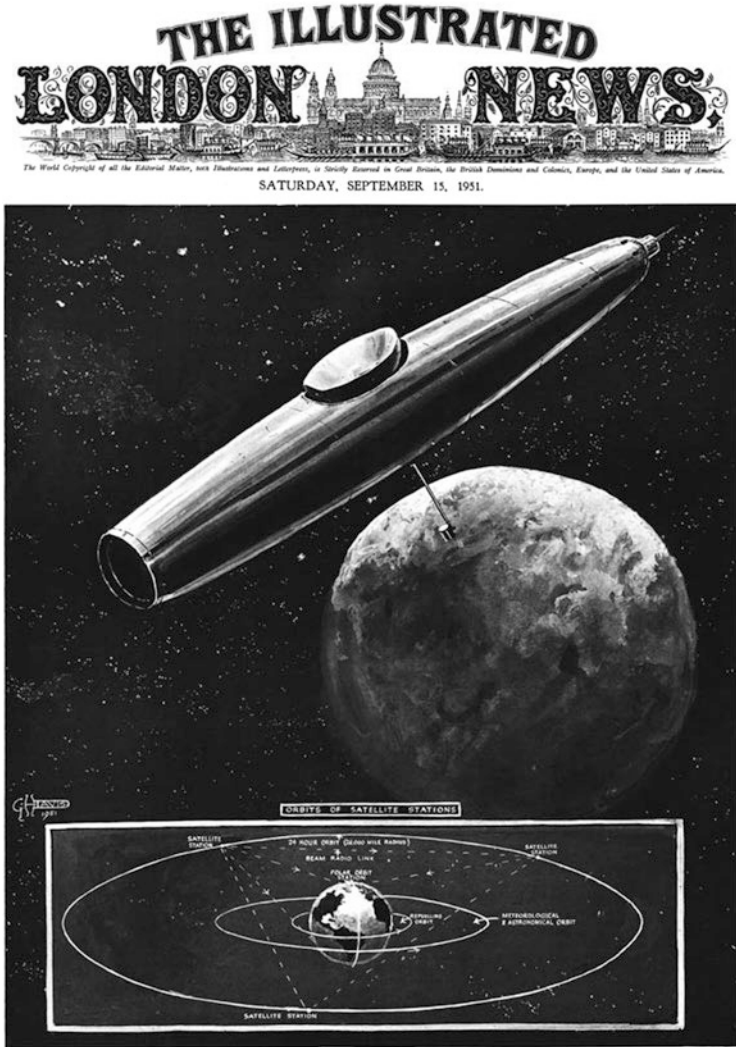
Imagining and re-imagining space and furnishing it time and again with one artifact after another, be they mental or material, has had a doubly paradoxical

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effect. As outer space became increasingly cluttered, it simultaneously became more and more concrete, and, concomitantly with such imaginary colonization, regarded in ever more spatial terms. An entire geography of outer space developed that presented itself as a continuation, if not a logical extension of earlier geographies of imperial expansion and colonial domination (Figure 1.1).³ At the same time, outer space developed into one of the major sites of twentieth-century utopian thinking, where relations vis-à-vis science, technology and the future were positioned, played out and negotiated as nowhere else. In the process, outer space was transformed into a place in its own right. In 1974 cosmic jazz musician Sun Ra (1914–93) was timely when famously proclaiming with His Astro Intergalactic Infinity Arkestra that ‘Space is the Place.’ For much of the twentieth century, it was indeed.

Even an ever-expanding space, however, is subject to limitations. As numerous other observers – no less insightful than Sigmund Freud, Arthur C. Clarke and Sun Ra – have noted time and again, in defiance of all grand rhetoric and despite all arduous, piecemeal steps into the often glorified and frequently kitschified ‘unknown,’ to date the so-called Copernican revolution has still not been fully consummated. While versions and visions of outer space, extraterrestrial life and alien worlds – ‘where no man has gone before’ – have become increasingly elaborate, multifarious and competing, they have not succeeded in completely transcending life as we have long known and lived it, notwithstanding considerable cultural repercussions and societal impact. The more far-fetched these outlooks have become, the more geocentric they remain.⁴ When the Allensbach-based Institut für Demoskopie, the oldest German polling institution, found during the Space Race’s heyday that the proportion of West German citizens believing in the existence of extraterrestrial intelligence had declined from 42 to 28 percent between June 1954 and May 1967, it aptly termed such a seemingly counterintuitive diagnosis ‘cosmic provincialism.’⁵ Space enthusiasm and terrestrial geocentrism are two faces of the same coin. Aiming to observe and to comprehend rather than to believe, to preach or even to predict, it is particularly imperative that space historians find the right measure of benevolent, yet critical, distance from historical actants and propagandists of spaceflight and extraterrestrial expansion, the powerful promises they made, and the time-tested rhetorics they employed.

A truism for some, politically undesirable for others, the historicity of outer space and its human-made character is patently good news for the historian, permanently on the prowl for past forms of human self-expression. Historical visions of a future in outer space, imagined encounters with extraterrestrial civilizations and changing conceptions of alien life forms seem deeply characterized by their insurmountable anthropomorphism, insofar as they, quite unsurprisingly, always reveal more about their author’s societies than about ‘them’ or any ‘other.’ If so, then the comprehensive historicization of outer space and extraterrestrial life must not only be intensified and advanced at once, but also instantly acquitted from all potential charges of exoticism, arcaneness and, hence, political irrelevance. Quite to the contrary,



THE FIRST STEP TOWARDS THE CONQUEST OF SPACE: AN UN-MANNED SATELLITE STATION CIRCLING THE EARTH.

Figure 1.1 In the fall of 1951, the cover page of the reputable *Illustrated London News* featured a ‘generally recognized’ concept for the ‘first step towards the conquest of space.’ The upper image shows an unmanned satellite station circling the earth in its orbit as a communication device. A solar mirror, pointing towards the sun and focused on a central heating coil, is integrated to produce electricity, while an earthward-oriented arm carries a radio transmitting system and receiving instruments. The lower image details the placing of three such space stations in earth orbit and their radio interconnections. Largely based on Arthur C. Clarke’s far-reaching concept of ‘extra-terrestrial relays,’ published in the October 1945 issue of *Wireless World*, the aim was to establish the kind of global communication system considered indispensable in a world society yet to come. *Source:* G.H. Davis with Eric Burgess and Arthur C. Clarke, *Illustrated London News* (15 September 1951), 393.

far from being outlandish or restricted to obscure elite discourses, ideas and images of outer space have been inextricable from the self-ascribed technoscientific modernity of the twentieth century as exemplified by that outdated yet still alluring notion, the Space Age.⁶

When such a Space Age occurred, how long it endured, and when it ceased to exist – or whether we still live in its midst – are valid questions still open to debate. Irrespective of such periodization problems, it is entirely indubitable that outer space was, for several decades in the postwar era, intimately bound with notions of modernity and utopian visions of human progress. ‘Our present-day world and our present-day human existence is most profoundly influenced and shaped by the fact of spaceflight,’ philosopher Günther Anders (1902–92) noted in 1970.⁷ As the 15 contributions to this volume demonstrate time and again, for a limited, surprisingly short-lived time, outer space became the epitome of modernity – comparable only to that other major technoscientific project of the twentieth century, nuclear power. The Space Age and the Atomic Age went hand in hand, yet the former’s radiance remains largely unacknowledged compared to its modern iconic ‘evil twin,’ bomb culture. It is necessary, but not nearly sufficient, to explain fears of alien invasion by evoking a Cold War context and employing the notion of Cold War *Angst*. Space enthusiasm, fantasies of spatial expansion and visions of interplanetary colonization are older and more all-encompassing, and should not be reduced to a collective, psychosis-like defensive complex.⁸

In his introduction to the standard work, ...*The Heavens and the Earth*, the award-winning political history of this period published more than a quarter-century ago, historian Walter McDougall identified three structural forces necessary to launch the American space program: an economy prosperous enough to finance the endeavor; the availability of appropriate technological means; and, more hazily, yet suggestively, ‘imagination.’ Within this triad, the present book focuses on the third vector, what McDougall described with sociologist Daniel Bell as ‘culture, the realm of symbolism that explores the existential questions facing all human beings all the time – death, love, loyalty, tragedy.’⁹ Unlike the bulk of existing historiography, contributions in this book do not set out to examine political, diplomatic and technological aspects of space history. Rather, they explore the socio-cultural rationales behind these efforts and their relationship to the imaginary, from both individual and collective perspectives. Three core questions drive this book: First, how did the idea of outer space, spaceflight and space exploration develop over the course of the twentieth century into a central element of the project of Western and, in particular, European modernity? Second, how was outer space represented and communicated, imaged, popularized and perceived in media as varied as print and film, as well as a diverse array of narrative conventions including historical fiction and institutional reporting, all in their own ways contributing to the imaginary bestowal of the universe? And, third, in what way have these conceptions of the cosmos and extraterrestrial life been affected by the continual exploration of outer space, and vice versa?

