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ROUNDTABLE

Multidirectional Memory? National Holocaust Memorials and (Post-)Colonial Legacies

Tom Lawson (Northumbria), Yasmin Khan (Oxford), and Avril Alba (Sydney), edited by Stefanie Rauch (UCL)

(How) do British colonial history, the Second World War, and the Holocaust intersect in history and memory? As the UK embarks on the creation of a National Holocaust Memorial and Learning Centre, whose precise shape and content are still in flux at present, there have been calls to establish a memorial to and a museum of Britain's historical involvement in slavery, its colonial past, and their legacies. Meanwhile, Michael Rothberg has argued that Holocaust remembrance has the 'multidirectional' potential to open up routes for commemorating other contested national pasts.¹

This roundtable continues a conversation that started as a podium discussion co-organized by the UCL Institute of Advanced Studies and the German Historical Institute London as part of the GHIL's Contested Histories seminar series. Its aim is to foster dialogue between scholars of the Holocaust, the Second World War, colonialism, and the British Empire to consider national and transnational histories and their legacies. Organized as an exchange, the roundtable will begin with Tom Lawson, Yasmin Khan, and Avril Alba addressing intersections between colonial history, the Second World War, and the Holocaust, and the extent to which the engagement with these contested pasts constitutes 'multidirectional memory' in Britain and Australia, before responding to one another and widening the debate.

The event on which this roundtable was based, 'Multidirectional Memory? National Holocaust Memorials and (Post-)Colonial Legacies', co-organized by the UCL Institute of Advanced Studies and the German Historical Institute London, was held on 11 June 2019 at UCL Institute of Advanced Studies. A podcast is available at <ghil.ac.uk/podcast.html>.

¹ Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization* (Stanford, Calif., 2009).

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Lawson problematizes the role that Holocaust memorialization plays in Britain today, and the lack of critical engagement with the country's imperial and colonial pasts. He highlights the similarities—and differences—between Nazi antisemitism and colonial racisms, between different, often lethal, imperial regimes of food policies towards colonized people, and between the structures of the British and Nazi empires. Lawson further questions Holocaust Studies as a discipline more generally, and, in particular, the field's uniqueness and archetype paradigms, both of which assign lesser importance to other atrocities before or since. He concludes that in Britain's public sphere, greater Holocaust awareness has not corresponded with a greater understanding of Britain's colonial and slavery pasts. This phenomenon is not, of course, limited to Britain. Other European countries with a colonial past, including Germany, have been slow to reckon with the atrocities committed in former colonies, rarely connecting them to, for instance, the 'race science' which underpinned them, and which would link them to Nazi racial policies. Rather, Germany's focus on the Second World War and the Holocaust tends to eclipse an engagement with its colonial history.

Khan highlights historical intersections, such as Britain's fight against Nazism and for global freedom while trying to maintain its place as an imperial power, or the colonial resources—human and material—without which Britain's war effort would likely have failed, but which were written out of official history after the end of the war. Instead, a narrative around 'standing alone' has deeply entrenched itself, while the colonial past is viewed through a celebratory or nostalgic lens. Analysing Churchill's role, and that of British rule more generally, in the Bengal famine, Khan insists on historical specificity rather than simplified equivalence of imperial crimes and Nazi violence, highlighting a lack of genocidal intent on the side of the British, and the complex nature of the British empire. The histories and legacies of European imperialism and racism, among which the Nazi state is but their most extreme form, are yet to be fully confronted. While memorialization would benefit from looking beyond the frame of the nation-state, this is rarely the case. More recently, important work has begun to address some of these issues, such as the UCL Legacies of British Slave-ownership project and local and regional initiatives. To this we can add a string of exhibitions, such as 'The Past is Now' at Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery in

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2017–18, and increasingly vocal calls for the ‘decolonizing’ of museums and their collections. Other material connections, which link and illuminate the transnational histories of slavery and the Holocaust, include a former British plantation site in Kingston (Jamaica) in the West Indies, which later served as a refuge for Sephardic Jews.

Taking the complex case of Australia, Alba demonstrates how the culturally sensitive approach of the Sydney Jewish Museum’s ‘Holocaust’ and ‘Holocaust and Human Rights’ exhibitions, in which she was involved as project director and consulting curator, became a conduit for engaging with the country’s colonial past. Generational change compelled a new approach to Holocaust commemoration in Australia, shifting from a focus on survivors’ experience to making explicit historical connections to other instances of mass violence, including against Indigenous Australians. Alba further charts a productive route to engage with Indigenous perspectives on fraught questions around forgiveness and reconciliation, and the repatriation of human remains. She maintains the necessity to balance present needs and the imperative to remember with doing ‘good history’, and argues for the potential of commemorative practices to unsettle us and shift our thinking. The provenance of human remains and objects held at European museums raises difficult issues of ownership, responsibility, and restitution. Recent efforts to identify and return objects looted during Germany’s colonial and Nazi eras even point to complex connections between the two, where an object looted under Nazism might have previously been plundered from a German colony.

As these debates and conversations are moving from the margins into the mainstream, this roundtable engages with the developments within and outside of academia, and the role museums and memorials play in either preserving or pushing mnemonic boundaries. Diagnosing the political (mis)uses of the past, Lawson, Khan, and Alba argue for more history: exploring specificity and inviting critical reflection through comparisons, writing complex histories, and practising transparency about our positioning. Their debate speaks to three interrelated themes: first, the historical, transnational intersections of Second World War and Holocaust with the history of the British Empire. Second, academic debates around the place of the Nazi empire as dislocated from or part of a long history of European colonial and imperial expansion and conquest; in other words, ques-

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tions as to the purpose and limits of historical comparisons. Third, the complex, manifold, and contested ways in which the two former issues find public use and expression – or, indeed, omission – in the present.

* * *

Tom Lawson: I have been asked to confront a number of questions that help us reflect on the relationship between Holocaust memories and memorialization and colonial legacies. I have done that very much from my own position as a Holocaust scholar who has become interested in other genocidal pasts, especially in colonial Australia.

First, I was asked to think about how colonial history and histories of violence in the Second World War interact, both in scholarly terms and in terms of wider public engagement. The answer to the second half of that question is easier, in that in terms of wider public engagement in the UK at least they simply don't. I have first-hand experience of this, in that my suggestion that the proposed UK Holocaust Memorial needed to be at least cognizant of Britain's imperial history as an exporter of genocide (arguably within the British Isles, in Ireland, North America, South Africa, and Australia) was met with incredulity by the Prime Minister's Holocaust Commission in 2015. The proposal for the memorial to be built next to the UK Houses of Parliament will not consider in any way the violence of Britain's imperial history. The irony of a memorial to the victims of German imperialism built next to Britain's imperial Parliament should not be lost on anyone.

That, of course, there exists no memorial in Britain to the victims of British imperialism suggests something potentially problematic about the role that Holocaust memorialization plays in British national life. The new Holocaust Memorial, Holocaust Memorial Day, and other initiatives to remember the victims of the Nazis are supposed to say something positive about the British present – we are told that they help articulate our values as a nation, about our morality and especially our attitudes to race and racism. But they do not lead to critical investigation of the British past. First, they don't lead to our critical investigation of the Holocaust past, in that there is not much reflection within the context of Holocaust memorialization on the

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parlous record of British refugee policy during the Second World War and immediately before. We are, to put it bluntly, happy to remember the children saved by the *Kindertransport* without asking too many questions about the fate of their parents who could not access a visa. Happily, that also means that Holocaust memorialization does not force us to ask too critical a set of questions about our present either, and an increasingly parsimonious and problematic attitude to matters of migration and refuge.

Importantly, however, such a focus on Holocaust memorialization also might not force us to ask critical questions of our imperial and colonial pasts. The prominent place of the Holocaust in our national life (the only mandated historical subject on the national curriculum, a prominent memorial day, the construction of a publicly funded memorial) could be seen as establishing an agreed standard of historical atrocity. To put it colloquially, we can all agree that the Holocaust was a bad thing, and as such we can also therefore agree that other historical acts of dispossession and destruction are not, as it were, as bad as that.

Of course, in more scholarly terms the relationship between Nazi violence and colonialism is contested too. In some senses it is the longest-standing debate in Holocaust Studies, namely, asking what context we wish to see the Holocaust in? Do we simply understand it in the context of German history, in the history of anti-Jewish thought, or do we attempt to locate it in the wider tendency towards violence both on the Continent of Europe and in European expansion? Some scholars would, of course, deny the validity of any wider context, because they would argue, as Dan Michman does, that to do so is to undermine or to deny the essential anti-Jewishness of the Holocaust.² From my own perspective, History is not a zero-sum game and events can be understood in multiple contexts. Nazi antisemitism itself might be understood along with colonial racisms, in that it shares some of the characteristics of the way in which colonized peoples were understood. Colonized peoples in Australia, for example, were understood as barely human, savage, and as in some way barriers to human advancement. The genocidal ideology that saw the need to clear the

² Dan Michman, 'The Jewish Dimension of the Holocaust in Dire Straits? Current Challenges of Interpretation and Scope', in Norman J. W. Goda (ed.), *Jewish Histories of the Holocaust* (New York, 2014), 17–39.

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Indigenous population out of the way of colonial development (it was Anthony Trollope who wrote: 'of the Australian black man we may certainly say that he has to go'³) is clearly comparable with some forms of Nazi antisemitism. At the same time, of course, obsessions about Jewish power meant that in some form the Nazis saw themselves as the victims of Jewish colonialism, in a clear distinction between the Holocaust and colonial violence.

But, of course, genocide is not just a matter of ideology; it is a matter of deliberate and violent transformation at the level of policy. Again this allows for points of comparison between colonial development and its victims and Nazi efforts to transform Eastern Europe economically—links which senior Nazis themselves were able to identify.

There is also, it seems to me, and as I have written elsewhere,⁴ something almost colonial about Holocaust Studies too. It is possible to see the development of Holocaust scholarship as a colonial story. To put it crudely, in the first instance claims such as that the Holocaust was unique were made by victim communities which felt themselves somehow written out of history. Accounts of the Second World War that buried Nazi anti-Jewish violence within general arguments and failed to acknowledge the specificity of the Nazi anti-Jewish project led to a cry of despair that what had happened to the Jews was different, was somehow unique. In that context such ideas were essentially subaltern. But that is not the context that we are operating in now. The Holocaust is not written out of, but is front and centre in, understandings of the Second World War. At this point then, the claim of uniqueness, when it is made, is a claim of the powerful and not the powerless. What is more, it can become (as I have already said) a reason not to acknowledge the suffering of others. In other words, in a Holocaust conscious world, to argue that the Holocaust is all important might prevent other atrocities being seen as important too.

This rather leads me to the second question I was asked: is the idea of multi-directional memory useful? My answer would be that Michael Rothberg's thesis is a tantalizing manifesto for how memory

³ Anthony Trollope, *Australia and New Zealand* (1873; London, 2005), vol. i.

⁴ Tom Lawson, 'Coming to Terms with the Past: Reading and Writing Colonial Genocide in the Shadow of the Holocaust', *Holocaust Studies: A Journal of Culture and History*, 20/1 (2014), 129–56.

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might work, but it is not, in my experience, an account of how in some contexts it does work (as what I have already written suggests). And again I will use my own particular perspective to illustrate that. First, the idea that understanding the Holocaust might help us to understand other acts of atrocity might be seen as valorizing the genocide of the Jews and establishing it as the archetype that revealed other events. This is morally problematic, but is hardly the case in practice, and, indeed, ignores that other violent events have themselves at times impacted on our understanding of the Holocaust. It can hardly be a coincidence, for example, that Holocaust historiography became much more interested in the motivation of perpetrators, particularly in face-to-face killing, in the 1990s. After all, this was the decade in which events in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia seared a very different understanding of genocide into western consciousness. But, of course, Rothberg's thesis is not about scholarship but about public memory. And here we are led back to where we started. Has the increasing focus on the Holocaust in British consciousness led to a greater degree of awareness or understanding of other violent aspects of the British past? For that would be multi-directional memory in action. In my own experience this is not the case. Take, for example, my effort to do just that and understand more about genocide in the British past as a result of my interest in the Holocaust. As one reviewer said of my resulting book, *The Last Man: a British Genocide in Tasmania*, 'the purpose of colonialism was not atrocious and many of the colonies witnessed nothing at all that could remotely be described as genocidal'.⁵ In other words, there is nothing to see here. And it is a Holocaust Memorial that will be built next to Parliament, not a memorial to the victims of British imperialism. So Brexit Britain will have a Holocaust Memorial while its politicians speak apparently without irony of Empire 2.0.

* * *

Yasmin Khan: 'However unjustly England might be organized it was not at any rate torn by class warfare or haunted by secret police. The

⁵ Tom Lawson, *The Last Man: A British Genocide in Tasmania* (London, 2014), reviewed by Bernard Porter, 'How bad are we', *London Review of Books*, 31 July 2014, 36-7.

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Empire was peaceful as no area of comparable size has ever been. Throughout its vast extent, nearly a quarter of the earth, there were fewer armed forces than would be found necessary by a minor Balkan state.⁶

George Orwell wrote this in 1941 in *England, Your England*. He must have known it was bunkum even as he wrote it. It is a curious statement for its use of the past tense, as if the empire was already something of the past. But the Indian Army in 1941 was one of the largest standing armies in world history. Orwell, born in Bihar in India and having served in the imperial police in Burma, knew far more about colonial oppressions than he was letting on. He was writing at a crucial moment in the Second World War, when Britain faced aerial bombardment by Nazi planes; it was a time when statist propaganda took precedence. All sorts of ideological contortions and outright lies were employed to reconcile the problem of anti-fascism and imperialism in the 1940s. The paradox was that Britain was supposedly fighting the Second World War for global freedoms, while also (and especially in Africa and the Far East) fighting to retain and restore imperial possessions, based on radical inequalities. How could this circle be squared?

The whole Second World War operation drew on colonial resources and armies staffed by men and women, digging coal, running factories, from Africa to the Caribbean and South East Asia. Allied armies were multi-national and drew on global resources. But there was after 1945 a post-war amnesia about this, or an 'asphasia' (as Ann Laura Stoler has described relationships to colonial memory), an impairment of speech, an inability to find the words to talk about something.⁷ Or as Bill Schwarz has expressed it, the re-racialization of whiteness occurred after 1945, as English identities retracted to form around white, islander identities. Today, in the context of Second World War memory, this means the establishment of the myth of 'standing alone' in the 1940s, and the insistence on a British narrative of island heroism against Nazi Europe.⁸ This mythology is

⁶ George Orwell, *England Your England* (1941; Penguin edn. London, 2017), 32.

⁷ The phrase is used throughout Stoler's recent work, see e.g. Ann Laura Stoler, *Duress: Imperial Durabilities in our Times* (Durham, NC, 2016).

⁸ Bill Schwarz, *The White Man's World*, vol. i of *Memories of Empire* (Oxford, 2011).

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the animating spirit of English nationalism, and underpins its newer, anti-European forms to the present day, tropes which return again and again to 'the Dunkirk spirit'. Concurrently, there persists in Britain a deeply uncritical and celebratory feeling about empire, tinged with nostalgia and a sense—ultimately—of a moral, civilizing mission, which is much unchanged since the nineteenth century. A YouGov Poll in 2016 found 44 per cent of British people believe that the empire is something to be proud of. The British past is depicted, in this narrative, as a continuous line, unbroken by modern revolution or fascism, Whiggishly moving towards universal freedoms. There has been a de-linking in the British collective memory of imperialism and anti-fascism.

One case that proves particularly touchy in this respect, then, is the Bengal famine. In 1943 approximately three million people died in Bengal on the British watch as a result of a mixture of crop failure, cyclone, and rampant wartime inflation. This was all exacerbated by directing food to troops stationed on the borders of Burma rather than towards civilians. There was a complete lack of wartime rationing in India. Churchill, furious at Bengali resistance to the war effort during the Quit India movement of the previous year, was in a punitive frame of mind. He described Indian people as breeding like rabbits in a racialized letter, just one of many in which he also decided against sending aid or food relief. Over a number of months Churchill blocked food aid, as Madhusree Mukerjee has shown in devastating detail.⁹ Viceroy Wavell's letters pleading for relief (and his threats of resignation in the face of Churchill's intransigence) are easily available to see. It is an egregious and obvious example of the crimes of empire.

The temptation is strong to invert old narratives and make moral equivalences here. Churchill as villain rather than hero, imperial crimes on a par with the Nazis. To echo the simplifications of conservative champions of Churchill, to counter one set of myths with another. This is, indeed, one way in which such historical moments can be leveraged in public debate, as staking a claim to educational and public spaces. As a corrective to the past. It is ever more tempting when politicians such as Jacob Rees-Mogg and Boris Johnson are

⁹ Madhusree Mukerjee, *Churchill's Secret War: The British Empire and the Ravaging of India during World War II* (New York, 2010).

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hastily knocking out their own trade books, pushing their own skewed narratives of the British past. And yet, there are important things to note: Churchill never deliberately planned an extermination of the Bengali people, the most major crime was the failure of relief, the inexcusable failure to send food aid when it was available.

The British empire and the Nazi state are *not* directly comparable as blocs. In the most basic way, the empire was not one thing or one state. It was a way of organizing territory and peoples, it lasted over 350 years, and dominated a quarter of the world's population. The British empire was far less coherent than the Nazi state and more deeply varied across places and times: race operated differently in Africa than in Asia, moments of atrocity stood on a spectrum from the massive crimes of disease and destruction wrought by settler colonialism in Australasia and the Americas, and the impact of slavery, to more routinized, daily inequalities of racial oppression and casual oppression. The British empire was less intentional, less systematized, and less orchestrated by a set of identifiable actors. We have to remain careful with our terms and definitions, most especially with the terms Holocaust and Genocide. At this political moment in particular, I believe that we historians should be careful and responsible with our use of language, and with our use of generalization.

Nonetheless, as Hannah Arendt recognized long ago, the imperial impulse was a modern European phenomenon, and rooted in western development of racial scientific thought, social Darwinism, and militarism. The Nazi state was the fullest and most extreme example of modern European expansionism and racism. But these are histories which all of us in Europe still need to reckon with – and that includes Britain.

* * *

Avril Alba: My work as a scholar and curator in Holocaust studies has been increasingly influenced by the Australian context within which it has been undertaken. Australian Holocaust museums have a somewhat unique history as private museums that were funded, developed, and, at first, largely run by survivors. The context and content of these spaces were thus (in the words of the Sydney Jewish Museum's first curator, Sylvia Rosenblum) 'personal, private and

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Jewish',¹⁰ and focused on telling the survivors' stories against the backdrop of a historical exhibition. Given Australia's considerable survivor population, such an approach was possible in the early 1990s and nearly every visitor, general and student, would hear from a survivor as part of their tour.

While deeply personal and powerful, the focus on survivor experience in the first decade or so of the museum's existence meant that historical and empathetic connections with 'other histories' of mass violence were limited, or left up to the visitor to infer. Many of the museum's survivor volunteers either did not feel that their experience connected with other histories of genocide, or simply did not see this as part of their mandate, or within their capabilities to explore. For some, there was reluctance or even outright refusal to see connections between their experience and those of other genocide survivors, including Indigenous Australians. In this regard, Australian survivors were neither unusual nor alone in relation to the broader Australian population, who, mired in the so-called 'History Wars' of the 1990s and early 2000s, were still debating whether Australia's colonial history could rightly be labelled 'genocidal'.

In 2012 the Sydney Jewish Museum began the process of re-developing its permanent Holocaust exhibition and exploring the possibility of an additional Holocaust and human rights exhibition. As project director/consulting curator for this project, I was keenly aware that through our work we were also enacting a process of intergenerational change. While survivors were consulted as part of the development process, the curatorial teams for each exhibition were comprised of descendants, non-descendants, Jews, and non-Jews, all of whom had professional experience across a broad range of historical, museological, curatorial, and design disciplines.

With intergenerational change came the recognition that the Holocaust could serve as a powerful conduit to other experiences and stories in the Australian context. While the decision and process to actualize this connection was not uncontested, nor completely realized and resolved, it has, to some extent, borne 'multidirectional' fruit.

¹⁰ Sylvia Rosenblum, 'Are Museums the Best Place for the Memorialisation of the Holocaust?', *International Network on Holocaust and Genocide*, 11 (1996), 16-18, at 17.

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The curatorial decision to explore and make explicit in the exhibition intersections between Australia's colonial history and the Holocaust was undertaken where a direct connection could be made either historically or thematically. For example, by exploring Austrian SS Leader Ernst Kaltenbrunner's little-known plan to solve the 'Jewish Question' by sending European Jewry to live with the 'Austral Niggers',¹¹ and sending Australia's Aryan population back to Europe, we were able to demonstrate how deeply racial thinking permeated the Nazi world view, and how closely Jews and Indigenous peoples were related within this racial thinking. This historical connection then provided a basis for thinking about race science in the Australian context more broadly, and while differences were duly noted with regard to the harnessing of these ideologies in the German and Australian contexts, making this link explicit produced a powerful context for self-reflection on the Australian, as well as European, past.

Engaging memory in the converse direction, by bringing the commemoration of the Holocaust and other forms of genocidal violence to bear on emerging forms of Indigenous memorialization in Australia, has also proven generative. The visual arts workshop, Representation, Remembrance and the Memorial,¹² staged in Melbourne in June 2018 and led by the Wiradjuri-Celtic artist, Brook Andrew, took as its focus the question of how best to memorialize the frontier wars in Australia. The workshop was conceived and implemented in an explicitly comparative and international perspective, bringing Australian Indigenous experience into dialogue with international developments with invited guest scholars and curators from a variety of countries dealing with colonial and genocidal pasts including Cambodia, North America, South Africa, New Zealand, and the Scottish Isles.

As participants conveyed the particularities of each instance of mass violence, questions relevant to all case studies emerged. Discussion of these questions did not, however, always bring consensus. For example, whether forgiveness was possible in the context of genocide became a question about which the group could not

¹¹ Kaltenbrunner proposal to Himmler, Germany, 20 Apr. 1938, (replica) courtesy Bundesarchiv Berlin, BDC collection.

¹² Representation, Remembrance and the Memorial (RRM) <<http://www.rrm.memorial/introduction>>, accessed 6 Mar. 2020.

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come to agreement. Rather, it provoked ongoing discussion as to its role and effectiveness. Was forgiveness an essential part of the healing and reconciliation process? Who could legitimately offer, and who could grant, forgiveness? Did forgiveness entail an acknowledgement of guilt, and if so, how was that guilt to be accounted for and redressed? Could memorials become conduits for facilitating the dual processes of forgiveness and reconciliation? Or do they serve to obscure or 'screen' the difficult work that forgiveness entails from both perpetrator and victim groups?

Understanding the specifics of each group's cultural practice was therefore a common theme throughout the symposium. Differences were welcomed and much was learnt from contrast as well as confluence. Despite, or perhaps in some ways because of disagreement, the most consistent factor in the discussions might be described as 'solidarity'. A solidarity not based on a dogmatic sense of allegiance, but one which emerges rather from a deep and shared understanding of the complexity of the commemorative process, and a commitment to its ultimate value, despite its proximate difficulties.

One of the most poignant topics that was discussed in several sessions was the repatriation of human remains, particularly those of Indigenous Australians whose remains are held in a variety of museum collections worldwide. There is no agreement among Indigenous groups in Australia as to how these remains should be cared for once back in Australia, but there is certainly a strong desire for their return. One idea is the creation of a National Resting Place in Canberra, in which remains would be cared for by Indigenous communities until they were able to be identified and returned to their Country (clan group area). The question of how to identify and bury those who were subject to this particular form of violence cannot be answered definitively – each case will present different challenges. Yet surely the initiatives that other persecuted groups have brought to bear to afford victims in death the dignity that was denied them in life, hold resonance despite these differences? For those involved in the difficult work of researching, commemorating, and displaying difficult pasts, it is when we are confronted most starkly with examples such as the need for a National Resting Place that we can harness the power of multidirectional memory. For while our histories contain their differences, our work also displays a fundamental similarity – the desire and necessity to remember the victims and restore to

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them their dignity. Surely this is work we can, and must, undertake together.

* * *

Tom Lawson: First, may I thank my colleagues Avril Alba and Yasmin Khan for their beautifully written and thought-provoking responses to the questions we were asked. There are a number of points of overlap with my own thinking, and both have made me think further about the relationship between our efforts to remember the Holocaust and our imperial past, and about how we can (and cannot) think both through together.

Yasmin Khan is absolutely right to point to our responsibility to use precise language and not just to exchange one set of myth-making for another in our efforts to complicate some of the simplicities of public memory. So Churchill was neither absolute hero nor villain, but a nuanced and complex politician with a complex legacy. And the Nazi state and the British Empire were certainly not equivalent. But that does not mean they were not comparable. We must remember, too, that the Nazi empire was, like Britain's empire, no monolith. It also encompassed a number of differently administered territories, with a complex and dynamic relationship between the centre and periphery. Not all imperial violence was directed from London, and nor was all Nazi violence directed from Berlin. Some of the most radical policies against Jews were developed at the periphery in the context of vague policy instructions from Berlin and centrally imposed problems in a way that was reminiscent of other European empires. At the same time, trains did run from around Nazi Europe to Auschwitz in a way that is not comparable to any form of violence in the British Empire (although the relationship between technology and violence surely is).

