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ARTICLE

ROSE WITHOUT THORN, EAGLE WITHOUT FEATHERS: NATION AND POWER IN LATE MEDIEVAL ENGLAND AND GERMANY

Len Scales

I

Deo gracias anglia
redde pro victoria

Owre kyng went forth to Normandy
With grace and myght of chyvalry;
Ther god for hym wrought mervelusly,
Wherfore Englonde may calle and cry.

It is hard at times to take the Agincourt Carol entirely seriously. Patriotism of such brash exuberance seems more properly to belong in a brightly lit Laurence Olivier world of mid twentieth-century medievalism than amid the grim and tangled realities of fifteenth-century politics and war. Yet these words, and the hardly less tub-thumping verses which follow, cannot date from long after the battle; and the assumptions upon which they rest merit some reflection.¹ God has favoured Henry V and his cause in France; therefore let England give God thanks. The divinely favoured monarch is paired with his Chosen People, those new Israelites the English, in whose

This article is based on a seminar given at the GHIL on 30 October 2008. I have benefited greatly from the comments of Professor Michael Prestwich on an earlier draft of this paper.

¹ Printed in Anne Curry, *The Battle of Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations* (Woodbridge, 2000), 283–4; and see V. J. Scattergood, *Politics and Poetry in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1971), 53, 57.

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name he conquered, and who were made glorious through his glory. By the time of Agincourt, God was not only a Lancastrian; he was an Englishman.² God, king, and people stand, it seems, in perfect harmony. And the same God who favoured the English had spurned their French foes: against the Chosen are pitted the damned, consigned to stew in their own disgrace 'tyl domesday'.

It is instructive to contemplate Henry in his hour of glory alongside another European prince of his day: Rupert of Wittelsbach, Count Palatine of the Rhine and ruler of the western Roman Empire, the close of whose reign (1400–10) overlapped with the start of Henry's own.³ But there, it seems, the parallels end.⁴ Rupert was a monarch with no resounding triumphs to his name and few discernible marks of divine favour. It was Rupert's modest, mostly stay-at-home reign that drew from the conciliarist Dietrich von Niem the tart observation that the king had evidently embraced the student's maxim, that there is no life outside Heidelberg, site of Rupert's court.⁵ While the Agincourt poet lauded Henry, a near-contemporary versifier was heaping scorn upon the *goeckelman*—the 'travelling trickster'—on the imperial throne, who made his rounds clutching an

² John W. McKenna, 'How God Became an Englishman', in DeLoyd J. Guth and John W. McKenna (eds.), *Tudor Rule and Revolution: Essays for G. R. Elton from his American Friends* (Cambridge, 1982), 25–43; and see also D. A. L. Morgan, 'The Banner-Bearer of Christ and Our Lady's Knight: How God Became an Englishman Revisited', in Nigel Saul (ed.), *St George's Chapel Windsor in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2005), 51–61.

³ Ernst Schubert, 'Probleme der Königsherrschaft im spätmittelalterlichen Reich: Das Beispiel Ruprechts von der Pfalz (1400–1410)', in Reinhard Schneider (ed.), *Das spätmittelalterliche Königtum im europäischen Vergleich, Vorträge und Forschungen*, 32 (Sigmaringen, 1987), 135–84; and for context, Peter Moraw, *Von offener Verfassung zu gestalteter Verdichtung: Das Reich im späten Mittelalter 1250 bis 1490* (Berlin, 1985), 355–7.

⁴ For a powerful comparative study of English and German 'nation-making' in the earlier Middle Ages, see Timothy Reuter, 'The Making of England and Germany, 850–1050: Points of Comparison and Difference', in Alfred P. Smyth (ed.), *Medieval Europeans: Studies in Ethnic Identity and National Perspectives in Medieval Europe* (London, 1998), 53–70, reprinted in Timothy Reuter, *Medieval Politics and Modern Mentalities*, ed. Janet L. Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), 284–99.

⁵ Cited in Hermann Heimpel, *Dietrich von Niem (c.1340–1418)* (Münster, 1932), 63.

‘empty purse’.⁶ That empty purse was at the root of Rupert’s humiliations. It was only with the aid of handouts from the Venetians that the penniless monarch was able to return to Germany from his shamefully ineffectual foray into Italy in 1401.⁷ There was no rapturous homecoming.

What, after all, was there for Rupert to come home to? Certainly no teeming capital, like the London through which, late in 1415, Henry was to pass. Throughout the city’s public spaces, the message of the Agincourt Carol was spelt out for all to see. The royal arms were repeatedly displayed, linked to religious motifs praising God for the English victory. Tapestries portrayed the glorious deeds of the king’s ancestors, merging triumphant present with a glorious and continuous, legitimizing royal past.⁸ At London Bridge, the figure of a giant proffered the keys to the city. Henry entered like another Brutus of Albion, the realm’s primal founder-hero and conqueror of giants.⁹ Thus might the rich doctrinal resources of an ancient and illustrious monarchy be combined with an extended urban stage-set and vast public to enact a powerfully patriotic religion of royalty.¹⁰ Few locations in Europe offered comparable opportunities; and there appear to have been none in Germany.

It was not through an abstract deity alone that Henry’s victory had come, however, but with the aid of the English people’s own heavenly intercessor. Just a few months after Agincourt, Archbishop Chichele elevated the feast of St George, ‘special patron and protector of the nation’, to the status of a ‘major double’ in Canterbury province: people were to leave their work and attend divine services.¹¹ George was a saint for the (English) people, dedicatee of numer-

⁶ ‘O o der goeckelman ist kumen | hat ein lere taschen praht, | das hab wir wol vernumen.’ Cited in Schubert, ‘Probleme der Königsherrschaft’, 178.

⁷ Heinz Thomas, *Deutsche Geschichte des Spätmittelalters 1250–1500* (Stuttgart, 1983), 342–5.

⁸ Thus the account of Tito Livio Frulovisi, *Vita Henrici Quinti*, trans. in Curry, *Battle of Agincourt*, 267.

⁹ *Gesta Henrici Quinti: The Deeds of Henry the Fifth*, ed. and trans. Frank Taylor and John S. Roskell (Oxford, 1975), 102–3.

¹⁰ According to the *Brut*, Henry was welcomed into London with a song, ‘Hail, flower of England, knight of Christ of the world’, Curry, *Battle of Agincourt*, 267.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 274; Jeremy Catto, ‘Religious Change under Henry V’, in Gerald L.

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ous parish churches, patron of guilds and confraternities, and miniaturized on mass-produced metal badges.¹² His image gazed out from altar screen and wall painting across the realm, decked out in the same red and white arms which adorned the banners and surcoats of the king's armies in France.¹³ And not only George, but the Virgin Mary, whose 'knight' he was, took the English side. Her much-visited shrine at Walsingham helped sustain a patriotically tinged devotion which imagined the realm as her 'dowry'.¹⁴ The rose, Marian emblem of purity and election, was projected onto the English and their land – *Anglia regna, mundi rosa*, in one fourteenth-century poet's celebrated formulation. Predictably, the 'flower without thorn' was contrasted with a debased and treacherous *Francia*.¹⁵ Long-running war lent polemical urgency to such images and encouraged their repetition, drawing from English versifiers a strident horticultural triumphalism, in which the English rose trounced that other nationalized Marian emblem, the lily of France.¹⁶

Harriss (ed.), *Henry V: The Practice of Kingship* (Oxford, 1985), 107–8; Christopher Allmand, *Henry V* (London, 1992), 120. George was not the only saint associated with Henry's victory. There were also, notably, Crispin and Crispinian, as well as St John of Beverley. See Michael K. Jones, *Agincourt 1415* (Barnsley, 2005), 23–7. Nevertheless, Agincourt was, along with Crécy, a crucial moment in cementing George's cult in England. Morgan, 'The Banner-Bearer of Christ', 57.

¹² Samantha Riches, *St George: Hero, Martyr and Myth* (Stroud, 2000), ch. 4.

¹³ For the adoption of George's arms by English armies, see Riches, *St George*, 101, 110; Curry, *Battle of Agincourt*, 275 with n. 26.

¹⁴ See generally Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London, 1976), esp. ch. 7; for Marian devotion in late medieval England, Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400–c.1580* (New Haven, 1992), 256–65.

¹⁵ 'Francia, foeminea, pharisaea, vigoris idea, | Lynxea, viperea, vulpina, lupina, Medea . . . | Anglia regna, mundi rosa, flos sine spina, | Mel sine sentina, vicisti bella marina.' Thomas Wright (ed.), *Political Poems and Songs relating to English History*, Rolls Series, vol. 14, pt. 1 (London, 1859), 26, 35. For 'rose' imagery and the Virgin Mary, see Anne Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose: The Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages* (University Park, Pa., 1997), esp. ch. 4.

¹⁶ Thus *The Rose on Branch*, a verse contemporary with the Agincourt Carol: 'When þe rose betide a chaunce | Þan ffadide alle þe floures of fraunce.' Scattergood, *Politics and Poetry*, 57–8. For the French lilies, see Colette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France*, trans. Susan Ross Huston (Berkeley, 1991), ch. 7.

Such was the periodic enfeeblement of political life in Germany, by contrast, that even the Roman eagle was adapted by German commentators to represent, or illuminate through contrast, the ills of the time. To one hostile contemporary, the Habsburg Rudolf I (1273–91) conspicuously lacked the stature proclaimed by the *ufreht adelar* on his armorial shield; no eagle, the king was but a ‘woodpecker’ on a rotten tree.¹⁷ For others, in the troubled decades following the downfall of the Hohenstaufen dynasty, the eagle itself stood depleted.¹⁸ Alexander von Roes, a canon of Cologne who spent time at the Roman Curia, allegorized this turn of events in a Latin poem in the ‘parliament of fowls’ genre, the *Pavo* – ‘Peacock’ – of 1285.¹⁹ In a narrative which bears at least a general echo of Frederick II’s deposition in 1245, the birds gather at the behest of the papal Peacock to cast down the imperial Eagle and strip him of his feathers. But it is not simply that the symbolic repertoire of the imperial monarchy was required in the late Middle Ages to convey discouraging messages, reflecting the troubles afflicting the institution to which it related; its whole nature was different from that upon which the English and their kings drew. While it did, indeed, make occasional reference to a ‘German’ people, the rhetoric of imperial rule looked ever outwards upon larger, more indeterminate horizons. We seek in vain the flesh-and-blood substance of England’s late medieval protectors. William Caxton was to identify St George as the ‘patron of this realm of England, and the cry of men of war’.²⁰ Men of war in the German lands of the Reich had no such patron and they raised different cries: typically, ‘Rome’, or *Romarc*, *Romarc*, as German mercenaries in

¹⁷ ‘Schulmeister von Esslingen’, in Ulrich Müller (ed.), *Politische Lyrik des deutschen Mittelalters: Texte*, i. *Von Friedrich II. bis Ludwig dem Bayern* (Göppingen, 1972), 89.

¹⁸ For this theme generally in late medieval German writings, see Schubert, ‘Probleme der Königsherrschaft’, 137.

¹⁹ Alexander von Roes, *Pavo*, in *Alexander von Roes: Schriften*, ed. Herbert Grundmann and Hermann Heimpel, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (henceforth MGH) *Staatsschriften des späteren Mittelalters*, vol. 1, pt. 1 (Stuttgart, 1958), 172–91; and see Hermann Heimpel, ‘Über den Pavo des Alexander von Roes’, *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 13 (1957), 171–227.

²⁰ Cited in Richard Britnell, *The Closing of the Middle Ages? England, 1471–1529* (Oxford, 1997), 127.

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Milanese pay were reported to have called out in 1344.²¹ Set beside such invocations of an imperial Rome which German kings after 1250 were to visit but rarely and fleetingly (and which the hapless Rupert was never to attain), the language of political community in England displays a more rooted character.

II

The bounded, even isolated, political existence of late medieval England seems well expressed in the gold 'noble' and 'half-noble' coins issued by Edward III, which show the king aboard a ship, bearing a shield with the quartered arms of England and France.²² The ship image was recurrent. 'Sum tyme an *Englisch* schip we had', reflects a poem on Edward's death.²³ England, or the British landmass which it dominated, was readily conceived, like a ship, as a world apart, surrounded by water. The English were precociously advanced in representing this world visually.²⁴ Already in the mid thirteenth century, the maps associated with the St Albans monk Matthew Paris present a recognizable, generally convincing picture of Britain's physical, political, and even (in the Hadrianic and Antonine walls) historical geography. Roughly a century later, the mysterious Gough Map laid out a picture of Britain's road and river systems, with numerous, accurately placed towns, unparalleled in Europe. Well over another century would elapse before Germany was subjected to any comparable mapping.²⁵ By the fourteenth cen-

²¹ For the cries of 'Rome' (and 'Christ') raised by Rudolf I's army at the battle of the Marchfeld in 1278, see *Chronicon Magni Presbyteri: Continuatio*, ed. Wilhelm Wattenbach, MGH Scriptores, 17 (Hanover, 1861), 533-4; for the German mercenaries in Italy, Stephan Selzer, *Deutsche Söldner im Italien des Trecento* (Tübingen, 2001), 99.

²² Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski (eds.), *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England, 1200-1400* (London, 1987), 491-2.

²³ Printed in R. Barrie Dobson (ed.), *The Peasants' Revolt of 1381* (2nd edn., Basingstoke, 1983), 88-91, at 89; and see also Allmand, *Henry V*, 405.

²⁴ For what follows, see P. D. A. Harvey, *Medieval Maps* (London, 1991), 73-6 and figs. 57-9.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 81, 84, and fig. 63, for Erhard Etzlaub's 'Romweg' map of Germany (c.1500).

tury's close, Shakespeare's island in a silver sea may already be in view, miniaturized in the glass bauble placed (significantly) atop St George's banner in the Wilton Diptych.²⁶

In words, too, England was a much-described land. In the fourteenth century, the universal chronicle of Ranulf Higden offered a detailed account of English geography, topography, antiquities, and natural wonders.²⁷ By the late Middle Ages, readers could also discover much lore of this kind in the works of earlier writers such as Bede, Henry of Huntingdon, and Gerald of Wales. There seems to have been an appetite for such material.²⁸ Contemporary descriptions of the Empire's German lands, by contrast, while not entirely lacking, are less numerous and less detailed.²⁹ Only in humanist circles at the close of the Middle Ages did the delineation of Germany's geographical and historical landscapes come to seem a priority (born, in part, of a perceived need to make up lost ground).³⁰ Late medieval accounts of Germany's frontiers are sparse and contradictory, undermined particularly by the ultimate impossibility of reconciling contemporary political and settlement geographies with the lingering authority of Roman writers, for whom *Germania* was confined by the Rhine and the Danube.³¹

If England's limits appeared to its late medieval inhabitants more starkly visible, that reflected contemporary political no less than

²⁶ Dillian Gordon, *Making and Meaning: The Wilton Diptych* (London, 1993), 57–8.

²⁷ *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis*, ed. Churchill Babington, Rolls Series, vol. 41, pt. 2 (London, 1869), bk. 1, chs. 39–60, 2–174; Chris Given-Wilson, *Chronicles: The Writing of History in Medieval England* (London, 2004), 131–4.

²⁸ See Nicholas Orme, 'Place and Past in Medieval England', *History Today*, 58 (2008), 24–30; Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, 127–35.

²⁹ Thus e.g. the *Descriptio Theutoniae* compiled by a Dominican of Colmar in Alsace around the start of the fourteenth century (ed. Philipp Jaffé, MGH *Scriptores*, 17, 238–9).

³⁰ Gerald Strauss, *Sixteenth-Century Germany: Its Topography and Topographers* (Madison, 1959).

³¹ Rüdiger Schnell, 'Deutsche Literatur und deutsches Nationalbewußtsein in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit', in Joachim Ehlers (ed.), *Ansätze und Diskontinuität deutscher Nationsbildung im Mittelalter*, *Nationes*, 8 (Sigmaringen, 1989), 247–319, at 258–75.

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ancient geographical facts. England was a community under arms and periodically under attack. It was, of necessity, a defensible community, whether conceived as Edwardian fighting ship or as, in the fifteenth-century *Libelle of Englyshe Polycye*, a moated fortress-city:

Kepe than the see abought in speciall,
Whiche of England is the rounde wall,
As thoughe England were lykened to a cite
And the wall environ were the see.³²

Living in an island-fortress left its marks. To outsiders, the late-medieval English were an insular people in more ways than one, xenophobic and self-absorbed. 'They think there are no other men than themselves, and no other world but England', wrote one visitor at the end of the Middle Ages.³³ Social and political tensions, exacerbated by the pressures and demands of war, found expression in agitations against groups of resident foreigners, which occasionally flared into open violence, most notoriously, in the massacres of 'Flemings' which accompanied the popular risings of 1381.³⁴ Paranoia, sometimes sharpened by the prospect of material gain, was also translated into governmental action, as in the suppression of alien religious houses in 1414.³⁵ Indeed, that word itself—*alienigena*,

³² *The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye: A Poem on the Use of Sea-Power, 1436*, ed. Sir George Warner (Oxford, 1926), 55, ll. 1092–5. For England and the sea in the *Libelle*, see Sebastian I. Sobecki, *The Sea and Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge, 2008), 145–60.

³³ Britnell, *The Closing of the Middle Ages?*, 129; and for English xenophobia in an earlier period, Michael Prestwich, *English Politics in the Thirteenth Century* (Basingstoke, 1990), ch. 5.