I Defining astroculture

On 11 July 1969, towards the end of the period under scrutiny in this book, British pop musician and actor David Bowie (1947–2016) released ‘Space Oddity,’ a song produced to coincide with the Apollo 11 lunar mission (Figure 1.2). Used in conjunction with the BBC’s coverage of the first moon landing nine days later, ‘Space Oddity’ combined futuristic electro sounds with ethereal strings and more familiar rock timbres. Reaching number five in the British charts, it became Bowie’s first commercial hit. Firmly grounded in established motifs, ‘Space Oddity’ was inspired by Stanley Kubrick (1928–99) and Arthur C. Clarke’s 1968 landmark science-fiction film *2001: A Space Odyssey*, as the pun in its title overtly signaled. Yet it also added cultural references to the repertoire that would recur in future attempts at making sense of outer space, notably a new fictive hero, the soon-to-be legendary astronaut Major Tom, whose remains are ostensibly floating indefinitely through the universe. Tom has indeed traveled far – if not to the physical limits of the galaxy, at least into the depths of international pop culture. Bowie’s own productions frequently drew on this space trope, such as in ‘Ashes to Ashes’ (*Scary Monsters*, 1980) and ‘Hallo Spaceboy’ (*Outside*, 1995). Bowie’s Major Tom has also been prominently evoked by Def Leppard (‘Rocket,’ 1987), Peter Schilling (‘Völlig losgelöst,’ 1983)



Figure 1.2 UK cover of David Bowie’s 1969 hit record ‘Space Oddity,’ his portrait superimposed on a work by the French-Hungarian Op-Art artist Victor Vasarely (1906–97), consisting of blue and violet spots on a green background.

Source: Courtesy of Vernon Dewhurst.

– a key protagonist of the so-called *Neue Deutsche Welle* in early 1980s pop music – and numerous others.¹⁰

Although the song's lyrics comprise only 35 lines, on closer inspection one finds a surprising number of astral sub-themes addressed, many of which are featured in contributions to this volume. They include the science/fiction complex ('Take your protein pills and put your helmet on/ [...] Commencing countdown, engines on'); the intricate commerce/media/public triangle ('And the papers want to know whose shirts you wear'); the so-called overview effect, that is, the view back onto the earth usually associated with the epoch-making 1968 spaceflight of Apollo 8 and the standard argument that humankind's thrust into outer space would, ultimately, constitute a return to itself ('For here am I sitting in a tin can/ Far above the world/ Planet Earth is blue/ And there's nothing I can do'); as well as religious-spiritual implications and references to a spatial-transcendental beyond that only the blessed and chosen astronaut is capable of approximating by ascending into heaven ('May God's love be with you').

Bowie's 'Space Oddity' is exemplary for another reason. In the twentieth century outer space, futurism and alien images permeated contemporaneous culture and society to an unprecedented extent. His hit epitomizes a specific complex of space-related cultural products that have gained considerable momentum since the Second World War, furthered by actants in politics, mass media and popular culture. Analytically, their complicated alliances and interconnections are hard to disentangle, not least because of the sheer lack of a widely recognized standard terminology. As a remedy, this book examines the cultural significance and societal repercussions of outer space and space exploration under the new label of 'astroculture.' How have human beings used their creative powers to render the infinite vastness of outer space conceivable? Far from intending to establish yet another academic subdiscipline, astroculture constitutes an umbrella concept to ease McDougall's terminological difficulties in referring to an underspecified and barely studied field of historical research. To remain within and augment his vocabulary: astroculture comprises a heterogeneous array of images and artifacts, media and practices that all aim to ascribe meaning to outer space while stirring both the individual and the collective imagination.¹¹

At the same time, this superordinate concept is designed as an explicitly culture-related counterpart to such better known and firmly established notions as 'astrophysics,' 'astropolitics' – evidenced by the founding of an academic journal by this title in 2003 – or 'astrosociology.'¹² When historicizing outer space, for reasons of practicality, inclusiveness and connectivity, astroculture is to be preferred over other umbrella notions. The obvious and conceivably encompassing, yet far too imprecise choice, 'space culture(s),' is unsuitable due to the equivocality of the term 'space' itself, thus inviting conceptual misunderstandings from other fields like urban studies or entire disciplines such as geography. Further alternative suggestions include, for instance, Margaret Mead's and Donald N. Michael's largely inconsequential mid-1950s 'Man-Into-Space'

(MIS) program for the social sciences, launched well *before* the first artificial satellite, or the more recent, narrower ‘extraterrestrial (ET) culture’ as developed by American anthropologist Debbora Battaglia.¹³ Astroculture as a novel concept does share some of the defining features of ET culture, including an emphasis on lived experience, the objective of de-exoticizing the alien, and its self-understanding as an exploratory project. Yet, there are also distinct differences. Not all astroculture revolves around alien life or extraterrestrial technology, anthropocentric and terrestrial as those may be, but comprises a wider range of images, artifacts and activities conducted by a broader range of expert and amateur actants. Different as the so-called ‘space,’ ‘science fiction,’ ‘ET,’ ‘UFO’ and other related communities are – the first, *mutatis mutandis*, focusing on applied science, the second on fantasy, the third on humans and the fourth on alien technology – their agendas, concerns and practitioners overlap and compete to such an extent that any separating, non-integrative approach seems unduly self-limiting from the outset and would require particular justification. Taking seriously the umbrella concept of astroculture leads to analyzing similarities and commonalities *before* possibly re-establishing differences and boundaries between the various subcultures. Hence, the entire range of supposedly obscure and frequently exoticized phenomena, including UFOs, the ‘technological wing of the ET imaginary’; early contact claims, alien abduction experiences and ‘starship memories’; or Erich von Däniken’s so-called pre-Astronautics fall as well under the purview of astroculture, as do space mirrors, space elevators, space stations and space colonies.¹⁴

Strenuously exempting these phenomena from historicization as a consequence of their ‘pseudoscientific’ character or rejecting them as ‘frivolous speculation’ would be a rash and grave intellectual error. The Space Age cannot be thoroughly historicized without taking debates about the epistemic-ontological status of claims regarding space exploration and extraterrestrials into account. Research on the history of astroculture does not aim at providing definitive answers regarding the reality or fiction of space-related phenomena. Instead, it critically focuses on the intentions, actions, categories and explanations provided by actants themselves, because they are part and parcel of the ways in which human beings attempt to come to terms with and make sense of the infinite universe that surrounds us. And vice versa: viewed from the opposite perspective, that of historiography, it is hoped that the formulation of this new umbrella concept of astroculture will lead to the controlled import of elsewhere long-established analytical key categories such as ‘language,’ ‘consumption,’ ‘representation,’ ‘appropriation,’ ‘memory,’ ‘materiality,’ and, above all, ‘meaning,’ in addition to numerous others into space history, where they have played no more than a minor, dramatically undervalued role.

II Introducing Europe

In addition to proposing the concept of astroculture and demonstrating exemplary ways in which its concerns can be historicized, the present volume pursues a second, hardly less ambitious objective. Introducing and

foregrounding a specifically (West) European perspective, it aims to find an analytical ‘third way’ or middle course between West and East, and address, if not solve, the European paradox of comprehensive space enthusiasm despite decades-long abstinence from manned spaceflight.