Similarly, we must not caricature Nazi violence to set it absolutely apart from other forms of imperial subjugation. The example of famine is instructive here in that the forced confiscation of food, and associated famine deaths, was a hallmark of German imperialism in the Nazi era, just as British policies were exacerbating the Bengal famine. German hunger policy had manifold links with the evolution of genocidal anti-Jewish policy too, for example, in the ghettoization

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of Jewish populations in Eastern Europe. Indeed, the question of how to feed Jewish populations led in some cases directly to planning for genocide, with the desire not to 'waste' food on so-called 'useless eaters'. Again, the Nazi state may have been the most extreme example of European imperial food policies but it is not, I think, in a category all of its own. To ask the question how European imperial regimes managed the food supply in a way that contributed to famine for Indigenous populations would involve writing about the British and Nazi empires.

Yasmin Khan also points to the extraordinary distance between the simplicities of British memories of war and the complex reality of this history. That Britain stood very well alone against the Nazi state is literally, it would appear now, the officially sanctioned narrative of the British past. I learned from Twitter this week, for example, that the Life in the UK test for applicants for British citizenship contains the following question: 'Is the statement below true or false: Britain and the Empire stood almost alone against Nazi Germany until the invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941.' Incredibly the correct answer is 'true'. Now one might argue that the inclusion of the Empire in this is at least something, in that it acknowledges the contribution to this conflict made by subjugated peoples. But in the main this is a bewilderingly simplistic reading of a complex history that rather writes out, for example, the experience of the civilian populations that actually bore the brunt of Nazi violence. Not to mention the degree to which it writes out of the narrative any of the complex moral compromises that the British government made during that conflict, not least to its many refugees.

And yet, as Avril Alba reminds us, the representation of the past in the public sphere is a complex matter. That question in the Life in the UK test is probably the result of many compromises and efforts to satisfy various institutional agendas. We historians and critics often, I think, read the output of those representations without thinking about the complexity behind them. Take the example that Avril Alba uses of the Sydney Jewish museum – the visitor there might know little of the community that museum serves and, as such, the constituency that has a stake in the narrative that it puts forward. The visitor will not know the complex compromise in the story that museum has to tell, to provide a narrative that is both meaningful to the survivor community that supports it and meaningful in a wider Australian con-

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text—including the suffering of Indigenous populations. That the museum is able to confront its visitors with a complex contextualization of the Holocaust within the wider history of human rights abuses is a testament to the skilful work of the team behind the exhibition, and, as Avril Alba writes, the careful selection of historical evidence that allows these complex and overlapping pasts to be explored.

What I think is important about the Sydney Jewish Museum and other museums, such as the Cape Town Holocaust and Genocide Centre, is that they remind us that the question of where we are standing when we try and remember the Holocaust is important. I experienced this very personally myself when I first visited the Sydney Jewish Museum and was struck by the declaration to the former Indigenous owners of the land and the different responsibilities and complexities of thinking through the Holocaust in a place that was the site of another form of dispossession and dislocation. It is equally the case in South Africa that the apartheid regime means one is forced to think through the Holocaust along with (and potentially through the lens of) another form of racial violence. This does not mean that either the dispossession of Indigenous Australians or the racial politics of South Africa are equivalent to the Nazi genocide of the Jews. It just means that where we are standing has an impact on how we see the past, or, indeed, on the bits of the past that we can see or look for.

I think one of the striking things about the UK, however, is that we never seem to be able to consider ourselves as an exporter of violence, and to consider how that impacts or should impact on how we think through the past, including with the Holocaust. It is clear that we live in a world that is conscious that the Holocaust represents the very worst of what humans and the societies they build are capable of. When we think about the Holocaust in Britain it might serve us well to consider how the societies and institutions that we have built have also been involved in historic injustice and violence from the slave trade to imperial genocide. That would be to follow the multi-directional path that Avril Alba talks about. And yet we do not. As Yasmin Khan outlines, we view the past through the prism of 'very well alone', and the Holocaust past can be used to further embed that narrative. It is the job of historians to continue to advocate for more complexity, for more History.

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Avril Alba: I am not a scholar of British imperialism, the history and practice of which form central concerns in both of my colleagues' pieces. Yet both of their reflections on imperial and Holocaust history, their similarities and differences, provided me with much food for thought in my own work as a scholar primarily concerned with Holocaust memory and a practitioner in related, commemorative initiatives.

Both pieces point to fundamental questions in the practice of history, and in particular Holocaust and colonial history. First, how and to what end do we undertake comparative historical work? What do we seek to illuminate in so doing, and how do we do so while remaining 'true', so to speak, to historical specificity? Second, how are these histories then leveraged in public space, that is, what is the 'work' that they do in the present?

The two enterprises are, of course, inextricably linked. There is no compelling account of the past that does not, in some way, give us pause in and for the present. Yet it is a mistake to assume that in making these links we do so through a consideration of the history alone. Commemoration has as much to do with the needs of the current moment as it does with our understanding of the past. But does this recognition of the centrality of the present in our desire to remember mean that doing 'good history', in the end, simply does not matter?

To attempt to think through these issues while in the throes of a 'post truth' era adds further layers of complexity. Rather than acting as some kind of 'quick fix' to the dilemmas of the present—if we had only known *that* we wouldn't have done *this*—'good history' reveals to us just how complex and contradictory human behaviours, circumstances, and responses were and are. History's radical promise is to teach us that others *have* thought and acted differently, and that understanding (not excusing) these actions is a multilayered and iterative task that requires both rigour and doubt. Rigour with regard to our approaches and doubt as to our ability to reach a conclusive understanding. Indeed, rather than affirming our existing prejudices, the practice of history can and should disarm us.

So, too, when we engage in the work of commemoration, a similar level of rigour should be harnessed. Commemoration can and

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does provide relief but should also provoke reflection; ideally, it should shake rather than confirm our convictions. The questions the preceding pieces ask, therefore, are *can and do* the links and/or comparisons between Holocaust and British imperial history generate and provide space for such sustained critical reflection?

It seems evident to me that while they can and have done so, it is not inevitable that they will. In a political environment where the past is increasingly harnessed for sectarian and largely self-congratulatory visions of the present, critical reflection can become collateral damage. Hence, the questions of whether we can think through and between these histories is deeply informed by the context within which we undertake this work. A recognition of historical context and, just as importantly, of our own 'historical moment' is essential.

But these are ideas in the abstract. What do they mean in actuality? To take but one example: Yasmin Khan makes the astute observation that 'There has been a de-linking in the British collective memory of imperialism and anti-fascism.' An attempt to understand the forces that have led to this separation of historical memories should compel us to ask why? Is it, as Tom Lawson suggests, a desire to whitewash the violence of Empire, to domesticate it within a paradigm in which the 'unique' genocide of European Jewry remains the only legitimate, and therefore non-replicable, yardstick of genocidal violence? The inevitable conclusion of such explanations is that the fight against fascism was a fight against genocide, but de-colonization was, at best, a fight against foreign oppression and occupation. In such a paradigm, colonialism was not, *per se*, genocidal. If Lawson is correct in his explanation (and even if not), critical reflection on such 'de-linking' tells us a great deal about the shape and 'work' of Holocaust memory in the present.

Indeed, to my mind, it is precisely in recognizing contingencies such as these that the work of history and the work of commemoration are at their most instructive. For if the connections between histories of violence are used to occlude rather than illuminate, to obfuscate rather than reveal, we are one step further away from understanding, challenging, and, perhaps, ultimately changing, the work that is done by these pasts in the present.

Yet is it possible to recognize contingencies while maintaining historical rigour? In challenging these memory cultures, is there not a danger that we are simply replacing one set of political commitments

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with another, more palatable to our own? Khan correctly and importantly notes: 'The British empire and the Nazi state are not directly comparable as blocs.' Lawson further reminds us that 'History is not a zero-sum game and events can be understood in multiple contexts.' So what do such varying observations ask of us as producers and consumers of history, and as active participants in commemorative cultures that shape, and are often shaped by, our deepest emotional and political commitments?

To my mind they require us to commit anew to historical rigour, but equally to acknowledge and interrogate the political commitments that are so often inspired by our understandings of, and relationship to, the ramifications of that history. If imperial and Holocaust history are not the same, but if both the British Empire and the Nazi state (as Khan notes) harnessed and developed ideas of race, social Darwinism, expansion and militarism, does this not compel us to look deeply at how these ideas played out in each historical context, and give us pause to reflect upon their ongoing ramifications? Can such diverse yet connected histories not be held together through the deployment of an exacting but also expansive historical imagination? And what new understandings of these pasts and their reverberations in the present might emerge from exploring these histories through an alternate and perhaps more capacious lens?

The 'History Wars' of Germany and Australia have clearly demonstrated that reflections on 'difficult pasts' have increasingly become the arenas upon which sectarian political battle lines are drawn. Some may posit that it was ever thus. Yet perhaps a return to history can also provide some solace. Those Jewish intellectuals who fled Germany in the wake of fascism more often than not displayed a solidarity with non-Jewish victims of Nazi oppression, and many even drew parallels between their own experiences and those of marginalized and oppressed peoples across the globe. They did so with the full knowledge of the distinctiveness of Nazi oppression, as well as its antecedents in the *longue durée* of the violence inherent in the modern project. They also did so in light of passionate and long-standing political commitments undeterred by, and often held in opposition to, prevailing social and political norms. Perhaps a consideration of such models of expansive historical thinking can reinvigorate, rather than domesticate, the commemoration of historic violence today.

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Yasmin Khan: Reading Tom Lawson and Avril Alba's considered reflections on the integration of Holocaust methodologies and studies of violence in the colonial empires, including in Australasian contexts, prompts a number of thoughts. Most obviously, these are sharp reminders that the recent centuries of European modernity and European imperial expansion have coincided with extreme acts of violence and racial subjugation, more often than not enacted by nation-states against extremely vulnerable populations, causing massive destruction, dispossession, and death. The state-centred violence of the past three centuries, and the military and policing capabilities of European nation-states, have transformed the capacity for human destruction, and genocidal intentions have been ever more readily transformed into action.

Multidirectional memory, it seems to me, needs to be two things at once, and these things are paradoxical. In one way, 'good' history as Alba writes, needs the investment and care in detail, enriched case studies, archival attention, and acuity of vision, which only occurs through very focused and detailed understanding of past events such as the Holocaust, or the genocides against aboriginal peoples, or histories of slavery, or the violence of imperial famines in Asia. But also, and far more rarely achieved, memorialization benefits from looking beyond the frame of the nation-state. Those campaigning for memorials might aspire to less rather than more investment in national and ethnic particularities (and the identifications which this entails) and more attention to the core impacts of violence and deprivation and inequality on all human lives. In short, an emphasis on humanity as a historical category, which goes beyond the boundaries of the nation or the ethnic group. Judith Butler's ethics of grievable lives is instructive here, and her insistence on an understanding of what makes certain lives grievable, whereas others are lost both to history and commemoration. At root this seems to me a very simple and democratic ethic of placing equal value on every human life. As she writes:

One way of posing the question of who 'we' are in these times of war is by asking whose lives are considered valuable, whose lives are mourned, and whose lives are considered ungriev-

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able. We might think of war as dividing populations into those who are grievable and those who are not. An un-grievable life is one that cannot be mourned because it has never lived, that is, it has never counted as a life at all. We can see the division of the globe into grievable and un-grievable lives from the perspective of those who wage war in order to defend the lives of certain communities, and to defend them against the lives of others – even if it means taking those latter lives.¹³

We are still so often bound by the nation-states (in the titles of our books and courses) and by the national frame that engendered ‘professional’ history-writing itself in the nineteenth century. Indeed, in teaching, research, and memorialization, the nation-state is still the dominant and normative framework, and it tends to creep into historical narratives even when we guard against it. And similarly our commemorations and museums have a tendency to reify and follow these nationalist frames. In the British context, for example, I think there are complicated lines of connection between resurgent nationalism, the strength of British militarism, and support for the contemporary armed forces, and Second World War histories and commemoration. Communities are invested in identifying their own dead, and grieving ‘their own’, and as the generations change, these kinds of memories can slide into instrumentalization and political claim-making. And this can even include well-intentioned attempts at broadening the scope of memory. I think here, for instance, of the rush by community groups to identify soldiers from the Second World War as Sikh, Muslim, Indian, or British Asian. Undoubtedly inspired by a need to rectify an unbalanced history and memorialization which ‘forgot’ these participants, and which had retrospectively racialized the war as a white effort, these new efforts to memorialize can unwittingly end up reinforcing the boundaries of contemporary political communities, or pitting different ethnicities against each other in what starts to look like a zero-sum game.

So the injunction to ‘think global, act local’ might be a good one for historians too. This is why Alba’s experience, and the way in which her work in Holocaust studies was influenced by her Australian context, is striking. As she describes, the exhibition at the Sydney

¹³ Judith Butler, *Frames of War: When is Life Grievable?* (London, 2010), 38.

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Jewish Museum raised many questions and meant different things to various generations, and wasn't without controversy or difference, but has also proved generative and creative. Challenging the idea of what (for some) seemed to fall within the Museum's original mandate, and what stories the museum was able to tell, in this instance proved a powerful instance of multidirectional memory in action. Connections with other histories of mass violence—once limited or left up to visitors to infer—became in the museum a fruitful space for reflection about Australian histories of violence.

How progressive this seems compared to British political attempts to cordon off or discuss imperial responsibilities, and to segment memorialization. And how rarely in British discussions of imperialism does the violence against the populations of America and Australasia make any sustained appearance. Although I am a historian of British India myself, I would increasingly argue that India's centrality to memories of imperial violence (in the shape of Amritsar, or the Partition of 1947) may well be overblown when placed in the global context of histories of indigeneity and slavery, and is ripe for reappraisal in that context. And unfortunately I agree with Lawson that the prospect of any major reappraisals of the imperial past in contemporary Britain look unlikely to arrive at the national level. Memorials may well be the last place where this will happen. Yet there are glimpses of change, sometimes inspirational. Lively British local and regional reflections on histories of slavery have been gathering pace, and ways of telling the histories of slavery have changed considerably since 2007 and the bicentenary of abolition, often as a direct result of the work of Catherine Hall and the UCL Legacies of British Slave-ownership project. There has been increasing awareness of the idea of beneficiaries from slavery—interestingly, the most effective investigations of the beneficiaries often look to the institutional and familial rather than the national—and the new emphasis on reparative histories of slavery that interrogate our responsibilities in the present, give reasons to be hopeful about the future.

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several books concerned with the Holocaust, genocide, and memory. These include (with James Jordan) *The Memory of the Holocaust in Australia* (2008); *Debates on the Holocaust* (2010); and *The Last Man: A British Genocide in Tasmania* (2014). He is co-editor of the journal *Holocaust Studies: A Journal of Culture and History*, and of the series Palgrave Studies in the History of Genocide. Tom is currently researching a history of genocides across the British Empire. **Yasmin Khan** is Associate Professor of British History at the University of Oxford. She has published on the decolonization of South Asia including refugees, war, and the Partition of 1947, most recently *The Raj at War* (2015). In 2018 she presented a short series, *A Passage to Britain* on BBC2. **Avril Alba** is Senior Lecturer in Holocaust Studies and Jewish Civilisation in the Department of Hebrew, Biblical and Jewish Studies at the University of Sydney. She teaches and researches in the broad areas of Holocaust and modern Jewish history with a focus on Jewish and Holocaust museums. Her monograph, *The Holocaust Memorial Museum: Sacred Secular Space*, was published in 2015. From 2002 to 2011 Avril was the Education Director at the Sydney Jewish Museum, where she also served as the Project Director/Curator for the permanent exhibitions 'Culture and Continuity' (2009), 'The Holocaust' (2017), and 'The Holocaust and Human Rights' (2018). She is currently working on an ARC Discovery project, 'The Memory of the Holocaust in Australia'.

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REVIEW ARTICLE

HEIMAT: BETWEEN PAST AND PRESENT, INTIMACY AND NIGHTMARE

JULIANE BRAUER

NORA KRUG, *Heimat: Ein deutsches Familienalbum* (Munich: Penguin Verlag, 2018), 288 pp. Hardback. ISBN 978 3 328 60005 3. €28.00

FATMA AYDEMIR and HENGAMEH YAGHOOBIFARAH (eds.), *Eure Heimat ist unser Albtraum* (Berlin: Ullstein, 2019), 208 pp. Hardback. ISBN 978 3 961 01036 3. €20.00

SUSANNE SCHARNOWSKI, *Heimat: Geschichte eines Missverständnisses* (Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2019), 272 pp. Hardback. ISBN 978 3 534 27073 6. €40.00

EDOARDO COSTADURA, KLAUS RIES, and CHRISTIANE WIESENFELDT (eds.), *Heimat global: Modelle, Praxen und Medien der Heimatkonstruktion* (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2019), 456 pp. Hardback. ISBN 978 3 8376 4588 0. €49.99

Heimat is on every tongue. Hardly a day goes by without something being written about it in the German press, and hardly a week in which a new book is not published on it. In the last eighteen months, *Heimat* has clearly become a hot topic.

This is largely because since 2017 it has become an administrative matter for the German state, in the form of the Federal Ministry of Interior, Building and Community. Yet *Heimat* is not only topical, it is also a concept of exclusion. Given that millions of human beings are on the move at the moment, having to seek new homes, *Heimat* has once again become a highly emotional and contentious term. The main reason for this is that a relationship of proximity between people and space is inscribed in the concept of *Heimat*, 'a diffuse feeling of familiarity and belonging', according to the philosopher Karin

Translated by Angela Davies (GHIL).

Joisten.¹ Notions of *Heimat* are thus private, if not intimate. *Heimat* as space can be sensed and felt by everyone individually; it has inscribed itself on all the senses: it can be tasted, smelled, heard, touched.

This initial observation is what motivated the authors of the books under review here to assess the concept of *Heimat* from their own personal or disciplinary perspectives. These publications could not be more different in form, ranging from an illustrated memory book (Nora Krug) to political essays (Fatma Aydemir and Hengameh Yaghoobifarah), an academic monograph (Susanne Scharnowski), and conference proceedings in the classic form of an edited collection of essays (Edoardo Costadura, Klaus Ries, Christiane Wiesenfeldt), but they are similar in their concerns. On the one hand we have highly private debates with *Heimat* in the search for identity (Nora Krug; Fatma Aydemir and Hengameh Yaghoobifarah), and on the other, attempts to approach the topic of *Heimat* academically from different disciplinary perspectives, with literary studies traditionally making a special contribution to the discursive assessment of *Heimat* (Susanne Scharnowski; Edoardo Costadura et al.). The publications under review here read as if they are struggling to find a sober, unemotional concept of *Heimat*, while themselves demonstrating that it cannot operate rationally between being a sentimental feeling of safety and a nightmare.

In 2018 Penguin Verlag in Germany published what is certainly the most unusual approach to *Heimat* in the form of ‘a German family album’ (the subtitle of the book) by the author and illustrator Nora Krug (who describes herself as a ‘homesick emigrant’). In a mixture of hand-written texts, drawings, facsimiles of documents, letters, and historical photographs the author, who emigrated to the USA sixteen years ago, documents her highly personal search for her German identity. Readers can follow the author, born in 1977, in her forensic investigation of every trace of her family history. None of the almost 300 pages resembles any of the others. The book is worth reading because of the originality of its design and the careful historical research alone. It is no coincidence that it has won several prizes,

¹ Karen Joisten, ‘Heimat und Heimatlosigkeit: Philosophische Perspektiven’, in Jürgen Manemann and Werner Schreer (eds.), *Religion und Migration heute: Perspektiven – Positionen – Projekte* (Regensburg, 2012), 215–26.

especially for design. And numerous nominations, among others, for the German Children's Literature Award, support the view that this is far more than a private survey of notions of *Heimat*. It is, in fact, an especially successful textbook of twentieth-century German history.

While this quest for German identity and the author's *Heimat* is highly original, it is also entirely typical of German family histories of the twentieth century. Essentially, this illustrated album of fifteen chapters, which, in its intimacy, is also reminiscent of a colourful scrapbook or diary, constantly circles around the question of German feelings of *Heimat* in the shadow of the guilt of grandfathers and grandmothers during the Nazi period, and of the third generation's 'feeling of German guilt'. 'Every time I went abroad as a teenager, my guilt travelled with me', observes the author in the introduction, 'as though our history was swimming in our blood'.² This quasi-genetic definition of German *Heimat* as somewhere between a longing for identity and a shameful covering up of one's origins led to an almost compulsive working through of her own family's history. And logically, the author's search for her own Germanness only began from abroad. Thus *Heimat* is understood as a perspectival concept, that is, suggesting that home can best be recognized from a distance, when one has left it behind.

Right from the first chapter, it is clear that this is a West German family album. Having grown up in Karlsruhe, near an American military airfield, Krug and her struggles with the history of National Socialism in the 1980s are not typically German, as the book suggests, but typically West German. 'My *Heimat* is an echo: an incomprehensible reverberation.' With this feeling of uncertainty, she begins 'digging', and 'digging deeper', for culpable entanglements in her own family. For Krug makes the question of whether or not her German attachment to *Heimat* can function as a construct of identity, as a safe space, depend essentially on the issue of guilt. Her quest circles around two central figures in her family. One is her father's brother, who went to the front at the age of 17, and died in Italy at the age of 18. Krug's father grew up in his dead brother's shadow, and experienced a typical West German childhood in a family torn apart by grief for their fallen first-born son. The second-born son, regarded as 'running wild', was ignored and given little love. It was only as a

² The book has no page numbering. Quotations translated by Angela Davies.

result of his daughter's researches that the father managed to reconcile with his family.³ The second main person in the story is Willi, her maternal grandfather, a driving instructor from Karlsruhe. The author digs deep into the questions of his complicity with, involvement in, and knowledge of, the exclusion, persecution, and annihilation of the Jewish population, and also of the part played by his home town of Külsheim. Krug creates an intimacy which is almost painfully intense with these two figures from her family history by constantly bridging the time gap imaginatively, thinking herself back into the 1940s, or inviting the deceased to take part in fictional conversations. This approach is exhausted only when she has sifted through all the archival material and spoken with all family members or distant acquaintances: 'I will not be able to get any closer.' Thus Krug can put an end to her search.

The 'notebook of a homesick emigrant' draws on a specific ambivalence: on the one hand, on the stereotypes and clichés of what counts as typically German, such as Hansaplast (a brand of sticking plasters), mushroom picking, Leitz binders, Christmas trees, forests, Struwwelpeter, and not least the story of guilt and entanglement. On the other hand, the hunt for clues shows the extent to which *Heimat* is, in fact, a highly intimate and fragile construction of identity which, ultimately, cannot be created only by offsetting historical guilt, pain, and shame.

The book appeared on the American and British markets with a slight delay. Interestingly, the changes made in the American edition are more far-reaching than in the British. The most striking one is the choice of a new title: *Belonging: A German Reckons with History and Home*.⁴ The term 'belonging' at first glance captures the essence of Krug's quest more clearly than the historically multi-dimensional and politically charged concept of *Heimat*. In the end, the reader is left with the impression that Krug is more concerned about belonging and identity than *Heimat* as such. The term 'reckons', however, offers an interpretation that German readers are left to make for them-

³ In this respect, this typical story is reminiscent of Uwe Timm, *Am Beispiel meines Bruders* (Cologne, 2003).

⁴ Both English-language editions were published in October 2018, three months after the German original. The American edition is entitled: *Belonging: A German Reckons with History and Home* (Scribner), while the British edition is published under the title *Heimat: A German Family Album* (Particular Books).

selves. The non-German language editions do not contain all the facsimile documents reproduced in the original edition. Instead, translations are stuck over the original German documents like hand-written notes. The edition for the British market translates the title simply as *Heimat: A German Family Album*. We can only speculate about the reasons for this, but it underlines a fundamental feature of the concept of *Heimat*. In German, this term generates complex associations and emotions, while in other languages, several words are often required to capture the various levels of meaning it contains. This places the concept of *Heimat* right at the centre of political debates.

The political essays and commentaries on the current situation in the volume *Eure Heimat ist unser Albtraum* are no less private, but much more polarizing. Because the term *Heimat* is so strongly emotionalized in Germany and provides an argument for right-wing populist and racist strategies of exclusion and inclusion, the editors, Fatma Aydemir and Hengameh Yaghoobifarah, a writer and a newspaper editor, felt called upon to publish this volume. It is not only the title that is provocative. In their diversity, the fourteen contributors represent a cross-section of German immigrant groups. Most were born in Germany, and are thus members of second or third generation immigrant families. Others, however, were children when they went to Germany with their parents. Their family roots are in Turkey, Korea, Italy, Poland, or Russia. What the contributors share, apart from the experience of being at home in several places, is the experience of exclusion, which again and again makes it difficult for them to see Germany as a potential home.

The design of the book cover already points to this fundamental problem. The words 'Eure' (your) and 'unser' (our) are set so inconspicuously, merging into the background colour of the cover, that it is easy to read the title, at first glance, as *Heimat ist Albtraum* (*Heimat* is a nightmare). It is this personal and at the same time fundamental experience of exclusion at many levels of everyday life that connects the essays. Experiences of exclusion—at school, at university, at the pub, and in the neighbourhood—on the basis of appearance or language are both typical and varied. The fourteen contributors circle around their personal *Heimat* nightmare with varying degrees of implacability. Each essay has a one-word title; taken together, they map out the co-ordinates of *Heimat* as an exclusion zone. They include terms such as *Sichtbar* (visible), *Blicke* (glances), *Beleidigung*

(insult), *Gefährlich* (dangerous), and *Gegenwartsbewältigung* (coping with the present), standing for what makes people uneasy with the notion of *Heimat*, as well as *Vertrauen* (trust), *Liebe* (love), *Zuhause* (home), *Zusammen* (together). Each of the essays deals with the question of whose *Heimat* is being talked about, and whose nightmare is the result.