³⁴ Rodney Hilton, *Bond Men Made Free: Medieval Peasant Movements and the English Rising of 1381* (London, 1973), 195–8. For the war and anti-foreigner sentiment, see H. J. Hewitt, *The Organisation of War under Edward III, 1338–62* (Manchester, 1966), 168.

³⁵ For the confiscation, see *English Historical Documents*, iv. 1327–1485, ed. A. R. Myers (London, 1969), 670, no. 392; for the climate of paranoia under the first two Lancastrian kings, Paul Strohm, *England's Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation, 1399–1422* (New Haven, 1998), 128–31; for other official measures, and the harsher late medieval climate in England more broadly, Simon Walker, 'Janico Dartasso: Chivalry, Nationality and the Man-At-Arms', *History*, 84 (1999), 31–51, esp. 49.

the unwelcome, parasitical, and potentially treacherous, foreigner—was one which came easily and characteristically to English pens of the period.³⁶

There was more to such attitudes than just fears and antipathies nurtured by war. They also reflected more deep-rooted aspects of English life: the coexistence of cosmopolitan elements, at court and in the greater cities, with self-conscious and assertive native elites.³⁷ Already in the thirteenth century, the English aristocracy were deploying a language of government which confidently linked political allegiance, constitutional entitlement, and English identity. Magna Carta itself had decreed the expulsion of ‘all foreign [*alienigenas*] knights’ who were present in England ‘to the harm of the realm’.³⁸ Castles, insisted Henry III’s baronial opponents in 1258, were to be entrusted to ‘faithful men, natives of the kingdom of England’; there was to be no marrying of heiresses to men not of the English nation (*natione*).³⁹ Neither England’s cosmopolitanism nor the periodically tight constitutional focus of its opponents had any direct parallel in Germany, where the greatest lords, secure in their regional power-bases, had little incentive to dominate the court. In Germany, unlike England, the weak, not the powerful, sought the proximity of the monarch.⁴⁰

³⁶ R. E. Latham and D. R. Howlett (eds.), *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (London, 1975–97), i. A–L, 62.

³⁷ For England’s cosmopolitanism, see Michael Prestwich, *Plantagenet England 1225–1360* (Oxford, 2005), 554; Walker, ‘Janico’, 50; for the long tradition of native resentments, Michael T. Clanchy, *England and its Rulers 1066–1272* (London, 1983), ch. 10.

³⁸ J. C. Holt, *Magna Carta* (Cambridge, 1965), 330 (cl. 51). The clause, which also makes reference to ‘crossbowmen, sergeants and mercenary soldiers’, is probably directed against the paid levies of Flemings and others in John’s service. See Robert Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings, 1075–1225* (Oxford, 2000), 266–9.

³⁹ Cited in Clanchy, *England and its Rulers*, 242.

⁴⁰ Peter Moraw, ‘Nord und Süd in der Umgebung des deutschen Königtums im späten Mittelalter’, in Werner Paravicini (ed.), *Nord und Süd in der deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters* (Sigmaringen, 1990), 51–70, at 60.

III

Late medieval England was an old political community, and many of the institutions and habits of a relatively sophisticated and intrusive royal government were likewise old. The idea of an 'English people', favoured by God, whose enemies were consigned to perdition, went back to Bede, who cast his long shadow over later English writers.⁴¹ Already under Alfred (871–99), the Bedan vision was acquiring a firm political framework and application.⁴² By the eleventh century, a network of shires had been stretched across the land, the matrix for a royal administration dense and demanding enough to allow one distinguished modern scholar to declare as 'a certainty' that 'late Anglo-Saxon England was a nation-state'.⁴³ In the Empire, by contrast, the word 'German' had scarcely begun to be used in a political sense in the eleventh century.⁴⁴ That it did then start to be so used owed little to the emperors, their government, or the traditions and historical models upon which they drew. Instead, 'the Germans' and their rule were, at the outset, mainly a construct of their southern and western neighbours. The first authoritative voice on the subject was, moreover, that of the Salian monarchy's arch-foe, Pope Gregory VII (1073–85), whose coinage 'king of the Germans' was conceived in order to clip Henry IV's imperial wings.⁴⁵

The new post-Conquest elite learned quickly to identify with the English 'nation-state', and within two or three generations of arrival

⁴¹ Patrick Wormald, 'Engla Lond: The Making of an Allegiance', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 7 (1994), 1–24, at 15.

⁴² Sarah Foot, 'The Making of *Angelcynn*: English Identity before the Norman Conquest', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 6 (1996), 25–49, at 38–9.

⁴³ James Campbell, 'The Late Anglo-Saxon State: A Maximalist View', in id., *The Anglo-Saxon State* (London, 2000), 1–30, at 10.

⁴⁴ For what follows, see Helmut Beumann, 'Die Bedeutung des Kaisertums für die Entstehung der deutschen Nation im Spiegel der Bezeichnungen von Reich und Herrscher', in id. and Werner Schröder (eds.), *Aspekte der Nationenbildung im Mittelalter*, *Nationes*, 1 (Sigmaringen, 1978), 340–1; Johannes Fried, *Der Weg in die Geschichte: Die Ursprünge Deutschlands bis 1024* (Berlin, 1994), esp. 18–20.

⁴⁵ Eckhard Müller-Mertens, *Regnum Teutonicum: Aufkommen und Verbreitung der deutschen Reichs- und Königsauffassung im frühen Mittelalter* (Vienna, 1970), 388–9.

its members were starting to think of themselves as English.⁴⁶ Such identification was hastened by their participation in conquering the kingdom's Celtic borderlands, a process which was accompanied in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by the trumpeting of an English supremacism of new stridency.⁴⁷ The nation-making role of this process for the English was far greater than that of its counterpart among the Germans: that far-flung, sharply regionalized, and in general substantially peaceful movement of high-medieval migrations sometimes misleadingly termed the *Drang nach Osten*.⁴⁸ Whereas the imperial monarchy played, after the early twelfth century, hardly any part in the settlement of German-speakers in east-central Europe, the Anglo-Norman *Drang nach Westen* was much more intimately bound up with the extension of English royal government. By the late Middle Ages, Arthur had become an *English* king, whose conquests prefigured and sanctioned those of Edward I, Edward III, and Henry V.⁴⁹

The late medieval English kingdom was centralized and relatively compact, the barriers to travel and communication less than in much of Europe. Fellows of Merton College took just seven or eight days to travel from Oxford to Ponteland, north of Newcastle.⁵⁰ If this figure is compared with the average of thirty-four days needed in the mid fifteenth century for the journey from Lübeck to the imperial court in Austria, the contrasting contexts and potentialities of royal

⁴⁶ See John Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, National Identity and Political Values* (Woodbridge, 2000), 123–32.

⁴⁷ R. R. Davies, *The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles 1093–1343* (Oxford, 2000), ch. 5; Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, 68–102.

⁴⁸ See generally Charles Higounet, *Die deutsche Ostsiedlung im Mittelalter* (Munich, 1990); and for the comparatively small portions of this vast zone of German settlement which were subjected to military conquest, Eric Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades: The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier, 1100–1525* (London, 1980).

⁴⁹ See Maurice Keen, 'Chivalry and English Kingship in the Later Middle Ages', in Chris Given-Wilson, Ann Kettle, and Len Scales (eds.), *War, Government and Aristocracy in the British Isles, c.1150–1500: Essays in Honour of Michael Prestwich* (Woodbridge, 2008), 250–66, at 263, 265.

⁵⁰ Jeremy I. Catto (ed.), *The History of the University of Oxford*, i. *The Early Oxford Schools* (Oxford, 1984), 338–9. I owe this reference to Michael Prestwich.

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government in England and the Reich become plain.⁵¹ By the late Middle Ages, both the central institutions of the English monarchy and its links to regional society had been reinforced.⁵² The twelfth and thirteenth centuries brought an increased concentration of judicial and fiscal institutions at Westminster, which also began to develop as a monarchical cult centre, at a time when, following the loss of the Plantagenets' northern French lands, the kings themselves were more regularly to be seen in England.⁵³ With the growth of judicial institutions and constitutional forms came the idea of the English as a people under a law. Already under Henry III, the barons were able to take a stand on the *leges Angliae*.⁵⁴ By the thirteenth century, men of humble origin were being introduced to the concerns of a royal administration increasingly sensitive to the need to listen as well as command.⁵⁵ John Maddicott has shown how widely attended was the county court, how significant was its role as a forum for royal communications, and how central its importance as a link between Westminster and the English regions.⁵⁶ There are indications that, at least across much of central and southern England, information and rumour about the king and his court penetrated even into rural neighbourhoods and to people of very modest standing, some of whom reached their own vigorous judgements on what they heard.⁵⁷

⁵¹ Moraw, *Von offener Verfassung*, 47.

⁵² Gerald L. Harriss, 'Political Society and the Growth of Government in Late Medieval England', *Past and Present*, 138 (1993), 28–57; and for an overview, see W. Mark Ormrod, *Political Life in Medieval England, 1300–1450* (Basingstoke, 1995), chs. 2, 3.

⁵³ For Westminster, see Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power 1200–1400* (New Haven, 1995), 'Introduction'; for the centralization of government, Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, pt. 3, chs. 7–9.

⁵⁴ In their celebrated declaration at Merton in 1236, 'nolumus leges Angliae mutari'. Cited in J. E. A. Jolliffe, *The Constitutional History of Medieval England* (London, 1967), 337.

⁵⁵ For an example, see Leonard E. Scales, 'The Cambridgeshire Ragman Rolls', *English Historical Review*, 113 (1998), 553–79.

⁵⁶ John R. Maddicott, 'The County Community and the Making of Public Opinion in Fourteenth-Century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 28 (1978), 27–43.

⁵⁷ David A. Carpenter, 'English Peasants in Politics 1258–1267', *Past and Present*, 136 (1992), 3–42. The 1381 uprisings provide startling illustration of

While the trends in England were towards institutional growth, the stabilization of the monarchical centre, and the multiplication of connections with the regions, movement in late medieval Germany was overwhelmingly in a contrary direction. Institutions of imperial government show at best modest and fitful growth in the two centuries after 1250, within an overall picture of contraction and enfeeblement. Fundamental administrative tasks lay with miniscule groups of imperial servants. Harry Bresslau was able to identify just eight notaries (together with two chancellors and three protonotaries) from the imperial chancery for the whole of Rudolf I's eighteen-year reign.⁵⁸ We may contrast this with the king of England, who in the following century would maintain a hierarchically graded chancery staff of around a hundred *at any one time*.⁵⁹ The ruler's income from imperial rights and properties in Germany plummeted between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, reflecting the alienation by stages of the fisc itself into the hands of powerful subjects of the Reich.⁶⁰ Not until the fifteenth century were (initially unsuccessful) attempts made at imposing general taxation upon the populations of the Empire's German lands.⁶¹ As the resources available for the ruler's support contracted, so, too, did the geographical scope of his itinerary, the institution upon which monarchical rule in Germany still mainly rested.⁶² Governmental ties between the

the social depth of politicization in the countryside in the counties close to London. See Dobson (ed.), *The Peasants' Revolt*. The vibrancy of popular interest in politics is also indicated by a statute of 1377, directed against 'backbiters', responsible for 'false news, and horrible and false lies' about 'nobles and great men of the realm'. Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, 208. For the role of popular rumour in contemporary Germany, see Schubert, 'Probleme der Königsherrschaft', 178 with n. 305.

⁵⁸ Harry Bresslau, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre für Deutschland und Italien* (2nd edn., Leipzig, 1912), i. 570.

⁵⁹ David A. Carpenter, 'The English Royal Chancery in the Thirteenth Century', in *Écrit et Pouvoir dans les chancelleries médiévales: espace français, espace anglais*, Textes et Études du Moyen Âge (Turnout, 1997), 35.

⁶⁰ Figures in Karl-Friedrich Krieger, *König, Reich und Reichsreform im Spätmittelalter* (Munich, 1992), 34.

⁶¹ See Steven W. Rowan, 'Imperial Taxes and German Politics in the Fifteenth Century: An Outline', *Central European History*, 13 (1980), 203-17.

⁶² For individual itineraries, see Moraw, *Von offener Verfassung*, 215, 223, 225, 227, 231, 250.

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German lands and the monarch's peripatetic court were too few and too feeble to function effectively in his absence. The networks of *ministeriales*, in their scattered castles, upon which the Salians and Staufer had relied for rudimentary local administration, were quite unsuited to the more complex world of the later Middle Ages, melting away after the thirteenth century and finding no effective successor.⁶³

It is true that, just as English kings from the thirteenth century concentrated their rule increasingly on the British Isles, so the kings and emperors of late medieval Germany spent more time in their northern territories. In the post-Staufer era, imperial expeditions to Italy were not only more modest in scope but fewer in number and shorter in duration than in the Empire's high medieval heyday. Henry VII (1308–13) was the last ruler of the Reich to die on campaign in the south, not on horseback leading an army but on his sickbed.⁶⁴ The new northern focus generally did little to augment the ruler's own visibility in Germany, however. The great patrimonial territories heaped up by the three dynasties which for much of the late Middle Ages shared the imperial throne—Hapsburg, Luxemburg, and Wittelsbach—lay mainly towards, or beyond, the margins of the German-speaking lands of the Reich. Replacing the shrunken imperial fisc as the ruler's main material foundation, heritable as the imperial title mostly was not, these estates and their periodic disorders kept the monarch out of Germany for extended periods. Sigismund of Luxemburg (d. 1437), immersed in the affairs of his distant Hungarian kingdom, did not enter the German core of the Reich between his election in 1410 and the summer of 1414.⁶⁵

In Germany, where durable structures and procedures were still significantly lacking, the ruler's periodic absence mattered as it did not in much-governed England. The long-term influence on political imagination in the Reich can be traced in the matter of law. The late

⁶³ See e.g. Oswald Redlich, *Rudolf von Habsburg: Das deutsche Reich nach dem Untergang des alten Kaisertums* (Innsbruck, 1903), 468; and for *ministeriales*, Benjamin Arnold, *German Knighthood 1050–1300* (Oxford, 1985), esp. ch. 7.

⁶⁴ Roland Pauler, *Die deutschen Könige und Italien im 14. Jahrhundert: Von Heinrich VII. bis Karl IV.* (Darmstadt, 1997), esp. 111–12.

⁶⁵ Wilhelm Altmann (ed.), *Die Urkunden Kaiser Sigmunds (1410–1437)*, i. 1410–1424, *Regesta Imperii*, 11 (Innsbruck, 1896–7), 58.

Middle Ages brought little growth in the monarchy's importance as a source of legal judgments or of justice and law more broadly. The 'curial court' (*Hofgericht*), which heard appeals from the Empire's subjects, showed only feeble growth and was abandoned altogether in the fifteenth century.⁶⁶ It is therefore no surprise to find that ideas of legal community made reference to other, less extensive, unities than 'the Germans'. In Germany as elsewhere, the thirteenth century brought remarkable advances in the study and codification of law. However, its two outstanding monuments, much copied, widely disseminated, and immensely influential, were vernacular legal 'mirrors' purporting to set out the laws respectively of 'the Saxons' and 'the Swabians'.⁶⁷ Only in east-central Europe, where Germans came, as strangers and guests, into the lands of others, was reference regularly made to 'German law' (*ius Teutonicum*), to denote the privileges which initially set the incomers apart from the indigenous populations.⁶⁸

IV

The wars of the late Middle Ages set tasks before the English kings which only in the fifteenth century (and then in different, less socially all-encompassing ways) began to confront their counterparts in the Reich. Widespread support had to be secured and maintained for warfare unprecedented in duration and burdensomeness. To achieve this end, the monarchy and its supporters were able to apply the communicative resources of a hierarchical, centralized realm. Recent scholars have been inclined to use rather too freely the term 'propa-

⁶⁶ Krieger, *König, Reich und Reichsreform*, 23–4; Thomas, *Deutsche Geschichte*, 251–3.

⁶⁷ For the *Sachsenspiegel*, see Ruth Schmidt-Wiegand, 'Eike von Repgow', in Kurt Ruh et al. (eds.), *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, ii. (Berlin, 1980), cols. 400–9; for the *Schwabenspiegel*, Peter Johaneck, 'Schwabenspiegel', in Ruh et al. (eds.), *Verfasserlexikon*, viii. (Berlin, 1992), cols. 896–907.

⁶⁸ See Richard C. Hoffmann, *Land, Liberties, and Lordship in a Late Medieval Countryside: Agrarian Structures and Change in the Duchy of Wrocław* (Philadelphia, 1989), ch. 4.

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ganda' to describe these diverse endeavours;⁶⁹ but there is no doubt that English kings sought periodically to address substantial groups of their subjects. Often, this was done through the well-established means of writs to the sheriffs requiring proclamations to be made throughout the realm in a range of public spaces, including the county court.⁷⁰ On occasion, the call to arms was couched in tones of shrill ethnocentrism: the claim, first encountered under Edward I, that the French were planning the extirpation of the English tongue, was to become a recurrent theme in royal pronouncements.⁷¹ We cannot generally know how widely the crown's messages were received and accepted, though there are isolated indications that elements of royal doctrine were internalized: that the 'propaganda' worked. The author of the *Libelle of Englyshe Polycye* clearly grasped the political iconography of the 'noble', with its shipboard king standing 'wyth swerde drawn, bright, sharpe and extente, For to chastisen enmyes vyolente'.⁷² Again, the breadth and depth of the monarchy's penetration of society appears to set England apart.