Since 1945, Western Europe’s contribution to the physical exploration of outer space has been peripheral and, for many years, a secondary priority at best. As a concomitant of the rapidly emerging US-USSR polarization during the Cold War, much of Europe’s cultural hegemony was lost. Making a virtue of necessity and in order to profit from the rising prestige of technoscience, the concept of Europe as the ‘third space power’ – under French leadership – was invented as a political convenience, proving to be of particular political attraction to President Charles de Gaulle (1890–1970) who announced plans to establish a French orbital space program as early as 1959. On a supranational level, the institutional prehistory and inner-European unification process of what would become in 1975 the European Space Agency, seated in Paris, proved tremendously complex, taking almost two decades for the organization to be formed by merging ELDO (European Launcher Development Organization) and ESRO (European Space Research Organization), both set up in 1964 (Figure 1.3).¹⁵

The reason for which autonomy – understood as independent human launch capability – has always been the central theme of the European space program was quite simply its absence.¹⁶ European spaceflight had begun with unmanned satellites, as it had with the USSR and the USA. Ariel 1, the first international earth satellite, was launched on 26 April 1962, as a joint project of the British and American space agencies; the Italian-American San Marco 1 satellite followed two years later. On 26 November 1965, France became the third nation to orbit a satellite, Astérix, with its own Diamant rocket, launched from Hammaguir, a remote site in central Algeria still under French control. ESRO only managed to launch its first satellite in 1968. Yet, manned spaceflight proved a different matter. The first non-Soviet European human to fly in space was the Czech Vladimír Remek (1948–) in March 1978, with the French spationaut Jean-Loup Chrétien (1938–) to follow four years later. These flights came 17 and 21 years, respectively, after those of Yury Gagarin (12 April 1961) and John Glenn (20 February 1962), the first human and the first American, respectively, to orbit planet Earth.¹⁷

What was different in Europe, then, was the long time-lag of roughly two decades between unmanned (1962) and manned spaceflight (1978/1983), the latter still today attracting media coverage and public attention of an incomparable magnitude and hence generally treated as the only truly worthwhile form of spaceflight. Together with its civilian use, the absence of manned space activities in Western Europe may also help to explain why an organized anti-space movement has never evolved, not even an intermittent, anti-space discourse among the intellectual elites. Such an absence is all the more conspicuous when compared to the widespread opposition to atomic power and the large-scale anti-nuclear weapons movements of the late 1950s

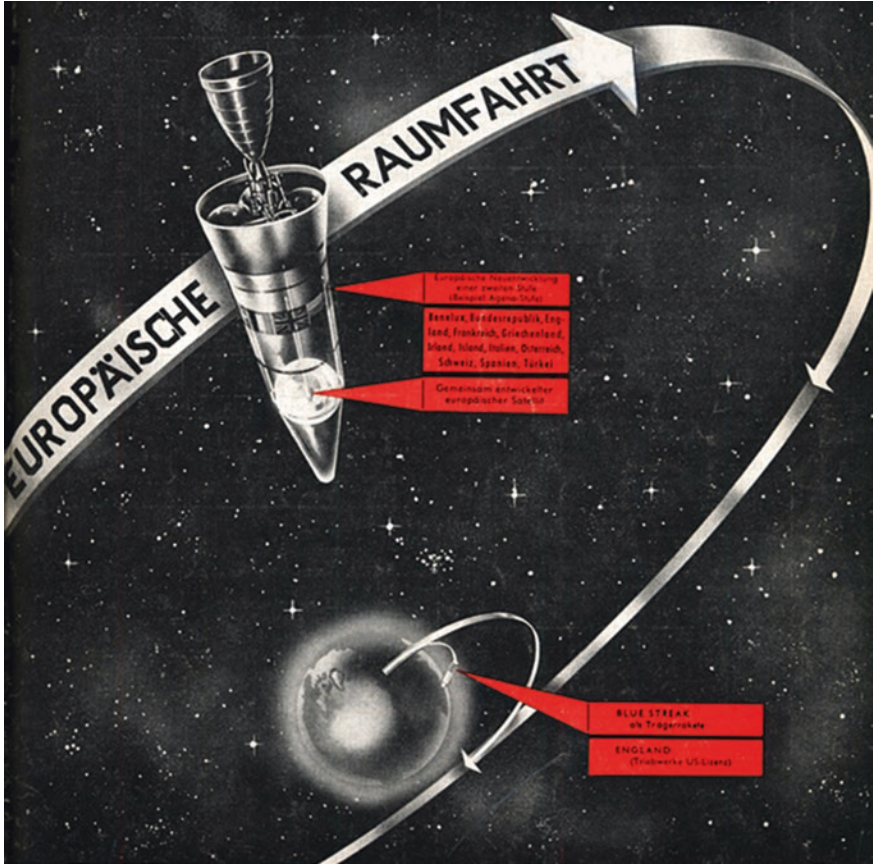


Figure 1.3 Illustration to explain and publicize the West European space effort, 1961. In this picture, a satellite commonly developed by the six original member states of the European Economic Community (Belgium, France, West Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands) in addition to England, Greece, Ireland, Iceland, Austria, Switzerland, Spain and Turkey (as indicated by the small flags on its body and the accompanying text box) is seen circling the globe, having been placed there by its carrier vehicle, the British Blue Streak ballistic missile. Ironically, the European Space Agency (ESA) was founded only in 1975 after repeated attempts to develop such an independent European launcher system had ended in failure.

Source: *Weltraumfahrt* 12.3 (May/June 1961), cover image.

and early 1960s, particularly in Great Britain and West Germany, triggered by the threat of nuclear war and its lethal radioactive after-effects.¹⁸

As the chapters in this volume testify, popular interest in outer space and its presence in everyday life was nonetheless tremendous during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, and it remains so through today. It will require

considerable effort to adequately explain this European paradox of overwhelming space enthusiasm simultaneous with such an extended period of abstinence from independent manned spaceflight activities. Without doubt, a broader, Europeanized historical perspective can only be achieved by forging a transdisciplinary and transnational approach that takes all necessary transatlantic references and transcontinental interdependencies into account. While in principle as worthwhile as any such internationalizing and hence widening move, current calls for writing a ‘global history’ of space exploration by shifting attention to the relationship between ‘spaceflight and national identity’ risk the danger of stating the obvious. What’s more, such pleas cannot convince, at least until this intermediate, hitherto missing perspective, namely the West European, has been conceptually and empirically explicated as a necessary counterweight to the overbearing focus on US and USSR histories. Provincializing Europe is always a neat feat, yet hardly feasible as long as space historians do not quite know when and what ‘Europe in space’ was.¹⁹

Historiographically, such a discrepancy between American and Soviet/Russian space history on the one hand, and its underdeveloped European counterpart on the other, is a direct consequence of their respective institutional settings. Especially in the United States, the concerted activities, resources and unparalleled research programs of NASA’s History Program Office, founded in 1958, and the Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum, reopened in the new building along the National Mall in Washington, DC, in July 1976, have effectively made space history a respectable academic topic.²⁰ Together with an interplay of persons, ideas and funds, these institutions have defined and structured a new field of historical research. Heavily invested in NASA’s history-making powers, their establishment has proved a self-fulfilling prophecy. Indirectly at least, and somewhat ironically, scholarship on Eastern Europe and the ‘Russian Space Age’ – in particular Sputnik and the space *persona* of Yury Gagarin (1934–68) – has also benefited from such an unprecedented institutional shaping.²¹ Today, both American and Soviet/Russian space history present themselves as open and expansive, yet comparatively well-established and structured fields, in spite of contrary claims and the inevitable degree of research-gap rhetorics.

In Western Europe, space history is by comparison a much smaller, more fragmented and underdeveloped affair, frequently exoticized and occasionally ridiculed by mainstream historians. Unfortunately, an institutional equivalent to NASA’s History Program Office does not exist, and neither does the corresponding position of a Chief Historian. ESA’s outreach activities into academic territory remain woefully limited, particularly as far as the humanities and social sciences are concerned. Having commissioned a small group of top-class historians under the direction of John Krige and Arturo Russo to author its institutional history in 1990, ESA subsequently extended this first self-historicizing initiative by commissioning 40 additional ‘History Study Reports’ with individual authors treating a total of 16 countries in overview-oriented

booklets of 30–100 pages, in addition to general aspects of space study, such as satellite programs, the history of sounding rockets or international cooperation.²² Yet, a mere accumulation of one national space history after the other – from Austria and Belgium to Switzerland and the United Kingdom – cannot compensate for a genuinely European history that treats the continent as a geographical setting *and* makes the question of Europeanness its central heuristic concern. By focusing exclusively on institutional, political, diplomatic and technical aspects of the European space effort, ESA has underestimated and neglected significant larger questions. Societal impact and cultural repercussions have not played a significant role in its historical self-assessment. What’s worse, since the completion of the so-called History Project and despite the successful establishment of the European Space Policy Institute (ESPI) in Vienna in 2003 – a largely policy-oriented think tank – active promotion of non-science, non-applied research has come to a standstill. ESA’s interest in its own past and position within European society, while inherently forward-looking, remains parochial, displaying almost its own version of ‘cosmic provincialism.’