A good example is the essay 'Beleidigung' by Enrico Ippolito, arts editor of an online news website. He reports on the 'small', everyday racist words and comments that formed part of his childhood and youth, at school, at the job centre, on talk shows, at the pub with friends. These experiences make him particularly sensitive and aware. Racism structures his perceptions and his thinking, and he himself must put up with being asked whether he is racist (p. 99–100). This parade of everyday experiences makes it clear how such practices of inclusion and exclusion can have a negative impact on social interaction, right into the private sphere. It becomes clear that the question of what is and is not racist is assessed differently, depending on whether one is a member of a minority or a majority in society.

The cover design also points to the second central message of the book: the pronouns 'your' and 'our' make all the difference, because the nightmare arises out of the clear distinction between 'us' and 'them'. With their sometimes provocative language and arguments, these contributions make clear that precisely this distinction is ambivalent. On the one hand, the authors' personal reports document structural, everyday racism, thus explaining what makes it so difficult for them to experience Germany as a *Heimat* and a place of safety. On the other hand, there is a reproach in the constant construction of those who cannot see Germany as a *Heimat*, the 'marginalized groups, as 'us', and all the others as 'them'. The editors insist that 'all readers must decide for themselves' whether they want to live in a racist society, or in one that values tolerance and diversity (p. 10). Yet some readers may get the impression that they cannot always choose to decide where the 'us' ends and the 'them' begins (p. 10), for example, when the essays present being German as the norm, as in statements such as: 'many Germans cannot do much with the ideas of inappropriate, intrusive behaviour, or respect' (p. 81). It could certainly be argued at this point that these are personal experiences of exclusion, which are themselves based on undifferentiated general-

izations made about marginalized groups. Yet such statements could also have the potential to prevent, rather than promote, a productive confrontation.

The authors' variety of experience makes it worth reading and considering what they present as the co-ordinates of *Heimat*. Essays such as Max Czollek's 'Gegenwartsbewältigung' invite the reader to see the 'integration paradigm' (p. 173) as a 'system error of open societies'. The fact that a certain section of society decides who is German, and who has to be integrated, represents anything but an offer from Germany to provide a new *Heimat*. The essay by Sharon Dodua Otoo, winner of the Ingeborg Bachmann Prize, on 'Liebe' makes us thoughtful. She reports how she tried to get her children to behave as unobtrusively as possible, so that they would not stand out as black in a white majority society. Yet her teenage son taught her to call out everyday racism confidently, to fight it, and not simply to accept it. Along with him, she learned that a home is a place 'that I have fought for. I fought so that I could feel good about calling Berlin my home' (p. 68).

In principle, the contributions to this volume show that what can and cannot, what should and should not, be *Heimat* is highly relevant. It does not help, however, to use the politically and emotionally contested term in order to enter the arena oneself. But it does help to recount memories, based on many diverse experiences, that show that home is never simply a place that is given, but a space that everyone has to conquer for themselves.

The differentiation between space and emotions is precisely the focus of Susanne Scharnowski's book. Its main concern is to explain the history of the term *Heimat* as the 'story of a misunderstanding'. To this end, the philologist selects a literary history approach. She argues consistently that *Heimat* should be understood not as an emotion, but as a place that needs to be shaped, and is changed by this process. The aim of her readable book is to enlighten her readers about the 'misunderstanding' that *Heimat* is a feeling, and to demystify the term. This aim is understandable given the highly emotionally charged current debate about *Heimat*. Scharnowski argues that the term *Heimat* will only be productive and acceptable in social policy contexts again when it is separated from feelings. According to the author, 'misunderstandings about *Heimat* mostly come about because of a narrowing or distortion of perspectives, the simplifica-

tion or suppression of facts, and the confusion of terms' (p. 10). In the first five chapters of her chronologically structured book, Scharnowski traces the (mis)understanding of the 'key word' (p. 12) *Heimat* from the Romantic period to the 1950s. She does this on the basis of literary and philosophical texts, manifestos, and newspaper and journal articles. Her most important finding from the evaluation of these sources is that 'even the German *Heimat* has much less to do with nation and state than is often assumed'. Rather, it is 'an antonym of progress and modernity' (p. 15).

The first part, in particular, impresses with the clarity of its argument. One reason, perhaps, is that in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the concept of *Heimat* can be more clearly grasped than in the post-war history of the two Germanies. In her re-reading of the literary sources, in particular, the author demonstrates exactly how, in the nineteenth century, *Heimat* was used as a spatial concept, and that it was much less emotionally charged than is so often claimed (p. 19). From the Romantic period, via the pre-March (*Vormärz*) to the turn of the century and the Nazi period, the author traces the changing understanding of *Heimat*, from a specific place that one leaves, misses, and to which one returns (in the figure of the wanderer and the emigrant), to a political term in the era of nation-building (p. 35), a rallying cry in the face of progress and modernization (p. 55), an ideology (as the result of its indissoluble attachment to the nation) (p. 79), and part of the Nazi *Lebensraum* argument (p. 98).

The analysis is convincing because of the clarity of its structure, its linguistic dexterity and precision, and the combination of a discursive account with a broad source base, which give the reader eye-opening insights and much food for thought. It contains many statements that one would like to quote again and again, such as: '*Heimat* functioned as a link and mediator between the individual and society as well as between the individual and the state, as a layer at once protective and limiting' (p. 22).

The second part of the book has a temporal and regional focus on social and political developments from the 1960s to the present day. Although the aim is to present a post-war history of Germany, the account of the German Democratic Republic is brief and schematic, while the Federal Republic of Germany is presented in the usual breadth, drawing on numerous media, such as film and television series, photographs, advertisements, and travel guides. The chapter

'Heimat in Trümmern: Alte und neue Heimat in West und Ost' (*Heimat in Ruins: Old and New Heimat in West and East*) shows that despite the breadth of sources it draws upon, the account is not historical and remains superficial (because of its cursory style). Thus the author comes to the conclusion that, despite the 'conservative' post-war mood, an 'unconditional turn towards the new and the future' prevailed in the early years of the Federal Republic. At this point, it would certainly have been useful to take note of the historical research on the future that is available for the history of the Federal Republic in particular.⁵ With regard to nostalgia and homesickness, historiography can also provide findings that clearly go further than this definition used by the author: 'Nostalgia, on the other hand, is considered as a sugar-coated type of memory that is accompanied by sentimental feelings, in which the memory is transfigured, idealized' (p. 143).⁶

Even if it is apparent where the author identifies the misunderstanding, the concept of *Heimat* cannot entirely dispense with 'feeling'. This becomes clear when she explains that everything that is perceived as fragile and threatened by modernization and social change is bundled together into the concept of *Heimat*: 'Tradition, comfort, community, attachment, stability, closeness, security, familiarity, harmony' (p. 15).

At the end of this entertaining read, one concludes that *Heimat* is neither exclusively a place nor exclusively an emotional attitude, but both. Although it is clear that the author's motivation in writing this book is fed by the current emotional debate on *Heimat*, feelings cannot be excised from the concept, even with a glance at history, because places are also spaces for individual negotiation and appropriation of life, and therefore full of feelings. This, incidentally, is also the conclusion drawn by the author: '*Heimat* is not just a business location, a place of employment, or a market place, but a place with a socio-cultural dimension, and a carrier of emotional significance' (p. 235). In this sense, the plea with which she finishes the book is con-

⁵ Most recently, Joachim Radkau, *Geschichte der Zukunft: Prognosen, Visionen, Irrungen in Deutschland von 1945 bis heute* (Munich, 2017).

⁶ e.g. Tobias Becker, 'Rückkehr der Geschichte? Die "Nostalgie-Welle" in den 1970er und 1980er Jahren', in Fernando Esposito (ed.), *Zeitenwandel: Transformationen geschichtlicher Zeitlichkeit nach dem Boom* (Göttingen, 2017), 93–117.

sistent, if not new. She calls for the either-or attitude of ‘either cosmopolitanism or isolation’ (p. 235) to be overcome. The responsibility for shaping a place into a *Heimat* lies in the hands of everyone. Thus it remains a matter of feeling, but not exclusively.

The edited volume of collected essays, *Heimat global: Modelle, Praxen und Medien der Heimatkonstruktion*, too, faces the challenge of assessing *Heimat* as a place, a space, and a feeling, and thus fits very well with the other books under review here. The volume goes back to an international conference entitled ‘Heimat: Ein Problem der globalisierten Welt’, which was held in September 2017 at the Friedrich Schiller University of Jena, and reads as a sequel to the volume *Heimat gestern und heute: Interdisziplinäre Perspektive*, put together by almost the same team of editors in 2016.⁷

Like almost all the other books on *Heimat*, this one grows out of a feeling of unease with the current debates on *Heimat*. This interdisciplinary volume has a double aim, namely, ‘to cast light on today’s debate about *Heimat*, and to provide a few answers to questions that arise out of this debate’ (p. 13), but only under the proviso that ‘*Heimat* is to be nostalgia-free, that is, it is to be considered operationally and with historical awareness’ (p. 21). The explicit aim of this academic and de-emotionalizing look at *Heimat* is ‘to encourage a new, global concept of *Heimat*’ (p. 33).

Consisting of nineteen essays by literary scholars, political scientists, sociologists, legal scholars, Germanists, historians, scholars of religious studies, Romanists, architects, musicologists, and folklorists, the volume represents a considerable interdisciplinary breadth. The essays are grouped into four areas, which essentially correspond to the volume’s subtitle: Models (I. Historical and Political Semantics; II. The Hermeneutics of World Relations), Practices (III. Shaping *Heimat*), and Media of Constructing *Heimat* (IV. Mediatized and Narrated *Heimat*).

The first two areas in particular offer a variety of concepts of *Heimat* from different disciplines, which are similar in that they draw upon historical genealogies of *Heimat* for their arguments relating to the present. Most of the contributions agree that the ‘ideologically charged, anti-modernist, late nineteenth-century understanding of

⁷ Edoardo Costadura and Klaus Ries (eds.), *Heimat gestern und heute: Interdisziplinäre Perspektiven* (Bielefeld, 2016).

Heimat', to which the concept of 'nation' attached itself, has a certain appeal again today (not only) among right-wing populist circles. This 'Janus-face of the national' (Benjamin-Immanuel Hoff and Konstanze Gerling-Zedler, p. 61) retained its effectiveness throughout the twentieth century in various German political contexts, as an excursus on the GDR view of '*Heimat* as a Substitute for the Nation' (p. 62) shows. Based on these historical insights, the authors call for *Heimat* today to be seen as a 'universal space of opportunity' (p. 70).

The essay by folklorist Friedemann Schmoll is also about ambivalences. Drawing on historical examples, he shows that '*Heimat* regularly presents itself as mental machinery to defend a sphere that is both caring and militant' (p. 83). With this potential, *Heimat* can function as a 'stabilizer of crises' at times of upheaval and 'social erosion processes' (p. 99), but with the ambivalent inclusion and exclusion mechanisms mentioned above. This, too, underlines the extent to which an understanding of *Heimat* that is more than 100 years old is finding applications today. The literary scholar Werner Nell also stresses the potentially dangerous ambivalence of the historical concept of *Heimat* by linking it with typologies of violence. In his view, violence 'can be seen as a medium that can create or destroy *Heimat* in the internal sphere; similarly, from outside, it can be seen as enabling, endangering, producing, or destroying *Heimat*' (p. 135).

The sociologist Hartmut Rosa presents a highly convincing conceptual proposal for an alternative concept of *Heimat*, from which these ambivalences have been removed. Based on the concept he has developed of 'Resonanz als Weltbeziehung' (resonance as a relationship with the world), he sees *Heimat* as a specific 'world relationship . . . a particular way of relating to the world . . . Thus *Heimat* is the hope or promise of entering into a resonance relationship with the world' (p. 153). The convincing basic idea is that resonance is not appropriation, but assimilation (p. 168). This means that the resonance relationship between people and space always has to be reciprocal: space must touch (affect) people; then people respond to it (emotion). This results in the transformation of both. Space can become *Heimat*, but does not necessarily have to as, Rosa argues, resonance cannot be forced and is, therefore, 'unavailable' (p. 162). The psychologist Beate Mitzscherlich argues in a similar vein when she defines coming to feel at home (*Beheimatung*) as an 'active' but also

individual process. Thus *Heimat* is a utopia; fundamentally, the goal is to have a chance to rebuild the world as *Heimat* (p. 194).

The contributions on practice and media of constructing *Heimat* could clearly have profited from these exemplary concepts of *Heimat*. Unfortunately, the conceptual weakness of the volume is revealed in the rest of the essays. It collects the contributions to the conference, thus documenting it, but it does not tie them together. Nonetheless, the insights from practice are illuminating and definitely worth reading, for example, the essay by architect Peter Cachola Schmal about the exhibition 'Making *Heimat*'. The lack of theoretical reflection, however, makes itself painfully felt in the statement: 'Making *Heimat* emphasizes making: it means that "new" Germans have to make an active effort to create a new *Heimat* for themselves. "Old" Germans, on the other hand, who are already there, have to make an effort to acknowledge that the new ones are trying. The process of creating *Heimat* requires an active effort on both sides' (p. 325). This conclusion is problematic to the extent that, without considering any conceptual theories, it sees *Heimat* as normative and hegemonic, rather than as representing the possibility of assimilation from both sides.

The essays in section IV: Mediatized and Narrated *Heimat* are, similarly, worth reading and successful to different extents. In her contribution 'Preserving *Heimat*', the musicologist Yvonne Wasserloos explains that *Heimat* can appear as threatened and worth preserving in a specific aesthetic of music, which succeeds mainly through the monumentality of the sound of 'proper' music (p. 374).

On the whole, the volume leaves an ambivalent impression. It contains thematic contributions (mostly hidden behind misleading headings), that one would otherwise not find. Of particular note is a very good account of the history of the subject of German area studies (*Heimatkunde*) in the essay: 'Schools "Maintain Ties with *Heimat* in Thuringia and Germany"', by Gregor Reimann, Sophie Seher, and Michael Wermke. The 'thoughtful reflections' of the historian Justus H. Ulbricht on local patriotism, populism, and xenophobia in Saxony are also very illuminating. Here we find references to 'a loss of trust in the course of the *Wende*' (p. 137), and the feeling of a loss of *Heimat* in one's own home (p. 139) in order to explain specific developments in Saxony without excusing them. Finally, Ulbricht comes to the conclusion that *Heimat* is thought of as exclu-

sionary, and he therefore decides that the term can no longer really be used. The basic problem, however, is that this does not do justice to the 'existential value of *Heimat* in the soul of many fellow human beings' (p. 145).

To this extent, the basic aim of the volume, namely, to pluralize and globalize the concept of *Heimat*, is right; but it hardly happens in practice. In total, the contributions add up to an exercise in German navel-gazing. The global perspective is rarely in evidence, mainly in the essay on space by Franz Eckhardt. Apart from this, when terms such as *Gemütlichkeit* (cosiness), *Weihnachtsbaum* (Christmas tree), *Geborgenheit* (a feeling of safety), *Weihnachtsabend* (Christmas Eve), and *Heimatfest* (local festival) are discussed in relation to *Heimat*, German history is always used as a reference point in the quest to measure German souls. Ultimately, the aim is to get to the bottom of specific East German experiences. This is actually something that the book achieves, even if the introduction, which was undifferentiated in this respect, does not lead us to expect it. We read there that feelings of a loss of *Heimat* in the East are 'paradoxical' because a transfigured and identity-creating GDR *Heimat*, which never existed in this form, was created after the event (p. 17).

In sum, therefore, the volume offers surprises. But only rarely, and mainly in the conceptual part of the book, does it fulfil the promise made in its title of doing justice to *Heimat* globally. What reading these very different approaches to *Heimat* shows is, above all, that many of the questions posed in the book are by no means new, for example, who has a claim to what *Heimat*, and what practices of inclusion and exclusion, or strategies of (re)appropriation or refusal of *Heimat* say in view of the history of the twentieth century. What is new, however, is that the concept of *Heimat* is the topic of highly emotional discussion in public discourse. Enough reasons for this can be found in the books reviewed here. In its German meaning, *Heimat* seems to refer to a space of belonging much more than to a place where one is allowed to be. This wealth of meaning makes the term so untranslatable, explosive, fragile, and contested. This intense connection between people and their *Heimat* gives rise to a whole series of conflicting feelings of *Heimat*: love and fear of loss, feelings of familiarity and belonging as well as xenophobia, but also feelings of alienation. And, not least, wanderlust and homesickness. Emotion makes talking about *Heimat* complicated, especially at a time when it

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is used for political purposes. These books demonstrate that we cannot get away from it, but they make equally clear that we should now be aware of this.

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EXHIBITION REVIEW

'Very British: A German Point of View', exhibition at Haus der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in Bonn, 10 July 2019 to 8 March 2020, and at Zeitgeschichtliches Forum Leipzig, 9 June 2020 to January 2021; free admission.

On 31 January 2020, at 23:00 UTC, on the stroke of midnight CET, the United Kingdom left the European Union. Although the transition regulations mean that nothing much will change for UK citizens at first, Brexit Day undoubtedly represents a turning point. Since October 2019 the flip clock that greeted visitors immediately on entering the exhibition had been counting down to this date. Now it is on zero.

This temporary exhibition on the peculiarities of the German-British relationship and Britain's role in Europe after the Second World War was on display at the Haus der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in Bonn from July 2019 to March 2020, and will move to the Zeitgeschichtliches Forum Leipzig in June 2020, where it will stay until January 2021. This piece is therefore both a review and a preview.

In seven thematic rooms, the presentation concentrates on the German perspective, but the British view of the FRG and the GDR is also considered. As well as the European framework mentioned above, the occupation period including the relationship between Britain and the GDR, the Royals and official state visits, the divided wartime past, economic ties, sporting rivalries, and cultural exchanges each have a room devoted to them.

A recurring topic is what the accompanying publication describes as the 'tension between vexation and fascination',¹ something that has always shaped relations between the two countries. These relations are vexatious because Britain's image of Germany was long shaped by the world wars, and the Germans' interest in Britain thus

Translated by Angela Davies (GHIL).

¹ Stiftung Haus der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, *Very British: A German Point of View* (1st edn. Bonn, 2019), 5. Available in English and German.

often seemed rather one-sided, while their love was not always reciprocated; and fascinating because the Germans' soft spot for anything British was largely unaffected by this, which is still clearly visible in the cultural arena to the present day.

The chaos of Brexit, including the reactions of the EU states as an example of the alienation with which Europeans look at Britain today, makes a strong starting point. Although one has to seek out Britain's complicated path to the current situation—several attempts to join (1961 and 1967), entry into the EC in 1972, and two referendums on membership (1975 and 2016)—and initially stumbles at the exhibition's rather unintuitive arrangement here, it clearly makes the point that Britain has an ambivalent relationship with Europe. Margaret Thatcher's dress and handbag catch the eye. She long represented British obstinacy and, most memorably with her famous saying, 'I want my money back', contributed significantly to the special status that Britain had within the EU.

Another episode is closely associated with Britain's first female prime minister, one that long after the Second World War characterized Britain's suspicions of its now close allies in central Europe. In the spring of 1990, just as Germany was struggling with reunification, Thatcher invited a number of well-known British and American historians to Chequers, the country house of the UK prime ministers, to discuss the dangers posed by a reunified Germany. Extracts from a memorandum that was leaked to the press a little later, and which summed up the outcome of the meeting, can be read in the exhibition. While it took the fear of a 'Fourth Reich' seriously ('If it happened once, could it not happen again?'), it did not consider the situation to be dramatic ('Democracy was deeply rooted'). Ultimately, the trust that the Federal Republic of Germany had earned in the meantime prevailed. The fact that the Iron Lady nonetheless only reluctantly gave her blessing to German unity reveals the deeply rooted suspicion with which the British treated their former wartime enemies, even after reunification.

Taking aim at those of his fellow countrymen who, in his view, were 'pathetically stuck in a world view that's more than half a century out of date', John Cleese had, in his 1970s role as choleric hotelier Basil Fawlty, drummed into his staff 'Don't mention the war!' The exhibition shows scenes from the television series as well as evidence of Cleese's public commitment to dismantling anti-German

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prejudice. Supported by the ongoing ‘war of the towels’ between British and German holidaymakers—evidenced by the original towels (see Fig. 1)—these examples clearly illustrate German irritation at British insistence on an image of Germany shaped by the Second World War.

This, however, did little to change the fondness for the British which was deeply rooted in West German society; the fascination with which the Germans have always approached British culture can similarly be seen. Thus after an extended visit by Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip to the Federal Republic in 1965, the German tabloid *Bild* commented: ‘Your Majesty, you were wonderful!’ Not only had the royal couple made a highly symbolic stopover in Berlin, it had also been surprisingly open about its German origins—another reason why it was cheered at every stop on the way. In addition to displaying many objects originating from this state visit, the exhibition

Fig. 1: The War of the Towels



The German–British war of the towels for pool chairs was waged mainly in the tabloids. German Express: ‘Sorry! This pool chair is mine for today’; British Sun: ‘I got to the pool before the Germans (and I’ve had my breakfast!).’

Photograph credit: Stiftung Haus der Geschichte/Axel Thünker. Reprinted by permission.

shows the ‘Queen fever’ that has continued since then, with a wall full of illustrated volumes on the royals, along with the inevitable merchandising kitsch that accompanied Prince Harry and Meghan Markle’s wedding in 2018.

The fascination that British culture seems to hold for Germans was not even stopped by borders and ideologies, as the example of the GDR’s beat music scene shows. Opposite a stage suit worn by the Beatle George Harrison, we can see the Music Stromers, an East Berlin beat band, banned in 1968, that emulated its role models right down to their clothing style. With well-placed scenes like this, the exhibition traces the change that took place in mutual perceptions as the world wars receded into the distance. Thus despite the idiosyncrasies and temporary imbalances in the relationship between Britain and Germany, the exhibition ultimately emphasizes the strength of the bond that had grown historically between the two countries – politically, economically, and culturally.

One object shows particularly clearly that the difficulties of a divided history can now be dealt with openly. The Coventry Dresden Cope created by artist Terry Duffy in 2017 (see Fig. 2) depicts scenes of destruction and suffering as a result of the devastating air raids on Coventry in 1940 and Dresden in 1945. Edged with the words ‘Father forgive – Vater vergib’, the cope stands not only for penance and humility in the face of the horrors inflicted on each other, but also for reconciliation, forgiveness, and a new beginning. This is shown by the fact that the bishop or priests of Coventry still wear it when officiating at memorial services. For this reason, it has to be removed from the exhibition from time to time, illustrating all the more impressively that exhibition projects such as this are themselves a sign of the deep connection that exists between Britain and Germany. That the cultural exchange between them is still so close and lively, despite the suffering and misunderstandings of the past and the confusions of the present, is one of the most important statements made by the exhibition as far as the project leader, Christian Peters, is concerned: ‘It seems inconceivable that the Germans’ fascination with Britain could be permanently damaged or even broken off.’²

This fascination can be actively experienced on the spot. Towards the end of the exhibition, visitors can listen to their favourite British

² Interview with Christian Peters, 23 Oct. 2019.

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Fig. 2: Coventry–Dresden Cope



Photograph credit: Stiftung Haus der Geschichte/Axel Thünker. Reprinted by permission.

songs from the last fifty years, and at the same time vote for them in the visitors' charts (Bohemian Rhapsody by Queen appears to be at number one quite regularly). In addition to this clever and attractively implemented idea, there are further interactive displays and

media stations, the latter often containing a great deal of material. You can, for example, take a quiz that makes it possible to prepare for a meeting with the Queen – just in case. Group tours are offered, and younger visitors can explore the exhibition through a sort of treasure hunt. The accompanying publication is available in German and English, and is relatively affordable. Its structure largely follows that of the exhibition, but it distinguishes more clearly between Britain's relations with the FRG and the GDR.

Three and a half months after the exhibition's opening in the Haus der Geschichte, visitor numbers had reached six figures, which, according to Peters, is much higher than average for temporary exhibitions. What is hardly surprising though, is that the 100,000th visitor was, appropriately, a British woman. On strolling through the exhibition, one often catches snatches of English-language conversations. As all the explanatory texts and media stations are in both English and German, the exhibition obviously also attracts British visitors.

A visit to this exhibition is worthwhile. One cannot, however, help but notice that it seems to be 'Very English' rather than 'Very British' and that, beyond an understandable focus on England, little attention is paid, for example, to the sometimes close connections between the Germans and Scotland. Furthermore, the presentation of the British perspective omits the fact that the German fascination was not always unrequited, especially since there already are thematic excursions into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. After all, it was not in vain that Byron praised the 'hills all rich with blossom'd trees' along the Rhine and the 'charm of this enchanted ground'.³

The guestbook is full of German and English nostalgia for certain episodes of a shared history, reminders of hospitality received, and promises of future ties. But equally visible is the uncertainty which is fuelling the current confusion about future hurdles. It remains to be seen to what extent the exhibition will be adjusted again before it opens in Leipzig, that is, whether the countdown will remain at zero, or whether the clock will start counting the time since Brexit. Either way, anyone who has visited the exhibition in Bonn will still have the

³ George Gordon Byron, *Poetry of Byron: Chosen and Arranged by Mathew Arnold* (London, 1881), 89–90, online at <<https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001023314>>, accessed 6 Jan. 2020.

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echoes of its loud ticking, audible in every room, in their ears. Once again, it makes clear how up-to-date the subject of the exhibition is, and how fragile German-British relations can still sometimes appear.