The relatively close subjection of the Church — that most sophisticated and ubiquitous of medieval communications channels — to the imperatives of the English crown had particular importance. Prayers, masses, special services, and processions were repeatedly commanded, beseeching divine aid for the king's expeditions or offering thanks for his victories. Sermons were ordered, doubtless for preaching in the vernacular, some, it seems, on the basis of chancery writs proposing appropriate forms of words.⁷³ The Empire's rulers could

⁶⁹ For some reasons for caution, see Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, 203–6.

⁷⁰ Maddicott, 'The County Community', 35–6.

⁷¹ William Stubbs, *Select Charters and Other Illustrations of English Constitutional History* (9th edn., Oxford, 1913), 480 (1295). For the theme's subsequent repetition, see John H. Fisher, 'Chancery and the Emergence of Standard Written English in the Fifteenth Century', *Speculum*, 52 (1977), 870–99, at 879.

⁷² *The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye*, ed. Warner, 44, ll. 856–7. The poem's invocation of royal iconography is considered in Sobecki, *The Sea and Medieval English Literature*, 153–4.

⁷³ See Alison K. McHardy, 'Some Reflections on Edward III's Use of Propaganda', in James S. Bothwell (ed.), *The Age of Edward III* (Woodbridge, 2001), 171–92, at 178–81; Alison K. McHardy, 'Liturgy and Propaganda in the Diocese of Lincoln during the Hundred Years War', in Stuart Mews (ed.),

rely far less upon the Church, which in Germany was as sharply regionalized as were most other aspects of political life. In place of England's clear pyramidal structures under just two metropolitans, it presented a much more diffuse picture, within which the attitudes of individual prelates to the monarch were characteristically independent, sometimes actively hostile.⁷⁴ Some bishops did prove to be reliable and effective servants, but only the Mendicant orders provided, at least periodically, a widespread communications network supportive of the ruler and his ends.⁷⁵

The extension, under the pressure of war, of the English political nation found institutional form in the growth of Parliament and particularly, by the late fourteenth century, in the increased importance of the Commons.⁷⁶ Nearly 120 parliaments met between 1307 and 1422 alone.⁷⁷ With the rise of the Commons came the return, in principle, of two knights from each of the thirty-seven shires and two burgesses from around seventy boroughs, with four attending from London. While attendance varied in practice, the systematic geographical representation sought and the social breadth of those attending remain important. As a result, many comparatively modest local worthies would have carried back to their shires a vision of life at the political centre and the sense of forming part of a larger regional whole. While the reasons for the growth of Parliament were sev-

Religion and National Identity, Studies in Church History, 18 (Oxford, 1982), 215–26.

⁷⁴ For an overview, see Benjamin Arnold, 'German Bishops and their Military Retinues in the Medieval Empire', *German History*, 7 (1989), 161–83.

⁷⁵ The comparative success of one late medieval emperor in drawing the German Church into his rule is examined in Gerhard Losher, *Königtum und Kirche zur Zeit Karls IV.: Ein Beitrag zur Kirchenpolitik im Spätmittelalter* (Munich, 1985). For the role of the friars in the decades after 1250, see Thomas M. Martin, 'Das Bild Rudolfs von Habsburg als "Bürgerkönig" in Chronistik, Dichtung und moderner Historiographie', *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte*, 112 (1976), 203–28, at 212; Björn Weiler, 'Image and Reality in Richard of Cornwall's German Career', *English Historical Review*, 113 (1998), 1111–42, at 1130–9.

⁷⁶ See generally Gerald Harriss, *Shaping the Nation: England 1360–1461* (Oxford, 2005), 66–74; Ormrod, *Political Life*, 30–7.

⁷⁷ May McKisack, *The Parliamentary Representation of the English Boroughs during the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1932), 24, 44.

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eral, its communicative and persuasive functions for the crown were at times significant. The chancellor's opening speech attained a particular importance, and the gradual infiltration of the English language for this and other set-piece occasions maps a progressive extension of the political community itself.⁷⁸

The picture in Germany is again rather different. There, as in England, numerous assemblies met during the late Middle Ages in the name, and often (though not invariably) in the presence of the monarch.⁷⁹ These drew together shifting combinations of the great men of Germany, to deliberate on a range of imperial affairs. After the middle of the thirteenth century, representatives of the imperial and free towns—the small minority of towns directly under the Empire—also often attended.⁸⁰ More striking, however, are those elements in German life which set assemblies in the Reich apart from the consolidating English Parliament. German imperial assemblies, into the fifteenth century, lacked clear definition, established procedures, an institutional infrastructure, and a regular meeting place to compare with Westminster, the normal, though still not invariable, location for English parliaments. Members of the Reich came together in a large number of locations, mostly in the old imperial heartlands in southern and western Germany, where the Empire's dwindling material resources were mainly located. No attempt was made at systematic regional representation: no German body even approximated to England's MPs. Imperial assemblies did take on firmer contours during the course of the fifteenth century, in response to new external threats and internal pressures.⁸¹ But for most of the late Middle Ages these meetings did not so much contribute to making a 'German' political community as, in their variability and lack of structure, bear witness to its inherent limitations.

⁷⁸ W. Mark Ormrod, 'The Use of English: Language, Law, and Political Culture in Fourteenth-Century England', *Speculum*, 78 (2003), 750–87, at 750–1.

⁷⁹ See generally Peter Moraw, 'Reichstag', in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vii. (Munich, 1995), cols. 640–3.

⁸⁰ See Gabriele Annas, *Hoftag – Gemeiner Tag – Reichstag: Studien zur strukturellen Entwicklung deutscher Reichsversammlungen des späten Mittelalters (1349–1471)*, i. (Göttingen, 2004).

⁸¹ *Ibid.* 88.

It is not hard to see in such contrasts a foundation from which to trace divergent long-term historical paths and a seedbed for quite different historical conceptions of the nation in England and Germany. Such a viewpoint is hardly novel: it can invoke the authority of nearly two centuries of academic historiography, from the pens of medievalists and others, from Germany, England, and elsewhere. Those same centuries, of course, also witnessed the making (and recently, partial un-making) of the modern nation-state in Europe, and the influence of contemporary national debates upon studies of medieval political communities has often been unmistakable. From the mid twentieth-century viewpoint of Heinrich Mitteis, England was among those happy realms 'whose state-formation had proceeded more rapidly and smoothly' than that of the Germans, who, after the brilliance of their high medieval *Kaiserzeit*, were forced to yield to their western neighbours their 'place in the sun'.⁸² This picture of divergent German and English fortunes has proved remarkably durable, as also has the vision of two contrasting futures reaching forward from medieval times to touch the lives of contemporaries. At the close of the twentieth century it was vigorously re-stated by Adrian Hastings, in an influential comparative study of European nation-making.⁸³ For Hastings, no one got things quite so satisfyingly Right as did the English—or as cataclysmically Wrong as the Germans. Medieval England was more than just a front-runner; it was a 'prototype', from whose benign model of nation-making others (though not, alas, the Germans) could learn and profit.⁸⁴ The long view clearly has its value, but also its dangers. National destinies are apt to settle into place early on, as we scan the distant horizon, and the medieval evidence to speak just a little more urgently when it seems precociously

⁸² Heinrich Mitteis, *Der Staat des hohen Mittelalters: Grundlinien einer vergleichenden Verfassungsgeschichte des Lehnszeitalters* (3rd edn., Weimar, 1948), 418.

⁸³ Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge, 1997).

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* ch. 2 ('England as Prototype'). For a comparable view, see Antony Black, *Political Thought in Europe 1250–1450* (Cambridge, 1992), 110: 'There was no doubt an element of imitation of the relatively successful English . . . whose national integration did something to enhance their political potency.'

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to fulfil them.⁸⁵ The snares of reading early English and German nation-making in this way are clearly apparent in Hastings' work.

Let us take the example of architecture. Hastings writes that the development of the late medieval Perpendicular style ('the most purely English style ever practised') reflects 'a confidently insular approach, symbolic of an increasingly nationalist culture'.⁸⁶ Now, it is true that the late Middle Ages brought a branching-off from the high medieval source into a multiplicity of regional gothic styles, of which English Perpendicular is among the more distinctive. Nor is it implausible to link this development to the growth in the same period of (if we wish, 'national') distinctions in other cultural and political fields. But this is a process discernible, in varying degrees, throughout Latin Europe: it is hardly proof of England's creative exceptionalism. Indeed, the distinctiveness of late medieval English visual culture, if notable in some respects, can certainly be overstated.⁸⁷ And, alongside England, one of the most mature and recognizable regional late gothic styles was to be found in the northern territories of the Reich.⁸⁸

Hastings's main stress, however, is on the power of the native tongue. The age of Chaucer was the age in which the English found their voice, and thereby themselves: nothing forged the pre-modern nation like a vibrant vernacular literature.⁸⁹ Yet this is not a criterion which supports particularly well the case for trail-blazing English

⁸⁵ For recent thoughts on the difficulties and dangers involved in conceptualizing a medieval English nation, see Kathy Lavezzo, 'Introduction', in ead. (ed.), *Imagining a Medieval English Nation* (Minneapolis, 2004), esp. pp. vii-xix.

⁸⁶ Hastings, *Construction of Nationhood*, 48.

⁸⁷ The internationalism of the visual culture of Richard II's court e.g. is underlined by Nigel Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven and London, 1997), 344-54.

⁸⁸ For architecture and English nationhood, see Nicola Coldstream, *The Decorated Style: Architecture and Ornament, 1240-1360* (London, 1994), ch. 2; for Germany, Martin Warnke, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst*, ii. *Spätmittelalter und Frühe Neuzeit, 1400-1750* (Munich, 1999), pt. 1, ch. 1; for the outstanding architectural 'dynasty' in the late medieval Reich, Anton Legner (ed.), *Die Parler und der schöne Stil, 1350-1400*, 3 vols. (Cologne, 1978).

⁸⁹ Hastings, *Construction of Nationhood*, 2-3: 'For the development of nationhood . . . , by far the most important and widely present factor is that of an extensively used vernacular literature.'

nationhood. True, the English *were* early starters in the written application of their language; but that largely ended within the generation after 1066. The late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century English writers whose laments over the neglect of their native tongue Hastings cites as evidence for a precociously heightened national consciousness can also be made to support a different conclusion: that a language-based identity common to the population of post-Conquest England was remarkably slow to emerge.⁹⁰ Alongside the Latin of the clergy, French was the language not only of the aristocracy but of written and oral proceedings of the king's law courts and of much business of government. Before the fifteenth century, English was almost unknown as a medium for documentary records.⁹¹ The trans-regional communicative—and thus, nation-making—power of late medieval English, moreover, may have been rather less than Hastings imagined.⁹²

In Germany, however, the idiom of popular speech formed from a comparatively early date a foundation for the development of written languages of law and government, as well as courtly and religious literature.⁹³ Fourteenth-century English remained a spoken

⁹⁰ Ibid. 46. The significance of these early English-language historiographers, such as Robert of Gloucester, Robert Mannyng, and the author of the *Cursor Mundi*, is rated highly by Thorlac Turville-Petre, *England the Nation: Language, Literature, and National Identity, 1290–1340* (Oxford, 1996); for a more sceptical view, Jeremy Catto, 'Written English: The Making of the Language 1370–1400', *Past and Present*, 179 (2003), 24–59, at 56.

⁹¹ For the situation in the fourteenth century, and for Edward III's statute allowing a larger role to English in verbal court proceedings (1362), see Ormrod, 'The Use of English', *passim*; for the growing adoption of English in the fifteenth century, Allmand, *Henry V*, 420–4; John H. Fisher, 'A Language Policy for Lancastrian England', *Publications of the Modern Languages Association of America*, 107 (1992), 1168–80. For the complexity and internationalism of court culture, and the continuing importance of French, see Malcolm Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe 1270–1380* (Oxford, 2001), 282–94.

⁹² See Tim William Machan, *English in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2003), ch. 3; and for a critique of Hastings, esp. 92–3. The case for the nation-forming power of vernacular literacy found classic formulation in Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (rev. edn., London, 1991).

⁹³ For documentary use, see Max Vanca, *Das erste Auftreten der deutschen Sprache in den Urkunden* (Leipzig, 1895).

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language, ill-adapted to systematic or abstract expression, but German had by that time already been much enriched and conceptually extended.⁹⁴ According to one fourteenth-century chronicler, Rudolf I stipulated that the business of imperial assemblies should be transacted in German, not Latin, for the benefit of the secular princes present.⁹⁵ If this is accurate, then Rudolf's intervention antedates by almost a century our first recorded instance of solicitude by an English monarch towards those groups—of much humbler status, admittedly, than the German princes—lacking access to the key languages of power.⁹⁶ By the close of the fourteenth century, the great majority of documents from the imperial chancery for German recipients were in the native tongue.⁹⁷ While it may legitimately be questioned how much the development of a written vernacular actually mattered in nurturing a common German (or, *pace* Hastings, English) nationhood, shared speech—*Diutsche zunge*—was by the thirteenth century being invoked by Germans as a synonym for political community.⁹⁸ Not in all respects was the English path the smoother and shorter one.

Late medieval nation-making was no simple game, in which the English held all the aces, but a series of complex and ambivalent processes, whose interpretation continues to be heavily informed by historians' knowledge of the development of modern nation-states. Studies stressing the advantages enjoyed by the western kingdoms

⁹⁴ For the limited capabilities of Middle English, see Catto, 'Written English', 27–8; for the extension and enrichment of fourteenth-century German, Christopher J. Wells, *German: A Linguistic History to 1945* (Oxford, 1985), esp. 108.

⁹⁵ *Ottokars Österreichische Reimchronik*, ed. Joseph Seemüller, MGH Deutsche Chroniken, vol. 5, pt. 1 (Hanover, 1890), 173–4, ll. 13098–143.

⁹⁶ Edward III (1362), Ormrod, 'The Use of English', 756.

⁹⁷ Ivan Hlavaček, *Das Urkunden- und Kanzleiwesen des böhmischen und römischen Königs Wenzel (IV.) 1376–1419*, *Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, 23 (Stuttgart, 1970), 88.

⁹⁸ For an example, see 'Meißner' (XIV, 2), in *Politische Lyrik*, ed. Müller, 68; and cf. for England, Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 480 (the French threat to *linguam Anglicam*). The fourteenth-century English poet Laurence Minot told how, when Edward III entered Brabant in 1338, there came to his aid: 'The kayser Lowis of Baverye . . . , | Princes and pople, ald and yong, | Al that sprac with Duche tung.' *The Poems of Laurence Minot 1333–1352*, ed. Thomas Beaumont James and John Simons (Exeter, 1989), 31, ll. 13, 19–20.

often give prominence to the cult of sacred monarchy in England and France, and to the unifying dynastic centres at which it flourished. (In Germany, meanwhile, it is argued, the strong sacrality of the late Ottonian and Salian emperors had been beaten down by the Gregorian papacy, never to rise again.)⁹⁹ Yet the role of sacred kingship in English nation-making can be exaggerated. It never attained in England the prominence which it commanded in medieval France. The numbers coming to Westminster to benefit from the king's healing touch, if occasionally significant, seem on the whole to have been fairly modest.¹⁰⁰ The cult of Edward the Confessor was more identified with the Plantagenet dynasty than with the regnal community at large, in contrast to that of St Louis in France, or even, more diffusely, Charlemagne in the Reich.¹⁰¹ Westminster itself, while certainly significant as a royal centre, developed more slowly and fitfully than is sometimes suggested.¹⁰² As late as the fifteenth century, only a minority of English kings were interred there. The commemoration of English, as of German, monarchs, retained in the late Middle Ages a polycentric character: if Germany lacked a Saint-Denis, so too in a way did England. The difference was more in the scale of geographical diffusion. While English kings from John to Henry VII found their last resting places within a relatively compact zone in southern and midland England, their counterparts in the Reich were scattered among a plethora of remote sites, from Pisa to Prague, Bavaria to Hungary.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ Approaches to English kingship are reviewed in Ormrod, *Political Life*, 62–7; for France, see Beaune, *Birth of an Ideology*, ch. 6. For pre-Gregorian sacral monarchy in Germany, see Henry Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination: An Historical Study* (London, 1998).

¹⁰⁰ Prestwich, *Plantagenet England*, 31.

¹⁰¹ For Richard II's strong personal devotion to the Confessor, and its dynastic frame of reference, see Saul, *Richard II*, 311–13. For St Louis, Beaune, *Birth of an Ideology*, ch. 3; for Charlemagne in Germany, Robert Folz, *Le souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne dans l'Empire germanique medieval* (Paris, 1950).

¹⁰² Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 5–7.

¹⁰³ Olaf B. Rader, 'Erinnern für die Ewigkeit: Die Grablegen der Herrscher des Heiligen Römischen Reiches', in Matthias Puhle and Claus-Peter Hasse (eds.), *Heiliges Römisches Reich Deutscher Nation 962 bis 1806. Von Otto dem Großen bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters: Aufsätze* (Dresden, 2006), 173–84, 174–5 for map.