That said, the cultural history of Europe in space and space in Europe is a problem that this volume can pose with great verve, yet by no means solve. The current state of research on these topics is too divergent, uneven and disconnected to yield conclusive results. As a consequence – and, at this early stage, possibly an inevitability – there can be no doubt that the present volume possesses a certain British/French/West German bias, with the Scandinavian countries, for instance, or the wider Mediterranean world, in particular Italy and Francoist Spain, not receiving the kind of attention that they deserve. Competition and cooperation, comparisons and connections between individual countries within capitalist Western and communist Eastern Europe are themes that several contributions pursue, but which the volume as a whole does not squarely confront.²³ It will require a good deal of additional research before a fully fledged, empirically grounded and theoretically informed answer can be advanced as to the existence of a specifically West European perspective on outer space between 1945 and the early 1970s. While contributions to this volume are confident in staking out a new field, they do not claim to offer more than the highlighting of a number of viable paths along which to address the European space history paradox.

III Fictionalizing science, scientizing fiction

To a large extent, the collective imagination of outer space relies on the power of images, both still and filmic. In the last book published before her death, literary theorist and public intellectual Susan Sontag (1933–2004) observed that civilians’ understanding and envisioning of violent conflict is a direct product of photographic images of war. A parallel argument can be seamlessly applied here. It is virtually impossible to experience outer space in a

direct, unmediated manner. So far only 12 men have walked on another celestial body, and while space tourism is becoming increasingly popular, it still remains limited to a handful of affluent aficionados willing to spend a fortune for a few days in low-earth orbit on board the International Space Station (ISS). As a consequence, popular understanding of outer space is chiefly a product of images and representations, and their composition into narratives such as the ones analyzed in this book.²⁴

Making the complex relationship between ‘realities’ and ‘visions,’ between ‘science’ and ‘fiction’ the third focus of this volume is, then, perhaps not entirely original, yet seems an almost unavoidable choice (Figure 1.4). The theme as such is long familiar to all space historians, first employed in 1944 by the German-born science popularizer and space expert Willy Ley (1906–69), taken up by Clarke in a comprehensive paper read to the British Interplanetary Society (BIS) in April 1950, and subsequently expanded and elaborated by numerous other advocates and activists dabbling in amateur historiography.²⁵ The reasons for pursuing such vested interests on the part of protagonists and propagandists alike were as simple as they were straightforward: For a long time the ‘spaceships of the mind’ were the only ones existing. Members of the early spaceflight movement found themselves in dire need of a *longue durée* perspective in order to counter contemporaneous appeals against their allegedly dubious expertise, as well as rebuffing public scrutiny and hostile criticism toward the respectability of this contested, then newly developing field.²⁶ The launch of Sputnik 1 in October 1957 – so the widely accepted standard periodization and oft-repeated master narrative asserts – marked the beginning of the eagerly awaited Space Age, and over the course of the ensuing ‘Space Race’ the ‘visionary’ or ‘pioneering’ era of spaceflight was finally superseded by ‘real’ spaceflight, with the ‘exploration’ and ensuing ‘conquest’ of space being gradually, yet continually advanced. According to proponents of this view, it was during this historic and revolutionary process that ‘science fiction’ became increasingly substituted by ‘science fact,’ sooner or later ceding much of its historical significance to the ‘right stuff.’²⁷

While evidently not questioning the power of fiction, be it scientific or not, the present volume does not partake in these debates about primacy and substitution. Science fiction has never been a ‘blueprint’ for anything, and

Figure 1.4 A fictitious, satirical ‘Map of Mars containing all information so far obtained by Astronomers, Astronauts & other Observers,’ published by the British weekly magazine *Punch* in April 1956, claimed to chart all existing knowledge of the Red Planet’s geography onto the most comprehensive map yet created. Without exception, the five listed authors – Edgar Rice Burroughs, Arthur C. Clarke, Charles Chilton, Ray Bradbury and Herbert George Wells – were British and American science-fiction authors, neither scientists nor engineers. An accompanying article published in the same *Punch* issue explained that Mars, first visited in 1866, had since become the most widely-explored of all planets, and one on which the manufacture of flying-machines was especially well developed.

Source: William Hewison, *Punch* 230 (11 April 1956), 411.



neither has ‘science’ evolved out of purely fictitious systems of thought. To be sure, there are differences between science in fiction, fiction in science and science fiction. Science fiction and science fact do overlap and continually influence each other, yet neither one has ever fully subsumed or eclipsed the other. Assuming a linear development ‘from imagination to reality’ – as the venerable British Interplanetary Society’s motto still reads – leads too easily to a naïve endorsement of the type of teleological master narratives that professional historiographical scholarship must avoid by all means.²⁸

Arguing that ‘science fiction’ and ‘science fact’ are not contradictory but complementary, this book questions whether it is simply their different epistemologies and alternative modes of representation that configure the pivotal difference. If we interpret the science versus fiction problematic not as one narrative successfully replacing the other, but as a simultaneous coexistence with intersecting waves and continuous, mutual repercussions between the two, the core question is no longer one of primacy but about contact points, interrelations and their ‘in-betweens.’ Such an approach allows for encompassing historicization: Which scientific fictions became, at what point in time, predominant and were then realized and/or transformed into actual science? Which others ‘failed’ by remaining ‘merely’ fictitious, though by no means insignificant or ineffectual? And vice versa: what effects did science have on the conceptualization and design of fiction? Many science-fiction authors in the 1930s, for instance, felt it was their duty to write ‘realistic’ science fiction so that it could serve as an inspiration to contemporaneous scientists. Analyzing the conditions and contexts, consequences and crossovers of science and fiction is as significant as examining the multifarious socio-cultural effects these ‘scientific fictions’ had in different historical settings. Contributions in this volume strive to balance both perspectives. Taken together, they constitute a prime example of how cultural history can help to question and effectively overcome long-established standard periodizations that, upon revision, suddenly forfeit much of their conventional logic.

IV Transcending the future

In addition to defining astroculture, introducing a West European perspective and exploring the science/fiction complex, this book pursues two additional objectives.

First, *Imagining Outer Space* argues that changing conceptions of outer space and extraterrestrial civilizations must be read as historical expressions of earthly ideas of the spatialized beyond and past expectations of planetary futures. For approximately three decades, from the aftermath of the Second World War through the mid-1970s, it was widely assumed that the future was destined to play out in outer space. In a few years, experts agreed, gigantic space mirrors, nuclear wonder weapons, manned space bases and numerous other imagined technologies would be positioned in the near-earth orbit, while the permanent colonization of the moon, followed by

Mars, and later the cosmic unknown beyond our solar system was believed to be only a matter of time. This is the same discursive complex for which American literary scholar De Witt Douglas Kilgore has coined the notion of ‘astrofuturism,’ here understood as a specific subcategory forming part of astroculture. The present volume explores the concept’s usefulness by applying it empirically and historically within a defined geographical setting, that is, Western Europe.²⁹ How is the tight connection between outer space imaginaries and future visions to be explained, particularly prominent during the 1950s and 1960s? And does the observation hold that, by the mid-1970s, space was no longer ‘the place,’ that the promises of the Space Age began to lose their popular appeal at precisely the same time when faith in technology as a trustworthy engine of social change was on the wane as well? It is a standard historical argument that, with the global oil crisis of 1973, general expectations about the future underwent correspondingly radical shifts, with the Sex Pistols’s ‘No Future’ (1977) becoming the slogan of the day.³⁰

In addition to such a futuristic, later often explicitly utopian strand, there is, second, a strong transcendental element to be found at work within astroculture at large, directly connecting it to much older debates on the epistemologies of the supernatural and the theological beyond (Figure 1.5). This latter strand is often used to explain man’s continuing and inescapable fascination with outer space, when confronted with the infinite and inconceivable breadth of the abyss. Freud skeptically discussed this phenomenon under the term of *ozeanisches Gefühl* (oceanic feeling), considered by some of his (and our) contemporaries as nothing less than the basis of religion. Likewise, in a *Playboy* interview undertaken four decades later, director Stanley Kubrick went so far as to associate and explain ‘the grandeur of space’ with ‘the myriad mysteries of cosmic intelligence’ to be found therein.³¹