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BOOK REVIEWS

ANNE FOERSTER, *Die Witwe des Königs: Zu Vorstellung, Anspruch und Performanz im englischen und deutschen Hochmittelalter*, *Mittelalter-Forschungen*, 57 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke Verlag, 2018), 356 pp. ISBN 978 3 7995 4376 7. €49.00

Comparative history is very much 'in'; and with it, Anglo-German comparisons. This is already the second volume in the highly regarded *Mittelalter-Forschungen* series to consider the subject, and it joins a large and growing literature, from Björn Weiler's now-classic work on rebellion through to Johanna Dale's recent study of liturgy and kingship.¹

But if Anglo-German comparison is very much *à la mode*, queenship has yet to benefit from sustained consideration from this angle. Pauline Stafford's pioneering work on Anglo-Saxon queenship may have been written with a strong sense of the Continental evidence, but remains firmly anchored in the British Isles. Likewise, Simon MacLean's monograph on Ottonian queens draws generously on material from across the Channel (not least, Stafford's work), but similarly shies away from systematic comparison.² There is, therefore, space for a monograph which seeks to draw together these strands, and it is easy to see why Anne Foerster has sought to do so. Her chosen period, the years between c.1000 and 1250, saw some of the most memorable queens in English and German history: Cunigunde (d. c.1033?), the saintly spouse of Henry II (d. 1024), who finished her days (probably) at her foundation at Kaufungen; Emma of Normandy (d. 1052), the wife of the ill-fated Æthelred 'the Unready' (d. 1016), who ditched her sons from her first marriage to seek fame and fortune at the court of the Danish conqueror Cnut (d.

¹ Björn Weiler, *Kingship, Rebellion and Political Culture: England and Germany, c.1215–c.1250* (Basingstoke, 2007); Johanna Dale, *Inauguration and Liturgical Kingship in the Long Twelfth Century: Male and Female Accession Rituals in England, France and the Empire* (Woodbridge, 2019).

² Pauline Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England* (Oxford, 1997); Simon MacLean, *Ottonian Queenship* (Oxford, 2017).

1035); Agnes of Poitou (d. 1077), the regent for Henry IV (d. 1106), dramatically deprived of her position through the coup of Kaiserswerth (*Staatsstreich von Kaiserswerth*) in 1062; Empress Mathilda (d. 1167), the widow of Henry V (d. 1125) who sought to succeed her father to the English throne; and Eleanor of Aquitaine (d. 1204), queen of queens, whose political machinations left an indelible mark on French and English history of the twelfth century.

Yet Foerster does not simply set out to survey the subject of queenship; as the title announces, this is a book about royal widows, about the fate of queens after their husbands' deaths. The theme is certainly a worthy one. Unlike kings, queens were defined largely by their relationships with others — above all, their husbands and sons — and, as a consequence, there were many different kinds of queen (sometimes simultaneously): queen mothers, consorts, and dowagers. All of these tended to go by the same designation, and competition between queens (and empresses) was by no means uncommon. Foerster's central question is how, or to what extent, queens managed to retain their regality (*königlicher Status*) in widowhood. After a brief introductory survey (part I), she first considers what made a queen royal in the first place (part II): character traits and responsibilities, such as care for royal children and dynastic liturgical commemoration; marriage and consecration, marking the transition between noblewoman and queen; and the gendered quality of queenly authority. What emerges, not surprisingly, is the febrile nature of the office; even more than that of king, this depended on the individual and context. This is doubly true of royal widows, who come into sharper focus in the remaining sections.

The bulk of the analysis here is divided into three parts. The first (part III), on 'imagining royal widows' ('Herrscherwitwen vorstellen'), examines how the various roles of royal widows were represented by contemporary observers (above all, historical writers). Here we receive a crash course in the many guises of dowager queens, from representatives of the old regime, to regents for their young sons, to re-married noblewomen (or indeed queens, as in the case of Eleanor of Aquitaine), to chaste ascetics, living out their days in prayer. We also find out about the common accusations of sexual impropriety made against royal widows, especially those who played an active part in politics (one of the many reasons why an ascetic life was sometimes more attractive). Perhaps most interesting from a

comparative angle is the consideration of the titles accorded to royal widows in historical writing, which sets the scene for the more thorough consideration of queenly charters, seals, and correspondence which follows (part IV). The latter texts furnish insights into how widows sought to present themselves, and how others responded to their claims. Almost all continued to bear their royal title to the end of their days, but there are signs that (for varying reasons) it became more common to call them 'onetime queen' (*quondam regina*) in the thirteenth century, particularly in Germany.

The final analytical section (part V), 'Acting royally' ('Königlich handeln'), takes us to the heart of the subject: how, if at all, queens were able to maintain their status after their husbands' deaths. Here Foerster rightly notes that much hinged on context. If there was a power vacuum – because of a succession crisis (as with Cunigunde in 1024 or Empress Mathilda in England in 1135), or the accession of a minor (as with Agnes in 1056) – it was much easier for queens to maintain or enhance their position at court. If not, the options available were more limited, and the limitations became even greater if the next king was not their own son. Foerster also considers the resources that helped queens in their endeavours. She divides these into material wealth (economic capital), personal relationships (social capital), and knowledge and experience (cultural capital), with a clear nod to the sociological models of Pierre Bourdieu. Together these helped constitute the 'social magic' (*soziale Magie*) which maintained queenly status.

As should be clear, there is much of interest in this monograph. It brings together the experiences of a wide range of royal widows, examining how different sources and contexts shed light on analogous phenomena. Nevertheless, it is hard not to feel that this is a missed opportunity. Though framed as a comparative study, there is actually surprisingly little comparison on offer. Early on, Foerster flags up the different administrative and economic contexts in which English and German queens (and kings) operated, and she likewise points to different shifts in titulature in the thirteenth century. But for the most part, English and German experiences are just amalgamated. Comparative history should be about testing theories, pointing towards overlooked similarities, and identifying unexpected differences; here the impression created is simply of monotonous similarity. In this respect, it is disappointing to see so little mention of previ-

ous forays into Anglo-German comparison, particularly those of Karl Leyser and Björn Weiler, which might have shown the way.³

More worrying still are the signs that Foerster is not at home with the relevant sources, which are often cited through the secondary literature, leading to various distortions and misrepresentations. Thus Foerster writes of how 'in countless charters' ('in zahlreichen Urkunden') Cunigunde is addressed by a formulation from Genesis 2:24 (p. 175), an observation drawn from earlier work by Stefan Weinfurter and Ingrid Baumgärtner. Yet when one examines the charters themselves, one quickly realizes that only one of these quotes Genesis 2:24 (*erunt duo in carne uno*) while the rest cite a related (but distinct) line from Acts 4:32 (*erat cor unum et anima una*). This may seem like a rather pedantic point, but the results become more serious when, for example, Foerster speaks of writs of King Edgar (d. 975) in which his wife Ælfthryth is styled *regina* (p. 148). As every good Anglo-Saxonist will tell you, the writ charter is first firmly attested almost a century later, in the reign of Edgar's grandson, Edward the Confessor; moreover, these were always written in the Old English vernacular, where we would expect *cwen*. Most intriguingly, when the inquisitive reader chases up Foerster's reference to Pauline Stafford here, s/he finds that this points to an imaginary p. 63 of an article spanning pp. 3–27. Nor are these errors isolated. To take but two further examples, the largest number of authentic Anglo-Saxon charters does not come from the reign of Edward the Confessor (p. 25), while Swein Forkbeard certainly did not invade England with his son Cnut in 1016, two years after his own death (p. 149).

In the end, this book makes a Janus-like impression. It demonstrates the potential for sustained comparison between English and German queens and widows of the high Middle Ages, but also points to the pitfalls that await scholars who attempt this superficially. This is a start, but we will have to wait for more grounded and systematic work before we can make meaningful assertions about the relative position of royal widows in the two realms.

³ e.g. Karl J. Leyser, *Medieval Germany and its Neighbours* (London, 1982), chs. 7–10; Björn Weiler, 'The King as Judge: Henry II and Frederick Barbarossa as Seen by their Contemporaries', in Patricia Skinner (ed.), *Challenging the Boundaries of Medieval History: The Legacy of Timothy Reuter* (Turnhout, 2009), 115–40.

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DUNCAN HARDY, *Associative Political Culture in the Holy Roman Empire: Upper Germany, 1346–1521*, Oxford Historical Monographs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), xvii + 302 pp. ISBN 978 0 19 882725 2. £75.00

In this book, which is based on his Oxford doctoral thesis supervised by John Watts and submitted in 2015, Duncan Hardy, currently Assistant Professor in the Department of History at the University of Central Florida, asks what constituted the Holy Roman Empire as a political entity from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. The focus is on the period from 1346 to 1521, that is, between the reigns of Charles IV and Charles V. Geographically, the study is restricted mainly to the Upper Rhine and Swabia; however, it constantly draws upon different regions of the Empire for comparison.

The author looks at political culture, taking the approach productively employed for the early Middle Ages by Gerd Althoff, and for the early modern period by Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger (p. 9). Thus, Hardy presents an analysis of the political structures and the interactions of various actors within the complex entity that was the south-west of the Empire at the transition from the late Middle Ages to the early modern period.

This approach is distinguished from the two previously predominant interpretative models in the scholarship on the Holy Roman Empire. The first, reflecting the strong intellectual influence of legal and constitutional history, saw a 'German *Sonderweg*' leading from 'territorial fragmentation' to 'territorial lordship' (*Landesherrschaft*), which, in teleological terms, produced the later nation-states. The second model, based on Peter Moraw's interpretation, identified a dualistic 'imperial constitution' (*Reichsverfassung*) with a strongly vertical structure, which, during the fifteenth century, developed from the so-called *offene Verfassung* of actors with few obligations to the crown or one another, to more consolidated relations with stronger interaction among those actors and with the crown (*gestaltete Verdichtung*). By contrast with these, Hardy is seeking a new, more holistic approach to the late medieval Empire as a political unit.

The study consists of three main parts. These are preceded by a compelling introduction, which, in addition to presenting the previ-

Translated by Hazel James.

ous interpretative models, also explains the geographical scope of the study and its conceptual approach. The first part ('Shared and Interconnective Structures and Practices', pp. 19–89) presents common and network-constituting political structures and practices in the following four areas: a) Documentary Culture and Ritual, b) Arbitration and Para-Judicial Mediation, c) Feuding and Warfare, and d) Lordship and Administration. This general, descriptive part refers to existing structures and their development by the various political actors in the areas under consideration. Although it underlines the fragmentation and interconnection of the political landscape, it is less concerned with changes, ruptures, and innovations, which would have permitted clearer statements to be made about political culture.

The second part ('Associations and Associative Political Culture', pp. 91–176) covers associations, which the author defines as 'quasi-institutional frameworks' (p. 91), that is, horizontal contractual relationships and ties, such as leagues and alliances and other treaty-based relationships. He investigates them in a comparative perspective with regard to their forms, distribution, characteristics, variants, functions, contents, and fundamental principles. The ubiquity of contractual relationships of this sort in the various political spheres becomes clear. The content and objectives of the contracts, however, are derived primarily from the preambles and introductory formulas of the contractual texts themselves. This predictably results in the identification of the creation or restoration of peace and the common good, and the representation of the relationships with the Empire as the greater whole, as constituent features.

Parts one and two serve as the foundation for the third part ('Associative Political Culture in Action', pp. 177–255), which uses four case studies in an attempt to present an 'associative political culture' of the sort outlined on the basis of selected historical episodes and developments: the so-called 'Town War' (c.1376–89); the reign of Emperor Sigismund in Upper Germany (1410–37); Burgundian rule on the Upper Rhine until the end of the Burgundian Wars (c.1468–77); and the age of imperial reform under Emperors Frederick III and Maximilian I, and at the start of Charles V's reign, c.1486–1521. Two maps at the front of the book provide geographical orientation, and twelve figures, mostly from illuminated manuscripts, illustrate the communicative acts essential for the existence of the associations. A

comprehensive bibliography (pp. 265–87) and an index of names, places, and subjects (pp. 289–302) ensure that the work will be useful for future research.

With this model emphasizing the significance of ‘associative’ practices, the author offers a modification of previous interpretative patterns. The late medieval Holy Roman Empire is seen as an ‘associative entity’ (p. 260). It appears as a macrocosm of interwoven political actors which, in his brief conclusion (pp. 258–64), the author seeks to explain in terms of the contemporary image of the *Quaternion*. He suggests that a political culture characterized by ‘associations’ of this type reveals itself within the complex political reality of the Empire, and that the interaction of the political elites can be better explained by these ties than by vertical hierarchical relationships. Attempts to foreground reciprocal relationships and flexible and changeable ties that essentially rest on common interests, as Christian Jörg, for example, has shown for the Upper German town alliances,¹ go in a similar direction. The necessary departure from a view based on Estates (*Stände*) or individual territories means that the approach of a common ‘associative political culture’ can make a meaningful contribution to interpretation. The study could have emphasized more clearly the pragmatism of the individual political actors driven by particular interests. When individual interests intersected, a common course of action by the various parties, transcending all status and other barriers, seems to have been possible. Here, once again, we see that a pragmatic view of the political realities takes us further than any theoretical model.

The study is based not only on extensive work on sources in numerous archives in Alsace, south-western Germany, Switzerland, and Austria; it is also noteworthy for its exceptionally deep engagement with the current state of German scholarship, as reflected in the bibliography. The use of early modern German sources, which are

¹ Christian Jörg, ‘Städtebund – Herrenbund – Bündnisgeflecht: Beobachtungen zu den politischen Rahmenbedingungen in den oberdeutschen Landen im späteren 14. Jahrhundert’, *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte*, 77 (2018), 43–62; id., ‘Kooperation – Konfrontation – Pragmatismus: Oberdeutsche Städtebünde und Landfriede zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts’, in Hendrik Baumbach and Horst Carl (eds.), *Landfrieden – epochenübergreifend: Neue Perspektiven der Landfriedensforschung auf Verfassung, Recht, Konflikt* (Berlin, 2018), 51–84.

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offered in English translation, thereby facilitating access to these works for a wider anglophone readership, should also be mentioned. Hardy's interpretative model, drawing on a profound knowledge of the sources and research, therefore offers the basis for the discussion of a different conception of the late medieval Empire. This altogether stimulating approach will lead to much productive debate.

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DIETER BERG, *Oliver Cromwell: England und Europa im 17. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2019), 243 pp. ISBN 978 3 17 033160 0. €36.00

Oliver Cromwell has been the subject of only a handful of German-language biographies, but Dieter Berg's latest work admirably fills this gap. However, it would be misleading to classify this book simply as a narrative of the life of the Lord Protector. Berg has comprehensively mined the existing historiography (as evidenced by the fifteen-page bibliography) to produce a study of Cromwell which deftly weaves events in his life together with social, political, and military developments in the British Isles and Continental Europe. As a result, this work is a natural and worthy successor to Berg's 2016 study of the Tudor dynasty and England's relationship with its Continental neighbours in the sixteenth century.

The book is divided into two distinct sections. The first, comprising chapters one to six, provides a chronological overview of Cromwell's life, whereas the second part is made up of three thematic chapters on key topics of the Lord Protector's rule as well as his legacy. The first two chapters span the period from Cromwell's birth in 1599 to the end of Charles I's 'Personal Rule' in 1640. In addition to covering the childhood, education, marriage, financial struggles, spiritual crisis, and early parliamentary career of the future Lord Protector, these chapters place Cromwell's formative years in the broader context of the difficulties facing the first two Stuart monarchs, as well as developments in Europe leading up to and during the Thirty Years War. Such an approach—which is often lacking in biographies of Cromwell—provides valuable background for the financial and domestic issues facing English heads of state by the time that Cromwell became Lord Protector of the Commonwealth. Chapters three and four adopt a similar approach in covering the years 1640 to Charles I's trial and execution in 1649. Berg's focus on the political developments of the era means that he provides only a whistle-stop tour of the military actions, with scarcely three pages devoted to the First English Civil War. As it was his martial activities and leadership which brought Cromwell to national prominence, it is surprising that the battles of Marston Moor and Naseby are afforded little more than a namecheck each.

The fifth chapter covers the turbulent years from 1649 to 1653, examining the attempts to find a lasting solution to fill the constitu-

tional vacuum following the regicide. Berg also details the attempts to safeguard the nascent Commonwealth from military threats (perceived and real) in Ireland and Scotland, as well as the economic concerns which led to hostility and open warfare with the Dutch Republic. The chapter six spans the last five years of Cromwell's life, covering the short-lived Barebones Parliament and his tenure as Lord Protector from December 1653 until his death in September 1658. Throughout chapters five and six, Berg is adamant that Cromwell's actions after 1649, especially his forcible dissolution of the Rump, were not driven by a private lust for power, but rather the result of frustration towards an institution which refused to discuss constitutional issues and had not taken the steps deemed necessary by 'Old Ironsides' to heal the rifts caused by the Civil War.

The thematic section of the work opens with chapter seven covering four aspects of Cromwell's rise to power and rule as Lord Protector: the army, foreign policy, Ireland, and the economy. The first three sub-sections in particular stress the central role of Cromwell's belief in a divine mission for his career and policies. The section on the army narrates his rise from inexperienced cavalry officer to a principal commander of the force which provided the basis of his power in the 1650s. Berg credits this meteoric rise to Cromwell's popularity amongst his 'godly' troops, as well as his providential views, which led to conflict with the earl of Essex and his siding with the army in their eventual break with parliament. In his examination of Irish affairs, Berg divides the topic into three distinct periods (1649-50, 1650-2, and 1653-8) and argues that Cromwell should only be held accountable for the first, in which he was actually present in Ireland. The author by no means attempts to absolve his subject from the atrocities committed at Drogheda and Wexford, but he goes to great lengths to exonerate him from the brutal actions of his successors in Ireland, and even repeats Tom Reilly's assertion that Cromwell was 'framed' by English royalist and Irish nationalist writers.

The sections on the economy and foreign policy are the stronger parts of chapter seven, and reflect the strengths of the book as a whole by placing England in the broader context of Europe in the early seventeenth century. As Berg quite rightly states in the section on foreign policy, a knowledge of English foreign policy under James I and Charles I is essential to understanding the international situation by the time Cromwell was able to influence England's position

on the European stage. For example, he clearly outlines England's interest and short-lived involvement in the Thirty Years' War, and details the Dutch Republic's rise as a commercial power to provide context for the First Anglo-Dutch War of 1652–4. Berg identifies four key objectives of the Lord Protector's foreign policy: protecting the Protestant faith from Catholic persecution, defending the Commonwealth from external powers, preventing attempts to restore the Stuart monarchy, and expanding English trade and colonial possessions. The author asserts that it is 'striking' that these objectives were intended to achieve peace and balance, without noting that almost every ruler's foreign policy similarly aimed to bring about such outcomes, albeit on their terms. In the final part of the seventh chapter Berg provides a socio-economic background of early Stuart Britain, including the effects of the Thirty Years War on trade and English exports, before examining the impact of the Civil Wars on the English economy and the Commonwealth's attempts to remedy the dire fiscal situation. Frustratingly, whilst Berg asserts that policies such as selling of crown lands, sequestering royalists' estates, introducing price and wage controls, and stimulating overseas trade, saw a stabilization and improvement in English national finances, he does not provide any data to support such claims.

The eighth chapter addresses social, political, and cultural developments in the 1640s and 1650s, starting with the growth of religious and political non-conformist groups such as the Levellers, True Levellers, Fifth Monarchists, and Quakers following the turmoil of the Civil War. Berg details how the Commonwealth and Protectorate regimes interacted with such groups and their demands for the reform of church, society, and personal freedoms and liberties. In one of his few criticisms of the Lord Protector, Berg asserts that Cromwell lost a valuable opportunity for reform by violently suppressing the Levellers, whose ideals influenced the American constitution and the French Revolution. The second section of this chapter details the evolution of constitutional discourse from the mid 1640s. Whilst conceding that Cromwell did not develop any concepts of his own, Berg examines the development of competing ideas, ranging from defences of monarchy following the execution of Charles I, to James Harrington's promotion of the development of a utopian republic.

The chapter concludes with an overview of the cultural and educational aspects of the Republican era. Berg contrasts the closure of

theatres and stagnation of fine arts (with the exception of music) under the Commonwealth with Charles I's passion for art and his court's involvement in masques and performances. He also claims that the culture war in the 1650s between exiled royalist poets and republican propagandists led to the development of a modern style of journalism. This section also deals with the regime's education reforms, especially attempts to increase literacy rates and modernize curricula towards the teaching of subjects with professional use, such as medicine, natural science, and mathematics.

The final chapter examines the end of the Commonwealth and the restoration of the monarchy, before moving on to a discussion of Cromwell's treatment in scholarly literature. In a curious structural decision, this detailed historiography, which starts with the hostile depictions of the Lord Protector in the post-restoration period, ends in the nineteenth century. For a similarly detailed overview of scholarship from the work of Thomas Carlyle to the present day, one must return to the book's introduction. The latter part of the chapter comprehensively details Cromwell's legacy in popular culture, ranging from his portrayal by Richard Harris in the 1970 film 'Cromwell', to his depictions in Monty Python and 'Blackadder: The Cavalier Years'.

Ultimately, this work does not provide any new insights into the life of its subject. Whereas more recent biographies have pried into various aspects of the Lord Protector's private life, this work tends only to portray 'Cromwell the statesman' and overlooks 'Cromwell the man'. Aside from his background and a couple of very brief instances mentioning his love of fine arts and music in addition to hunting and falconry (which contrasted with the rigid standards of his regime), we are offered almost no glimpses into the Lord Protector's personal life. His wife is only mentioned twice, and his family life in general is something of a blind spot in this work. For example, Cromwell's second-born son, also named Oliver, is not listed amongst the offspring who survived to adulthood, even though he reached the age of twenty-one before succumbing to smallpox during the First Civil War. However, as this work is primarily a political biography, it is unsurprising that these aspects of Cromwell's life are omitted.

Berg's paints a largely uncritical depiction of the Lord Protector, effectively concluding that Cromwell's motives mostly justified his

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actions. As Cromwell was most likely not acting out of selfish motives to increase his private wealth or power, but rather believed he was fulfilling a divine mission to create a godly society, Berg defends many of the Lord Protector's undemocratic actions. Although Berg contends that Cromwell always regarded parliament as the supreme political authority, he frequently commends him for severing the Gordian Knot of parliamentary debate and infighting which hindered the implementation of his own private interpretation of God's will. For example, he criticizes the First Protectorate Parliament for questioning the Instrument of Government (which established Cromwell as Lord Protector) instead of introducing the societal reforms which Cromwell believed God entrusted him to introduce, justifying its dismissal by the Lord Protector in January 1655. Berg is especially lenient on Cromwell's role in Irish affairs. Although the Act for the Settlement of Ireland was passed by the Rump Parliament, and it was Cromwell's successors in Ireland who used scorched earth tactics to subjugate the remaining regions and later enforced the Act, he should not be absolved from all responsibility. After all, Cromwell dominated governmental proceedings regarding implementing the Act in the months following the dissolution of the Rump Parliament, and the Act was ratified and given the Lord Protector's assent in June 1657.

The real strength of Professor Berg's study of Oliver Cromwell lies in how it clearly lays out developments in Europe and the British Isles before, during, and after the Wars of the Three Kingdoms. Although readers hoping for a straightforward biography may be disappointed at the lack of insights into the Lord Protector's life, the scope of this work means that it will make a valuable contribution to the German-language scholarship of seventeenth-century England.

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CHARLOTTE BACKERRA, *Wien und London, 1727–1735: Internationale Beziehungen im frühen 18. Jahrhundert*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, 253 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018), 474 pp. ISBN 978 3 525 30194 4. €80.00

The title of Charlotte Backerra's 2017 Mainz dissertation is short and to the point: it suggests a concentrated diplomatic study of a limited theme. Yet, even a brief glance into the table of contents reveals something more nuanced and multi-layered. The plurality of 'relations', as the conclusion adeptly makes clear, is absolutely central to this book and Backerra offers a subtle, sophisticated, and complicated picture of the mechanisms and contexts within which Anglo-Habsburg diplomacy operated that is far removed from the caricature of 'what one clerk said to another' diplomatic history. Backerra's study offers numerous important suggestions as to what a 'new diplomatic' history of the late early modern period might look like in the future.

Backerra begins, as one would expect from the work's earlier incarnation as a German doctoral dissertation, with a thorough analysis of the existing historiography. She highlights the terminological difficulties around labels – international, transnational, and diplomatic could all potentially be applied to the work – and the more general problems of using the language of modern diplomacy to talk about the early modern period. Her work should be seen as a continuation of themes developed by Hillard von Thiessen and others in which the court shifts from being a site of representation to a locus of administration and decision-making across the early modern period.

The choice of period for Backerra's study is apposite for a number of reasons. At the simple level of events, there was much going on in Anglo-Habsburg relations in this period. The last few years of George I's reign had seen a notable cooling in the relationship between London and Vienna in the aftermath of the Treaty of Hanover (1725), ongoing concerns about the confessional situation within the Reich and the position of the Ostend Company, and tensions with the French and Spanish Bourbons. George I's representative in Vienna, the Swiss noble François Pesme de Saint Saphorin, had been expelled. The appointment of a replacement, James, Lord Waldegrave, offered an opportunity for a fresh start, as did the accession to the throne of George II in June 1727. The period covered by this dissertation witnessed the attempts to solve wider European difficulties through the

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Congress of Soissons (1728–9) and the Treaty of Seville (1729), the partial revival of Anglo-Habsburg amity through the Treaty of Vienna (1731), and then the testing of that relationship in the War of the Polish Succession, where British neutrality was a source of considerable irritation to the Habsburgs. More generally, Backerra's work comes at a point at which there has been renewed interest in the study of both the Hanoverians and the Habsburgs. As she correctly notes, this interest has, perhaps, been more intensive in recent years on the Hanoverian side of the equation. Recent studies of both Charles VI and Habsburg administration are still lacking. Nevertheless, her work provides an opportunity to engage with bilateral relations but in a way that transcends the existing literature.