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Political identities in the Middle Ages relied heavily upon invoking an illustrious common past. The construction of such pasts, by chroniclers working close to ruling dynasties, has been judged a prime foundation for medieval nation-making.¹⁰⁴ The outstanding example for the late Middle Ages is the *Grandes Chroniques*, compiled from the late thirteenth century onward in the French vernacular at Saint-Denis, unfolding a monarchy-centred history of France from the earliest times.¹⁰⁵ While no chronicle comparable to the *Grandes Chroniques* was written in late medieval Germany, neither was any directly analogous work produced in England.¹⁰⁶ English nation-making had to forge its prototypical path without such reputedly fundamental support. Historical writing in late medieval England was indeed dominated by the deeds of kings, but did not by any means invariably serve the monarchy's ends. Its production lay mainly with royal clerks, courtiers, Londoners, and monks writing at religious houses with contacts to Westminster. In contrast to Germany, there was no strong tradition of regional or (outside London) urban historiography.¹⁰⁷

The dominance of English historical writings by those who were, in one way or another, close to the political centre limits their scope as a source for the mentalities of the population more broadly. The chroniclers' own outlook was often keenly patriotic, especially in their treatment of the wars with Scotland and France, where the king's captains were exerting themselves 'for the benefit and honour of the whole of England'.¹⁰⁸ There seems no reason to suppose that

¹⁰⁴ Thus Joachim Ehlers, 'Die deutsche Nation des Mittelalters als Gegenstand der Forschung', in id. (ed.), *Ansätze und Diskontinuität*, 23; and, see generally, Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, 1986), 2.

¹⁰⁵ Bernard Guenée, 'Les *Grandes Chroniques de France*: Le roman aux roys (1274–1518)', in Pierre Nora (ed.), *Les lieux de mémoire*, ii. *La nation* (Paris, 1986), pt. 1, 189–214.

¹⁰⁶ Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, 154.

¹⁰⁷ The quasi-independent lordship of the church of Durham is a significant exception, but the heyday of its historical writing lay in the early twelfth century, not the late Middle Ages. See David Rollason (ed.), *Symeon of Durham: Historian of Durham and the North* (Stamford, 1998).

¹⁰⁸ *The St Albans Chronicle: The Chronica maiora of Thomas Walsingham*, i. 1376–1394, ed. and trans. John Taylor, Wendy Childs, and Leslie Watkiss (Oxford, 2003), 268–9 (on Sir Hugh Calveley).

they were anomalous among contemporaries in such views. However, attempts to exploit accounts of the past actually to encourage bonds of common sentiment among any but the most limited and specialized readerships are rare in late medieval England. The strident partisanship of the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* has sometimes been taken as attesting a 'propaganda' piece; yet the work's negligible manuscript tradition and scant influence upon other writers hardly suggests successful propaganda.¹⁰⁹ Apart from a handful of largely derivative rhymed chronicles from the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the English vernacular re-entered post-Conquest historiography late.¹¹⁰ The theme of the English nation received perhaps its fullest late medieval historical treatment, complete with some distinctly double-edged judgements on English national character, in Higden's widely read universal chronicle (to which, after 1387, non-Latinate audiences could gain access via John Trevisa's English translation).¹¹¹ If historical writings did play a part in nurturing sentiments of nationhood, the process in England was haphazard and, it seems, almost entirely fortuitous.

Historiography in late medieval Germany was dominated far less by the court, government, and general milieu of the Empire's rulers. That did not, however, mean that the imperial monarchy was marginal to its concerns. Alongside the growing mass of local and regional histories, universal chronicles, constructed around chronological series of emperors (and popes), long held their own. One reason for the genre's durability lay in its scope for adaption to incorporate local perspectives alongside a far-reaching vision of emperorship itself.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, ed. Taylor and Roskell; Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, 203.

¹¹⁰ For these early vernacular pieces, see Thea Summerfield, *The Matter of Kings' Lives: The Design of Past and Present in the Early Fourteenth-Century Verse Chronicles of Pierre de Langtoft and Robert Mannyng* (Amsterdam, 1998); and Turville-Petre, *England the Nation*, esp. ch. 3.

¹¹¹ Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, 133-4.

¹¹² See generally, Karl Heinz Krüger, *Die Universalchroniken*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 16 (Turnhout, 1976); and for the late medieval incorporation of local perspectives, Peter Johanek, 'Weltchronistik und regionale Geschichtsschreibung im Spätmittelalter', in Hans Patze (ed.), *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewusstsein im späten Mittelalter*, Vorträge und Forschungen, 31 (Sigmaringen, 1987), 287-330.

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This is well illustrated in the chronicle compiled at the end of the fourteenth century by the Strasbourg priest Jakob Twinger von Königshofen.¹¹³ Twinger's history, of which over eighty manuscripts are known, combined a great deal of lore relating to Strasbourg and the upper Rhine with a Germanizing account of the recent and more remote imperial past.¹¹⁴ It is written in German prose, for the edification, Twinger explains, of those 'perspicacious laypeople' who despite knowing no Latin are just as interested in history as are the 'educated priests'. Twinger's justification for use of the vernacular recalls the one advanced some decades earlier by the English chronicler Robert Mannyng.¹¹⁵ In contrast to England, however, Germans were able by Twinger's day to turn to a comparatively rich historiography in their own tongue, extending well back into the thirteenth century in prose and to at least the mid twelfth in verse.¹¹⁶

VI

What Twinger offered, as also did some other much-copied universal chronicles, was an account of the origins of the German people itself. The process, as Twinger recounts it, was a protracted, multi-layered one, beginning in the earliest times with the foundation of Trier by the Assyrian Trebata and his (German-speaking) followers. Subsequent landmarks were the coming of Caesar and his alliance with the ancient Germans, and the settlement in the Rhineland of the

¹¹³ *Chronik des Jacob Twinger von Königshofen*, ed. Carl Hegel, in *Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*, 8 and 9 (Leipzig, 1870-1). For Twinger, see Dorothea Klein and Gert Melville, 'Twinger, Jakob, von Königshofen', in Ruh et al. (eds.), *Verfasserlexikon*, ix. (Berlin, 1995), cols. 1181-93.

¹¹⁴ Twinger even makes 'Germans' of those cosmopolitan monarchs Charles IV and Wenzel, of the Luxemburg dynasty. *Chronik des Jacob Twinger*, ed. Hegel, 8.422.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* 8.230: 'wie doch das die kluogen legen also gerne lesent von semelichen dingen also gelerte pfaffen.' Cf. Mannyng: 'not for þe lerid bot for þe lewed, | ffor þo þat in þis land[e] wone | þat þe Latyn no Frankys cone.' *The Story of England by Robert Manning of Brunne, A.D. 1338*, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall, *Rolls Series*, vol. 87, pt. 1 (London, 1887), 1.

¹¹⁶ For an overview see Herbert Grundmann, *Geschichtsschreibung im Mittelalter* (4th edn., Göttingen, 1987), 7-12.

Trojan Franks.¹¹⁷ The idea that the several 'German' peoples north of the Alps attained an early unity through common support for Caesar was an old-established staple of German writers. The story has sometimes been dismissed as too ambivalent, particularly in its glorification of the foreign conqueror, Caesar, to fulfil the nation-making role with which origin legends are often credited.¹¹⁸ It does not, however, seem significantly more problematic than the ill-sorted heap of founder-heroes, such as Brutus, Arthur, Hengist and Horsa, upon whose deeds the kingdom of England allegedly rested. Moreover, by making Caesar the originator of both Roman Empire and German people and deriving 'German' identity itself from the imperial link, it unfolded a powerful vision of historical continuity. English chroniclers were able to establish such continuity only imperfectly, via the lines of English and British kings upon which they concentrated.¹¹⁹ Closely linked to failures of the royal line was the recurrent memory and fear of foreign conquest. In the eyes of some, 1066 marked a fundamental breach: the subjection of the English people to alien lords, whose descendants still ruled the land.¹²⁰

Perhaps the defining historical moment for well-informed Germans – the most potent common origin myth – was encapsulated in *translatio imperii*: the doctrine which maintained that the Roman Empire had been entrusted to the German people as a whole, in a definitive constitutional act.¹²¹ This, German writers contended, was

¹¹⁷ *Chronik des Jacob Twinger*, ed. Hegel, vol. 8, 331–2; vol. 9, 621–4, 700.

¹¹⁸ On Caesar's importance in German nation-making, see Heinz Thomas, 'Julius Caesar und die Deutschen: Zu Ursprung und Gehalt eines deutschen Geschichtsbewußtseins in der Zeit Gregors VII. und Heinrichs IV.', in Stefan Weinfurter and Hubertus Seibert (eds.), *Die Salier und das Reich*, iii. *Gesellschaftlicher und ideengeschichtlicher Wandel im Reich der Salier* (Sigmaringen, 1991), 245–77; and for the problems which have been perceived in the Roman identification, Heinz Thomas, 'Das Identitätsproblem der Deutschen im Mittelalter', *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht*, 43 (1992), 135–56, at 146–7.

¹¹⁹ Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, 198–202.

¹²⁰ Prestwich, *Plantagenet England*, 555; Turville-Petre, *England the Nation*, 91–8.

¹²¹ Werner Goetz, *Translatio Imperii: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Geschichtsdenkens und der politischen Theorien im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit* (Tübingen, 1958), esp. chs. 6, 8, 10, 11.

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done in recognition of the special merits which fitted their people uniquely for that honour—of which they must, therefore, constantly strive to show themselves worthy. Defending the Germans' hold upon the Empire in a cold post-Hohenstaufen climate drew forth arguments which, in their robust ethnocentrism and denigration of rivals (particularly the French), fully match anything attained beyond the Channel.¹²² What distinguishes *translatio imperii* from the more dynastically coloured concerns of late medieval English writers is the prominence which it ascribes to the German people itself, embodied in the prince-electors, in raising up the monarch. 'The Germans elect the king; King Charles [the Great] won that [right] for them', was the no-nonsense way in which the *Schwabenspiegel* wrapped the matter up.¹²³ The Empire was no mere dynastic bauble for whose glorification the Germans were called upon to expend blood and treasure; not only did they belong to the Reich, but it to them.

The late Middle Ages brought a new stress upon the German character of the Empire and its rulers. 'I inhabit the Germans' fatherland for my seat', declares a personified Empire in a Latin poem from the mid fourteenth century.¹²⁴ Understood in light of the Empire's historic *translatio in Germanos*, even the universalism of imperialist doctrine did not so much impede as nourish a sense of common identity among its German custodians. Alexander von Roes was thus able to address himself to 'the Germans, to whom the government of the world is translated and the direction of the Church committed'.¹²⁵ Reality always fell far short of such airy aspirations, and never more conspicuously than in the decades after 1250. But while it was far from being universal in scope, the Empire was indeed international,

¹²² For some examples see Len Scales, 'German militiae: War and German Identity in the later Middle Ages', *Past and Present*, 180 (2003), 41–82, at 63–6.

¹²³ *Schwabenspiegel Kurzform 1*, ed. Karl August Eckhardt, MGH *Fontes iuris Germanici antiqui*, NS 3 (Hanover, 1960), 182: 'Die tvetschen die welent den chvenich. daz erwarb in chvenich Karele.'

¹²⁴ Lupold von Bebenburg, *Ritmaticum Querulosum et Lamentosum Dictamen de Modernis Cursibus et Defectibus Regni ac Imperii Romanorum*, in *Politische Lyrik*, ed. Müller, 175.

¹²⁵ Alexander von Roes, *Memoriale*, ch. 10, in *Alexander von Roes: Schriften*, ed. Grundmann and Heimpel, 100.

encompassing a plurality of realms and peoples on both sides of the Alps. That did not, however, preclude the development of a German political identity focused on the Reich, any more than the Plantagenet claim to the French crown appears to have inhibited the growth of an English political nation. Indeed, identifying the imperial monarchy with the Germans was in some ways more straightforward than Anglicizing the Plantagenets, since in the Reich, where between 1237 and the late fifteenth century son followed father on the throne just once, the competing voice of dynasticism sounded less loudly. Instead, the Luxemburger Henry VII was, for one poet, the 'splendour of realms, radiant light of the Teutons'.¹²⁶ The late medieval contraction of the Empire's lands, particularly marked in Italy and Burgundy, tended further to direct attention at the enduring northern core, making the Reich appear more specifically German. For late medieval nation-making, weakness had its own strengths.

The imperial court made little attempt to control late medieval writings on the Empire and its relationship with the German people. It lacked the means to do so, and only occasionally did figures close to the monarch make contributions of their own.¹²⁷ Instead of central direction, we find a more diffuse debate, whose participants—Alexander von Roes, Lupold von Bebenburg, and Dietrich von Niem, among others—addressed the theme of German identity, its nature and political implications through arguments from history and law which, in their detail and vehemence, had no English parallel.¹²⁸ They wrote at various centres within a notoriously polycentric Germany and beyond, their perspectives reflecting their own regional backgrounds and political allegiances. Alexander von Roes, for example, unfolded a vision of the Empire supportive of the archbish-

¹²⁶ Cited in Alfred Ritscher, *Literatur und Politik im Umkreis der ersten Habsburger* (Frankfurt am Main, 1992), 23.

¹²⁷ The court of Ludwig IV (1314–47) in Munich was unusual in hosting a circle of political polemicists, some of them highly distinguished, writing in the emperor's defence. See Carl Pfaff, 'Die Münchner Minoriten: Ratgeber Ludwigs des Bayern', in Rüdi Imbach and Ernst Tremp (eds.), *Zur geistigen Welt der Franziskaner im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert* (Fribourg, 1995), 45–57.

¹²⁸ For the character of such works and their links with earlier imperialist traditions see Friedrich Heer, 'Zur Kontinuität des Reichsgedankens im Spätmittelalter', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 58 (1950), 336–50, esp. 336–7.

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op-electors of his native Cologne.¹²⁹ The Empire's German advocates disagreed, sometimes openly and sharply. If one symptom of the growing significance of the idea of nation is that it becomes the object of contention,¹³⁰ then it grew more visibly, among tiny groups of literate partisans at least, in late medieval Germany than beyond the Channel.

Influenced by a perception of how nation-states have been forged in modern times, historians in search of medieval nation-making have tended to look for particular attributes, few of which Germany, unlike England, possessed. Foremost among these was a strong royal government. For some, this English head-start was reinforced in the late Middle Ages, as rulers and people were driven into closer, more urgent (though not always more harmonious) proximity under the strains of war.¹³¹ Yet a closer look at Germany suggests that a vocal sense of peoplehood and shared political destiny might also be nurtured by what were in many ways opposite circumstances.¹³² The weakness of central institutions forced Germany's late medieval monarchs to travel, showing their faces to their subjects. London provided a spacious setting for Henry V's moment of triumph; but the Empire's itinerant rulers made *frequent* entries into *numerous* cities in their German lands.¹³³ If these were individually less overwhelming than Henry's return from France, they were memorable occasions nonetheless, particularly when the monarch visited a town for the first time or when his visit marked a significant event. When Sigismund went to Aachen in 1414 for coronation, his retinue was

¹²⁹ Franz-Reiner Erkens, *Siegfried von Westerburg: Die Reichs- und Territorialpolitik eines Kölner Erzbischofs im ausgehenden 13. Jahrhundert* (Bonn, 1982), 287–8.

¹³⁰ Thus John Breuilly, 'Changes in the Political Uses of the Nation: Continuity or Discontinuity?', in Len Scales and Oliver Zimmer (eds.), *Power and the Nation in European History* (Cambridge, 2005), 67–102, at 83.

¹³¹ For the nation-making power of late medieval war, see Christopher Allmand, *The Hundred Years War: England and France at War c.1300–c.1450* (Cambridge, 1988), ch. 6.

¹³² An argument developed at greater length in Len Scales, 'Late Medieval Germany: An Under-States Nation?', in id. and Zimmer (eds.), *Power and the Nation*, 166–91.

¹³³ See generally, Gerrit Jasper Schenk, *Zeremoniell und Politik: Herrschereinzüge im spätmittelalterlichen Reich* (Cologne, 2003).

estimated by the heralds at more than 28,000 horses.¹³⁴ Germany's lack of a single capital did not mean an absence of sites of monarchy and imperial memory, but a multiplicity of them. For a political community tracing its roots back to Caesar, Roman ruin, Carolingian minster, and Salian palace stood as enduring monuments to the Reich even where the ruler no longer came. Within the towns, a burgeoning gothic visual culture placed images of the Empire's rulers and their (fully feathered) eagle, in stone, painted glass, and goldsmiths' work, before their subjects' eyes in unprecedented profusion.¹³⁵ The development of territorial capitals in the late Middle Ages added new sites, among them Prague, Munich, Vienna, Wiener Neustadt, and King Rupert's Heidelberg. The Empire had not gone away.

VII

Sense of nationhood may indeed have been more intense and more socially pervasive in late medieval England than in the German lands of the Reich. The nature of the evidence makes this a difficult proposition to verify, however, even if we think we know what late medieval 'nationhood' actually is, and can discern its effects. It undoubtedly mattered that England was smaller and less geographically and historically fragmented than Germany. It mattered, too, that England had clear, largely coastal frontiers, a strong, ancient, and pervasive royal government, and a relatively broad and cohesive political elite. It mattered, finally, that England was for much of the late Middle Ages at war. Yet some elements often associated with medieval nation-making, notably the cult of the holy dynasty, were relatively weak in 'prototypical' England. Others, such as language and sense of history, played a more problematic part there than is often acknowledged. Nor will it do to wave away such qualifications by pointing to England's unquestioned strengths, for even these might take on a somewhat dou-

¹³⁴ *Deutsche Reichstagsakten: Ältere Reihe*, 7, ed. Dietrich Kerler (Munich, 1878), no. 167, 244.