Thus, exploring imaginaries of outer space and conceptions of other worlds eventually leads to analyzing their strong, yet all too often obscured, affiliations with transcendental beliefs and the spiritual beyond. How did changing images of outer space and the entire cosmos impinge on religion?³² Such a diagnosis goes well beyond obvious episodes like Pope Pius XII declaring, at the Seventh International Astronautical Congress in Rome in 1956, that humankind’s efforts to explore the ‘whole of creation,’ that is, the entire universe, were ‘legitimate before God’; astronaut Frank Borman (1928–) reading the Bible aboard Apollo 8 on Christmas Day 1968; Pope Paul VI’s praising the moon landing as an ‘advance for all mankind’; or Pope Benedict XVI’s conversing live with 12 astronauts on board the ISS on 21 May 2011, lauding them as ‘our representatives spearheading humanity’s exploration of new spaces and possibilities for our future, going beyond the limitations of our everyday existence.’³³

In the end, *Imagining Outer Space* argues that the twentieth century’s most radical version of alterity, namely its evolving conceptions of alien life forms, an ‘other’ unlike any before, cannot be analyzed without taking the



Figure 1.5 Future encounter with extraterrestrial intelligences on a distant planet as depicted by German graphic designer Klaus Bürge (1926–2015) in 1965 for a supplement to the popular science journal *Das Neue Universum*. A settlement can be detected in the background, while a reception committee of insect-like creatures is already approaching the space travelers. ‘This much is certain, the vital spark of creation has not only developed on our Earth,’ the original caption read: ‘The globe is not more than just a living space in the vast world building (*Weltgebäude*).’

Source: Courtesy of Klaus Bürge, ‘In fremden Sphären,’ *Das Neue Universum* 82 (1965), unpaginated foldout.

transcendental component of such encounters into account. Historicizing the Space Age, then, promises to shed new light on the modernity of an allegedly secularized century that, for several decades, held fast to the possibility of redemption by translocating its earthly obsessions into the infinite vastness of the universe, with the hope of thereby retrieving cosmic transcendence in the imagined, secularized spatial beyond of the twentieth century.

V Structuring this volume

Tackling a century that shaped and was shaped by outer space to an unprecedented degree, this book analyzes European imaginaries as they formed world narratives and laid out interplanetary futures. Its 15 chapters – in addition to this introduction and a comprehensive epilogue – trace the current thriving interest in spatiality and space to earlier attempts at exploring worlds other

than our own. Contributions do not analyze the actual scientific findings or technological feats, but focus on the cultural significance and imaginative repercussions of outer space and extraterrestrial life. Despite their different disciplinary provenances, they all share a cultural-historical perspective, take an interpretative approach and aim at overcoming space history's self-chosen 'splendid isolation,' with a view to integrating it more closely into mainstream social and cultural historiography.

All authors were asked to address the following three questions, or to seize a combination thereof in their contributions:

1. *Western Europe.* Was there a specifically European perspective on outer space, in particular between 1945 and the mid-1970s? How do we address – and, eventually, explain – the 'European paradox' of comprehensive space enthusiasm concomitant with a decades-long abstinence from manned spaceflight?
2. *Science/fiction.* How has the complex relationship between 'science' and 'fiction' evolved over time, in particular within the European imagination? Does the argument hold that science and fiction must be understood as complementary and relational, not antithetic, even if they are obviously both subject to their own rules, conventions and paces?
3. *The future.* How is the close connection between outer space and visions of the future to be explained, by many long believed to be inevitable and imminent? To what extent is Kilgore's notion of 'astrofuturism' analytically helpful? And is the argument historically correct that by the mid-1970s the idea of a utopia in outer space had lost much of its former compellingness and widespread appeal?

Arranged in a simultaneously thematic and largely chronological order – reaching from the *fin-de-siècle* through the present day, some even daring to speculate further ahead – the contributions give particular emphasis to the three decades between 1945 and the mid-1970s. Bracketing the entire *hausse* of Western cosmic enthusiasm, this period encompasses the so-called 'golden age of space travel' *before* the stationing of Sputnik 1 through the last Apollo landing on the moon in December 1972 and the establishment of the European Space Agency in 1975. Divided into five distinct parts – 'Narrating Outer Space,' 'Projecting Outer Space,' 'Visualizing Outer Space,' 'Encountering Outer Space,' and 'Inscribing Outer Space' – consisting of three chapters each, contributions historicize outer space from an interdisciplinary and transnational perspective. They focus on a wide range of prominent activists, momentous cases, specific sites, pertinent type of media and historical problems of particular significance.

Part I – 'Narrating Outer Space' – comprises a broad overview in Chapter 2 by former NASA chief historian Steven J. Dick on the role of the imagination in the making of outer space; a detailed reading in Chapter 3 by literary scholar Claudia Schmölders of the so-called Tunguska event,

the ominous meteor strike in Siberia in June 1908, and its literary, scientific, metaphysical and pictorial impact; and in Chapter 4 an exploration by philosopher of science Thomas Brandstetter into images of, and debates about, crystalline aliens, that is, inorganic life forms on other planets, in twentieth-century science and fiction.

Part II – ‘Projecting Outer Space’ – encompasses Chapter 5 by political scientist Rainer Eisfeld on the changing human projections on planet Mars since the mid-nineteenth century, distinguishing between an ‘Arcadian,’ an ‘Advanced,’ a ‘Frontier’ and a ‘Cold War’ Mars; Chapter 6, an analysis of a largely unsuccessful 1960s East German print and film campaign against the American rocket engineer of German origin, Wernher von Braun (1912–77) and his controversial Nazi past by historian Michael J. Neufeld; and Chapter 7 on another prototypical space *persona*, the aforementioned British science-fiction author Arthur C. Clarke, and the powerful, yet carefully subdued transcendental strand in his all-embracing space thought by historian of religion Thore Bjørnvig.

Chapters in Part III – ‘Visualizing Outer Space’ – focus on West European conceptions of outer space in different media contexts. Chapter 8 by historian Bernd Mütter compares the space coverage in West German newspapers and science television shows between 1957 and 1987; in Chapter 9 historian Guillaume de Syon studies popular Franco-Belgian comic strips such as Hergé’s well-known *Tintin* albums *Objectif lune* and *On a marché sur la lune* of 1953/54, but also *Buck Danny* and *Dan Cooper*, two comic series with a similar space theme; and in Chapter 10 art historian Henry Keazor submits the popular British television series *Space: 1999*, launched in the mid-1970s after *Star Trek* (1966–69) but before *Star Wars* (1977), to a close reading.

Part IV – ‘Encountering Outer Space’ – focuses on terrestrial contacts with extraterrestrial civilizations. Anthropologist Debhora Battaglia in Chapter 11 juxtaposes an analysis of a US National Research Council project on alien life forms and its hidden investment in century-old colonial projects with a reading of Werner Herzog’s 2005 docu-fantasy film *The Wild Blue Yonder* and the neo-creationist origin myth of Raëlism, a contemporary UFO religion; Chapter 12 by sociologist Pierre Lagrange revisits the way in which sociologists have (mis)represented and (mis)attributed the appearance of so-called flying saucers in the global skies after 1947 to a Cold War context; and in Chapter 13 historian James Miller analyzes postwar UFO sightings in Quarrouble, a small village in northern France, following the subsequent activities and media career of young metalworker Marius Dewilde, prime observer and alleged extraterrestrial contact.

Finally, Part V – ‘Inscribing Outer Space’ – features in Chapter 14 an article by philosopher Gonzalo Munévar on the impossibility of exploring the depths of the universe by infinitely self-reproducing probes, and the consequences that such a technology would have for the search for extraterrestrial life; an analysis in Chapter 15 of the famous NASA Pioneer plaque and its iconic interstellar message by historian of science and technology William

R. Macauley; and Chapter 16 by art historian Tristan Weddigen on the calibration target that noted British artist Damien Hirst created for ESA's Mars lander Beagle 2 in 2002. Finally, Philip Pocock draws this volume to a finale with his wide-ranging epilogue, part commentary, part analysis, by historicizing space art from the perspective of a practicing artist.

Imagining Outer Space looks at Europe in light of its preoccupation with the outer limits of the spatial; analyzes contact points between science and fiction; and critically examines sites and situations where images and technologies contributed to the omnipresence of fantasmatic thought and translocated futures in the popular imagination of the twentieth century. Taken together, the contributions that follow aim to expand contemporary understandings of 'outer space' such that astroculture becomes a new field of modern European historiography.