Backerra's approach entails using a variety of different lenses through which to view diplomatic interactions. She begins by providing a detailed narrative of diplomatic activity across this period. Here she benefits from being able to utilize not just the official dispatches that flowed between London and Vienna but also the private correspondence of some of the major participants. While these records are more voluminous on the British side, the availability of the major part of the Kinsky family archive through the Austrian State archives since 2011 has helped considerably.

The detailed chronological investigation is followed by three thematic chapters that approach diplomatic relationships in a variety of different ways. The first of these concentrates on actors. The discussion begins with monarchs and rulers, proceeds to the key advisers and ministers, and then focuses on the representatives on the other side of the bilateral relationship. Backerra begins with those in Vienna before turning to London, but in both cases she also includes separate sections on the presence of those from the electorate of Hanover in each location. This gives appropriate weight to one of the key tensions in this bilateral relationship: that, in many ways, it was not straightforwardly bilateral. The presence on the British thrones of a German elector after 1714 created a series of political and status-related problems. How far was it appropriate or necessary for the Emperor to treat the King of England, Scotland, and Ireland as a diplomatic near-equal and in what circumstances might Imperial and feudal notions of overlordship be asserted?

Having looked at the individual participants and their often complicated interpersonal relationships, Backerra turns her attention to

the wider context and frameworks of diplomatic interaction. Here she follows the spatial turn in emphasizing the importance of space and place. London and Vienna were both cities that were undergoing significant changes in this period, and location mattered. In Vienna there was the potential for couriers to arrive largely unnoticed because of the location of the British diplomatic residence. Meanwhile in London, Count Kinsky found himself living in the newly fashionable West End with plenty of opportunities for revealing and informative social interactions in the neighbourhood. Communications were also crucially important, both because of the speed with which instructions might travel and the need to disguise secret material from the watchful eyes of prying postmasters.

Backerra also explores the different types of influence that might be brought to bear on foreign policy. She is alive to the importance of courts, and the role of Vienna and London as the main court-cities for their respective dynasties forms an important part of her analysis. She also wants to explore the ways in which policy was formed, and the differing roles of representative institutions and councils within the two systems. Here she is also rightly alert to the continuing importance of status and nobility within both systems. Her observation (p. 222) that Kinsky had to invent a term to describe formed political opposition (opting for 'Contrepartie' to describe the opponents of the 'Hofpartie') is also telling. More generally, Backerra highlights some of the systemic misunderstandings that plagued Anglo-Habsburg relations in this period. She notes the difficulties that Kinsky had in understanding the interrelationship of crown, court, and ministry and the assumption, partly derived from Kinsky's contacts with oppositional figures, that the ministry and 'the English nation' were very much at odds with each other. Backerra indicates the web of cultural assumptions that made contact difficult, including the problems posed by a lack of a common diplomatic language. While modern rulers are less likely to suffer from the absence of much time spent abroad that was common across both administrations in this period, information overload has an all too familiar ring.

The final chapter considers the main themes that emerge from files as being central to diplomatic exchange. Backerra rightly wants to stress the importance of dynastic relations, particularly the concerns about marriages and their likely impact on wider European politics. She is less willing than many historians to draw a sharp distinction

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between the dynastic motivations of the central European powers and the more economically orientated outlook of the Maritime powers. Nevertheless, she is also alert to the layers of concern for trade that were present, noting Sir Thomas Robinson's relations who worked for the East India Company (and who were therefore anxious to remove the threat of the Ostend Company) and the Kinsky family's interests in the linen trade. She also devotes space to the importance of geostrategy, preferring this term to 'geopolitics' (which she views as the practical implementation of geostrategy). This provides her with the opportunity to discuss the pretensions that both sides had to see themselves as central to attempts to maintain the peace of Europe, as well as being part of a more broadly balanced system. Finally, religion and confession appear as themes. Backerra is keen to stress that confession was not the only factor within alliance politics but she notes a series of ways in which confessional concerns impinged upon the diplomatic 'Alltag' in both London and Vienna.

The picture that emerges, then, is a multi-layered one. Backerra rightly argues that previous studies have often neglected one theme within negotiations at the expense of others, or have failed to show complexity of interaction through insufficient consideration of the varying dynamics at play. The origins of the book in doctoral work are sometimes apparent. There could have been some streamlining of discussion and Backerra's conclusions could, perhaps, be expressed more forcefully. Yet there is a rich seam of material here. Backerra's work complements and extends that recent historiography that has sought to relocate British foreign policy in the first half of the eighteenth century within a European, and specifically Germanic, context. It picks up neatly on a 'courtly turn' that wants to stress the abiding importance of the court as a site of power, even within the age of Enlightenment. It also provides a model for what a cultural history of diplomacy might look like, and is a telling reminder of what can be done, through careful reading, where the sources survive.

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nature of eighteenth-century diplomatic thought as well as the Hanoverian monarchy. Among his recent publications are *George II: King and Elector* (2011) and (as editor) *The Oxford History of Protestant Dissenting Traditions*, vol. ii: c.1689–c.1828 (2018).

MEGAN MARUSCHKE, *Portals of Globalization: Repositioning Mumbai's Ports and Zones, 1833–2014*, *Dialectics of the Global*, 2 (Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2019), xii + 253 pp. ISBN 978 3 11 061221 9. £62.50

How to think about globalization? There are, in fact, many possible answers. Just as the notion of political, economic, and cultural entanglement is expanding beyond national borders, the debate about the consequences of these processes is also intensifying. If we follow the public discourse, however, the impression soon arises that we are dealing mainly with a present-day phenomenon. Whether we are talking about the digital revolution, climate change, refugee movements, or geopolitical protectionism, pervasive narratives of 'globalization' have long since turned the term into a universal teleological argument for all those who recognize in it both an immutable destiny and the cause of all the horrors of modernity.

The enormous interest in large-scale gestures is, to some extent, understandable. If the global encompasses everything, does it not take place everywhere, and at any time? Research overviews and handbooks therefore either often end up generating enormous amounts of data, or forcibly squeeze this wealth of data into rough shapes. 'Networks', 'scales', 'commodities', and 'supply chains' are the buzz words of such presentist readings, many of which were formulated after an all-encompassing 'space of flows' was announced.¹

Global history, too, often (mis)understood as the history of globalization, looks in depth at transnational relations, transfers, and connections between ever larger geographical units. As research in this field progresses, its practitioners are no longer under suspicion of pursuing niche research. The challenge, rather, is to demonstrate that they are heuristically capable of dealing with their enormous subject. Megan Maruschke's readable planning history of the port landscape of Mumbai, immersed in all the theoretical concepts of global studies, sets out to do exactly that. Her basic argument is as simple as it is convincing: if we want to think about globalization, we must research its projects and their effects 'in action' (p. 4).

Translated by Angela Davies (GHIL).

¹ Manuel Castells, *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture*, 3 vols. i: *The Rise of the Network Society* (3rd edn. Oxford, 1998), 376 ff.

The subject of her investigation is correspondingly small in scale. Planetary flows as such are not the issue, but the places that grow out of a permanent state of transit, for the allegedly seamless circulation of people, goods, and capital always results in gaps, in-between spaces, and local, limited territories and fragments, whose conflicting design is neither solely linked to state authority, nor exclusively global in scope. Maruschke sees the Free-Trade Zones (FTZs), Export Processing Zones (EPZs), and Special Economic Zones (SEZs) of the Indian port metropolis of Mumbai as prime examples of such enclaves. Conceptually, she understands these as ‘portals’, to use Michael Geyer’s terminology. Or, in her own words, as a spatial lens ‘through which not only processes of globalization become tangible, but also where the actors, strategies, and institutions that seek to control flows become visible’ (p. 11).²

A general awareness that the diverse spatial characteristics of global networks are essentially produced by specific actors, their practices, and positions of power has recently enjoyed great and growing popularity in the social and cultural sciences. Maruschke goes one step further. In line with transregional studies and the basic premisses of the Leipzig Collaborative Research Centre (*Sonderforschungsbereich*) ‘Processes of Spatialization under the Global Condition’, under whose auspices the present book was developed, she follows a number of approaches inspired by global history, which not only deal with techniques for dominating and controlling territories, but focus specifically on phenomena of re-spatialization by and through processes of entanglement.³ In her case, a history of relations becomes a relational history, at the heart of which Mumbai’s ports and zones function as empirically tangible ‘spaces of planning’. By analogy, the research design sees their constantly changing nature as a ‘repositioning’ of the city ‘within shifting global, regional, and national frameworks’ (p. 3). This allows the author to shift the ‘how’, that is, the constant process of re-territorialization, into the focus of

² Michael Geyer, ‘Portals of Globalization’, in Winfried Eberhard and Christian Lübke (eds.), *The Plurality of Europe: Identities and Spaces* (Leipzig, 2010), 509–20.

³ e.g. Charles Maier, *Once within Borders: Territories of Power, Wealth and Belonging since 1500* (Cambridge, Mass., 2016); Matthias Middell, *The Routledge Handbook of Transregional Studies* (London, 2019).

the analysis and skilfully to link her case study with the metadebates on globalization theory.

The structure of the book exemplifies its multi-perspectival approach. After a methodological discussion in the introduction, along with a survey of increasingly transdisciplinary globalization research, the analysis follows in six thematic chapters. These cover an ambitious timespan of almost two hundred years, from 1833 to 2014. By opting for the *longue durée*, Maruschke can present in-depth investigations of the use of Mumbai's ports and zones first by colonial and later by state and non-state actors, private enterprises, and multinational trade organizations. The historical contextualization takes the analysis along the multi-layered and profound changes in India from the British Raj to national Independence and the economically deregulated present.

And it also opens up the transregional field of investigation for Maruschke. Detailed consideration of representative stakeholders such as, among others, the East India Company, the Bombay Port Trust, and the Indian Ministry of Shipping and Transport emphasizes purely local interventions as well as connections between these localities and other territories and operational levels. In short, Mumbai's portals reveal both the 'legacies' (p. 9) and the dialectics of the global (this, incidentally, is also the title of the series edited by Matthias Middell in which the volume under review is published) in, literally, the smallest space.⁴

The British Library's India Office Records and the holdings of its Asia and Pacific Collection provide the corpus of sources for the first main section, in which the author describes the historical roots of today's SEZs. She identifies them as the products of a global economy that developed over the course of the nineteenth century, and which the British Empire successively embedded in its colonial networks. She thus interprets the entrepôt and free trade zones set up in Bombay (the official name of Mumbai until the mid 1990s, introduced under British rule) as a strategically deployed power instrument of British economic policy. Maruschke, however, emphatically places their creation beyond the sole agency of imperial actors. Local

⁴ Maruschke relates her work in this respect to preparatory studies by Michael B. Miller, *Europe and the Maritime World: A Twentieth-Century History* (Cambridge, 2012) and Alice Mah, *Port Cities and Global Legacies: Urban Identity, Waterfront Work, and Radicalism* (Basingstoke, 2014).

investors and trading companies were deliberately integrated into the processes of reclaiming land, constructing infrastructure, and port maintenance. These, in turn, profited from tax incentives or the right to build their own dock facilities. The Government of India eventually set up a port trust to regulate all the private initiatives in Bombay's FTZs, and to place foreign trade under state supervision. The overall historical view, however, makes it clear that the master-planned zone models of the Global North did not simply diffuse through the subcontinent. Local adaptations were made, and they were constantly expanded in response to site-specific needs.

The second, considerably larger section extends the period of investigation right up to the present. The source material for this is a combination of documents from the Indian Merchants' Chamber and the Central Secretariat Library in New Delhi, along with contemporary trade documents, economic analyses, newspaper reports, and online resources. In the course of gaining Independence from the British Empire, the young nation-state of India saw questions about the future of its spatial planning as of great political relevance. With the intention of increasing national exports, the Ministry of Commerce pursued a dual foreign trade strategy. Import duties and restrictions were imposed to protect the domestic market, while the establishment of a FTZ in Kandla and of the Santacruz Electronics Export Processing Zone (SEEPZ) created extra-territorial areas in order to continue attracting foreign investment. Maruschke can once again show how, in sometimes contradictory ways, these zones were made into 'strategic sites for state-driven economic engagement between India and the global economy' (p. 93).

The book ends by looking forward to the most recent marketing campaign, which aims to reposition Mumbai in the transregional Asian trade. The dialectics of globalization and (re-)territorialization appear one last time here. Ironically, it is precisely the 'image-building mega projects' (p. 191) of the global city that are gradually displacing the very port that first connected Mumbai to the world.

All things considered, Maruschke has written an important study that takes its readers from the colonization of India in the nineteenth century right into the middle of current debates on globalization. Her approach is characterized by how she interweaves historical classification and spatial theory analysis in a purposeful manner. The methodical access via specific spaces of planning allows her to de-

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velop a clear argument, which confidently depicts the pluralism and complexity of trans-disciplinary research as well as setting its own priorities. The interplay between state and private economic interests is presented as vividly and understandably as the convoluted hierarchies, dependencies, and organizational forms of cross-border economic relationships. As a result, large parts of the study impressively master the 'challenge of locating transnational actors and their multiple, entangled spaces of action' (p. 192).⁵

One gap, therefore, is all the more painfully noticeable: Mumbai's urban population. The many people who lived in the immediate vicinity of the ports and zones, and whose labour kept them going, appear at best on the margins of this account. Dockers, warehouse clerks, and indentured or migrant labourers remain largely anonymous; the internal conflicts and contrasts in the Indian metropolis are hardly mentioned. It would have been interesting, however, to look at ambivalences here as well. On the one hand the zone had precarious working conditions and a lack of legal guarantees; on the other, it constantly evoked the agency and resilience of the urban communities, expressed, for example, in strikes and blockades (there is a brief mention on p. 189). Maruschke thus misses a chance to show that the portals of globalization are more than just places of capitalist accumulation. Future work could start from this point, and tackle fundamental questions of historical urban studies: what are ports and economic zones beyond their logistical infrastructure? What forms of adaptation and appropriation can be observed in the setting of these spaces? And how did they impact on the everyday life of different urban milieus?

Those with an interest in technical history will also note the lack of images to illustrate the zones' building history and development of infrastructure. Nor is there a single map in the whole book that locates Mumbai's ports geographically, or positions them in relation to their hinterland and other regions. Also, the impressive abundance of individual observations sometimes gets in the way of a more stringent narrative. It is not only that between the first and the second main sections there is a chronological gap of sixty years, which is not satisfactorily explained; there are also numerous redundancies that

⁵ For a more detailed discussion of this see Antje Dietze and Katja Naumann, 'Revisiting Transnational Actors from a Spatial Perspective', *European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire*, 25 (2018), 415–30.

disrupt the reading flow, especially at the transitions between chapters.

This, however, hardly detracts from the overall achievement of this knowledgeable and fact-filled book. Maruschke's object-related exploration allows her to take a methodological approach that is not limited by disciplinary borders and spatial dichotomies. The result is a wide-ranging panorama of the historical co-evolution of cities and economic models, the creation of territoriality, and the ongoing re-positioning of spaces. For anyone who wants to think about globalization in terms of its portals, this book is highly recommended.

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ODED Y. STEINBERG, *Race, Nation, History: Anglo-German Thought in the Victorian Era* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019), 296 pp. ISBN 978 0 81225 137 1. Hardback \$US65.00. Outside the Americas £54.00

The ways in which many nineteenth-century English intellectuals saw their constitutional system as having been carried from 'the forests of Germany' during the Anglo-Saxon invasions, and adopted a sense of racial affiliation and shared origins with the modern German peoples, is a topic that has been examined widely by historians. Ideas of Teutonic migration and the displacement of the earlier Celtic (often termed 'Welsh') population to the fringes of the British Isles became central to a particular (if often contested) national story. Likewise, the manner in which liberal German thinkers in the nineteenth century often saw English political and legal forms as a full flowering of ancient Germanic systems unaffected by Roman elements, and adopted similar senses of ethnic or racial affiliation with the English, has also been widely recognized. These developments were highly political, giving a sense of racialized, historic, and constitutional depth to national communities, and conceptually linked the two countries. And not only were these ideas reinforced by the consolidating discipline of academic history, but the appeal of these narratives was crucial for building the careers of many historians, such as John Richard Green and Edward Augustus Freeman.

This book by Oded Y. Steinberg examines the relationship between 'Teutonism' and history within a network of politically active and university based historians in the second half of the nineteenth century. There are particularly strong focuses on E. A. Freeman and James Bryce, along with excursions to Friedrich Max Müller, J. R. Green, and a range of other figures. In this, it should be said that the emphasis in the book is decidedly on the 'Anglo' side of the 'Anglo-German' equation, rather than, as might be expected from the title, it being a study of bilateral, comparative, or transnational relations between English and German historians (although elements of this do appear in some chapters, especially the second one). The Teutonic historians are shown as linked by friendship, correspondence, and publications, and to have developed within an intellectual context where geopolitical interests, changes in historical scholarship, and shifts in related subjects, such as antiquarianism and philology,

were entangled with new conceptions of the past and ideas of the relations between peoples.

Across the book, the Teutonist historians are shown as having multiple perspectives on the Germanic past and its significance, differentiating the Germanic peoples from the Celts, the Romans, and the Slavs, and asserting their simultaneously racial-cultural but also constitutional importance. Beyond this, the book has larger arguments of some interest. Foremost among these is that Teutonist narratives promoted new understandings of historical periodization and chronology based on 'racial time'. History was measured not according to dynasties, geography, or classic periodizations of 'antiquity', 'middle ages', and 'modernity', but was seen as the continual story of the development of particular racial-cultural groups. This chronology of 'racial time' not only provided a new way of structuring and thinking about history, but also became a way of connecting communities across time and geography.

The book's first three chapters provide a framework for the overall study and its argument. The first, 'The English Teutonic Circle', combines context for the early development of 'Anglo-Saxonism' in England with a study of how Teutonist scholars such as Green, Freeman, and Bryce understood the cultures and geographies of the Germanic peoples across northern Europe (and into North America). The second chapter, 'Roman Decline and Teutonic Rejuvenation', examines some connections between English and German historians, particularly through new forms of history-writing. Chapter three, 'Racial History', looks at the long-standing trope of the *Völkerwanderung* of the fourth and fifth centuries (within which the Anglo-Saxon invasions of Britain were placed) as a great period of cyclical historical change and civilizational renewal, with dynamic Germanism taking over from the decadent Roman period. These three chapters together blend into one another quite markedly, and present an overall sense of the intellectual and social roots of this community of historians.

The next three chapters are intellectual biographies of three historians, paying attention to how they engaged with ideas of race, history, and periodization. The first of these examines possibly the archetypal 'Teutonist', Edward Augustus Freeman, who is presented as holding Teutonic history to represent a single 'modern' era commencing with the Germanic migrations. In this, Freeman promoted a

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view of history defined by 'race' and relations between racial groups, but often understood this in cultural and constitutional, as much as hereditarian, forms. Next follows a study of James Bryce, the historian and prominent Liberal politician, particularly examining his interest in the constitutional and institutional history of the Holy Roman Empire, which was seen as merging religious and political forms, and providing lessons for later imperial systems. The final chapter is something of an odd one out, examining the work of the quite non-Teutonic Irish historian J. B. Bury at the turn of the twentieth century. Bury is shown to have developed new means of defining history and 'progress' through the study of the relative fates of the Western and Eastern Roman empires. The work ends with a discussion of the implications of these 'Germanic' conceptions of history for historiographical debates on Anglo-German antagonism in the years leading up to the First World War, with the assumed racial affinities between the English and the Germans in many ways sharpening senses of rivalry.

The book largely succeeds in its core aim of providing expositions of 'Teutonism' among history-writers in nineteenth-century England. It shows how a community of 'Anglo-German historians' developed and asserted the Germanic heritage of the English, which was based on wider notions of superiority, whether racial, national, linguistic, or constitutional. There are, however, a few issues which I thought could have been developed more, particularly as the focus of the biographical chapters in particular is very much based on analysing textual works of history, rather than contextualizing the figures under investigation. For example, the political affiliations and activities of the historians in question are mentioned, but do take something of a backseat to the analysis of their writings. This means that their history-writing is not as related to their strong political activity as it possibly ought to have been. Also, given that Freeman and Bryce were both Regius Professors of History, the book could have used some discussion of the particularities of academic career-building and history-writing in Oxford itself during this period, as this is never really investigated.

There is something of a larger missed opportunity in the book, which does limit its readership and argument in the current historical context, in that it is largely positioned towards quite an old historiography, and is not really connected with current debates in the his-

tory and implications of race and nationality in the nineteenth century. Any references past 2010 tend to relate to the more specialist literature around the particular historians being discussed, rather than engaging with new concepts or trends in the wider historiography. As suggested above, one might expect a book which engages with 'Anglo-German' thought to reflect on long-running trends in transnational history, which this work does not really do. More significant is an overall lack of engagement with the new strands of modern British history, which have placed empire at the centre of the British experience, and examined its manifold entanglement with history, race, nation, and gender, and provided important new ways of thinking about these topics, and British and English history more widely. The book cites important authors in this vein, such as Theodore Koditschek and Duncan Bell, without engaging with their arguments in the depth required, and references to other key figures in this wider literature, such as Catherine Hall, Sadiah Qureshi, and John MacKenzie are conspicuously absent. The arguments and examples in the book—how the Teutonist historians thought of their 'race' as 'manly' and 'born to rule', constantly making analogies and comparisons with extra-European populations subjected to colonial control, while reflecting on the rise and fall of various empires—suggest that there is a huge amount of potential linkage here. While the book can hint at these connections and significance (and readers can certainly fill in the gaps themselves), the larger contribution is less clear than it could have been.

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ANAND TOPRANI, *Oil and the Great Powers: Britain and Germany, 1914 to 1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 336 pp. ISBN 978 0 19 88346 01. £65.00

Writing a history of oil holds out a number of temptations. The first results from the fact that over the course of the twentieth century, oil became the most important energy resource for modern industrialized economies, as well as the main feedstock of the chemical industries. Its all-pervasiveness in economic life, at least from the middle of the century, makes it tempting to explain everything with reference to oil. Yet the fact that everything was somehow connected to oil does not mean that oil is always a good starting point for historiographical explanations. Second, until the 1970s the oil industry was dominated by several major oil companies, the so-called ‘seven sisters’ and, since the First World War, access to oil was crucial for the conduct of warfare. Thus it is tempting to narrate the history of oil as the struggle of great men—entrepreneurs and statesmen alike—for wealth and power, as Daniel Yergin did in his masterly Pulitzer Prize winning history of oil in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹ Third, the global interconnectedness of the oil economy, and oil’s importance for virtually every aspect of modern life, means that the history of oil is frustratingly complex. Those occupied with the economics or the politics of oil produced countless assessments of future supply and demand as well as strategies to encourage or lower one or the other. These documents were essential reading for economic and political decision-makers, but they had to be renewed time and again and it is as easy to get lost in them as it is difficult to integrate them into a compelling narrative.

In his well-researched and carefully crafted study of British and German oil policies from the beginning of the First World War to the end of the Second, which emerged from a dissertation written under the guidance of David Painter at Georgetown University, Anand Toprani partly resists these temptations while also (intentionally) succumbing to other aspects of them. The result is a valuable study that makes an important contribution to the history of energy and Great Power conflicts in the inter-war period, but one that is not always easy to read. After setting the stage in his introduction, which

¹ Daniel Yergin, *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money, and Power* (New York, 1991).

is mainly devoted to the connection between ‘oil and strategy’, Toprani, who is now Assistant Professor of Strategy and Policy at the US Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island, dedicates four chronological chapters each to Britain and Germany.

The overall strategic predicament that Toprani identifies is as follows. The First World War made obvious to everybody something that some political analysts had already observed previously. In the twentieth century it would be impossible to claim Great Power status for any country that did not have secure access to sufficient oil reserves. The rise of the British Empire had been fuelled by coal, of which Britain had ample supplies. But before the discovery of North Sea oil, the country lacked oil reserves of its own. Similarly, Germany had a large coal-mining industry but no meaningful domestic oil reserves. By contrast, the USA, which emerged as the supreme economic and military power over the course of the First World War, as Adam Tooze has succinctly shown again recently,² could rely on large domestic oil production. The US oil industry could not only fulfil the country’s own needs, but also support its allies in case of emergency until the 1970s. The Soviet Union, as the second Great Power dominating the twentieth century, especially its second half, was equally oil- and energy-independent because of the Caucasian oil fields. Against this backdrop, Toprani analyses the refusal of Germany and Britain to be reduced to second- or third-rate powers, resulting in their attempts to secure an independent oil supply.

Toprani starts his narrative with the seminal decision to shift the Royal Navy’s fuel supply from coal to oil on the eve of the First World War. While oil’s advantages are obvious in retrospect – its liquidity, higher caloric value, the gains in technology performance, and the opportunity to refuel ships at sea – Toprani shows that the decision was contested at the time. In consequence, the coal stations the British Empire had installed around the world were rendered useless, whereas the Californian oil industry became crucial to shipping traffic in the Pacific. Under wartime conditions, 80 per cent of British oil came from the USA. Toprani argues that this dependence worried British policy-makers, who developed a strategy to regain energy independence. Its major instruments were two of the seven sisters: the Anglo-Persian Oil Company (later Anglo-Iranian Oil

² J. Adam Tooze, *The Deluge: The Great War, America and the Remaking of Global Order, 1916–1931* (London, 2015).