¹³⁵ The visual presence of the imperial monarchy in late medieval Germany is examined in Len Scales, 'The Illuminated *Reich*: Memory, Crisis, and the Visibility of Monarchy in Late Medieval Germany', in Benjamin Marschke, Jason Coy, and David W. Sabeian (eds.), *The Holy Roman Empire Reconsidered* (Oxford, forthcoming 2009).

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ble-edged quality. In 1436, Hugh de Lannoy informed the duke of Burgundy that 'the common people of England are so tired of war that they are more or less desperate'.¹³⁶ The Agincourt Carol must rather quickly have begun to ring hollow. God's Englishmen rooted their divine election in the uncertain commodity of military success, so that in hard times a return to gruelling war came to seem the only collective solace attainable.¹³⁷ War to what end? St George may have stood for England, but the horizons of its kings, who claimed also the kingship of France, were not bounded by the island fortress. The leopards of England were, so to speak, just one side of the coin.

The rule of the imperial monarchy in late medieval Germany was notoriously weak: Germany's rulers mostly lacked the means to take their subjects' wealth as tax or send them to war. Yet strength of government is not the only strength. Agonizing over Germany's medieval 'false-turnings' has been the prerogative of modern nationalist scholarship; but to a late medieval observer, the history of the Reich might well have seemed less fractured and generally troublesome than England's. Within Germany's frontiers were shrines to Charlemagne, saint-emperor Henry II (d. 1024), and the Three Kings of Cologne, but not to a German Thomas Becket. Germany's north remained in memory blissfully un-harried. The imperial monarchy existed more as memory, title, and hope than as intrusive power. As such, it had its own potent allure, to which not only Germans were susceptible. When Sigismund visited England at the height of Henry V's post-Agincourt glory, the author of the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* was lost for superlatives to honour the Roman king: Sigismund was *princeps superillustrissimus*. Some years later, John Lydgate still retained warm recollections of 'worthy Sygesmound'.¹³⁸ However empty may have been his purse, the bearer of the imperial title drew upon an ideological treasury uniquely ancient and well stocked. Its custodianship, late medieval Germans came to insist, was their people's special distinction.

¹³⁶ James A. Doig, 'Propaganda, Public Opinion and the Siege of Calais in 1436', in Rowena E. Archer (ed.), *Crown, Government and People in the Fifteenth Century* (Stroud, 1995), 79–106, at 79.

¹³⁷ Keen, 'Chivalry and English Kingship', 264–5.

¹³⁸ *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, ed. and trans. Taylor and Roskell, 126–7; Scattergood, *Politics and Poetry*, 59. See also *The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye*, ed. Warner, 2, l. 8, for 'Sigesmonde the grete Emperoure'.

Late Medieval England and Germany

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ROSAMOND MCKITTERICK, *Karl der Große*, trans. from the English by Susanne Fischer (Darmstadt: Primus Verlag, 2008), 472 pp. ISBN 978 3 89678 599 2. €39.90

Recent books about Charlemagne are available in a number of languages. If we disregard some popular publications, the following authors writing in the last ten years can be taken seriously: in English, Roger Collins (1998); in German, Matthias Becher (1999), Dieter Hägermann (2000, 2003), and Max Kerner (2001); in French, Jean Favier (1999), Céline Bathias-Rascalou (2004), and Philippe Depreux (2007); and in Italian, Alessandro Barbero (2000; English edn. 2004). Even though the German publisher presents it on the dustjacket as 'The big new biography of the Father of Europe', the book under review here, written by the well-known Cambridge medievalist Rosamond McKitterick, does not aim to compete with all these works, most of which also cover other periods of Carolingian family and political history. Indeed, towards the end of this book, McKitterick declares that it is impossible to present the period of Charlemagne's rule as a biography. Instead, she prefers to treat thematic areas selected from a systematic framework. Her target readership is not the general public, but an audience of well-informed experts who will not be put off by pages of discussion devoted to manuscript sources. She pursues her stated aim, which is 'die Herrschaft Karls des Großen von dem Wirrwarr an Argumenten, Annahmen und Hypothesen zu befreien, die im Laufe der Zeit den Status von Fakten erlangt haben' (p. 11),¹ mainly by systematic reference to the manuscript sources, the subtle interpretation of which has long been her domain.

This approach is clearly illustrated in chapter 1, 'Karlsbilder' ('Representations of Charlemagne'), which deals with the source sit-

English edition, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 478 pp. ISBN 978 0 521 88672 7 (hardback). £45.00. ISBN 978 0 521 71645 1 (paperback). £15.99.

¹ English edn.: 'to free the reign of Charlemagne from the clutter of accumulated arguments and of hypotheses that have somehow become facts', p. 6.

uation as such. To begin with, McKitterick discusses Einhard's influential *Vita Karoli*. Despite the objections raised by M. M. Tischler (2001), she continues to favour the early date of 815–16 for this. As literary models she mentions, in addition to Suetonius' *De vita caesarum*, the *Agricola* by Tacitus, which was not widely known in the Middle Ages. McKitterick suggests that Einhard may have had access to the Fulda exemplar of this. When discussing the various recensions and versions of the *Annales regni francorum*, she also refers to her own earlier work on the subject. For the authorship of the royal annals at the time of Charlemagne and the beginning of Louis the Pious's reign, McKitterick suggests that the queens may have been responsible for overseeing their production. Raising the possibility of queenly authorship, she suggests that this might have made it necessary 'das Latein der Königinnen zu korrigieren und die Erzählung ab 799 mit einer neuen Schwerpunktsetzung fortzuführen' (p. 57).² McKitterick herself points out that there is as little evidence for this rather daring suggestion as for the current theory of various anonymous authors.

Chapter 2, 'Pippiniden, Arnulfinger und Agilolfinger: Die Errichtung einer Dynastie' ('Pippinids, Arnolfings and Agilolfings: The Creation of a Dynasty'), which goes back as far as the seventh century, looks most likely to fulfil expectations of a diachronic biography. However, it soon proves to be an analysis of the historical images conveyed by narrative sources from the time of Charlemagne about the rise of the Carolingians and the deeds of the Frankish kings. Here we find individual history-of-events arguments, such as the supposition that a marriage between Charlemagne and an (unnamed) Lombard king's daughter in 770–1 was only planned, but never came about. McKitterick shows little interest in events such as the subjugation of the Saxons and Charlemagne's elevation to Emperor, which she deals with in only three pages each. Here we miss her usual source-critical acumen a little, for she accepts without question the annals' highly contestable claim that 4,500 Saxons were executed at Verden in 782, and the dating of the so-called Paderborn epic to the short period 799–800 (which, in this reviewer's opinion, has been obsolete since Dieter Schaller's work of 1976). Similarly, she merely

² English edn.: 'to tidy up the queen's Latin and continue the story from 799, but with a new set of emphases' (p. 48).

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hints at the problems associated with the so-called Kölner Notiz of 798, which Johannes Fried brought back to our attention in 2001.

In chapter 3, entitled 'Der Königshof' ('The Royal Court'), McKitterick develops her views of Charlemagne's administrative practice, some of which are familiar from her earlier work. A central concern is to differentiate between the itinerant ruler with a small entourage, and the court, which was more strongly tied to one location or a few regional centres, and from which the expanding Empire was administered. This thought, which can be little more than a hypothesis, leads her to question the generally accepted view of Charlemagne's almost constant presence at Aachen from the mid 790s (the difficult problem of the chronological ordering of various buildings in Aachen also plays a part here). Above all, however, she presents reflections on Charlemagne's itinerary which amount to a rejection of genuine royal charters with exact dates and places as reliable evidence of the king's presence at the relevant place at the specified time. Instead, she offers the interpretation that these charters 'in vielen, wenn nicht den meisten Fällen die Aktivitäten der königlichen Amtsträger dokumentieren' (pp. 175–6).³ It is clear that McKitterick is here questioning an axiom of both diplomatics and the constitutional history of the early and high Middle Ages, and that this will give rise to a fundamental discussion which this review cannot anticipate.

The intensity of written communication in the political life of the Carolingian Empire is the subject of an earlier book by McKitterick (1989), and so it is not surprising that she returns to this subject, retaining her optimistic assessment, in chapter 4, 'Der König und das Reich: Kommunikation und Identitäten' ('The King and the Kingdom: Communications and Identities'). In this chapter she focuses on capitularies, the most characteristic text genre for this period. Their number and the detailed nature of the instructions they contain testify to a remarkable confidence in the effectiveness of written norms on the part of Charlemagne and his surroundings. However, the sparseness of the surviving texts raises doubts as to their actual resonance. McKitterick is concerned to stress the value of the capitularies dating from Charlemagne's period as a king (769–97) over those which were

³ English edn.: 'it is much more likely that we are seeing in many, if not most, instances the activities of the king's officials' (p. 291).

issued from 802, which have more often been noticed in the research. (This may also have something to do with her antipathy towards the Empire.) However, given the uncertain dating of many of the capitularies and the fact that what has survived is largely the result of chance, McKitterick's quantitative deliberations are somewhat inconclusive.

McKitterick is fully in her element in chapter 5, '*Correctio*, Wissen und Macht' ('*Correctio*, Knowledge and Power'). Right at the start of this chapter she explicitly excludes the topic of the so-called Carolingian Renaissance, which, of course, she is very familiar with, in order to concentrate on Charlemagne's dominant relationship with the bishops and the various areas covered by his ecclesiastical reform policy, his personal piety, and, finally, the creation and significance of his court library. This section draws on the author's decades of familiarity with the written documents of the era and provides a welcome summary of what she has expounded in greater detail in a number of smaller contributions. One point of criticism is that she retains the traditional dating for the circular letter *De litteris colendis*, c.784 (German edn. p. 273; English edn. p. 316) although elsewhere she suggests that, along with Donald Bullough, she dates Alcuin's arrival at Charlemagne's court at 786 at the earliest (German edn. p. 298; English edn. p. 348). Incorporated into chapter 5 is a 'Zusammenfassung: Raum, Zeit und die Geographie der Gelehrsamkeit' ('Conclusion: Space, Time and the Geography of Learning') which sums up the main arguments of the whole book. In the German edition, this is followed by the footnotes (pp. 330-409), and a luxuriously long bibliography completes both editions of the book.

On the whole, the book offers readers who are not looking for a conventional biography a well-documented encounter with many, though not all, of the research problems which are still (or especially) associated with the figure of Charlemagne. The author does not always distinguish clearly enough between the mainstream of international research and her own sometimes highly individual positions, which present a challenge to further discussion. Bibliographically, the book does not take account of everything that Continental European scholars have recently contributed to the subjects under discussion while, conversely, it presents some Anglophone work that has not even been published yet, which will be gratefully noted in Germany. This discrepancy once again casts light

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on the difficulties of exchanging ideas between countries against the background of an unbroken flood of publications worldwide. Some of the small errors of fact which are occasionally encountered while reading can be blamed on the German translation, as revealed by a glance at the English edition, published simultaneously but with the note 'Originally published in German'.

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JOACHIM EHLERS, *Heinrich der Löwe: Eine Biographie* (Munich: Siedler Verlag, 2008), 496 pp. ISBN 978 3 88680 787 1. €24.95

The biography of any medieval figure is a difficult exercise since we almost invariably lack personal information to put flesh on the dry bones of their actions. It is only with a handful of churchmen who have left abundant letters and other writings, men such as Peter Damian, St Anselm, or St Bernard, that we can have any real inkling of their character and personalities. Thus while Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony from 1143 and duke of Bavaria from 1156, was a figure of great significance at a crucial stage in the development of the medieval Reich, we still know relatively little about him. Even the date of his birth is uncertain, although Ehlers puts a plausible, though not absolutely convincing, case that this was in 1133–4, and not 1129 as others have argued on the basis of an entry about his age at death in the chronicle of Gerhard of Steterberg, which now exists only in a relatively late manuscript. We know nothing of his upbringing, or of who took charge of this when he was orphaned at the age of 9 or 10. We are, admittedly, better informed about his adult career, very largely through the later part of the ‘Chronicle of the Slavs’ of Helmold of Bosau, and especially through the first part of the work of Helmold’s *continuator*, Arnold of Lübeck, an admirer of the duke, who recording his death in 1195 compared him to Solomon. But even they tell us more of his actions than of his personality – although most contemporary commentators did remark on his overweening pride, a characteristic that was to help shipwreck his own and (seemingly) his family’s fortunes in 1180, when he fell out with the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa.

Hence, even for such an important and (comparatively) well-recorded figure as Duke Henry, one can write far more easily about his ‘times’ than his ‘life’. And indeed historians have done so. Anglophone readers already have two biographical studies of Henry available: the first a brief work of juvenilia by Austen Lane Poole, later a very distinguished historian of twelfth-century England, written as long ago as 1912, the other a translation of the biography by Karl Jordan, published in German in 1979 and in English in 1986 (after the author’s death). Jordan devoted a lifetime to the study of Henry the Lion – his *Habilitationschrift* in the 1930s was on the duke’s episcopal foundations, and he subsequently collected and edited his

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charters for the MGH. So the first and most obvious question to ask of this new biography is how far it changes the picture presented by its distinguished predecessor of a generation ago.

The short answer is not very much. The narrative sections obviously tend to resemble each other: the broad outline of events remains unchanging, and apart from re-dating the duke's birth Ehlers does little to modify it. This similarity applies to a number of other sections as well: for example, the discussion of Henry as (a largely absentee) duke of Bavaria, and that of his urban foundations, as well as that of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1172. What we do have here is considerably greater detail than in Jordan's often rather laconic biography. Thus there is, for example, a lengthy discussion and comparison (pp. 220–7) of the various (all later) sources for the fateful meeting with Barbarossa at Chiavenna early in 1176 when the duke refused to take part in the emperor's fifth, and, as it turned out, disastrous, Italian expedition, which the author argues began the estrangement between the emperor and his cousin that led to Henry's fall in 1180. (Just occasionally, as when he strays into discussion of the Anglo-Norman kingdom, this detail is overdone.) Ehlers also gives a much more extended examination of the Saxon nobility—especially in the context of the first great coalition against the duke in 1166–70—of the duke's court and followers, especially his *ministeriales*, of his religious patronage, and of his role as a cultural patron. What particularly helps and illuminates the discussion are the large number of maps and charts, especially valuable for the analysis of ducal rule in Saxony, the eastward expansion of the duchy against the Slavs, and the campaign against the duke in 1179–81. The foreign reader will find these most useful. The book is also copiously illustrated, from a wide variety of sources, not merely as decoration but as an integral part of the text, as for example in the pictures devoted to Henry's money and seals (pp. 264–7). (This contrasts strikingly with Jordan's biography, with no illustrations and a meagre two maps).

The crucial episode of Henry's life was, of course, Barbarossa's confiscation of his ducal titles and fiefs in 1180, when the sentence of outlawry passed on the duke effectively threw him to the wolves—the various enemies he had gained during his aggressive expansion of his lands and rights as duke of Saxony. Ehlers highlights the role of Archbishop Philip of Cologne in organizing the attack on the duke,

as well as subsequently being one of the main profiteers from his downfall, but otherwise his account sticks to the narrative, and offers relatively little explanation. He seems to regard Henry's downfall as inevitable once his refusal to assist Barbarossa in Italy was followed by the emperor's defeat at Legnano and the consequent unravelling of the latter's Italian policy. Whereas in 1168–70 the emperor had supported Henry against his north German enemies, from 1179 onwards he supported and encouraged them. Ehlers mentions the issue of the inheritance from Henry's uncle Welf VI, whose only son had died in the 1167 Roman expedition, which was ultimately obtained by Barbarossa and his sons, but lays little stress upon it—although Karl Leyser argued (in an article not listed in the author's bibliography) that this played a major part in the growing alienation between the emperor and his cousin—and Henry's tight-fisted refusal to subsidize his uncle's extravagant lifestyle proved to be a major political mistake. And while Ehlers describes in great detail Henry's exile at the court of Henry II of England, and (in one of the most interesting sections of the book) the role his children played in the marital diplomacy of Henry II and Richard I, he does not offer any assessment of the wider significance of Duke Henry's downfall in the context of the long-term political development of the Reich. There is a very brief mention of the split—or perhaps one should say further split—of the duchy of Bavaria in 1180, but no more. Yet the territorial settlement in 1180 is often seen as a seminal moment in the emergence of the later medieval princely establishment, and while not all historians would necessarily share that view, it surely merits some discussion.

This is in many ways an attractive and interesting book, scholarly, clearly written, and enhanced by its abundant maps and illustrations. The discussion of the duke as lord and patron is most valuable. But by sticking so closely to the detailed narrative, however well done this is, the author has sacrificed an opportunity to say something really penetrative about the nature of political power and authority in twelfth-century Germany.