Notes

1. The National Archives of the UK (TNA), FO 371/140426, IA 19/4, 1. For comments and criticism I would like to thank Debora Battaglia, Steven J. Dick, Till Kössler, William R. Macauley, Bruce Mazlish, Michael J. Neufeld, the two anonymous reviewers and, above all, Anna Kathryn Kendrick.
2. Sigmund Freud, 'Eine Schwierigkeit der Psychoanalyse' [1917], *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 12, Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1999, 3–26, here 7: 'kosmologische Kränkung'; Arthur C. Clarke, 'The Conquest of Space,' *The Fortnightly* 999 (March 1950), 161–7, here 167. The three standard works on the so-called Copernican Revolution remain Alexandre Koyré, *From the Closed World to the Infinite Universe*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1957; Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Copernican Revolution: Planetary Astronomy in the Development of Western Thought*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957; and Hans Blumenberg, *Die Genesis der kopernikanischen Welt*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1981.
3. This countervailing historical development is also the reason for which I insist on using the somewhat old-fashioned term 'outer space' for the infinite, vacuous void beyond the earth's atmosphere, while the notion of 'space' remains reserved for 'spatiality,' when used in a more abstract, geographical sense.
4. The two *loci classici* are Günther Anders, *Der Blick vom Mond: Reflexionen über Weltraumflüge* [1970], 2nd edn, Munich: C.H. Beck, 1994; and Archibald MacLeish, 'A Reflection: Riders on Earth Together, Brothers in Eternal Cold,' *New York Times* (25 December 1968), 1. Space analyst Dwayne A. Day has suggested that the famous *Star Trek* phrase 'to boldly go where no man has gone before' might indeed have been borrowed from an official White House booklet, *Introduction to Outer Space* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office), issued on 26 March 1958. On its first page, the booklet referred to 'the compelling urge of man to explore and to discover, the thrust of curiosity that leads men to try to go where no one has gone before' (my emphasis); see Dwayne A. Day, 'Boldly Going: *Star Trek* and Spaceflight,' *The Space Review* (28 November 2005), <http://www.thespacereview.com/article/506/1> (accessed 1 October 2017).
5. 'Kosmischer Provinzialismus: Immer mehr Menschen halten sich für die einzig denkenden Lebewesen im Weltall,' *Allensbacher Berichte* (1967), 1–4, here 3.

Such a decline was only temporary: By 1976, the number of believers in the existence of extraterrestrial intelligence rose to 38 percent, and by 1985 had climbed back to 40 percent. See ‘Hallo Nachbarn! Im Weltall nicht allein?,’ *Allensbacher Berichte* 24 (1976), 1–7, here 5; ‘Der Kosmos gehört uns nicht allein,’ *ibid.* 26 (1985), 1–8, here 4; and ‘Andere Sterne,’ *Jahrbuch der öffentlichen Meinung* 5 (1968–73), 155.

6. The term ‘Space Age’ is older than the Space Age itself, if conventionally defined, and is not of American, but of British origin. Its first usage can be found on the January 1946 cover of the popular journal *Everybody’s Weekly*, promoting an article by journalist Harry Harper (1880–1930) that explained how the man of the future would ‘penetrate the stratosphere and conquer outer space.’ The term featured also in the title of a book-length study, *The Dawn of the Space Age*, that Harper published later that year. See Harry Harper, ‘The Space Age,’ *Everybody’s Weekly* (19 January 1946), cover and 8–9; and *Dawn of the Space Age*, London: Sampson Low & Co., 1946.
7. Anders, *Der Blick vom Mond*, 11: ‘Unsere heutige Welt und unser heutiges menschliches Dasein [wird] durch die Tatsache der Raumflüge aufs tiefste mitbeeinflusst und mitgeprägt.’ This introduction is not an adequate place to present an overview and discuss all existing scholarship on the history of outer space, spaceflight and extraterrestrial life, but see the comprehensive bibliography at the end of this volume for an attempt at identifying the most relevant titles within this nascent but growing transdisciplinary field of research. The ten most significant core studies would have to include, in chronological order: William Sims Bainbridge, *The Spaceflight Revolution: A Sociological Study*, New York: John Wiley, 1976; Karl S. Guthke, *Der Mythos der Neuzeit: Das Thema der Mehrheit der Welten in der Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte von der kopernikanischen Wende bis zur Science Fiction*, Bern: Francke, 1983; Walter A. McDougall, *...The Heavens and the Earth: A Political History of the Space Age*, New York: Basic Books, 1985; Michael J. Neufeld, *The Rocket and the Reich: Peenemünde and the Coming of the Ballistic Missile Era*, New York: Free Press, 1995; Hans Blumenberg, *Die Vollzähligkeit der Sterne*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1997; Steven J. Dick, *The Biological Universe: The Twentieth Century Extraterrestrial Life Debate and the Limits of Science*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996; Howard E. McCurdy, *Space and the American Imagination*, Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997; Jodi Dean, *Aliens in America: Conspiracy Cultures from Outerspace to Cyberspace*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998; De Witt Douglas Kilgore, *Astrofuturism: Science, Race, and Visions of Utopia in Space*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003; and Steven J. Dick and Roger D. Launius, eds, *Societal Impact of Spaceflight*, Washington, DC: NASA, 2007, in particular the afterword by Martin Collins, ‘Production and Culture Together: Or, Space History and the Problem of Periodization in the Postwar Era,’ in *ibid.*, 615–29. For two thorough and helpful reviews of the existing historiography, see Roger D. Launius, ‘The Historical Dimension of Space Exploration: Reflections and Possibilities,’ *Space Policy* 16.1 (February 2000), 23–38; and Asif A. Siddiqi, ‘American Space History: Legacies, Questions, and Opportunities for Future Research,’ in Steven J. Dick and Roger D. Launius, eds, *Critical Issues in the History of Spaceflight*, Washington, DC: NASA, 2006, 433–80. Unfortunately, neither discusses much non-American literature, nor works in languages other than English.

8. On Cold War culture, for instance, Paul S. Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age*, New York: Pantheon, 1985; Stephen J. Whitfield, *The Culture of the Cold War*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991; and Patrick Major and Rana Mitter, 'Culture,' in Saki R. Dockrill and Geraint Hughes, eds, *Palgrave Advances in Cold War History*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, 240–62. For two comprehensive reviews of much of the recent literature in Cold War history, see Melvyn P. Leffler, 'The Cold War: What Do "We Know Now"?,' *American Historical Review* 104.2 (April 1999), 501–24; and Thomas W. Zeiler, 'The Diplomatic History Bandwagon: A State of the Field,' *Journal of American History* 95.4 (March 2009), 1053–73.
9. McDougall, *...The Heavens and the Earth*, 12; Daniel Bell, 'Technology, Nature and Society: The Vicissitudes of Three World Views and the Confusion of Realms,' in idem, *The Winding Passage: Essays and Sociological Journeys, 1960–1980*, Cambridge, MA: Abt Books, 1980, 3–33. McCurdy, *Space and the American Imagination*, 29, makes the same reference.
10. Michael Wale, 'David Bowie: Rock and Theatre,' *The Times* (24 January 1973), 15. There are repeated references to outer space and extraterrestrial beings in Bowie's comprehensive *oeuvre*, culminating in his portrayal of the space traveller Thomas Jerome Newton in Nicolas Roeg's 1976 film *The Man Who Fell to Earth*; see for instance 'Life on Mars,' *Hunky Dory* (1971); 'Starman,' *The Rise and Fall of Ziggy Stardust and the Spiders from Mars* (1972); 'Loving the Alien,' *Tonight* (1985); and 'Looking for Satellites,' *Earthling* (1997). Bowie's second extraterrestrial *persona* and *alter ego* was the rock superstar Ziggy Stardust, first introduced in 1972. The history of space as a prominent leitmotiv of pop music and the defining element of various subgenres – including 'space rock' (ca. early 1970s, with a brief revival in the early 1990s); Sun Ra's 'afrofuturism' (ca. early to mid-1970s), later taken up by funk musician George Clinton; and 'space disco' (ca. 1977–80) – remains to be written. Bowie's 'Space Oddity' is an early example of the former. For a first, largely inventorial discussion of space, alien- and technofuturistic themes in popular music, see Ken McLeod, 'Space Oddities: Aliens, Futurism and Meaning in Popular Music,' *Popular Music* 22.3 (October 2003), 337–55.
11. See also Steven Dick's discussion in Chapter 2 of this volume. It is, admittedly, unfortunate that 'culture' is in itself such a broad, catch-all term, but there is no better.
12. See *Astropolitics: The International Journal of Space Politics and Policy*, Philadelphia: Taylor & Francis, 2003–. Unfortunately, the journal's editors chose to define their title term very broadly when outlining the scope of *Astropolitics* as 'the role of space in politics, economics, commerce, culture and security.' A few years later, one member of the journal's editorial board, Jim Pass, declared that he had 'set out to develop astrosociology as a new sociological subdiscipline,' yet seems not to have generated much academic resonance, possibly because Pass proclaimed the necessity of such a disciplinary addition prior to undertaking any empirical research to demonstrate its practical fruitfulness. See Everett C. Dolman and John B. Sheldon, 'Editorial,' *Astropolitics* 1.1 (2003), 1–3, here 1; and Jim Pass, 'Astrosociology as the Missing Perspective,' *Astropolitics* 4.1 (2006), 85–99.