Company, later British Petroleum), of which the government had already acquired a majority before the war, and Royal Dutch Shell, which had resulted from a merger of the Royal Dutch Petroleum Company and the Shell Transport and Trading Company in 1907, that had also been influenced by the government. After the war, the British government's crucial goal was to secure access to the oil reserves in the Middle East. This led to intense conflicts with the USA, which Toprani analyses in detail. As he argues, Britain was not bankrupt at the end of the war, but it depended economically on oil imports that were traded in sterling and not in dollars.

While the British government succeeded in securing its exclusive rights in Persia and also gained access to oil in Iraq, it achieved energy security only in peace time. The need to transport Middle Eastern oil through the Suez Canal and the Mediterranean, or else around the Cape of Good Hope, made it difficult to maintain a steady flow of oil during the Second World War, when the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company lost many of its tankers. Thus Britain was once again dependent on oil imports from the USA, and Toprani concludes: 'Seldom has a strategy promised so much and yielded so little as Britain's efforts in the Middle East following World War I' (p. 129). In his conclusion, he argues that Britain suffered from 'imperial overstretch', and that its relative decline over the twentieth century was not only correlated with the rise of oil, but that the two phenomena were causally linked (p. 260).

In contrast to Britain, Germany lost access to the Middle East as a result of the Versailles Treaty after the First World War. No German company participated in the Red Line Agreement that established a British, French, and American oil exploration cartel for the Arabian Peninsula. In the First World War, Germany could only rely on oil reserves from Galicia and, after the occupation, from Romania. In 1918 the military experienced a severe lack of oil. The German reaction to the country's dependence on foreign oil – in 1928 foreign companies were responsible for half of the German petroleum trade – has often been analysed, though it has rarely entered major narratives of German inter-war history.³ Toprani emphasizes correctly that economic and political interest in the hydrogenation of oil from coal had

³ Titus Kockel, *Deutsche Ölpolitik 1928–1938* (Berlin, 2005); Dietrich Eichholtz and Titus Kockel, *Von Krieg zu Krieg: Zwei Studien zur deutschen Erdölpolitik in der Zwischenkriegszeit* (Leipzig, 2008).

already arisen in the 1920s, but that it also became clear that these chemical methods were too expensive to be commercially viable under free market conditions. The situation changed fundamentally when the National Socialists assumed power in 1933 and subordinated other economic goals to achieving the capacity to wage war against neighbouring countries. Yet, as Toprani shows in his nuanced argument, the expansion of hydrogenation, especially under the Four Year Plan after 1936, was only one element of Germany's oil strategy, which also included stockpiling, importing oil from the Soviet Union and Romania, and the acquisition of oil fields by means of war.

Toprani shows that at the beginning of the Second World War, the British government grossly overestimated German oil reserves and was later surprised by how high a risk the National Socialists had been willing to take. Their war machinery depended on a multitude of different oil products, not all of which could be stockpiled. Hence, Toprani suggests, the German Blitzkrieg strategy was inevitable because oil reserves were not big enough to sustain a longer war. According to Toprani, the German oil supply situation even worsened with its first victories because planners had not thought about how to supply the occupied territories. In his view, three factors then led to the decision to attack the Soviet Union: the ideology of living space (*Lebensraum*); the impossibility of defeating Britain; and the energy crisis, which could only be solved by the acquisition of the Caucasian oil fields. However, the invasion meant that the fuel supply situation deteriorated further, and lack of gasoline hampered the German war effort. In sum, access to oil or the lack of it, according to Toprani, was decisive for both the invasion of the Soviet Union and Germany's eventual defeat, despite the German chemical industry's remarkable production of synthetic fuel.

In his conclusion, Toprani argues that both German and British efforts to achieve or re-establish energy independence, while utterly different in their means and consequences, were futile under the geographical, strategic, and technological conditions of the twentieth century. Thus it was no accident that the Cold War and the second half of the twentieth century were dominated by the two industrialized countries that had ample domestic oil supplies at their disposal, namely, the United States and the Soviet Union. While the correlation between oil and power is well established, I believe that the causal link is questionable. Did the United States and the Soviet Union

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become global superpowers because they had sufficient oil reserves, or did oil assume its crucial role for economic life and its strategic value because those powerful countries had a lot of it? Suggesting that oil was a reason to start a war, one has to accept or neglect many other assumptions and choices that make war a suitable means of achieving certain goals. Moreover, as David Edgerton has argued in an insightful article, there is always a multitude of raw materials that are crucial in waging a war.⁴ While the case that oil is special can be made, as Toprani does, it never stands alone. In many passages of his book, Toprani shows that he is well aware of these complexities, but in others he succumbs to the temptation to turn it into a story of great men fighting over oil. Nevertheless, his comparative account engenders new perspectives on the relationship between energy and international relations in the age of the world wars.

⁴ David Edgerton, 'Controlling Resources: Coal, Iron Ore and Oil in the Second World War', in Michael Geyer and Adam Tooze (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Second World War*, vol. iii: *Total War: Economy, Society and Culture* (Cambridge, 2015), 122–48.

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GEORG KOCH, *Funde und Fiktionen: Urgeschichte im deutschen und britischen Fernsehen seit den 1950er Jahren* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2019), 376 pp. ISBN 978 3 8353 3421 2. €34.90

In his unique study *Funde und Fiktionen*, Georg Koch explores the reciprocal entanglements between the academic study of prehistory and its medialization in a comparative long-term analysis. His book engages with televised narratives on early mankind from the 1950s to 2010 in Britain and (West-)Germany; it is, indeed, the first comparative approach to the medialization of prehistory. On the one hand, Koch contributes to the growing body of historical studies that explore the impact of television on public discourse and societal value negotiations. On the other hand, it is dedicated to the specific analysis of shifts in the public interpretive authority of historical issues that was negotiated between academics, TV producers, and journalists of science between 1950 and 2010.

Koch's findings are based upon an impressive range of primary materials, including sixty-seven documentaries and several interviews with academics, actors, and staff involved in the production of these programmes. His reflections are also backed up by the broadcasting stations' written archives and contemporary press reviews. Koch's meticulously researched book examines a wide range of methodologies and combines film analysis with quantitative methods to identify narrative patterns.

Funde und Fiktionen is a highly stimulating study in many respects: its hermeneutic value stems from the combination of a comparative approach with an encompassing long-term perspective. Koch follows the entire development of scholarly and mediated engagement with prehistory from its beginnings in the nineteenth century to the present, which allows him to establish a clear periodization of trends and shifts therein. In doing so, he traces modes of reciprocal influence between academic and mediated narratives about the earliest period of human history. In his exploration of the entanglements between televised interpretations of, and academic research on, prehistory Koch showcases profoundly different developments between Britain and Germany. At the same time, he also specifies parallels between narrative patterns that emerged across the sample and shows how British productions did, indeed, have an impact on the development of German television programmes.

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Koch's analysis follows a chronological structure. The inclusion of concise summaries after each one of the three chapters, as well as a separate concluding chapter that pulls all findings together makes it easy to navigate his multi-layered analysis. The book opens with an introduction of methodological issues and a localization of the study within the academic discourse on televised representation of history and public history in general. My only criticism is that the literature featured in the evidence for this passage engages mainly with studies of Germany (including the GDR). There is, however, a range of British studies that explore the representation of history on TV, such as, for example, Robert Dillon's *History on British Television* that would have completed the evidence here.¹

In the first chapter Koch outlines the roots and the development of prehistory as an academic field in Britain and Germany from its beginnings to 1970. This chapter is crucial to understand subsequent reflections as it outlines profound differences between Britain and Germany. Whilst Britain features a rather continuous and (relatively) untainted development of prehistory as an academic field, German scholarship was tainted by the abuse of early history in Nazi propaganda during the Third Reich. This break had a significant impact on German academics' retreat from the public scene in the post-war era. Furthermore, Koch outlines both countries' academic cultures (*Wissenschaftskulturen*), which deviate profoundly with regards to the value assigned to public learning. He dwells on the contrasting views on outreach activities to explain significant differences in scholarly engagement with the media. Whilst Koch introduces us to British archaeologists such as Mortimer Wheeler, who became a TV star, German archaeologists who co-operated with the media were excluded and frowned upon by their colleagues, who confined their agency solely to the academic realm.

The second chronological chapter outlines how the televised engagement with prehistory emancipated itself from academia in the period between 1970 and 1990. TV journalists gave pseudo-archaeologists a platform; spectacular theories such as those of Erich von Däniken about alien interaction with early men, and adventure and experimental archaeology, were presented and subjected to critical

¹ Robert Dillon, *History on British Television: Constructing Nation, Nationality and Collective Memory* (Manchester, 2015).

reflection on the small screen. The inclusion of controversial and exciting narratives in the representation of prehistory on TV embedded entertainment into formats that answered the needs of public education. In this period the previously guiding presence of academic expertise was replaced by science journalism (*Wissenschaftsjournalismus*). This development was also influenced by the broadcasting stations' economically driven desire to increase viewing rates.

The longest and most detailed part, which certainly lies at the heart of Koch's study is, however, the third chapter, entitled 'Prehistory Beyond Academia (1990–2010)'. Previous reflections provide a prelude to this profound and methodologically diverse analysis of more recent televised interpretations of the life of early mankind. Here Koch explores a range of televised attempts to emotionalize early man's agency in order to increase the attractiveness of the documentaries. He identifies a wide range of narrative strategies that foster this endeavour. The shift from 'research journeys' (*Forschungsreisen*) to master narratives of progress (*Meistererzählungen*) is one of the developments Koch observes here. Furthermore, the analysis of 'living history' formats explores a nostalgia for the Stone Age that can be read as a critical commentary on modernity and an expression of the longing for 'humans' natural state of being'. Further topical segments in this highly interesting chapter engage with gender and explore political messages embodied by the Neanderthals. Koch masterfully shows the dynamics of a televised mythology of prehistory in the final analytical part of his study.

At this point, I would like to note that the broad range of issues addressed in Koch's study represents both an intellectual delight for the reader and a challenge for the reviewer. As it is simply not possible to include all hermeneutic levels of *Funde und Fiktionen* into a concise comment, I shall highlight three arguments that I found particularly interesting in the context of my own research on Cold War television series, gender, and ideology.

First, Koch's reflections on living history formats showcase how televised narratives about the past contribute to the development of mnemonic imagination.² The volunteers that star in these formats live under prehistoric conditions for a fixed period of time. The nar-

² Emily Keightley and Michael Pickering, *The Mnemonic Imagination: Remembering as a Creative Practice* (New York, 2012).

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ratives depict their daily routines and dwell upon the question of how a group of twentieth-century humans copes with the challenges that experimental archaeology poses for modern men. Here Koch identifies patterns indicating that the prehistoric past is presented as an idealized period when mankind lived in harmony with nature, in peaceful communities, and without the stress of modern life. The volunteers' comments on their experiences present the audience with their feelings, such as a deep sense of loss and a desire to return to a 'simple way of life' after the end of the experiment. Images of proximity to nature, living a slower life, and being sheltered within a closely knit community contributed to the idealization of the Stone Age on TV. Koch therefore concludes that televised reflections on 'living in' prehistory provide a critical commentary on the present, rather than access to knowledge about the prehistoric past. He also highlights that the televised criticism of anonymity and the loss of a link to nature coincides with wider societal trends, such as the development of alternative lifestyles and criticism of capitalist society. This particular case study poses interesting reflections on the reciprocal amplification of televised narratives and contemporary developments.

Second, most narratives about prehistoric family life revert to the presentation of conservative ideas of gender roles. The latter contradict academic findings, which suggest that the seemingly clear demarcations between the male hunter and the female gatherer were, in fact, blurred and subject to overlaps. Koch traces the persistence of the 'male hunter-female gatherer' constellation, and emphasizes that critical discourse about women and appreciation of their labour has only recently emerged in individual productions, such as the clip 'Jägerin und Sammlerin' in the German TV science programme *Archimedes* (shown on Bayerischer Rundfunk and arte in 1999) (p. 267). Accordingly, one can see how a contemporary conservative worldview of gendered spheres of agency and power was long legitimized via the depiction of the past. These narratives pose a contribution to contemporary value discourse that seemingly traces a proto-conservative view of the family in the Stone Age.

Finally, I am intrigued by Koch's analysis of TV programmes that introduce Neanderthals as the first Europeans. This narrative pattern shows how political messages of a community of common descent are embedded into televised stories about a distant past. It is highly

interesting to read that this trend coincided with enhanced funding of archaeological projects by the European Union in the 1980s. It would be very interesting to explore this constellation in greater depth.

Funde und Fiktionen confronts the reviewer with the challenge of localizing it within a single research context. The book evidently provides an original case study of a specific TV genre, namely, historical documentary–drama representing prehistory. It is, therefore, certainly a contribution to both television history and to the public history of science. Like Martin Stallman’s recent study of the medialization of the 1968 student protests, Koch’s work provides us with further insights into the mechanisms of the televised mythologization of a historical period.³ On a more general level, Koch also contributes to the discourse about mnemonic imagination and the media that emerged in the wake of Emily Keightley and Michael Pickering’s introduction of this analytical category.⁴ Even though he does not reference their theory explicitly, his study traces how a medialized version of a distant past is used to establish a sense of community, and how it feeds into the imagination of a possible future. Furthermore, the study confronts us with televised ideas about gender that link into studies on the impact of television on gender and societal values that evolved in parallel to the sources Koch analysed.⁵ *Funde und Fiktionen* also informs us about the impact of the Nazi past on the representation of prehistory in the West German media after 1945. In addition to this, he engages with post-war continuities in a specific academic setting. Koch’s explorations of the establishment of normative narrative patterns on TV can also be read alongside Daniel Wildmann’s analysis of the use of Greek mythology in establishing the ‘ancient roots’ of the ‘Aryan’s racial superiority’ in Leni Riefenstahl’s film *Olympia*, as a similar pattern repeats itself in some productions featured.⁶ Finally, I would argue that *Funde und Fiktionen* makes a key

³ Martin Stallmann, *Die Erfindung von ‘1968’: Der studentische Protest im bundesdeutschen Fernsehen 1977–1998* (Göttingen, 2017).

⁴ Keightley and Pickering, *Mnemonic Imagination*.

⁵ Christina von Hodenberg, *Television’s Moment: Sitcom Audiences and the Sixties Cultural Revolution* (New York, 2015).

⁶ Daniel Wildmann, *Begehrte Körper: Konstruktion und Inszenierung des ‘arischen’ Männerkörpers im ‘Dritten Reich’* (Würzburg, 1998), 37–9.

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contribution to discourse on the medialization of historical periods such as that in Paul Sturtevant's book on the Middle Ages.⁷

Nevertheless, there are two minor issues that should be mentioned despite all the praise I, as a fellow TV historian, have for this volume. In some instances, particularly in the summaries, a clearer allocation of the findings to each country would enhance clarity and strengthen the comparative momentum. Furthermore, reference to relevant publications on Eastern European representations of the past on television, such as those by Dorota Ostrowska and Małgorzata Radkiewicz, would break up the Western-centric perspective of Koch's work, which is, indeed, a common issue in Western television history.⁸ I would be delighted if this inspiring and well-researched book were to be published in an English translation so that it could broaden its reach. This would be particularly welcome in view of the wide range of inspiring issues that are highlighted in Koch's remarkable study.

⁷ Paul B. Sturtevant, *The Middle Ages in Popular Imagination: Memory, Film and Medievalism* (London, 2018).

⁸ Dorota Ostrowska and Małgorzata Radkiewicz, 'POLAND: Costume Dramas: Cine-Televisual Alliances in the Socialist and Post-Socialist Poland', in Dorota Ostrowska and Graham Roberts (eds.), *European Cinemas in the Television Age* (Edinburgh, 2007), 107-24.

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MATHIAS HAEUSSLER, *Helmut Schmidt and British–German Relations: A European Misunderstanding* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 266 pp. ISBN 978 1 108 48263 9. £75.00

In his memoirs, the former Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt wrote that he had abstained during the 1957 vote on the agreement concerning the Treaties of Rome, because Britain was not amongst the signatory states. In the 1950s it was incomprehensible to him that the country should not belong to the European Economic Community. Even into the 1960s, Schmidt was critical of the blocking of Britain's application to join the Community by French President Charles de Gaulle. However, when Schmidt as Federal Chancellor himself assumed responsibility for the Federal Republic of Germany's foreign policy and thus also for German–British relations, his attitude to Britain changed for good. Margaret Thatcher and Harold Wilson, as Schmidt summed up retrospectively in 2012, had persuaded him that de Gaulle was right.

This thesis by Mathias Haeussler investigates German–British relations during Schmidt's chancellorship from 1974 to 1982. The young Schmidt had a fundamentally positive image of Britain. This certainly related to a school exchange which had taken him to Manchester at the beginning of the 1930s. In political terms, the young Social Democrat was also very close to the pragmatic approach of British democracy. During the 1950s and 1960s he therefore constantly lobbied inside his own party, but also within German politics, for close co-operation with successive governments in London. But as he increasingly assumed political responsibility on a federal level himself from the mid 1960s on, the British perspective slipped into the background. German foreign policy was much more strongly oriented towards relations with France, European integration, and the United States.

This tendency continued when Schmidt became Federal Chancellor. Britain had just joined the European Community, and a debate immediately started in London on the advantages and disadvantages of membership. Prime Minister Harold Wilson viewed European policy not least as an instrument for unifying the Labour Party, which was split on this issue, via a referendum. His time in office was therefore characterized by tough debates on Europe, both inside the

Translated by Hazel James.

party and within politics. A further issue was that Schmidt and Wilson did not develop a particularly good relationship with each other.

The situation was entirely different under Prime Minister James Callaghan. Schmidt was bound to him by an intense political friendship, and the two were in regular contact. Schmidt's critical attitude towards US President Jimmy Carter, in particular, was constantly ameliorated by Callaghan. This did not mean, however, that German-British relations became crisis-free under Callaghan. First and foremost, the British decision not to join the European monetary system, which was substantially driven forward by Schmidt and Giscard d'Estaing, ensured lasting British-German discord. Haeussler makes it clear that the decisive factors here were structurally divergent objectives in European policy. While the basic principles of German foreign policy included supranational European integration, associated with close German-French co-operation, from the British standpoint, the European Community was little more than one international organization amongst many. London always considered the EC more from an economic than a political point of view.

From Schmidt's perspective, German-British relations became even more difficult when Margaret Thatcher took office. Her unyielding and aggressive character, combined with the demand for a reduction in British contributions to the EC, quickly resulted in the UK government becoming isolated. This was mainly because the supranational EC system gave preference to those who worked within its system and followed its rules. Open opposition, by contrast, led to disadvantages for member states in the medium term. De Gaulle had already been compelled to experience this, and it would also prove to be the case for Thatcher. Haeussler correctly emphasizes, however, that German-British relations were not fundamentally in crisis. At the beginning of the 1980s, for example, Bonn and London worked closely together within the framework of NATO.

The author's wide-ranging source analysis is particularly impressive. Haeussler has evaluated German, British, and US archives, and has skilfully interpreted his findings from these. However, the book does not offer much that is surprising. This is perhaps due to the author's strong focus on Schmidt and the various British prime ministers. Other actors in German-British relations are not accorded similar treatment. Might there have been different ideas amongst the

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diplomats of the German Federal Foreign Office or the British Foreign Office?

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From the Ruins of Preservation: A Symposium on Rethinking Heritage through Counter-Archives, held at the German Historical Institute London, 11–12 July 2019. Co-organized by Rodney Harrison (AHRC Heritage Priority Area Leadership Fellow/Professor of Heritage Studies at the UCL Institute of Archaeology) and Mirjam Brusius (Research Fellow in Colonial and Global History, GHIL).

Colonial legacies in heritage preservation have intersected and clashed with local realities since their inception. Heritage sites have often been created by way of processes that segregate them from the contemporary world, and the people who live with and amongst them. This might result in restrictions of habitation, religious and ritual practice, and the removal of local settlements from heritage sites. This symposium, the second heritage event jointly organized by the AHRC Heritage Priority Area (UCL) and the German Historical Institute London, took place under the premiss that communities have always had their own ways of preserving and engaging with material and immaterial significances. Its key purpose, however, was to meet a resulting methodological challenge: how to study these living realities, when limited methods exacerbate the problem of adequately reconstructing these histories? Lived realities often seem to defy the disciplinary baggage, canons, and concepts of heritage studies, which have proved unhelpful in engaging such records outside ‘the archive’ as it is conventionally understood. How can one thus write about undocumented objects, places, and landscapes embedded in the domains of contemporary life? Papers delivered by historians, anthropologists, archaeologists, and scholars in heritage studies engaged with a range of alternative sources, all of which can be considered ‘counter-archives’ in a new heritage discourse.

Karen Salt’s (Nottingham) opening keynote lecture addressed a fundamental issue that ran through the event: the ‘ruins of history’ and marks of injustice within archives. Salt explained this by point-

The full conference programme can be found under ‘Events and Conferences’ on the GHIL’s website <www.ghil.ac.uk>.

ing to the Geographies of Black Protest (GBP) network, which connects local protest cultures. It gives insight into the afterlives of injustice: the echoes and ‘ghosts’ in the archives, and the lived realities of insecure futures some communities face. Considering protest as heritage and injustice as a ‘form of ruination’, Salt asked how these types of histories could be excavated without transmitting the violence that gave them meaning. What if only the most powerful continue to be visible in archives, thus contributing to further repression? And what are the patterns that heritage studies replicate? It is not neutral territory.

Questions of power structures were also addressed in the first session, chaired by Indra Sengupta (GHIL), on heritage, the state, and the community. How is heritage used to assert political interests in state and society? What if it clashes with community interests? Nancy A. Rushohora (Stellenbosch) looked at government neglect of the community in the conservation of Majimaji War heritage in Tanzania, where the political significance of the war – unitary resistance to German colonialism – overshadowed the community’s needs to mourn and ritualize the people and the landscape in which the war took place. Sponsored commemoration appropriated and erased histories for communities for whom Majimaji warriors were not so much heroes of the nation as spiritual ancestors. Patricia Sellick and Elly Harrowell (Coventry) discussed similar conflicts in Susya, formerly the location of a synagogue and now a contested heritage site in the occupied Palestinian territories. The Palestinian inhabitants were expelled when Susya was reclassified as a heritage site by the Israeli authorities, and oral ‘counter’ histories record the existence of Bedouin communities in the same place. Could a ‘conflict transformational approach’ – beyond the goal of reaching agreement – provide the basis for re-imagining such heritage sites as places where multiple pasts, presents, and futures intertwine? ‘Competing heritage’ was also addressed by Mehiyar Kathem (London) who, in collaboration with Nasser A. Jassem (Mosul) and Caroline Sandes (ICOMOS), spoke on the role of state-access infrastructures in conceptualizing heritage in post-2003 Iraq. Here, heritage was used to extract wealth for the state, rather than as a means to promote peace. How are representations of the past controlled to align with a specific state narrative? Documentary material is abused and also destroyed in the pursuit of denying the heritage of others, while caretakers who main-

tain counter-archival material threatened with destruction take personal risks. The paper made the important point that the construction of counter-archives depends equally on sources of legitimate power and resources.

In order to turn against such forms of authority often empowered in conventional archival sources, critical heritage studies have largely denied the significance of archives for the study of non-official forms of heritage preservation, which has led to the de-privileging of historical analysis. This frustration has resulted in a general turning away from such sources in heritage studies to focus on contemporary issues through 'oral history' and ethnography. However, this move has been perceived as problematic by historians, who have seen heritage studies as a field in which the historical contexts of contemporary phenomena have effectively been written out of the picture. The discussion also served to bridge this gap by going one step further and shifting its focus to sources that fall outside 'the archive', conventionally defined. What materials can tell the story of heritage as a lived experience? Can we rethink objects, music, landscape, and built environment as archives?

The next session, chaired by Rodney Harrison (UCL), thus defied the logic of any formal preservation approach in which aesthetically pleasing heritage sites take precedence over everyday practices of heritage, often entangled with sensual experience. It advocated a fluid and dynamic understanding of heritage beyond authoritative discourses. Drawing on examples of such counter-archives, the session opened with Wendy Shaw (Berlin), who took the normative authority of text as a starting point. Inscribing the literary imagination in stone, archaeological sites tend to erase local cultures, which often sustain historical practices, for example, through speech. The premiss of preservation is that things of tangible value should be kept once the people who left the material legacy no longer live there. How then, Shaw asked provocatively, can this erasure be juxtaposed with sustenance recognized by artists engaging with local populations? Similarly, Rishika Mukhopadhyay (Exeter) looked for alternatives by engaging with heritage that is not 'preserved' by state agencies but enmeshed in people and landscape through manual practice. Through the making practices of Chitpur Road, the oldest road in Kolkata, she traced the genealogical histories of the artisans by using oral narratives and photographs to reconstruct the cultural history of

the road itself. How important is the category of ‘heritage’ for people who work on the street? Jonathan Gardner (London), too, looked beyond nationalist, triumphalist narratives. How can London mega events and their rubble be considered a form of both intentional and unintentional preservation? In juxtaposing rubble vs. ruins one might ask: is rubble really material without significance? Can these discarded remains themselves be both ‘monuments’ and ruins, and be rehabilitated as an archive? The discussion increasingly made apparent that paper archives, oral histories, and material culture can go hand-in-hand. This notion was also stressed by Rachel Ama Asaa Engmann (Hampshire) in her keynote lecture on the Danish transatlantic slave trade in Ghana; a response to a visit to Christiansborg Castle by the Queen of Denmark in 2018 and the discourse surrounding the notion of a ‘shared history’. Engmann explored the relations between these material sites and the narratives of remembering, but also forgetting. How does ‘negative’, ‘dissonant’, and ‘dark’ heritage become tempered by the politics of a ‘Mutual Heritage Discourse’, which silences the violence and subjectivities that were central to the transatlantic slave trade, hindering critical engagement with the past and present? Engmann took this further by stressing self-reflexivity: the urgent need of scholars and practitioners to engage in self-conscious challenges to this discourse and its methods in order to facilitate meaningful post/de-colonial archaeological heritage work.