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CHRISTIAN VOGEL, *Das Recht der Templer: Ausgewählte Aspekte des Templerrechts unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Statutenhandschriften aus Paris, Rom, Baltimore und Barcelona*, Vita regularis: Abhandlungen, 33 (Berlin: Lit Verlag Dr. W. Hopf, 2007), xi + 395 pp. ISBN 978 3 8258 0776 4. €49.90

The Rule of the Knights Templar was the first in the history of the Church to try to reconcile the regular life with the bearing of arms, but that is not the only reason why the Order of the Temple is historically so significant. The Temple and the Order of the Hospital of St John were the first examples of a new type of religious institution, 'self-standing orders of *conversi*', to use Kaspar Elm's phrase, with government in the hands of unordained professed brothers. They were structurally the first true orders of the Church, foreshadowing in their international provincial systems those of the mendicant friars. They were the models for other military orders, which came to be engaged in warfare along the shores of the Baltic and in the Iberian peninsula, as well as in the eastern Mediterranean region. A large part of the defence of the Latin settlements in the Levant rested on their shoulders and in Europe their provincial officers, responsible for estates throughout the west, were often major figures in the kingdoms in which they resided. They and their brothers were used extensively by the papacy in the promotion of crusades and the collection of crusade taxes. It is not generally recognized, moreover, how rare an occurrence was the suppression of the Temple by the Church in 1312. Religious orders pass out of existence when they are absorbed by others, or cease to attract vocations, or have their natures altered, or are dissolved by some external authority, but for the Church to take a step of that kind is so rare that when in 1646 the Piarists lost their right to be members of a religious order contemporaries thought that the event was unprecedented.

The disappearance of the Templars' central archive makes research into their activities in the Levant particularly frustrating. We know much less than we would like about their estates and the location of their houses, the make-up of the central convent, the names of commanders and castellans, and the powers of the grand masters. Professor Rudolf Hiestand suggested that the archive was probably transferred to the Hospitallers on Cyprus and was lost with the island in 1571, but I am inclined to believe that it was in Europe at

least until the fifteenth century. Seven of its original charters survive. Six of them are in the conventual archive of the Hospital, now in Valletta, and one is in Madrid, to which it came from the Hospitaller priory of Navarre. Five of these charters could have reached the Hospitallers before 1291, the year of the fall of Acre, because they related to properties which had already passed into their hands, as could a further six which were calendared in Provence in 1741 but are now lost. On the other hand, two of the surviving originals seem to have had no association with the Hospitallers before 1291 and papal letters which only the Templars in the Levant would have found useful were copied into a Hospitaller *bullarium* put together in France in the fifteenth century and into a sixteenth-century collection in Poitiers, which may have been an inventory of the Hospitallers' local archive in Paris. Another important charter, the confirmation in 1157 of the gift of the castle of Tortosa in Syria, was copied in Spain in 1377 for the Order of Montesa, which had taken over Templar property in Aragon and may have assumed that it referred to the Iberian city of Tortosa.

It is clear, therefore, that at least some items from the Templars' archive were in Europe in the later Middle Ages. After their suppression and the transfer of their properties to the Hospitallers in the early fourteenth century, the archive, or at least part of it, must have come into Hospitaller hands in the west, because one cannot otherwise explain the survivals or the fact that quite a large number of papal letters relevant only to the Templars in the east were copied in France in the fifteenth century. Before Acre fell, many religious institutions in the Holy Land with dependencies in Europe to which their documents could be sent for safekeeping had been transporting their archives across the Mediterranean. The Teutonic Knights had shipped theirs to Venice. The Hospitallers had sent most of theirs to Provence, where they must have remained, because an inventory of them was made in Manosque in 1531. The Templar conventual archive could have been among the caches posted back to Europe before 1291 and a large part of it may well have been in France for the rest of the Middle Ages.

At any rate it has never been found and the problems we face are compounded by the fact that much of the order's statutory legislation can be read only in an abbreviated form. It survives in a few manuscripts which contain the Rule and a long supplementary code,

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recording provisions on the role and rights of officers in the order, known as the *retrais*, and collections of *établissements* (or statutes) and case law. It is hard nowadays to understand how a great international religious order could have made use of a code which was so repetitious and archaic. The role of the seneschal in the central convent was described in detail, although there is no evidence for such an officer after the 1190s; indeed by the second half of the thirteenth century his function as second-in-command had been assumed by the marshal. The turcopolier, who in the code was the marshal's subordinate, seems by the late thirteenth century to have become a senior officer in his own right. There were references to commanders of the land of Antioch, although their office appears to have been abolished after the loss of Antioch in 1268, being replaced by a grand commandery of Armenia. A list of great officers, which included the commander of the city of Jerusalem and the grand commanders of Poitiers and Hungary, was copied and recopied unaltered after 1187, although Jerusalem had been lost and the headquarters were in Acre (after 1291 they were to be in Limassol), Poitiers had been merged with Aquitaine, and Hungary had probably been demoted to a *baiulia* run from Apulia.

It was, of course, common practice to accumulate archaic material. A related example is a recently published list of regulations for the running of the great infirmary of the Hospitallers of St John, which comprises a sort of booklet, drawn from statutes, for the use of those working with patients. Susan Edgington, its editor, has dated it to the 1180s, because there is material in it which would not have been relevant after the loss of Jerusalem and its neighbourhood to the Muslims in 1187, but the copy we have was made towards the end of the thirteenth century and there is no reason to suppose that it had not been in use after 1200 in the order's hospital in Acre.

It is not surprising that in recent years many scholars, including Simonetta Cerrini, who has concentrated on the Rule itself, Alain Demurger, Judith Upton-Ward, and Pierre-Vincent Claverie, have examined Templar legislation closely, with a view to using it to enhance our knowledge of the order. In the book under review Christian Vogel has provided us with the first rational and convincing explanation of how the collection was constructed. In his view it was built up in stages. He dates the section on the rule and the *retrais* generally from before 1187. He believes that the middle section,

which consists mostly of *établissements* on discipline, must partly be dated to the 1200s, while the corpus of case law refers to decisions made before 1270. This part of Vogel's book alone would make his contribution highly significant, but he also points to an answer to the question why the Templar *établissements* survive only in summary form. Templar statutes had no intrinsic validity because they were only binding if the grand master and his convent had agreed to them. Since the grand master and his convent comprised the sole legislature, with prerogative rights that were affirmed over and over again in the brothers' responses to their interrogators in the early fourteenth century, and the chapters-general were legislatures only because the master and his convent were present at them, the statutes may never have been considered to have been authoritative enough to be permanently recorded in full. Summary records were sufficient, in sharp contrast to Hospitaller statutes, the products of more authoritative, independent, and representative chapters-general, which were widely circulated.

Vogel's book is very valuable in other ways. After a general introduction, it is divided into three parts, followed by a conclusion, some interesting appendices, tables, and a bibliography. It is very regrettable that there is no index. The first part considers the Temple as an ecclesiastical institution, the bases in law of its standing as an order of the Church, its defence of the Latin East, the role of its knights in this regard – although it is surely rather sweeping of Dr Vogel to call the order 'an institutionalized crusade' – the measures it took to care for sick brothers, and its relations with the papacy, the Cistercians, and other military orders. The second part, which is the longest and most important, since it contains a detailed analysis of the surviving code, looks in detail at the regulations by which the Temple ran itself internally. The third part, in which Vogel considers the order's administrative structure, the powers of grand masters and chapters-general and the central convent, is the least original, but it nevertheless provides the best and most solid treatment of these topics yet published.

Vogel's research is based on wide reading, although he does not seem to have extended his research to cover the large number of charter collections relating to the order's European houses. Perhaps he could also have made more use of the records of the interrogations of the brothers in the early fourteenth century. Although this is per-

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haps asking too much of a study which is already a major contribution, I am sure, for example, that a closer inspection of the testimony of the Templars before the various boards of inquiry would have helped him to clarify the tricky issue of the meaning they attached to chapters-general. The Templars never seem to have defined clearly what they meant by the term *capitulum generale*. By the early thirteenth century provincial chapters in Aragon were being termed *capitula generalia* and it is clear from the interrogations of the early fourteenth century that many, perhaps most, Templars continued to refer to provincial chapters as general ones and found it hard to distinguish them from higher bodies.

With a little effort, however, one can recognize two types of authentic Templar chapter-general, depending on whether it was meeting in Europe or in the east. Those held in the west were summoned by visitors or by grand masters on visitation and were attended by commanders and other brothers from more than one province. On the other hand, chapters-general in the Levant, which were likely to be more authoritative because there was more of a chance of the grand master and his convent being present at them, seem to have been attended only by the members of the central convent and the castellans and commanders of the great eastern bailiwicks. Vogel is reluctant to believe that they were not more representative of the whole order and he seizes on Jochen Burgtorf's suggestion that, given the lengths of terms of service in the western provinces, the retirements of some European grand commanders could statistically have coincided with meetings in which they could have taken part. But this depends on the assumption, for which we have no evidence, that the chapters-general met regularly every four or five years. Claverie has provided a list of thirteen meetings of chapters-general in the Levant, but it is not convincing. Only one, which met in 1262, can be dated with any certainty. Hospitaller chapters-general certainly met somewhat sporadically and we cannot assume that Templar ones were convoked regularly enough for any statistical argument to be feasible.

This is a detail. In my opinion this is easily the best book yet published on the internal working of the Temple and it will be essential reading for anyone who wishes to research the history of the order in future.

The Rule of the Knights Templar

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DOMINIK COLLET, *Die Welt in der Stube: Begegnungen mit Außer-europa in Kunstkammern der Frühen Neuzeit*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 232 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007), 403 pp. ISBN 978 3 525 35888 7. €71.00

At the end of 1695 two workers dug colossal bones out of a sand quarry in the dukedom of Saxony-Gotha and unleashed a lively pamphlet war: were these the bones of a unicorn? Or those of an elephant carried hither by the Flood, or perhaps the bones of a giant human being? Or were they simply evidence of the playfulness of nature – an overactive power of generation in the guise of a congealing or fossilizing ‘water’ that lodged itself in the sand and formed into the shape of bones? The Gotha *Collegium Medicum* saw the find as the result of generative ‘water’ and recommended its healing powers. In contrast, Wilhelm Ernst Tetzl, the curator of the Duke’s *Kunstkammer*, compared the bones to similar finds stored in other collections around Europe, and concluded that they belonged to an elephant which had been deposited in Gotha during the biblical Flood. After Tetzl sent a letter and some bones to the London Royal Society for the Improvement of Natural Knowledge, the Fellows argued among themselves, finally agreeing with Tetzl and recommending that the bones be added to their own collection of objects. Tetzl’s theories were discussed in Italy, France, and throughout Germany. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz suggested that the bones were the relicts of a giant sea creature, perhaps now extinct, whereas Robert Hooke asked himself

wether some species of animal substances found might not be lost, they not being to be found now? Wether the latitudes of places were not changed so that elephants might have been here inhabitants in former ages? . . . Wether the bottom of the Sea might not have been dry Land & what is now Land might not have been Sea? (p. 178)

This controversy seems to point to the triumph of empiricism in late seventeenth-century Europe, especially in the comparative use made of *Kunstkammer* objects. With this attention to the things themselves, rather than the learning of books, we appear to be witnessing the power of empiricism overturning the medieval Aristotelian-

Christian worldview. One of the virtues of this marvellous book by Dominik Collet is to demonstrate just how wrong appearances can be.

Kunstkammern—collections of paintings and natural and artistic objects, sometimes called cabinets of curiosity—have received a great deal of attention in recent years from historians of science arguing that the practice of collecting is evidence of a turn away from words and books as authoritative to the authority of things, eyewitness, and experiment. In addition, museum curators have begun to re-arrange their early modern ‘decorative arts’ collections as latter-day *Kunst-kammern* (a very successful example can be found at the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, Maryland), thus bringing these collecting practices and the earlier systems of thought they represent to the attention of the general public. In claiming that collecting played a part in the Scientific Revolution, historians have compared *Kunst-kammern* to the laboratory that became a hallmark of modern science, and have drawn an analogy between collecting and experimenting as practices that transformed views of the natural world in early modern Europe. While Wilhelm Tetzels use of the objects held in the Gotha *Kunst-kammer* seems to point in this direction, Dr Collet’s research indicates that Tetzels action was an almost completely isolated instance in the seventeenth century of a scholar making use of objects to prove a scientific argument (although in the service of conventional natural theology). In contrast to previous historians of science who have mainly examined theoretical treatises about collecting or have extrapolated from the objects themselves, Collet combed the archives—diaries, account books, and travellers’ reports, among other sources—for evidence of the quotidian uses made of the collections in the last half of the seventeenth century. He concentrates in particular on three collections, first, in great and captivating detail on the *Kunst-kammer* of the Dukes of Saxony-Gotha, and, then, in somewhat less detail on the Cabinet of Curiosities of the London gentleman, William Courten (aka William Charleton), and the Repository of the Royal Society. In addition, Collet looks particularly closely at seventeenth-century attitudes to the extra-European objects, or exotica, contained in these collections. He singled out these three collections because they represent different social contexts—noble, bourgeois, and ‘scientific’—which, according to previous historical analyses of collections, should be reflected in different contents, aims, and

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epistemes in each of the collections. What Collet finds is unexpected and entirely fascinating, both in what it shows about collecting in general and about European attitudes to other parts of the world, but also about the glacial pace of epistemological change. In the process, he overturns many of the accepted views among historians about *Kunstammern*.

In his lengthy treatment of the 'daily' uses of the Gotha *Kunstammer*, Collet shows that this 'encyclopedic' cabinet had multiple goals: first as part of a pedagogical reform in which *Realien* would replace empty words; second, as a demonstration of natural theology which claimed that God could be found in nature; and, finally, because the collection was supposed to contain examples of manufactures and useful natural products, it was seen as capable of leading to economic reform of the territory. In practice, the cabinet was a meeting place for noble and bourgeois visitors (Prince Friedrich of Saxony-Gotha first met his bride-to-be here), where conversations were triggered by the curiosities surrounding them (from 1656 laid out on tables, and after 1700 displayed in specially made cabinets). The cabinet also served as an archive of family portraits, court visits, mementos of their travels, as well as a reservoir out of which noble gifts for other courts might be selected.

The collection was arranged more or less according to the material out of which the objects were composed, although a higher-order organizing principle was the binary categorization of European and non-European, or, more accurately, Christian and non-Christian. Barely Christianized Lapland, for example, was included as part of the non-European world. Moreover, Collet finds that despite its landlocked position, the Gotha *Kunstammer* contained a 'canonical' assortment of exotic objects in direct and careful emulation of other European collections. The canon of exotica included Indonesian Kris daggers, Brazilian bows and arrows, birds of paradise, swordfish swords, horns listed as unicorn despite the fact that Olaus Worm had already declared these horns to be derived from narwhals, poison and anti-venom substances, Chinese games of dice, and East Indian icons, among other objects. Collet shows that this list was remarkably standard among European collections because, by the second half of the seventeenth century, the exotica trade was big business. Such objects were in demand across Europe and they were relatively easy to come by (with exotica peddlers going from court to court across all

of Europe), but more significantly, these objects had a long pedigree in the very first European reports of the East and West Indies and were part of categories of thought that in many cases went back to Antiquity. Thus they formed a true 'canon' of exotic objects.

Recently, historians have made much of the 'decontextualization' of exotic objects when they arrived in Europe. Mayan religious objects, for example, were taken from their religious culture and sent to Europe as generic 'curiosities' (one Central American figurine in the Wittelsbach collection being labelled a 'Turkish idol'). At first glance, Collet's researches seem to have produced a refutation of this decontextualization theory because the objects generically labelled *fremd* in the Gotha collection were accompanied by an extensively detailed and illustrated catalogue compiled by the first curator of the collection, Caspar Schmalkalden (1616–73). Schmalkalden had travelled in the service of the Dutch West and East India Companies for ten years before he returned to Gotha to regale the court with tales of his adventures and the curiosities he had brought with him. Quickly appointed *Kanzlist* by the Duke (exotic objects literally made his career, as they did for others whom Collet examines), Schmalkalden began to organize the collection and write a report of his travels. His account of his journeys in fact provides the long-lost context for the objects in the collection. In this travel report, we see that the objects are, in fact, the tip of an iceberg; they stand in for a whole complex of ideas about foreigners and foreignness. But, as Collet convincingly demonstrates, Schmalkalden's descriptions of these objects *all* rely upon sources at least a century old which largely reflect categories of thought or objects that had fascinated writers since Pliny (for example, savages characterized by wild dancing and drinking). Schmalkalden's travel account is beautifully illustrated, but *not a single* illustration stems from his own experiences. Every last one of his illustrations is copied from earlier travellers' tales. And he is not the first to make such copies: almost every illustration having to do with the New World goes back to a single and often completely fictitious portrayal of peoples or places. Not surprisingly, the objects in the Duke's collection fit perfectly into this world of fictional context. Even when Schmalkalden wrote about places of which he had first-hand experience, he drew his descriptions from previous sources; even when he had an object from the Duke's *Kunstkammer* in front of him, even then he illustrated it by copying an image from an earlier source. In one

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case, he possessed a drawing of a rhinoceros that he had received from a Chinese man, but in the illustration accompanying his travel account, he replaced it with the well-known illustration by Albrecht Dürer. Over time, less and less actual information adhered to the objects: an object labelled with provenance and some details in early catalogues of the collection was often relabelled as generically 'Indian' or 'foreign' in later descriptions. First-hand experience, eyewitness, scepticism, even curiosity seem to have had little place in this Age of Curiosity! In this world, knowledge still meant book learning, and authority was still firmly in the hands of authors, the older the better.