13. Donald N. Michael, 'Man-Into-Space: A Tool and Program for Research in the Social Sciences,' *American Psychologist* 12.6 (June 1957), 324–8; John Lear, 'Dr. Mead and the Red Moons,' *New Scientist* 2.52 (14 November 1957), 20; Debbara Battaglia, ed., *E.T. Culture: Anthropology in Outerspaces*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2005. See also Joseph M. Goldsen, *Research on Social Consequences of Space Activities*, Santa Monica: Rand Corporation, 1965; Charles P. Boyle, *Space Among Us: Some Effects of Space Research on Society*, Washington, DC: Aerospace Industries Association of America, 1974; William I. McLaughlin, ed., *The Impact of Space on Culture*, London: British Interplanetary Society, 1993 (= *Journal of the British Interplanetary Society* 46.11); and Alvin Rudoff, *Societies in Space*, New York: Peter Lang, 1996. As early as 1965, MIT historian Bruce Mazlish came to the foresighted conclusion that the space program's philosophical impact, albeit at 'the farthest remove from an intended primary aim,' might ultimately be one of its most significant effects, and that it could be 'treated under the heading of "imagination"'; see Bruce Mazlish, 'Historical Analogy: The Railroad and the Space Program and Their Impact on Society,' in idem, ed., *The Railroad and the Space Program: An Exploration in Historical Analogy*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1965, 1–52, here 41.
14. Debbara Battaglia, 'Insiders' Voices in Outerspaces,' in *E.T. Culture*, 1–37, here 1–2, 6, 19; see also her contribution, Chapter 11 in this volume. The notion of 'pre-Astronautics' refers to supposed extraterrestrial impact on early human civilization, taken up and popularized by the Swiss best-selling author Erich von Däniken (1935–) as the so-called 'ancient astronaut hypothesis.' Among von Däniken's countless publications, with sales exceeding 60 million, see in particular his *Erinnerungen an die Zukunft: Ungelöste Rätsel der Vergangenheit*, Düsseldorf: Econ, 1968; *Chariots of the Gods? Unsolved Mysteries of the Past*, London: Souvenir, 1969.
15. For the foundational document that declared space 'a field of research so enormous and important that it far surpasses anything that can be imagined today,' see the memorandum 'Introduction to the Discussion on Space Research in Europe,' 30 April 1959, by physicist and scientific statesman Edoardo Amaldi (1908–89), Historical Archives of the European Union (HAEU), Florence, Italy, COPERS 0001. John Krige, Arturo Russo and Lorenza Sebesta, *A History of the European Space Agency*, 2 vols, Noordwijk: ESA, 2000, here vol. I, 19–20, 91. See also John Krige, 'Building a Third Space Power: Western European Reactions to Sputnik at the Dawn of the Space Age,' in Roger D. Launius, John M. Logsdon and Robert W. Smith, eds, *Reconsidering Sputnik: Forty Years Since the Soviet Satellite*, Amsterdam: Harwood, 2000, 289–307, here 301–2, 395; and Walter A. McDougall, 'Space-Age Europe: Gaullism, Euro-Gaullism, and the American Dilemma,' *Technology and Culture* 26.1 (January 1985), 179–203.
16. For a contemporaneous debate between a German astronomer and space critic, NASA's Deputy Director for international affairs, a French geophysicist and a German senior civil servant see Rudolf Kühn, Arnold W. Frutkin, Jean Coulomb and Max Mayer, 'Herausforderung "Weltraum" – Europas Antwort,' *Dokumente: Zeitschrift für übernationale Zusammenarbeit* 20.3 (1964), 201–22; and Orio Giarini, *L'Europe et l'espace*, Lausanne: Centre de Recherches Européennes, 1968. In the late 1980s, a joint policy report by five renowned European research institutions proclaimed such space autonomy – defined as the 'capability to reach, to

- operate in and to return from space, and to do so, not on sufferance of friend or foe, but according to its own perception of what is to the common good' – 'Europe's stated goal.' The report also went so far as to declare outer space a 'major area in which Europe can consolidate a common identity and develop its unity.' See Forschungsinstitut der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (Bonn), Institut Français des Relations Internationales (Paris), Istituto Affari Internazionali (Rome), Nederlands Instituut voor Internationale Betrekkingen 'Clingendael' (The Hague) and Royal Institute of International Affairs (London), *Europe's Future in Space: A Joint Policy Report*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1988, 181, 187, 3.
17. The first American in space, Alan Shepard (1923–98), did not orbit the earth during his 15-minute flight on 5 May 1961; see Brian Harvey, *Europe's Space Programme: To Ariane and Beyond*, London: Springer Praxis, 2003, 249–50.
 18. See, for instance, Holger Nehring, 'National Internationalists: British and West German Protests Against Nuclear Weapons, the Politics of Transnational Communications and the Social History of the Cold War, 1957–1964,' *Contemporary European History* 14.4 (2005), 559–82.
 19. Asif A. Siddiqi, 'Competing Technologies, National(ist) Narratives, and Universal Claims: Toward a Global History of Space Exploration,' *Technology and Culture* 51.2 (April 2010), 425–43, esp. 426, 442.
 20. See W.D. Kay, 'NASA and Space History,' *Technology and Culture* 40.1 (January 1999), 120–7, here 120; and, as a valuable research aid, Steven J. Dick, Stephen J. Garber and Jane H. Odom, eds, *Research in NASA History: A Guide to the NASA History Program*, 3rd edn, Washington, DC: NASA, 2009. As an institution, the museum predates its current spectacular Space Age building. Established as 'The National Air Museum' in 1946, the supplement 'and Space' was added in 1966; see Michael J. Neufeld and Alex M. Spencer, eds, *Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum: An Autobiography*, Washington, DC: National Geographic, 2010.
 21. Again, it is impossible to discuss the much more extensive literature on Soviet and East-European history in all desirable detail here. Interested readers should consult such works as Paul R. Josephson, 'Rockets, Reactors, and Soviet Culture,' in Loren R. Graham, ed., *Science and the Soviet Social Order*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990, 168–91; Svetlana Boym, 'Kosmos: Remembrances of the Future,' in Adam Bartos and Svetlana Boym, *Kosmos: A Portrait of the Russian Space Age*, New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2001, 82–99; James T. Andrews, *Science for the Masses: The Bolshevik State, Public Science, and the Popular Imagination in Soviet Russia, 1917–1934*, College Station: A&M University Press, 2003; Matthias Schwartz, *Die Erfindung des Kosmos: Zur sowjetischen Science Fiction und populär-wissenschaftlichen Publizistik vom Sputnikflug bis zum Ende der Tauwetterzeit*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2003; Igor J. Polianski and Matthias Schwartz, eds, *Die Spur des Sputnik: Kulturhistorische Expeditionen ins kosmische Zeitalter*, Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2009; and the publications by Asif A. Siddiqi, esp. *The Red Rockets' Glare: Spaceflight and the Soviet Imagination, 1857–1957*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
 22. Krige, Russo and Sebesta, *A History of the European Space Agency*. These 40 'ESA History Study Reports' are available at <http://www.esa.int/esapub/pi/hsrPI.htm> (accessed 1 October 2017). For a summary of the activities undertaken within