The third session, chaired by Mirjam Brusius (GHIL), was specifically dedicated to the re-contextualization of photographs. How can scholars address the long-ignored gaps and unspoken emotions and bodies in photographs and other images? Visual analyses often lack the methods to engage with different iterations of heterogeneous agencies of both humans and non-humans outside the scope of official archives: the locals going about their lives in ancient ruins; the workers who labour on archaeological excavations; those often nameless individuals who serve as human scales next to an excavated building; the local guides who help ‘open up’ landscapes to preservationists; or the agencies and affordances of forms of material culture themselves. Jonas Van Mulder (Leuven) addressed this by re-approaching late nineteenth-century photographic documentation of the construction of the portage railroad in ‘Congo Free State’. Belgium priests were not just sent out to work as almoners, but also

documented the progress with cameras. To what extent was this action a cover-up for the gruesome reality of forced labour, hazardous working conditions, high death tolls, and desertion? And how can lateral sources allow for a counter-archival reading of photographs supporting 'institutional' (propaganda) narratives? How the visual can complement text and vice versa was also of concern for Heba Abd el Gawad (Cairo). In conflict of interest sites in Egypt, 'official' photographs documenting archaeological practices tell us little about socio-political and socio-emotional tensions, thus contributing to further repression. Yet in a system where only the powerful are visible, newspapers, magazines, television, film, radio, music, and social media can defy state narratives. Public discourse can thus become a counter-archive to highlight the aspirations of local communities instead. Finally, Colin Sterling (London), using the World Heritage Site of Angkor in Cambodia and Famagusta in Cyprus, showed how re-conceptualizing photographic collections as ruins can help us to question the broader heritage processes that have emerged in relation to these spaces. Can we locate heritage within broader patterns of conflict, empire, and capitalism? Only by recognizing the entanglement of preservation and precarity can we begin to imagine alternative pathways not just for the use of photography in scholarship but for heritage itself.

Indeed, the need to move away from assumed forms of archives and 'a heritage' was addressed in Trinidad Rico's (Rutgers) keynote lecture on rumour, secrecy, and contradictions in heritage studies. One of the defining issues of the 'critical heritage turn', she argued, has been precisely an explicit interest in recognizing and supporting alterity. But, in an effort to address the biases against 'alternative' heritage valuations, critical heritage studies may have failed to challenge their own assumptions. Instead, they remain attached to an old (preservation) paradigm that is restricted by its own epistemology. Drawing on examples in Indonesia, Qatar, and Argentina, Rico also called for self-reflection and methodological intervention into reductionist preservation histories by developing a new diachronic, more diverse vocabulary for future research.

The last session, chaired by Hana Morel (UCL), re-examined the politics of archives and archival research from a critical perspective. To what extent does the nature of archival material, for example, exert a disciplinary effect on the people, objects, and spaces of muse-

ums? Again, how can historical research be combined with on-site ethnographic research in order to re-evaluate methodological shortcomings, and explore collaborative research with local communities? Kate Hill (Lincoln) examined this by looking at the Highland Folk Museum, among the earliest British attempts to create a 'living history' museum. Here, personal, professional, and bureaucratic archival voices are merged, thus revealing the partiality of 'normal' museum archives and offering a glimpse of the ways in which staff engaged with physical experiences of wearing, using, and inhabiting artefacts and buildings. Likewise, Mustafa Kemal Baran (Istanbul) questioned the ways in which the phenomena of labour and local communities in archaeological practice in Turkey can be investigated. Shifting perspectives, he constructed a narrative based primarily on documents authored by local communities rather than only those that later became official archaeological field notes. Finally, Rachel King (London), too, touched upon complementary methods and material remains in the context of scientific cultures in Africa and their epistemic legacy through archival marginalia such as a family archive from Lesotho (southern Africa). Here the session picked up an earlier thread: texts have been accorded much authority to dictate how we think about time and heritage. Why are material cultures only 'slotted into these periods' if they are, in fact, better-suited to breaking out of temporal boxes and evoking a wider range of knowledges? How can textual archives be places that can both resist temporal partitioning and also rely on the material world to make knowledge about the past?

Alternative ways of reading archives 'against the grain', and an engagement with counter-archives can thus not only produce more diverse visions of the past, but also lead to more nuanced reflections on how archival sources and heritage studies themselves do their intellectual work. By re-centring the discourse about 'heritage' to examine specific non-state practices, the symposium developed a more inclusive understanding of how preservation has been determined over time and from different perspectives to highlight multivocality. If becoming a heritage site entails a threat to many people, for example, can the discourse focus more on the 'sustenance of the meaning of things' instead of simply the preservation of materiality (as Shaw put it)? It is thus greatly hoped that re-engaging such histories will also help us to reconceptualize contemporary heritage

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phenomena, although challenges remain. If infrastructural frameworks persist in areas of conflict, for example, to what extent can we consider counter-archives as a clear-cut alternative, liberated from dependencies and control? Within such a difficult undertaking, defining what a 'counter-archive' is would defy its very idea of using creative formats to break into fixed taxonomies and frameworks in order to amplify voices, visibility, and validity. It is hoped that a video recording of the contributions might itself become a counter-archive, in as much as counter-archives should be 'preserved'.

MIRJAM BRUSIUS (GHIL)

Medieval History Seminar, organized by the German Historical Institute London and the German Historical Institute Washington, and held at the GHIL, 10-12 October 2019. Conveners: Stephan Bruhn (GHIL), Paul Freedman (Yale University), Bernhard Jussen (Goethe Universität Frankfurt am Main), Ruth Mazo Karras (Trinity College Dublin), Cornelia Linde (GHIL), Simon MacLean (University of St Andrews), Len Scales (Durham University), and Dorothea Weltecke (Goethe Universität Frankfurt am Main).

The 11th Medieval History Seminar, like earlier seminars, brought together a group of twenty Ph.D. students from both sides of the Atlantic. Organized jointly by the GHI Washington and GHI London, it brought together not only Ph.D. students, but also professors from the United Kingdom, the United States, and Germany, who chaired the nine panels along with Cornelia Linde and her new colleague, Stephan Bruhn, from the GHIL. The biennial Medieval History Seminar invited Ph.D. students to discuss their current or recently completed research. Topics covered a range of periods from late antiquity to the early modern era, with a strong concentration on central Europe, and some papers on the Mediterranean sphere.

True to the seminar's well-established format, the papers were the centre of discussion. These were circulated prior to the conference and were not presented. Instead, short commentaries, prepared by fellow participants, on the key arguments of the individual papers and overarching aspects concerning the whole panel, kicked off each session. This allowed for more and in-depth discussion. The peer group and the conveners shared questions, criticism, suggestions, and advice. A wide range of topics was represented at this year's seminar. Interestingly, gender and the non-European Middle Ages were barely touched upon specifically, even though aspects of gender were repeatedly discussed throughout the seminar. Overall, the papers and discussions were open to a variety of methods and fields of research.

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The full conference programme can be found under 'Events and Conferences' on the GHIL's website <www.ghil.ac.uk>.

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The seminar opened with a panel discussing Aaron Vanides's (Yale/Graz) paper on speech and empire under Sigismund of Luxemburg, who is often seen as emblematic of the ambiguous nature of authority in the later Middle Ages. Based on speeches and other rhetorical sources from the fifteenth century, this paper argued that we should conceive of Sigismund and the idea of the emperor in this period not as an author or authority, but as an audience. The second paper, by Rike Szill (Kiel), discussed accounts of the fall of Constantinople in light of trauma studies. Based on Dukas's historiographical account, she asked to what degree the 'catastrophe' of Constantinople's fall was sayable, or is even described in the sources. The paper also investigated strategies of attributing meaningfulness to the events, which were common knowledge and therefore could not be omitted from the narrative. Both papers used new approaches, drawing on rhetoric and trauma studies, which were thoroughly discussed.

Moving on from the late to the high Middle Ages, the second panel discussed Sicilian and Iberian history. Dana Katz's (Jerusalem/Toronto) paper examined the parklands and palaces of Norman Sicily. The construction of the royal palace of La Favara and its monumental lake marked a key moment in the secular self-fashioning of the twelfth-century kings of Sicily and their courts. Taking elite Islamic extramural estates as their models, the Norman rulers created a landscape of power recognizable both to their Muslim subjects at home, and their contemporaries in the Mediterranean. Sandra Schieweck (Heidelberg) examined the frontier and borders of Castile in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The paper highlighted questions about how borders were described in the sources. Were Christian-Muslim and Christian-Christian borders perceived and organized in different ways? How important were natural demarcations such as water and mountains? While Katz drew not only on textual sources, but also on archaeology, emphasizing the role of water and technological transfer, Sandra Schieweck's research relied on new perspectives provided by the spatial turn.

A panel on two aspects of kingship opened the second day. Michelle Hufschmid's (Oxford) paper argued that Pope Innocent IV used a crusade against the Staufer (1246-51) as a tool to facilitate regime change in the Holy Roman Empire. Without framing the military campaign as a crusade, Henry Raspe's and William of Holland's

attempts to become the new king of the Romans would have immediately collapsed. Christina Bröker (Regensburg) looked at the description of the king's psyche in Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora*. Her aim was to better understand the function of the emotions described, as the interpretation of emotions as rituals of political communication does not seem adequate for the episodes narrated in the sources.

The fourth panel introduced new perspectives on medieval society. First, Dallas Grubbs's (Washington) paper analysed the *Vita Dagoberti Regis Francorum*. It explored how the author of the *Vita* used his sources creatively, selectively, and with significant alterations to present a nuanced portrait of seventh-century society to address contemporary political realities and concerns. Friederike Pfister's (Bochum) paper went down a different route, exploring how late medieval texts viewed different kinds of knowledge and potentially classified them as 'foreign'. Roger Bacon's and Dante Alighieri's narratives of the origin story of astrology functioned as case studies.

Legal traditions of the late Middle Ages were illuminated in the fifth panel. Mireille Pardon (Yale) introduced a greater complexity into the traditional narrative of legal history that a centralizing judicial bureaucracy contributed to the decline of communal reconciliation procedures and the rise of bodily punishment. She argued that a change in the perception of homicide encouraged execution over reconciliation. Increased emphasis on the 'common good' curtailed the idea of excusable masculine violence and encouraged the development of early modern judicial systems in the Low Countries. Julia Bühner's (Münster) paper likewise questioned a traditional narrative in legal history by re-dating the formation and conventionalization of international law. Her paper showed how aspects of international law arose during the conquest of the Canary Islands. Treaties between indigenous people and the Spanish conquerors are one example. The paper showed the influence of non-European entities on the formation and idea of international law. Her work could result in the history of international law having to be rewritten.

The last panel of the day discussed three papers on late medieval religious orders and theology. Robert Friedrich's (Leipzig/Paris) paper analysed mendicants functioning as envoys for the kings of Mallorca and Aragon in the first half of the fourteenth century. His key questions concerned the role that the mendicants played in the bigger picture of medieval diplomacy, their selection, and what im-

plications their association with a religious order had. While the source base for Mallorca proved to be too small to allow conclusions to be drawn, examples from Aragon show that the selection of envoys was deliberate and influenced by the intended recipient. Alexander Peplow's (Oxford) paper considered Alvarus Pelagius in the context of both the Apostolic Poverty controversy of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, and the clash between the Emperor Ludwig IV and Pope John XXII. Alvarus argued for absolute obedience to the Pope, believing that this obedience should be used to reform the Church along Franciscan lines. Amelia Kennedy's (Yale) paper, finally, examined Cistercian attitudes towards abbatial retirement, particularly the opposition to retirement evident in twelfth-century sources. She argued that these attitudes reflected the importance of productivity, service, and labour in later life, and that the thirteenth-century trend in favour of abbatial retirement stemmed from increasing bureaucracy and new understandings of what constituted the 'common good' for a monastic community. The discussion showed that age and perception of age are important categories of analysis for historical research.

The third day began with a three-paper panel dealing with the compilation of manuscripts and materiality of incunabula. Oliver Glaser (Wuppertal) presented the compilation, variation, and discourse of changing marriage rules in manuscripts between 750 and 1050. He highlighted that Isidor of Seville's definition of how many degrees and generations kinship comprises was often omitted in excerpts concerning the topic in order to avoid contradictions within the text collections. Lenneke van Raaij (Exeter) showed that the growing authority of the archbishops within the city did not visibly influence the composition of local masses for the saintly patrons of Trier in the late tenth century. Separate institutions produced their own liturgy with specific themes and structures, following the examples of creativity and preferences for older sources known in Echternach. Paul Schweitzer-Martin's (Heidelberg) paper analysed what information textual sources provide on the supply chains of paper for print workshops in Speyer. These findings were compared with results of watermark analyses in the incunabula from Speyer. Both approaches showed that the paper supplies came from multiple mills in different regions. The analysis also showed that the average thickness of the paper declined over time.

The eighth panel comprised only the paper by Daniel Schumacher (Freiburg). His paper on Conrad I questioned three key arguments that interpreted Conrad as the last of the Carolingians. It reassessed his election, conflicts with nobles, and strategies of legitimization. The reassessment of the historiography and sources showed that the analysis of single events has barely influenced the long-standing narratives of Conrad I. The panel's second paper, 'The Good Place of Arles in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages' by Sukanya Rai-Sharma (Oxford), was not reviewed as she unfortunately could not attend the discussion.

Two different types of networks linked the papers of the last panel. On the one hand, Michel Summer's (Dublin) paper considered the significance of the cartulary of the *Liber Aureus Epternacensis* for the analysis of Willibrord's political network. By examining the context of the cartulary's compilation and discussing the problems associated with its modern edition, the paper argued that Willibrord's network was not restricted to the family of Pippin II, but characterized by its wide political and geographical range. Daniel Gneckow (Kassel), on the other hand, studied the Swabian League of Cities (1376–89) with network analysis. He explored how different powers, such as kings, lords, and other cities, interacted with the members of the Swabian League, as well as how the League's cities themselves dealt with each other. The concept of securitization was used to study the cities' strategies for coping with conflicts and their struggle for autonomy and peace. Both papers broadened the existing research by including new perspectives on the role of women and the nobility, in addition to those of kings and dukes.

In addition to the nine panels, Simon MacLean, one of the conveners, delivered a public lecture on 'The Carolingian Origins of the Medieval Castle'. MacLean presented a close reading of Charles the Bald's Edict of Pitres (864). The critical edition marks six added clauses that probably have to be understood as parts of the King's speech when the edict was issued. Based on this finding, MacLean concluded that the edict is not applicable to the general situation in the ninth century but has to be read in a very specific context, namely, that Charles the Bald was concerned about resources being diverted from a bridge-building project at that moment.

The seminar concluded with a final discussion chaired by Ruth Mazo Karras, whose term as convener ended with this 11th Medieval

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History Seminar. The discussion ranged from traditions in historiography to academic structures on both sides of the Atlantic. A key question was how to deal with well-known older scholarship without ignoring it, but also adapting it to take account of the methods and questions of the twenty-first century. At the same time, strategies to find adequate terms and descriptions for historical phenomena were deliberated. Interestingly, many participants highlighted that the bilingual debate helped them rethink the meaning and accuracy of the terms they used. On the one hand, almost all papers tended towards presenting detailed case studies, which added new aspects and complexity to the established narratives, and some even deconstructed long-standing scholarship. On the other hand, the question remained about how to implement new, more complex findings into textbook-compatible knowledge. Overall, the Medieval History Seminar was a great opportunity to engage in current research going well beyond the interests of our own institutions and regions, and to meet other early career researchers from far and near.

PAUL SCHWEITZER-MARTIN (Heidelberg)

100 Histories of 100 Worlds in One Object. Workshop held at the University of the West Indies, Mona, Kingston (Jamaica), 9–13 December 2019. Concept and Convener: Mirjam Brusius (German Historical Institute London). Collaborators: Forum Transregionale Studien and Max Weber Foundation in co-operation with the GHIL, University College London (Alice Stevenson, Subhadra Das), and the University of the West Indies, Mona (James Robertson). Funded by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF), Germany.

At the Jamaican National Heritage Trust, one of the destinations for a field trip during our workshop, colleagues are keen to answer our questions. We, an international and diverse group of people mainly from the ‘Global South’, have come to Jamaica to engage with heritage professionals in the West Indies, and to explore new avenues for developing stories about museum objects with each other. How many stories can one object contain?

At the Heritage Trust colleagues talk about the challenges of caring for heritage on an island with a rich history, but limited funding and infrastructure. After a warm welcome, director Michele Creed Nelson and her team surprise us with a buffet of coffee, fresh fruit, and triangle-shaped sandwiches. They are of the kind many of us know from Britain, and it is far from coincidental that we find these triangle sandwiches here, 4,688 miles from London. ‘But they are far better here’, a UK colleague remarks.

When I mentioned that I was organizing a workshop in Jamaica, the images that sprang to the minds of many were of beaches and reggae music. The reputation of the island as a tropical paradise is so engrained that it does not immediately register as an ideal venue for an event on colonial collecting. Jamaica, however, is a former colony of the British Empire, with all its odd material legacies, from triangle sandwiches, colonial style pediments, and squares, to Christmas

The full conference programme can be found under ‘Events and Conferences’ on the GHIL’s website <www.ghil.ac.uk>.

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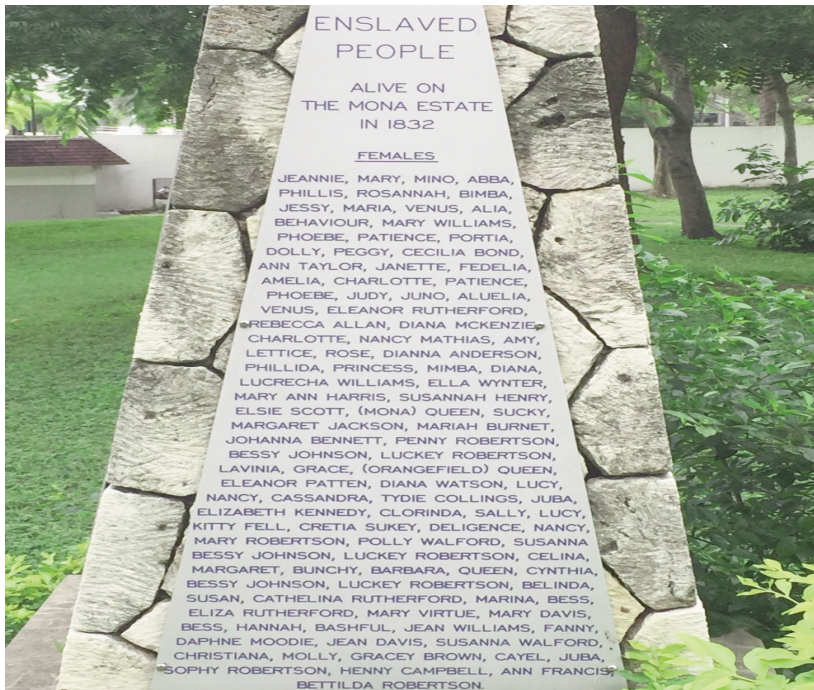
Christmas Tree, Emancipation Square, Spanish Town, Jamaica. Photo: private source.

trees in those very squares, surrounded by palm trees. It is also here that the kernel of London's British Museum and Natural History Museum collection was compiled by Sir Hans Sloane in the eighteenth century. The transatlantic slave trade provided the infrastructure that allowed Sloane and his European contemporaries to build their collections, and supplied specimens for Sloane and others, as James Delbourgo has compellingly shown in his book *Collecting the World*.¹

These histories would haunt us throughout the entire week and beyond. We stayed at the University of West Indies (UWI Mona) campus in Kingston, formerly a plantation site and graveyard for enslaved people. An enriching campus tour by Suzanne Francis-Brown and Zachary Baier enabled us to experience the site as multi-layered, inextricably and perennially linked to colonial trauma and

¹ James Delbourgo, *Collecting the World: The Life and Curiosity of Hans Sloane* (London, 2016).

violence, but also to more recent histories of migration, when the site was turned into a refugee camp for Gibraltarian and Jewish refugees from Portugal and Spain in the Second World War. Memorial stelae engraved with names of enslaved people now serve as places of commemoration for those seeking to engage with the site's dramatic history. It is the same complexity we also encounter in the display and storage areas of the museums of History and Ethnography at the Institute of Jamaica. Our local contact, James Robertson, a historian of colonialism and the Caribbean, had put us in touch with further heritage colleagues, and Education Officer Stephanie Rose was one of them. She, too, took us through layers of history enriched by indigenous Taíno communities, African influence, and, again, often troubled by slavery and colonialism. These layers all merge in Jamaica's rich and magnificent music culture, celebrated in an engaging and optimistic exhibition.



Monument for enslaved people, University of the West Indies, Mona Campus, Kingston, Jamaica. Photo: private source.

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It was these personal connections that had a lasting impact on workshop participants, who had come not only from Jamaica, but also from fifteen countries far afield, including Australia (Torres Strait Islands), Egypt, Ghana, Germany, Martinique, Mexico, Nigeria, Namibia, New Zealand, South Africa, Thailand, the UK, and the USA. Breaking down both cultural and professional boundaries, our group consisted of researchers, curators, activists, artists, and heritage stakeholders. The idea therefore was quite simply: to listen.

By shifting the geographical focus to a former colony and choosing Kingston as a venue my hope as the organizer was to find new pathways and avenues to these troubled histories in both a metaphorical but also a physical and material sense. Our discussions were thus informed by the workshop location itself. Where are the stories of museum objects presented as seen by people who once used them? Where is indigenous knowledge presented; who is at the centre of museum narratives, and who on their margins? How is knowledge about museum objects informed by colonial collecting practices; and how is this context presented in museums today?

We met under the premiss that the vestiges of empire extend beyond standard conventions of physical control and coercion. In Europe's museums, empire persists and proliferates in the present through material representations and celebrations of the past. Colonial exploration is still largely rendered as a triumphalist and heroic narrative, leaving little room for alternative interpretation. Museums, however, have a responsibility. The objects they contain play a crucial role in producing concepts of ethnicity, gender, class, and racial identity. They impact how audiences perceive not just artefacts in public life, but history itself. What if important aspects of history are eradicated? What if these legacies persist in ongoing global injustice, and do not just lie in the past? What if nations and communities desperately want some objects to be returned?

Not least in light of the repatriation debate, all workshop papers made clear that the ways in which objects are currently contextualized in many museums warrant urgent intervention.

We took Neil MacGregor's successful programme on BBC Radio 4, broadcast in 2010, and the subsequent book, *A History of the World in 100 Objects*,² as a starting point. The broadcast reached new audi-

² Neil MacGregor, *A History of the World in 100 Objects* (London, 2010).

ences with the ambition to provide a global outlook and to present history through the lens of 100 objects. But the argument had its flaws. The programme was seen by some as a prime example of exclusion. Colonialism had ultimately produced not just inequalities of power but also a distorted view of history, and the programme was silent about the controversy raging over repatriating artefacts, and almost completely ignored the provenance of objects. Instead, it reinstated the idea of a 'view from nowhere' and everywhere at the same time. It presented the museum as a place to see the world, yet without reflecting on how the institution itself obtained and reframed the objects in order to create its own seemingly universal narrative.

Nearly ten years after the programme's release, we returned to the subaltern voices it had left out. But unlike the museum objects now in London, we also 'returned' to Kingston as an original site of collecting to make the point that *one object, in fact, contains 100 histories of 100 worlds*.

The speakers presented new methods, approaches, and formats to achieve more than an alternative history of the British Museum. Instead, they worked towards a multilateral fusion of object histories and present legacies in museums and their collections as seen by contributors from the 'Global South'. Doing more than filling a research gap, they presented a strong intervention in the current link between modernity, scholarship, and museums that dominates the Western narrative. They thereby developed a new vocabulary and discourse for an ongoing debate.

For the workshop, participants picked an object from the British Museum podcast and presented ideas on how its narrative could be expanded through new stories (and often also new objects), moving beyond it in material, archival, and philosophical terms. What can be said about British Museum attractions such as the Rosetta Stone, the Benin plaques, the Gweagal Shield, and Islamic talismans by people from the countries who once owned them, or still use them (or would, if they were around)? To what extent do the Parthenon sculptures, or Egyptian and Mesopotamian 'treasures' represent largely unquestioned ideologies about race and difference that ultimately imply that (white) Europeans are superior, and why is this historical context not explained on museum labels? Drawing on approaches in anthropology and other fields, speakers worked under the premiss that an object's original function and its later (colonial) appropriation

are integral parts of an object's biography. Such functions were often erased through its journey into the museum, and replaced by a 'European version' of the story.