Collet shows that the same was true for the London collections, perhaps more surprisingly in the Royal Society, which was known for its motto—'Nothing in words alone'—and for its proclamations about the promises of the new experimental philosophy. But Collet recounts how, in the Society's experiments on the fabled exotic Macassar poison, in which the members injected an animal with the allegedly lethal substance to no perceivable effect, the Fellows concluded that the poison must not have been authentic, rather than that the reports of its power were wrong. Moreover, the Royal Society sent out extensive questionnaires to travellers and inhabitants of foreign parts, but received back standard tales and samples of canonical exotica, with which the Fellows seemed to have been mightily satisfied. No traveller seemed to notice or be able to comprehend a New World that by the late seventeenth century was hybrid and mestizo. The world in the *Kunstammer* was a static, homogeneous one, and rigidly dualistic, divided between *fremd* and *eigen*. It was a world that mirrored the increasingly hierarchical European society, divided between civilized city-dweller and rude peasant (who was also regarded as subject to fits of wild drinking and dancing), a theme visible in the Dutch genre paintings so beloved by collectors in the same period. The exotic objects of the *Kunstammer* tell us more about an internal European conversation than about the cultures with which the Europeans came into contact.

These collections of curiosities were not without effect, Collet argues in his conclusion, for they did provide a space for trans-confessional sociability, and they popularized and visualized for all levels of society (by means both of generally easy access to the cabinets as well as travelling shows of curious objects) this binary worldview,

Cabinets of Curiosity in the Early Modern Period

which helped to establish the colonial ideology of later centuries. And, surely, Collet's account also shows that the *idea* of objects was important in the new philosophy even if the objects themselves did not yet have a place in proving knowledge claims. I hope Collet will subject sixteenth-century collections to his meticulously researched appraisal in order to examine the world before curiosities became canonical (perhaps we would have to go back before Pliny). And, I wish he had told us more about the *emotion* of curiosity, for, as Caspar Schmalkalden enthused, 'I felt such a fiery desire and longing' to see the objects 'with my own eyes' about which he had heard tales (p. 98). How did this come to be a socially sanctioned desire?

Collet's conclusions are not completely without precedent, as they have much in common with claims made by postcolonial scholars, but until recently those claims have not been subjected to rigorous examination on the basis of archival documents and material objects, although in her recent *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures*,¹ Marcy Norton provides a nuanced history of the introduction of new and exotic objects into Europe. The story that Collet reveals through his research is emphatically not about the power of seventeenth-century empiricism, but rather it demonstrates the power of empirical research on the part of the historian.

¹ Marcy Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Atlantic World* (Ithaca, NY, 2008).

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DIRK VAN LAAK, *Imperiale Infrastruktur: Deutsche Planungen für eine Erschließung Afrikas, 1880–1960* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004), 480 pp. ISBN 3 506 71745 6. €72.00

Few things hit the Germans' view of their place in the world as hard as the accusation, made by the Allies at Versailles in 1918, that they had been unworthy and incompetent colonialists. Well-known German colonial officials such as Wilhelm Solf and Heinrich Schnee reacted quickly to counteract this judgement effectively in public.¹ Solf undoubtedly saw himself as a *Weltpolitiker*, a foreign policy-maker who acted in the interests of trade and industry and felt responsible for protecting and promoting them. In his comprehensive study Dirk van Laak agrees that Solf and those around him represented the enlightened approach of trusteeship which transferred German experience of solving social questions to the colonies. In the course of implementing Bernhard Dernburg's colonial strategy, an attempt was to be made to redefine colonial possession, to 'elevate' the indigenous cultures, and, by averting Manchester liberalism, to achieve missionary and humanistic goals.

In this sense *Weltpolitik* was an ideological reaction to the challenges of modernity, providing a counter-model to the anti-modern world views that had become so popular in Germany around the turn of the century. It had clearly racist aspects and was drawn from supposedly scientific theories, such as the *Lebensraum* ideology, but differed from this in that it considered Africans capable of developing. From the beginnings of German high imperialism (Hübbe-Schleiden, 1881) to the Nazi period (Westermann, 1941), the German *Bildungsbürgertum* (academically educated bourgeoisie) in particular had felt itself called upon to see *Weltpolitik* as a task involving cultural proselytization. As a result, it became a fixed element in the imperialist discourse.² In order to justify and demonstrate the alleged superiority of German and European culture over the cultures of the non-European world, practitioners of *Weltpolitik* did not, in principle,

¹ Wilhelm Solf, *Kolonialpolitik: Mein politisches Vermächtnis* (Berlin, 1919); Heinrich Schnee, *Die koloniale Schuldfrage* (Berlin, 1924).

² Wilhelm Hübbe-Schleiden, *Deutsche Colonisation* (Hamburg, 1881); id., *Überseeische Politik: Eine kulturwissenschaftliche Studie* (Hamburg, 1881); Dietrich Westermann, *Afrika als europäische Aufgabe* (Berlin, 1941).

reject the Social Darwinist components of imperialist thinking, but they would not have acknowledged them as the sole cause of imperialism. From here, Solf's position, for example, can be reconstructed. Characteristic of a strand of public opinion which sought a compromise with Britain and its Empire, it placed its hopes in a future alliance with that country in the awareness that an all too aggressive German colonial policy would undermine the international stability conferred by the British Empire and, above all, would not benefit Germany in the long term either.

But what could benefit Germany? In his fascinating, complex, and material-rich work, van Laak shows that these considerations played a part not only during the Kaiserreich, when Germany did in fact have some colonies, although they were of limited significance, but also far beyond this period. He points to the colonial revisionism of the Weimar Republic, the *Lebensraum* ideology of the Third Reich, and the continuation of these ideas until well into the 1960s, in the Federal Republic of Germany. This continuity is reflected in an astonishingly uniform discourse on its subject. Observing Germany's yearning for Africa, which produced colonial and post-colonial fantasies, over such a long period is also justified by the fact that van Laak deliberately focuses on one question. What plans did Germany have to develop Africa's infrastructure? As plans often involved only fantasies and projections, Africa itself became the screen upon which these were projected or, to use a term popular in recent research, a 'laboratory of modernity'. Colonists could use the colonies as experimental fields for models and procedures which they then took back with them to Europe. Technicians followed the missionaries and travelling scholars, traders and administrative officials to the world beyond Europe. Their experiments could take place in the military, social, technical, or trade fields which had been used in 'opening' Africa as the last continent, hotly contested since the late nineteenth century but then consensually divided. For the Germans before and after 1914, the 'black' continent provided a space in which to test gun boats and steam ships, machine guns, the telegraph and electrical technology, the construction of transport networks, drinking water supplies, and drainage. It was a place where they could conduct medical, eugenic, anthropological, botanical, and geographical experiments, and, of course, test the railway. Being able to cover vast distances quickly was one of the preconditions for seeing the frontier

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of European modernity as a mobile development space for the proselytization of civilization.

However, in this process, colonial thinking was more important than actual colonial possession. As a result, Africans were seen as or degraded into objects, whether of European high imperialism around 1900 or global development policies around 1960, that were incapable of acting. For the West, ultimately, it meant that Europe had a common colonial project to which Germany, with or without its colonies, was closely tied. Its society and culture and, as van Laak shows in exemplary fashion, also its politics and economy dependent on African raw materials, were significantly influenced by the colonial experience for many decades after the end of the First World War. Thus the horns of a dilemma opened up. On the one hand, by the time the other European colonial powers had helped themselves, only the less desirable parts of Africa were left for the Kaiserreich. On the other, the significance of Africa for the Germans was to provide an 'alternative space' whose significance, according to van Laak, cannot be overrated. Germany's colonies, whether in Africa or the Pacific, brought in little of economic significance, were irrelevant in terms of military strategy, required financial subsidies, and had much less social impact on the motherland than was the case in Britain or France, for instance. Their historical insignificance in real terms had to be compensated for by a relevance which van Laak identifies as lying in the imperial infrastructure. The practical men who built roads and railway lines, insisting that they had thereby raised the lives of the indigenous people to a higher level, emphasized that it was not all just plans.

Wilhelm Solf, listed in Schnee's *Koloniallexikon* of 1920 as an academic philologist with a knowledge of Sanskrit, was a practical man of this sort. He is a model example of an educated colonial official who served in several postings in Asia and Africa. In 1911 he became Imperial Colonial Secretary, and received the title *Wirklicher Geheimerat* as an honour. Between May and October 1912 Solf travelled extensively in the German protectorates in south-west and east Africa and in the neighbouring British colonies in south-west Africa; in the autumn of 1913 he visited Cameroon, Togo, and Nigeria. He had been encouraged in this by Paul Rohrbach, Lutheran theologian, member of the circle around Friedrich Naumann, and co-founder of the journal *Das größere Deutschland* (1914), who hoped to attract more

attention and support for Cameroon. He had made a name for himself as a successful and widely published colonial journalist and writer of bestsellers on economic, political, and ideological aspects of imperialism. Like Rohrbach, Solf was skilled at networking in political and intellectual circles. Banking on his popularity, he left his published legacy on colonial policy, *Vermächtnis*, to the Berlin public before departing for Tokyo in 1920, thus countering the accusations of the Western powers.

Deliberately maintaining an objective tone, Solf neither opposed nor went with the flow of the euphoria which the effusive Otto Ehlers had tapped so successfully one generation earlier (1895). By this time it was both critical of civilization and politically nationalist (*deutsch-national*) in character. As a popular writer, Ehlers, like so many others, had been pursuing the goal advocated by colonial propaganda of advancing the transformation of an anti-European heroism that had to prove itself genuine on the frontier of the non-European world. In the process, he confirmed all the available and marketable exotic stereotypes which he believed he could use to advertise positively for future German colonies, in the same vein as the popular exhibitions (*Völkerschauen*) put on by Carl Hagenbeck in Germany, displaying a highly developed business sense and instrumentalizing all the clichés of an ‘authentic’ presentation of ‘indigenous peoples’. These included an idealization of the ‘noble savage’ and the notion of an ‘earthly paradise’. European colonizers encountered both as if they were an evolutionary state of nature because they presented themselves as ‘without history’ and ‘pre-civilized’. The challenge for European expansion was to take possession of them and transfer them to modern times.

Solf’s mission, like that of the previous governor, was to convert the alleged imperial ‘absent mindedness’ of the Germans into a constructive colonialism without the scandals and abuses that had drawn so much attention in the cases of Peters and Leist, for example. According to Solf, colonizing corresponded to missionizing ‘in the higher sense of educating for culture’. He had revealed what he saw as the most important motives of colonization, leaving no doubt that Germany, as a colonial power, was in principle committed to educating peoples ‘in need of colonization’. This idea was based on the assumption that with the protectorates, Germany had received a cultural mission that strengthened its position among the community of western colonial powers with shared values and its demand for equal

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treatment among the Great Powers, while also allowing it to pursue its real economic interests. In a speech to the Reichstag on 6 March 1913, Solf said in this connection: 'we do not want to exterminate the indigenous peoples, we want to preserve them. This is the duty of decency that we have taken upon ourselves by raising the German flag in our African colonies and in the Pacific.'³ This made it possible to place the colonies under a Pax Germanica in order to cure the noble savages of blood feuding, head-hunting, and cannibalism while bringing their culture into line with that of the protecting power.

Solf openly acknowledged his English model, Sir Frederick Lugard, whom he intended to visit when travelling from Cameroon to Lagos in the autumn of 1913 in order to exchange views on his administrative reforms in Nigeria. While establishing self-government in Samoa, Solf clearly profited from the practical experiences that Governor Lugard had reported to him in their correspondence. To see revisionist potential in the moderate colonial reforms is probably going too far, but the influential books which both published about Africa at around the same time contain many reflections based on the empirical foundation of everyday colonial experience.⁴ Thus Lugard mentioned approvingly that Dernburg and Solf had tried to moderate official German colonial policy and to influence it 'in opposition to the local governors and the German colonists' after they had been convinced of the advantages of British colonial methods. These, it was generally agreed, could be summed up as governing an empire by moral and material principles. In the modern age, its existence was justifiable if it was not a monolithic power bloc but a dual mandate formed by reciprocal relations between colonized and colonial power for their mutual benefit. The imperial development of Africa's infrastructure also played a large part in this, although as a rule it was justified as being for the good of the indigenous people.

An essential prerequisite was inherent in the imperial system itself. During his years as a colonial administrator in Nigeria

³ Wilhelm Solf in the Reichstag, 6 Mar. 1913, in *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstages*, vi, 13. Legislaturperiode, 1. Session, 127. Sitzung, quotations at 4335 and 4334.

⁴ Wilhelm Solf, *Afrika für Europa: Der koloniale Gedanke des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Neumünster, 1920); Lord Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* (London, 1922).

(1897–1906, 1912–18) and Hong Kong (1907–12), Lugard had demonstrated to his own satisfaction that a gradual emancipation of the colonies worked best in the British Empire. He argued that this was because the Empire, in essence and according to its mission, was obliged to guarantee liberty and self-rule for all those who lived under the British flag: ‘Such liberty and self-government can be best secured to the native population by leaving them free to manage their own affairs through their own rules, proportionately to their degree of advancement, under the guidance of the British staff, and subject to the laws and policy of the administration.’⁵ It is poignant that Lugard advocated a new administrative structure which would transfer more of Whitehall’s authority to the ‘men on the spot’. In the view of most critics of colonialism, these men were responsible for the biggest problems – scandals, corruption, and mismanagement – but Lugard believed the opposite. He insisted that the British public trusted the representatives of nation and monarchy who lived on the colonial periphery.

In the German case, indirect rule depended on at least two factors, namely, the personal behaviour of colonial officials, traders, and missionaries on the spot, and the long distance separating them from Berlin. Consequently, self-rule could be explained as a measure born of conviction and taken out of consideration for native structures. Or it could be seen as a tactically cautious move, given the paucity of means of power available to the German administration, which would not have been able to withstand armed resistance to its rule. Recent research has highlighted how ruthlessly genocide was practised in the context of the German cultural mission in the colonial wars of German South-West Africa and German East Africa, and justified Allied accusations made in 1918 confirm this. Anyone who rejected this view and the whole ‘colonial guilt lie’ in the 1920s by reference to Samoa and other German territories such as Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia, and insisted, in revisionist vein, that Germany’s colonial policy had been blameless, at least in the Pacific, was, like Heinrich Schnee, arguing at an extremely dubious level. The line dividing a colonial apologia from the attempt to achieve a productive and peaceful colonial engagement was to be found elsewhere. Sometimes it was located in the realms of pure fantasy; in any

⁵ Lugard, *Dual Mandate*, 94.

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case, it often betrayed a belief in infrastructure that came close to being a substitute for religion.

In the 1920s, for example, Herman Sörgel, an architect from Munich, pursued the idea of blocking off the Mediterranean by damming the Straits of Gibraltar and allowing the sea level to drop by 100 to 200 metres through condensation, thus linking Europe and Africa to form a single continent, Atlantropa, a plan that was only finally abandoned in the 1960s. The claims made for this megaproject were based on utopian expectations of what was potentially possible. The Paneuropa Union, in aiming to put Coudenhove-Kalergi's philosophy of history into practice, supported technically by Sörgel, reflected the enthusiasm for opening up infrastructural space. Here, too, geopolitical, economic, and technical interests overlapped in the attempt to create a large space integrated by infrastructure. It is only thanks to van Laak's highly meritorious longitudinal historical study that it now becomes clear what it meant for several generations to devote themselves to these questions continuously, and for classical colonial policy and modern development aid to enter into a complex mutual relationship with Africa as a projection-screen for Europe. Thus the years from 1880 to 1960 can convincingly be reconstructed, despite all historical turning points, as a unitary period. In this view, colonialism always existed, whether in the 'taking' form of the past, or the 'giving' form of modern times. Since the beginning of the history of the colonial empires, however, imperial gesture and grandiose failure can hardly be separated from each other.

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THOMAS MORLANG, *Askari und Fitafita: 'Farbige' Söldner in den deutschen Kolonien*, Schlaglichter der Kolonialgeschichte, 8 (Berlin: Christian Links Verlag, 2008), 200 pp. ISBN 978 3 86153 476 1. €24.90
MARIANNE BECHHAUS-GERST, *Treu bis in den Tod: Von Deutsch-Ostafrika nach Sachenshausen – Eine Lebensgeschichte*, Schlaglichter der Kolonialgeschichte, 7 (Berlin: Christian Links Verlag, 2007), 208 pp. ISBN 978 3 86153 451 8. €24.90

It is a commonplace to note that for the last fifteen years or so, the historiography of German colonialism has been booming, becoming thematically highly diversified in the process.¹ An example of this reawakened interest is the series *Schlaglichter der Kolonialgeschichte*, initiated by the Berlin publisher Christian Links in 2001, to which both books under review here belong. The comparatively short and well-researched books which make up this series are addressed to a general public with an interest in colonial history and are comprehensibly written, something that cannot always be taken for granted with German history books. This, however, goes along with a relatively low degree of abstraction and a neglect of the wider historical context. Moreover, in both volumes under review, this reader misses an overarching argument or approach.

Despite the renewed interest in German colonial history, little attention has so far been paid to the military component of Germany's overseas presence up to 1918, although armed force was the primary instrument for conquering and securing its colonies. As a rule, the historiography only mentions German armed forces overseas in the context of major rebellions against German rule, in particular, in connection with the 1904–5 Herero war in German South-West Africa.² Thomas Morlang is the first to investigate those who made up the mass of Germany's colonial forces – the African, Asian, Micronesian, and Melanesian rank-and-file soldiers and non-commissioned officers in the German colonies. He looks at all the non-Europeans in the German forces, from the Askaris in Cameroon and

¹ See the excellent research report by Ulrike Lindner, 'Plätze an der Sonne: Die Geschichtsschreibung auf dem Weg in die deutschen Kolonien', *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, 48 (2008), 487–510.