- this project, see Karl-Egon Reuter and Johann Oberlechner, 'The ESA History Project,' *ESA Bulletin* 119 (August 2004), 48–54; also available at www.esa.int/esapub/bulletin/bulletin119/bull119_chap6.pdf (accessed 1 October 2017). Popular volumes, such as *The Impact of Space Activities Upon Society*, ed. International Academy of Astronautics and European Space Agency, Noordwijk: ESA, 2005, do not constitute an exception to this rule. For further reflections on the long overdue Europeanization of space history, see Alexander C.T. Geppert, 'Flights of Fancy: Outer Space and the European Imagination, 1923–1969,' in Dick and Launius, *Societal Impact of Spaceflight*, 585–99.
23. See, for example, the contributions by Claudia Schmölders (Chapter 3), Michael J. Neufeld (Chapter 6) and Pierre Lagrange (Chapter 12) in this volume.
 24. Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2003, 21: 'Creating a perch for a particular conflict in the consciousness of viewers exposed to dramas from everywhere requires the daily diffusion and rediffusion of snippets of footage about the conflict. The understanding of war among people who have not experienced war is now chiefly a product of the impact of these images.' The vast, largely US-oriented literature on the complex interplay between science fact and science fiction within feature film includes Vivian Sobchack, *Screening Space: The American Science Fiction Film*, 2nd edn, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1997; Errol Vieth, *Screening Science: Contexts, Texts, and Science in Fifties Science Fiction Film*, Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2001; J.P. Telotte, *Science Fiction Film*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001; and, most recently, David A. Kirby, *Lab Coats in Hollywood: Science, Scientists, and Cinema*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011.
 25. See, for instance, in chronological order Willy Ley, *Rockets, Missiles, and Space Travel* [1944], 3rd edn, New York: Viking, 1951; Arthur C. Clarke, 'Space-Travel in Fact and Fiction,' *Journal of the British Interplanetary Society* 9.5 (September 1950), 213–30, reprinted in Arthur C. Clarke, *Greetings, Carbon-Based Biped!* *Collected Essays, 1934–1998*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999, 84–98; Eugene M. Emme, ed., *Science Fiction and Space Futures: Past and Present*, San Diego: American Astronautical Society, 1982; and Frederick I. Ordway and Randy Liebermann, eds, *Blueprint for Space: Science Fiction to Science Fact*, Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992. Early critical literary studies include, in chronological order, Christof Junker, *Das Weltraumbild in der deutschen Lyrik von Opitz bis Klopstock*, Berlin: Matthiesen, 1932; Edwin M.J. Kretzmann, 'German Technological Utopias of the Pre-War Period,' *Annals of Science* 3.4 (October 1938), 417–30; Marjorie Hope Nicolson, *A World in the Moon: A Study of the Changing Attitude Toward the Moon in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, Northampton: Smith College, 1935–6; James Osler Bailey, *Pilgrims Through Space and Time: Trends and Patterns in Scientific and Utopian Fiction*, New York: Argus, 1947; Martin Schwonke, *Vom Staatsroman zur Science Fiction: Eine Untersuchung über Geschichte und Funktion der naturwissenschaftlich-technischen Utopie*, Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke, 1957; and Roger Lancelyn Green, *Into Other Worlds: Space-Flight in Fiction, from Lucian to Lewis*, London: Abelard-Schuman, 1958. Two important contemporary works on science-fiction literature and criticism are Adam Roberts, *The History of Science Fiction*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006; and Fredric Jameson, *Archaeologies of the Future: The Desire Called Utopia and Other Science Fictions*, London: Verso, 2005.

26. 'Spaceships of the Mind' was the title of a 1978 BBC TV series produced by Dick Gilling and presented by Nigel Calder; see Nigel Calder, *Spaceships of the Mind*, New York: Viking Press, 1978.
27. Tom Wolfe, *The Right Stuff*, New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1979. For a more detailed analysis, see Alexander C.T. Geppert, 'Space *Personae*: Cosmopolitan Networks of Peripheral Knowledge, 1927–1957,' *Journal of Modern European History* 6.2 (2008), 262–86. That the pendulum could be said to have swung back towards 'fiction' in recent years, caused by 'factual' disillusionments such as the Space Shuttle *Columbia* disaster in February 2003; the limited public appeal of the most expensive civilian project ever undertaken, the International Space Station; or the cancellation of America's Constellation and Space Shuttle programs in February 2010 and July 2011, respectively, might be a noteworthy observation beyond the scope of this essay.
28. As early as 1972, science-fiction author Isaac Asimov (1920–92) raised similar doubts inspired by the Apollo moon landings: '[...] so ist es amüsant festzustellen, daß viele meinen, nachdem die Astronauten auf dem Mond gelandet sind, habe die Wissenschaft die Science-fiction eingeholt. Denn nicht die Science-fiction-Bagatelle der Mondlandung selber ist bedeutungsvoll, sondern die gesellschaftliche Wirkung der Raumfahrt' ('[...] it is amusing to note that many believe, now that the astronauts have landed on the moon, that science should have caught up with science fiction. For it is not the science fiction-bagatelle of the moon landing itself that is momentous, but the societal impact of spaceflight'); see his 'Plädoyer für Science-fiction,' *Der Spiegel* 11 (6 March 1972), 138–9, here 139.
29. Kilgore defines astrofuturism as 'an escape from terrestrial history. Its roots lie in the nineteenth-century Euro-American preoccupation with imperial expansion and utopian speculation, which it recasts in the elsewhere and *elsewhen* of outer space. [...] [I]t is also the space of utopian desire. Astrofuturist speculation on space-based exploration, exploitation, and colonization is capacious enough to contain imperialist, capitalist ambitions and utopian, socialist hopes. [...] While [astrofuturism is] an American phenomenon anchored by the nation's mid-century commitment to the space race, its roots and membership are international'; see *Astrofuturism*, 1, 3. Kilgore does not elaborate on this international perspective. For a helpful review essay, see Joan Gordon, 'Ad Astra Per Aspera,' *Science Fiction Studies* 32.3 (November 2005), 495–502.
30. Standard works on the history of the future include Joseph J. Corn, ed., *Imagining Tomorrow: History, Technology, and the American Future*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1986; Georges Minois, *Histoire de l'avenir: des Prophètes à la prospective*, Paris: Fayard, 1996; and Lucian Hölscher, *Die Entdeckung der Zukunft*, Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1999. In the present context see in particular Brian Horrigan, 'Popular Culture and Visions of the Future in Space, 1901–2000,' in Bruce Sinclair, ed., *New Perspectives on Technology and American Culture*, Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1986, 49–67; and Roger D. Launius, 'Perfect Worlds, Perfect Societies: The Persistent Goal of Utopia in Human Spaceflight,' *Journal of the British Interplanetary Society* 56.5 (September/October 2003), 338–49. There is no European equivalent to the American 1970s pro-space movement and its inherent spaceflight utopianism that Launius analyzes but see the contributions to Alexander C.T. Geppert, ed., *Limiting Outer Space: Astroculture After Apollo*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018 (= *European Astroculture*, vol. 2).

31. Sigmund Freud, 'Das Unbehagen in der Kultur' [1930], *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 14, Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1999, 419–506, here 422 ('ein Gefühl wie von etwas Unbegrenztem, Schrankenlosem, gleichsam "Ozeanischem"') and 430; Eric Nordern, 'Interview with Stanley Kubrick,' *Playboy* 15.9 (September 1968), 85–96, 158, 180–95, here 94. See also William B. Parsons, 'The Oceanic Feeling Revisited,' *Journal of Religion* 78.4 (October 1998), 501–23; and Thore Bjørn-vig's contribution, Chapter 7 of this volume.
32. For initial ventures into the conceptual history of the 'beyond,' see the contributions to Lucian Hölscher, ed., *Das Jenseits: Facetten eines religiösen Begriffs in der Neuzeit*, Göttingen: Wallstein, 2007; and Colleen McDannell and Bernhard Lang, *Heaven: A History*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988.
33. John Hillaby, 'Astronauts Get Blessing of Pope,' *New York Times* (21 September 1956), L; 'Astronautics in Britain,' *Spaceflight* 3 (1967), 234; 'European Interest in Apollo Dwindles,' *New York Times* (10 February 1971), 24; 'Pope Benedict XVI Greets Shuttle, Station Crew,' *NASA Television* (21 May 2011), http://youtu.be/81jAmb_e1pg (accessed 1 October 2017); *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (23 May 2011), 9.