Many papers shared one concern: the relationships between objects and the people, who care(d) for or about them. Indeed, the scarcity of attempts to illuminate the stories of people and (often ongoing) local practice in relation to objects is troubling. Instead, fixed in a postcolonial context, imperial vision underlies the master narratives of many European museums. Depending on their colonial past, their history has long been told as a continuing narrative of Europe's involvement in various regions of the world. This one-dimensional narrative was perpetuated by the 'two-dimensional' documents in archives that surround these objects. They are rarely neutral in value. Institutionally managed documents, practices, and ideologies thus often fail to give credit to engagement with the material past outside disciplinary frameworks, which museums often rely on. A collection of 'alternative object histories' (used here to indicate something deviating from the dominant, not from the 'normal') must therefore also go beyond established academic and curatorial approaches in order to address the absence of stories and people that remain invisible in archives. Addressing the functions objects had, or, indeed, still have, papers successfully showed how excluded voices can be empowered to tell their own histories beyond these frameworks. How can 'indigenous archives', oral histories, social media, personal memories, fiction, poetry performance, photographs, and artworks present alternative 'counter-archives' to construct new stories about objects?

Many presenters thus used a more inclusive range of philosophies that might inject a much needed critique into a discourse dominated by Western-style scholarship. Several papers addressed local resistance to colonial collecting and preservation practices, or the aftermath of scientific exploration and exploitation. Others showed how Western disciplines themselves, for example, the colonial field sciences of anthropology and archaeology, promoted and underpinned ideologies of human variation and 'race', and vice versa. Some talks alluded to the 'divide and rule' approach of museums: by neatly separating and 'handpicking' certain ethnic groups, they erased others from their not so universal narrative to make it their own, ignoring that both objects and people were, in reality, rarely stable, but in constant transition and movement.

Doubts were certainly addressed too. Could an entirely new History of the World be told through a certain number of objects at all? The concept as such, a highly reductive and yet, at the same time, seductive idea used by many since, deserves to be critiqued. As has been the case in India, the '100 Objects model' can be deployed at a time of vehement nationalist resurgence, a recurring theme in our discussion. This raised more general and important questions about the role of Western museums in shaping museological practices elsewhere, and the format we seek to pursue with our own work. Our 'new histories' must be not just different methodologically and multilingual, but also dynamic and open for additions and narratives that others might want to add in future. As a next step, the project therefore aims for an open and multiformat approach (for example, a website and blog with stories, podcasts, an open access book publication, and/or a collaborative re-display).

The discussion frequently returned to the increased pressure put on museums such as Berlin's Humboldt Forum to engage with the more uncomfortable parts of their collection histories, and recent debates surrounding France's plans for repatriation as announced by President Emmanuel Macron. With several curators on board, including those involved in projects at the British Museum and the Humboldt Forum, how can our project advance conversations about the 'difficult' aspects of their collection histories? If objects are repatriated, how do origin communities deal with the 'poisoned' history that adheres to these objects? And how can they deal with the void if no repatriation takes place to start a process of healing? Many agreed that the issue of who to return the objects *to*, for example, if nationalism is on the rise, remains problematic.

Even if all of this makes a strong intervention with new perspectives from a truly diverse group of people extremely timely, institutional barriers and ethnic discrimination in the museum and academic sector remain high. We therefore operated with the ultimate goal of supporting the democratization of often exclusive museum spaces. This would seek to recognize and empower diverse ethnic audiences and their material past. The discussion, in other words, also concerned the role of museums in the multicultural societies of tomorrow. How can museums respond to the demands of those who ask for new representations that reflect different senses of belonging and inclusion? How can they open up their complex collection histo-

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ries by displaying the objects in more inclusive ways? Finally, how could these interventions contribute to diversifying not only the visitors to museums, but also those who would like to work in and about them, and are often not given the chance?

After hundreds of emails, tens of thousands of flight miles (yes, also with a large carbon footprint), and dozens of visa support letters, and, sadly, not always successful visa applications, the workshop also created a platform for those who otherwise do not easily have access to this kind of exchange. Yet legacies of colonialism also became a hindrance and thus pertinent in the workshop planning itself. Although I started planning a year ahead and finalized a draft programme in summer 2019, the line-up kept changing until the very last minute. This was due to visa rejections or expiring residency permits; incidents rarely experienced by people with passports from 'the West'. Others, although they made it, were questioned at borders. Flight routes leading through former centres of power such as London meant that fares were either expensive or required further transit visas, and that routes were cumbersome. These issues, and the fact that many museums and countries do not have reliable internet connections to access our blogs and podcasts, were discussed at the workshop itself.



Workshop participants at the University of the West Indies, Mona Campus, December 2019. Photo: private source.

Diversifying is a challenging task and requires listening, empathy, patience, and stamina. It also relies on the support of those with privilege and power, and on funding bodies and institutions who recognize the urgent need to decentralize and shift power structures in research and curating, in particular, in the name of 'decolonizing the museum'. I am grateful for the generous funding provided by the BMBF/Forum Transregionale Studien, and the additional support and hard work of staff at the GHI London and UWI Mona.

As institutional barriers persist and many excluded voices are still not being heard, the question arises of how successfully the project itself will manage to plug into the museum landscape, public discourse, and mainstream media as a counter narrative to MacGregor's own project. A different way to ask this question is: how willing are institutions to put more care into people, rather than objects? And if people, who gets to speak? How willing are they to move beyond pure 'object fetishism' and the Western preservation paradigm? As one of the participants, Golda Ha-Eiros, a curator from Namibia, movingly put it: in German museum storage the object is just a number, in Namibia it has meaning to people.

MIRJAM BRUSIUS (GHIL)

Workshop participants: Heba Abd el Gawad (Egypt/UK), Sani Yakubu Adam (Nigeria/South-Africa), Mirjam Brusius (UK/Germany), Leah Lui-Chivizhe (Australia/Torres Strait Islands), Subhadra Das (UK), Rachel Engmann (Ghana/USA), Jonathan Fine (Germany), Jean-Sébastien Guibert (Antilles, Martinique), Latika Gupta (India), Golda Ha-Eiros (Namibia), Rachael Minott (UK/Jamaica), Maia Nuku (New Zealand/USA), Laura Osorio (Mexico/UK), Siriporn Srisinuraj (Thailand), Alice Stevenson (UK).

Global Royal Families: Concepts, Cultures, and Networks of International Monarchy, 1800–2020. Conference held at the German Historical Institute London, 16–18 January 2020. Conveners: Falko Schnicke (GHIL), Cindy McCreery (University of Sydney), and Robert Aldrich (University of Sydney).

Co-financed by the GHIL and the University of Sydney, this event brought together scholars from four continents and eight countries to discuss the timely issue of global monarchies. Over the two and a half days there were almost forty attendees, and nineteen speakers presented ideas spanning royal families across two centuries and the continents of Europe, Africa, Asia, and Oceania. Despite the wide variation in time periods and geographical locations covered, there were many overlapping and complementary themes, including the importance of the visibility of monarchs, the need to secure status on a global stage, the role of royals as official and unofficial diplomats, and the media's influence over the public image of a royal person or dynasty. The conference's main findings were that the global, national, and regional aspects of royal families were constantly intertwined, and that the political significance of monarchies recurred in different nineteenth- and twentieth-century contexts.

The conference opened with Robert Aldrich's (University of Sydney) introductory talk detailing the coverage of global royal families in history and historiography. Starting with comparative examples from the early nineteenth century and modern-day marriages between the Napoleon and Habsburg dynasties, Aldrich highlighted the intertwined genealogical, political, and cultural ties between royal families across the world. He maintained that in the nineteenth century European monarchies were affected by empire, which demonstrated their power to conquer and their interest in collections of 'exotica'. Yet at the same time, non-European monarchies were adopting Western styles of clothing, architecture, and court culture in order to be more accepted on the global stage.

The first session focused on royalty in international affairs and diplomacy and opened with a paper by Moritz A. Sorg (University of Freiburg), which examined the extent to which the First World War

The full conference programme can be found under 'Events and Conferences' on the GHIL's website <www.ghil.ac.uk>.

damaged the relationships of royal families across Europe. Sorg provided parallel case studies of Ferdinand I of Bulgaria and Ferdinand I of Romania to demonstrate how the First World War placed related monarchies on opposite sides, and the consequential impact this had on how these royal individuals were viewed in their respective countries and under the conditions of increasing nationalism. Next, Michael Kandiah's (King's College London) paper looked at how the British royal family has utilized its 'soft power' since 1952 to improve diplomatic relations between countries. Using oral testimonies of British diplomats, Kandiah explored how Queen Elizabeth II has been able to use her royal status, which places her above politics, in order to maintain good relationships through official engagements, both internationally and in Britain.

The second session centred on the House of Windsor and their relationship with foreign royal houses. Continuing the focus on Queen Elizabeth II and the current British royal family, Falko Schnicke (GHIL) delivered a paper which analysed the content of speeches given at state visits and highlighted the input that the government and the Palace had into these. He proved that it was the Foreign Office which inserted personal family remarks into speeches in order to demonstrate the network of monarchies and the intensity of international royal relationships. Thus the royal family functioned as a collective unit rather than as a collection of individuals. Following this Hilary Sapire (Birkbeck College, University of London) examined the relationship between the British and Zulu royal families (in South Africa) in the colonial period and through the early twentieth century. She argued that royal events and the links to the British monarchy were used by both Zulu monarchists and nationalists to advance their cause of independence.

The first day closed with a keynote lecture by Frank Mort (University of Manchester), which analysed how the media was used to transform the monarchy under George V and Queen Mary, and Edward VIII, into a consumable entity for the public. The increased visibility of the royal family through informal royal visits both in Britain and the colonies helped to make them more accessible to the ordinary public. Mort took a bottom-up approach to judging how the public emotionally responded to different members of the royal family by drawing upon first-hand accounts of seeing royalty. He argued that the rise of human-interest journalism meant that there was a

more extensive and global coverage of the royal family, and an attempt to make them more approachable by encouraging them to conduct unceremonious visits. He stressed the differences between George V and Queen Mary, helping to solidify the notion of the royal family as a domestic unit, while the Prince of Wales (the future Edward VIII) fostered a celebrity culture around his younger lifestyle.

The second day of the conference began with session three, which looked at the global reach of the British monarchy, with John R. Davis (Queen Mary London/Historic Royal Palaces) beginning with British attitudes towards India in the nineteenth century. Using Queen Victoria's diaries and royal library catalogues, Davis argued that Queen Victoria was first introduced to German philology by Prince Albert. This early introduction to philology, and repeated meetings with renowned scholars such as Max Müller, helped to fuel her interest in Indian culture during the latter part of her life. Moving into the twentieth century, Christian Oberländer (University of Halle-Wittenberg) presented a contrast to this with a paper analysing how the British royal family was a model for Japan's Imperial house, looking particularly at the role of the Japanese sovereign as a 'symbolic' emperor after the Second World War. He argued that by embracing state visits, the Japanese Imperial family placed themselves as the figureheads of the nation, and allowed Japan to open itself up to the public at home and in the West.

Session four continued the theme of royal travel by focusing on the Spanish and Austrian royal families. First, Javier Moreno-Luzón (Complutense University of Madrid) explained how Alfonso XIII of Spain (r.1886–1931) fostered closer relations with Latin America through royal visits, celebrations, and a shared culture to create a transnational image of the royal family. He argued that from the late nineteenth century to the end of the 1920s, the royal family successfully promoted Spanish national identity centring on the monarchy through the careful selection of different royal individuals to send to Hispanophone Latin American countries. They were thus able simultaneously to promote historic ties with Spain and highlight a progressive future. Aglaja Weindl (University of Munich) provided a case study of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and how he became an 'unexpected global royal' because of his world tour in 1892–3. This extensive travelling not only educated the Archduke but provided an opportunity to build better relations with Protestant and Orthodox

countries. Using Franz Ferdinand's own accounts, Weindl provided a personal insight into the repetitive nature of royal ceremonies across Europe, and how the guests felt about attending them.

Session five focused on global encounters, with Judith Rowbotham (University of Plymouth) using a range of local, national, and colonial newspapers to analyse the reception of the British royal family within different colonies. Taking examples of tours through India, Canada, Australia, and beyond from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century, Rowbotham emphasized the impact that these visits had on global networking and diplomacy. Specifically tailoring the tone of the visit and activities not only aided relationships with the authorities, but allowed a sense of community to develop in the colonial public. Cindy McCreery (University of Sydney) followed this with a case study of the 1881 visit to Japan by King Kalakaua of Hawai'i and princes Albert Victor and George of Great Britain, and explored how this occasion was used to foster better relations between the countries. Pointing up similarities that mirrored Oberländer's paper, McCreery argued that the opening of Japan to royal visits was an attempt by the country to reinvent its global image, appear more welcoming, and encourage trade deals. Such a tour also allowed the King of Hawai'i to develop an international presence. Photographs of the visit demonstrated that there was a clear acknowledgement of the status of foreign royalty, while showing differences in hierarchy due to age and position in relation to the throne.

The next session focused on the importance of letter-writing between royals, with emphasis on female family relations. Susanne Bauer (University of Trier) presented her research project of cataloguing and analysing the 20,000 letters of Augusta Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, Queen of Prussia and Empress of Germany. Bauer argued that Augusta expressed many political opinions in these letters, tried to advise her husband (whether he asked for advice or not), and was a key factor in building relationships with royalty and politicians across Europe and beyond, with approximately 230 royal and non-royal correspondents. Mary T. Duarte (Cardinal Stritch University, Milwaukee, USA) analysed letters written over the course of the nineteenth century by four generations of female royals from the line of descendants of Maria Theresa of the House of Habsburg. She scrutinized the type of advice passed from mother to daughter, and between grandmother and granddaughter, especially pertaining to mar-

riage and sexual life. She contended that as the generations went on, the tone of this advice softened, although duty and obedience were still often stressed.

The second keynote lecture of the conference was delivered by Irene Stengs (Meertens Instituut/Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam), who provided an in-depth anthropological analysis of the mourning culture in Thailand following the death of King Rama IX in 2016, and the meaning of the symbolism and rituals in the coronation ceremony of King Rama X in 2019. Taking a step-by-step approach through the elements and stages of the coronation ceremony, Stengs highlighted how this event was used to unite the country through shared experience and emotions. While there were historical and religious precedents for several aspects of the event, the incorporation of modern technology, such as mass television broadcasting and drones, gave the new monarch increased accessibility and a personal quality. She also presented a close analysis of the use of colour by the organizers of the event to mark a new reign, and explained the significance this holds within Thai culture.

The final day of the conference started with a session exploring regional dynasties and transnational royal families. Aidan Jones (King's College London) gave a case study of Alexander II of Russia's visit to Britain in 1874 on the occasion of his daughter Marie's marriage to Prince Alfred. He analysed the dynastic politics of the marriage arrangement and the wider implications this had for international diplomacy. Priya Naik (University of Delhi) followed this with a paper exploring the consumption of Britishness by Indian princes in the first half of the twentieth century. She argued that by consuming goods, language, culture, and customs, Indian princes were hoping to be accepted by British society and to join an international aristocratic network.

The final session analysed the different international models of monarchy. Nicholas Miller (University of Lisbon), like McCreery, focused on King Kalakaua of Hawai'i (r.1874–91) but compared him to Sultan Abu Bakar of Johore (r.1886–95) in the Malay States. He focused on the two kings' different approaches to ruling small monarchies and gaining international recognition for their states, and addressed the issue of labour migration. Charles Reed (Elizabeth City State University, Elizabeth City, USA) closed the conference by returning to India via the Gaekwad of Baroda. Like Naik, he high-

lighted the Gaekwad's desire to foster good relations with the British. Reed's approach was to explore how this was achieved through the lens of royal visits to Britain from the later nineteenth century and the public image they were trying to promote of a princely state in India during the colonial period and after independence.

The conference closed with reflections from the co-organizers, who drew out some of the key themes from across the papers. The breadth of the time period and geographical locations covered highlighted that monarchies had achieved local, national, and global reaches. Several papers pointed out that royalty was used, often unofficially, for diplomatic reasons to improve relationships between dynasties and nations, which provoked discussions about how individual royal persons perceived their role. It was agreed that monarchy is an evolving concept, and in recent times, by embracing modern technology and utilizing media coverage, royal families have been able to appear relatable and relevant to contemporary society. The importance of the family unit at the heart of the monarchy was understood to be a central factor in emphasizing the longevity and stability of the institution. Finally, the visibility of royalty, either through first-hand accounts of travel, or increased coverage in the press and accompanying images, was a central theme across many of the papers. This increased visibility frequently allowed royal individuals to appear more personable, and enhanced their popularity nationally and globally. The conference illustrated some of the paradoxes of private life and public role for royal families on a global stage. It also confirmed the need for further studies, even in the twenty-first century, on the evolving central position in political, social, and cultural life occupied by monarchs and their royal families in many countries.

PAIGE EMERICK (University of Leicester)

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Scholarships Awarded by the GHIL

Each year the GHIL awards a number of research scholarships to German postgraduate and postdoctoral researchers to enable them to carry out research in Britain, and to British postgraduates for research visits to Germany. The scholarships are generally awarded for a period of up to six months, depending on the requirements of the research project. British applicants will normally be expected to have completed one year of postgraduate research and should be studying German history and/or Anglo-German relations. Scholarships are advertised on <www.hsozkult.de> and the GHIL's website. Applications should include a CV, educational background, list of publications (where appropriate), and an outline of the project, along with a supervisor's reference confirming the relevance of the proposed archival research. Please address applications to Dr Hannes Ziegler, German Historical Institute London, 17 Bloomsbury Square, London WC1A 2NJ, or send them by email to stipendium@ghil.ac.uk. During their stay in Britain, German scholars present their projects and the initial results of their research at the GHIL Colloquium. In the first round of allocations for 2020 the following scholarships were awarded for research on British history, German history, and Anglo-German relations:

Katharina Breidenbach (Jena), *Kommissare, Gesandte, Diplomaten, Geistliche, Agenten: Netzwerke, Handlungsspielräume und Macht-konstellationen von Mittelspersonen innerhalb protestantischer Emigrationsbewegungen des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*

Isabel Eiser (Hamburg), *Becoming an Emblem. Von kolonialer Propaganda zu dekolonialer Gegenbewegung: Eine Diskursanalyse der 'Benin-Bronzen'*

Alfred Freeborn (Berlin): *Forgetting Functional Psychosis: Biological Psychiatry in post-WWII Britain and the Rediscovery of the Schizophrenic Brain, 1970–1994*

Johanna Gerwin (Kiel), *The Historical Enregisterment of London English*

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Manuel Kohlert (Berlin), Urbane Hedonismuskulturen im vormoder-
nen London und Wien (17.–18. Jahrhundert)

Pierre Sfindules (Munich), Hippolytus and his Age: Christian Carl
Josias von Bunsen (1791–1860) und die frühromische Kirchenges-
chichte in den Debatten des 19. Jahrhunderts

Svenja von Jan (Göttingen), Non-Elite South Asian Migration to Ham-
burg and Beyond: A Biographical and Microhistorical Approach to
Migration History in the Interwar Period

Aglaja Weindl (Munich), ‘Wohin war ich geraten?': Eine Weltreise
1892–1893 und das Leben im Transit

Olga Witmer (Cambridge), Germans at the Dutch Cape of Good
Hope, 1652–1806

Florian Zabransky (Brighton), Between Love and Sexualized Violence:
Male Jewish Intimacy and the Holocaust

Joint Stipendiary Junior Research Fellowship with IAS/UCL

The Institute of Advanced Studies, University College London, and the GHIL award a joint Stipendiary Junior Research Fellowship, tenable for a period of six months. The purpose of the fellowship is to offer an outstanding early career scholar from a German university the opportunity to pursue independent research in the stimulating intellectual environment of the two host institutions. In 2019/20 the fellowship was awarded to *Dr Franziska Neumann* (Rostock), who is working on ‘“Matter out of Place”? Metropolitan “Waste Regimes” (17th–19th Century)’.

Postgraduate Students Conference

The GHIL held its twenty-third postgraduate students conference on 9–10 January 2020. The intention was to give postgraduate research students in the UK and Ireland working on German history an opportunity to present their work-in-progress, and to discuss it with other students working in the same or a similar field. The conference opened with a welcome from the Director of the GHIL, Christina von

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Hodenberg. Over the next one and a half days, twenty-two speakers introduced their projects to an interested and engaged audience. Participants gave a short summary of their work containing general ideas, leading questions, sources, and initial findings, followed by discussion. Information about institutions that give grants for research in Germany was also exchanged. The GHIL can offer support here by facilitating contact with German archives and providing letters of introduction, which may be necessary for students to gain access to archives or specific source collections. In certain cases it may help students to make contact with particular German universities and professors. The conference was preceded by a palaeography course tutored by Dorothea McEwan.

The GHIL is planning to hold the next postgraduate students conference on 7–8 January 2021. For further information, including how to apply, please contact the Secretary, Anita Bellamy, GHIL, 17 Bloomsbury Square, London WC1A 2NJ; abellamy@ghil.ac.uk.

Constantin Eckner (St Andrews), Rhetorics of Asylum in Germany, 1982–1998

George Gibson (Birmingham), Writing Across the Border: Letters to the BBC from Citizens of the GDR

Natalie Grace (Nottingham), Publications, Popular Opinion, and Gender in the Context of Witchcraft in the Holy Roman Empire, 1480–1560

Matthew Heathcote (Manchester/HUB), Marching to a Different Tune? Military Music, the Franco-Prussian War, and Popular Culture during the Kaiserreich

Carmel Heeley (QMUL), The Germans, the Jews, and the Alps: German Self-Understanding and German-Jewish Claims to ‘Belonging’, 1920–1950

Philipp Hirsch (Cambridge), West German Foreign Policy towards the Arab States, 1967–1979: History of a Disappointment?

Amanda Langley (QMUL), Woman, Uncloistered: The Urban Experience, Pastoral Care, and Visionary Construction of Agnes Blannbekin

Yorai Linenberg (LSE), German Captors, Jewish POWs: The Experience of American and British Jewish POWs in German Captivity in the Second World War

Annalisa Martin (Birkbeck), Commercial Sex in West Germany, 1955–1985

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Anisha Netto (Southampton), Circulation and Reception of Italian Opera in German Translation in the *deutscher Sprachraum*, 1775–1800

Michael Nixon (Oxford), Overtures from Germany: Music, War, and Anglo-German Reconciliation, 1945–1964

Lauren Parsons (Leicester), Seeking Justice and Atonement: British Legal Approaches to Dealing with Mass Murder after the Holocaust, 1945–1969

Benjamin Thomas (Nottingham), Ideological Transitions: Conceptualizing Centre-Right Neo-Liberalization in Post-War West Germany

Jonathan Triffitt (St Andrews), Sweeping away the Crowns: The Fall and Afterlife of Monarchy in Southern Germany, 1918–c.1934

Judith Voecker (Leicester), ‘In the Name of the German Nation’: The German Jurisdiction in Warsaw and Cracow during the Nazi Occupation of the *Generalgouvernement* (1939–1945)

Julian Wojtowicz (KCL), The Last Waltz of the D-Day Dodgers: The British Occupation of Post-Nazi Austria, 1945–1946

Alexander Wulfers (Oxford), Trade and Protectionism in Interwar Germany

Prize of the German Historical Institute London

The Prize of the German Historical Institute London is awarded annually for an outstanding Ph.D. thesis on

- German history (thesis submitted to a British or Irish university),
- British history or British colonial history (thesis submitted to a German university),
- Anglo-German relations, or Anglo-German comparative history (thesis submitted to a British, Irish, or German university).

The Prize is 1,000 Euros.

To be eligible, applicants must have successfully completed doctoral exams and vivas between 1 August 2019 and 31 July 2020. To apply, send one copy of the thesis with:

- a one-page abstract
- examiners’ reports on the thesis

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- a brief CV
- a declaration that the work will not be published before the judges have reached a final decision
- a supervisor's reference

to reach the Director of the German Historical Institute London by 31 July 2020. Applications and theses should be sent by email as a PDF attachment to: prize@ghil.ac.uk.

If the prize-winning thesis is on British history, British colonial history, Anglo-German relations, or Anglo-German comparative history it may also be considered for publication in one of the Institute's publication series.

The Prize will be presented on the occasion of the Institute's Annual Lecture on 6 November 2020.

Forthcoming Workshops and Conferences

Please consult the GHIL's website <www.ghil.ac.uk> for updates on forthcoming events and dates.

Law and Consent in Medieval Britain. Workshop to be held at the German Historical Institute London on 30 October 2020. Organized by the GHIL in co-operation with the History of Parliament Trust. Conveners: Hannes Kleineke (History of Parliament Trust) and Stephan Bruhn (GHIL).

Migration and Migration Policies in Europe since 1945. Conference to be held at the German Historical Institute London, 11 to 14 November 2020. Organized by the GHIL in co-operation with the London School of Economics and Political Science. Convener: Ulrich Herbert, Gerda-Henkel-Visiting Professor 2019/20.

This four-day event aims for an overview of the pivotal developments and crucial problems of migratory currents in European countries since the Second World War. It will thereby establish the basis

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for a comparison of the transnational processes, driving forces, central shifts, and most direct impacts of migration on the European Continent. The conference will focus mainly on historical research, with diachronic developments in different countries forming the core of the analysis covering around fifteen nations. Some overlapping processes, such as the migration policies of the European Union and the UNHCR, will complement what is otherwise a predominantly nationally oriented comparative approach.

A sortable list of titles acquired by the GHIL Library in recent months is available at:

https://www.ghil.ac.uk/library/collections/recent_acquisitions.html

For an up-to-date list of the GHIL's publications see the Institute's website:

<https://www.ghil.ac.uk/publications.html>