² An exception to this rule so far has been Eric J. Mann, *'Mikono ya damu – Hands of Blood': African Mercenaries and the Politics of Conquest in German East Africa 1884–1904* (Frankfurt, 2002).

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East Africa, to the police-soldiers of Togo, New Guinea, and Samoa, and the little-known indigenous auxiliaries in Kiaochow and German South-West Africa. Apart from German South-West Africa, where the healthy hot, dry climate meant that the German colonial force was made up almost entirely of Europeans, and Kiaochow, which was under naval rule, in all of Germany's other colonies, only the officers and some of the NCOs were Germans. Like the colonial powers Britain and France, whose colonial troops have been the subject of research for decades, Germany preferred to rely on indigenous mercenaries in its tropical colonies. They seemed to be better adapted to the climate, and it was cheaper for the colonial powers to hire them than to send soldiers out from Europe. Morlang estimates that between 1884 and 1918, 40,000 to 50,000 Africans, Asians, and Pacific Islanders served the Germans voluntarily as soldiers and policemen. By far the majority of these belonged to the relatively large colonial forces in Cameroon and German East Africa, where they also provided the mass of soldiers during the First World War, which lasted until 1916 in Cameroon and 1918 in East Africa. By contrast, in China, Togo, and the Pacific Islands there were only a few hundred non-Germans in uniform. Organized as police troops, they quickly lay down their arms in the face of the Entente's military superiority.

For the Germans, the deployment of non-Europeans was always an expedient dictated by the climate and financial constraints. Until 1914, the Germans treated mercenaries with a certain degree of mistrust, expressed, among other things, in the idea of making it obligatory for former Askaris to register. The Germans preferred to recruit from ethnic groups which lived not in their own possessions, but in neighbouring countries, in order to prevent any fraternization between the civilian population and the colonial power's armed forces. However, after the turn of the century this proved to be increasingly difficult, especially in Africa, because the other colonial powers no longer tolerated recruitment of this sort. As a result, on the eve of the First World War, most soldiers and policemen were from Germany's own colonies. In some of Germany's possessions, such as Cameroon and German East Africa, finding enough volunteers was not a problem, but in Togo and Germany's Pacific colonies it was more difficult.

Morlang correctly describes these soldiers and policemen as mercenaries because their main motive for serving the colonial power was the relatively high pay they received. Some of them had been

slaves, and serving the colonial power enabled them to buy their freedom from their former masters. The military collaborators of the colonial power were frequently feared because the often extremely brutal excesses they visited on the civilian population were rarely punished by their German superiors. But their proximity to power and relative prosperity also conferred on them a certain social status in the indigenous societies of Africa and the Pacific. They were sought after as marriage partners who could afford servants of their own. After the end of German colonial rule, many mercenaries offered their services to the armed forces of the Entente powers who succeeded Germany; for others, the sudden ending of their careers in German service meant a sharp social decline. A number had to flee from Togo to neighbouring colonies after the end of German rule because their brutality had made them unwelcome there. Interestingly, Morlang's explanation for the 'loyalty' the black Askari mercenaries showed to their superiors in Cameroon and German East Africa during the First World War, of which much was made in Germany, is that they had not been accustomed to taking prisoners during the colonial wars against the black population before 1914. They therefore expected a similar fate should the German units surrender to the Entente troops, and were thus reluctant to obey their German superiors when told to lay down their arms.

The sources dictate that Morlang's account depends primarily on perceptions of the 'coloured' soldiers and policemen recorded in German documents and ego-documents, with the result that we find out relatively little about how Africans in the colonial forces saw themselves, the everyday life of the military, or the circumstances that led an African, for example, to join the colonial forces. Another reason for this is that the German actors at the time took little trouble to see their subordinates as individuals. Superiors avoided interfering in the everyday life and customs of their 'coloured' subordinates. And although they might have served together for years, the dominant sentiments were a lack of interest and racial prejudice. Morlang attempts to break through this Eurocentric perspective by interspersing the text with a number of short biographies of 'coloured' soldiers and police. These convey an impression of the large degree of social and geographical mobility that came about as a result of colonization. This was partly imposed by the colonial power, and partly seized by the indigenous people who saw it as an opportunity.

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Morlang's book provides a sober, balanced, and knowledgeable account. He neither disparages the mercenaries and their German employers, nor glorifies the idea of serving the colonial power. Nor does he see the auxiliaries as mere victims of colonialism. Rather, as we read, the whole breadth of individual destinies, chances, and misdemeanours in German service unfolds. The lives of the indigenous forces, who were indispensable for Germany to conquer and maintain its colonial empire, simply resist any overall judgement after the event. However, this reader would have welcomed a conclusion at the end of the book. This could have discussed the most important aspects of the topic, going beyond individual possessions and military formations, and looked at similarities and differences in relation to the practice of other colonial powers.

In its African possessions, Germany preferred to recruit sons of Askaris in the hope of creating an indigenous military elite whose first loyalty, based on family tradition, would be to the colonial power and not to the African civilian population. Mahjub bin Adam Mohamed, born in German East Africa in 1904, was such a case. The Africanist Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst has written his biography. His father was a Sudanese mercenary, originally recruited by the founder of the colonial force in German East Africa, Hermann von Wissmann, in 1889, along with 600 other soldiers in Egypt. Since then, he had lived in the south of the colony, where he married. His son Mahjub joined Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck's colonial force as a child soldier in 1914, when his father was re-commissioned for the same force. While his father served on the German side as an NCO and was killed in the First World War, Mahjub was wounded and taken prisoner by the British. By a circuitous route he ended up in Berlin in 1929. He was thus one of a small group of ex-Askaris, numbering between thirty and fifty, who ended up in Germany before 1914 or after 1918. For them, Germany had become a sort of spiritual home, although they were confronted with popular and official racism on a daily basis. The German campaigns of the 1920s against the 'schwarze Schmach' (black shame), directed at African soldiers who were in the Rhineland as part of the French occupying forces and who allegedly raped white women, represented a considerable increase in the level of racism as compared with the period before 1914. After the Nazi seizure of power, the position of Africans in Germany became even more difficult, even if they were never subjected to the same sort of

systematic persecution, with the ultimate aim of physical annihilation, as the Jews or Sinti and Roma. Thus, after 1933, almost all Africans – and, as in Mahjub’s case, their German wives – received a *Fremdenpass* (passport issued by the German Reich to aliens). From the end of 1935, the Nuremberg Laws were applied to ex-mercenaries. Ultimately, they were the undoing of a promiscuous Mahjub, who had been married to a woman from Berlin since 1933. In September 1941 he was sent to the concentration camp at Sachsenhausen for the crime of *Rassenschande*, that is, an adulterous affair, and died there of an illness in November 1944.

The protagonist of this biography, like other Africans who had been members of the colonial forces, cleverly made himself available, as an ever ‘loyal’ Askari, to the political associations agitating for colonial revisionism during the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich. With their help, the Entente’s claims that Germany had brutally suppressed the inhabitants of its colonies, which had been used to legitimize Germany’s loss colonies in 1918–19, were to be refuted. This meant that there was a niche for these men, even after 1933, in the racist Nazi state, which pursued the aim of restoring Germany’s former colonies even more enthusiastically than the Weimar governments. While Nazi Party officials, fearing sexual encounters between Africans and German women, would have liked to expel all Africans from Germany, or at least remove them from public view, for the German foreign office, the ex-Askaris were a valuable asset in their quest for colonial revision. Thus by comparison with other Africans in Nazi Germany, they had a relatively privileged position. And as the example of Mahjub shows, they were sought after as extras in colonial exhibitions and films, or as waiters in exotic restaurants, both before and after 1933. Between 1934 and 1941, Mahjub had minor parts in twenty-three German films as an Askari, servant, waiter, liftboy, and plantation worker.

The scarcity of sources means that Bechhaus-Gerst’s account of Mahjub’s years in German East Africa are fragmentary. Her book therefore casts little light on how Africans lived and died in the service of the German colonial forces. However, Mahjub’s years in Germany are astonishingly well documented, and the author has reconstructed them with the aid of painstaking detective work. Mahjub’s constant financial problems – he was a confident man who liked to live well, was fully aware of his rights vis-à-vis employers,

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and claimed his pension and military honours from the German authorities as a veteran of the world war – meant that he left a substantial paper trail in the archives. The author makes convincing use of surviving photos of Mahjub from his years in Berlin to decipher his behaviour and self-image, but also to clarify the roles that his white environment assigned him. At the same time, the biography switches between recording the smallest, least significant details of his life, and wild speculation about, for example, who denounced him in 1941 and had him sent to Sachsenhausen.

The author uses the biography of Mahjub to write against the grain of the image that predominates in the colonial literature, namely, of Africans passively suffering their fate, by restoring to her protagonist his dignity as a confident, active subject. Unfortunately, however, this means that the book turns into historical reparation for the African victims of colonialism and National Socialism, with the result that it presents a black-and-white picture in the truest sense of the term. The crafty, shrewd Africans as victims of the times are contrasted with the mostly racist and base Germans. The biographer herself admits to a 'ganz unakademische Betroffenheit' (totally unacademic concern, p. 10) for Mahjub's case, which does not necessarily make enjoyable reading for a sober historian.

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KAREN HAGEMANN and JEAN H. QUATAERT (eds.), *Gendering Modern German History: Rewriting Historiography* (New York: Bergahn Books, 2007), viii + 301 pp. ISBN 978 1 84545 207 0. \$90.00. £45.00

This book has an ambitious aim. Based on a conference held in Toronto in 2003 on the state of women's and gender history within German historiography, it sets out to subject the relevant literature on German history published in the USA and Germany, along with the academic cultures of the two countries, to comparative investigation. It discusses how the findings of gender history feed into general history, and examines the contribution made by women historians to mainstream historiography. Thus in each case, the inclusion of the particular in the already existing general is explored. This is based on the implicit assumption that there is a general view accepted by all, that is, a clearly defined and valid canon of literature on German history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Secondly, this approach assumes that the marginalization of the researchers and of their approaches and research outcomes are connected in some way that is not further specified.

In the view of the editors, German history provides a good test case for examining the extent of the double inclusion aimed at because it had so many different political systems in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. So that the contributors do not lose sight of the integration of the product (gender history) and the producers (in knowledge-production in the universities) in their dual comparison, the two editors set out an analytical framework in their introduction. They emphasize seven aspects. All contributions on German gender history should see gender both as a subject and a method of historical analysis. They should take note of the moral and political charge of gender history (advocating equality and justice) and of the influence that current women's movements exercise on choice of topics and the way they are treated. The universities that determine qualifications and shape existing paradigms and traditions are named as another essential factor in the development of gender history. The last two factors concern the mutual reception of research outcomes; the transatlantic relationship between gender historians is presented as unequal. While German historians naturally take note of work published in English, little that is not translated into English is read across the Atlantic.

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The central question concerning the extent to which 'women's and gender history in Germany and in the United States has been able to influence and shape mainstream historical narratives' (p. 5) is explored taking ten themes as examples. The topics selected for treatment are (in this order) nation, war, colonies, politics, social policy, National Socialism, Jewish women, religion, sexuality, and family. This is justified as follows: 'The selection of themes follows a historical logic—in our own subjective understandings' (p. 23). While the editors acknowledge important omissions, such as economic history, the history of science, and the history of lesbians and gays, they do not reflect on their choice in relation to the mainstream. Similarly, the criteria for selecting contributing authors are not laid out openly: 'In our choices we wanted to balance the authors on each side of the Atlantic' (p. 23). Ironically, the list of contributors reflects exactly the imbalance in transatlantic relations of which the editors complain: of the eleven authors, eight come from the USA, while only three come from Germany.

With a few exceptions, the essays discuss the literature published up to 2004, each following their own method. Angelika Schaser looks at the boom in writing national histories in the 1990s, and contrasts it with the various outcomes of gender history in the analysis of nation, nationalism, national culture, and national identity. She points out that current concepts of transnational historiography or global/world history do not eliminate the nation, but presuppose it, and, with Karin Hausen, argues against the unity of history as a programme represented by master narratives. Karen Hagemann discusses the literature of military history, which has only recently been discovered as a field in which questions relating to gender history can be asked. The construction of gender by the military, which includes concepts of the hero and comradeship, and changes in the gender order at times of war are broadly investigated for the twentieth century from a gender history perspective. The high yield of these studies contrasts with the marginalization of women historians in the military history institutes. Birthe Kundrus presents an investigation of the 'blind spots' of German history, that is, the colonies and ethnic identities, themes which have long been neglected by the historiography on Germany. She stresses that it is precisely Germany's long history of colonialism without colonies that makes it an interesting point of comparison for all studies of national colonialism. Belinda

Davis introduces the studies of women in politics published in the last thirty years as a product of the second women's movement, which defined new topics and disseminated new forms of action. In light of political structures that have proved astonishingly resistant to change, Davis describes the polarized debates which women historians have conducted on equality and difference, and the attempts made by women to analyse politics within the contemporary context. Kathleen Canning reports on the state of research in German gender history on class, citizenship, and the welfare state. Her discussion concentrates on the emergence of the welfare state and its reinforcement of gender hierarchies in class and state. Before the results of women's history and gender history can be integrated into the mainstream, she argues, further work is necessary on the concepts of class, citizenship, and the welfare state. Reviewing these reports on the influence of gender history on 'mainstream' history so far, it could be concluded that the impact of gender history has been small in such 'hard' and 'masculine' fields as politics. Does this impression change when research on the 'softer' topics of religion and family is examined? It comes as no surprise that it does not.

Under the title 'Religion and Gender', Ann Taylor Allen sums up the research on women and the church. She criticizes the concentration on women's organizations in the church and the widespread equation of modernity with secularization. Taylor Allen suggests investigating religion as a cultural and social practice that is shaped differently by men and women, and that, in its turn, shapes gender relations. Robert G. Moeller presents the state of research on the history of the family. His suggestions for future research reveal his criticism of the existing research. Moeller proposes conceiving of the family as a locus not of residence, 'but of meaning and relationships' (p. 242). He illustrates how this could work in practice by discussing five thematic clusters, all of which could integrate a gendered history of the family into the historical mainstream: the family should no longer be associated with women alone, but include men and masculinity; the family should be integrated into studies of class formation, age, childhood, and kinship relations; the history of violence within the family must be investigated; popular ideas of happy families should be examined; and how memory is produced and transmitted within families should be studied. The problem that gender history works in parallel to mainstream history is also perceived by Atina Grossmann,

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who introduces studies on the history of sexuality. With Dagmar Herzog she suggests working on concepts beyond 'race, class, gender and sexual orientation' (p. 221). 'When it comes to sexuality, the gendering of German history will benefit from more "sex" and less "German" ' (p. 222).

The studies which most persistently ignore the results of gender history seem to be German studies of National Socialism. Claudia Koonz establishes the existence of a considerable difference between German and US studies, which do not accept the gendered binary opposition between victim and perpetrator that is widely accepted in Germany. Only since the unification of 1990, she suggests, is this Atlantic divide closing, and perpetrators in German studies of Nazism are no longer ungendered.

The greatest progress in integrating the category of gender into the mainstream has been made in work on German-Jewish history, presented by Benjamin Maria Baader. He recognizes a process by which two closely interconnected strands—German-Jewish history and women's and gender history—are being integrated into German history. The close connection between the two historiographies is based on the fact that gender and Jewishness have been conceived as interrelated and interdependent categories in order to investigate belonging and identity, Jewishness and Germanness. German research on the *Bürgertum* (middle classes) is another good example of what can be achieved by historical research enriched by the inclusion of the perspectives of Jewish and gender history.

This book offers a good introduction to anyone who wants to find out quickly about the state of gender history research in any of the areas discussed. The detailed bibliographies and the index are extremely helpful in allowing rapid access to the literature presented. The intended comparison between the academic culture in the two countries under discussion, however, is the exception in this volume. Almost all essays concentrate on the bibliographical aspect. After reading this book, questions remain. Why are parallel historiographies undesirable? Why is it worth aspiring to a 'general canon of historical knowledge'? Where does the basic image of the centre and periphery draw its effectiveness from? Why is a position on the periphery seen as a denigration to be rejected?

Gendering Modern German History

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BORIS VON HAKEN, *Der 'Reichsdramaturg': Rainer Schlösser und die Musiktheater-Politik in der NS-Zeit* (Hamburg: von Bockel Verlag, 2007), 234 pp. ISBN 978 3 932696 64 0. €35.00

SVEN OLIVER MÜLLER and JUTTA TOELLE (eds.), *Bühnen der Politik: Die Oper in europäischen Gesellschaften im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Die Gesellschaft der Oper, 2 (Vienna: Oldenbourg, 2008), 225 pp. ISBN 978 3 486 58570 4. €29.80

Historical investigations of the links between politics and the arts have met with increasing interest over the last two decades or so and exciting new studies are constantly emerging. Crucially, too, scholars have increasingly moved away from relating to the dictatorships of the twentieth century and their control of artistic output and have tackled the arts in wider political contexts. This does not mean, however, that the arts in Nazi Germany, for example, have been exhaustively covered, and there are still many aspects which remain to be addressed. For example, a book-length study of Hanns Johst has only recently been published,¹ and people such as Hans Hinkel and Rainer Schlösser are similarly under-researched.

Boris von Haken's study, which was accepted as a Ph.D. thesis by the Faculty of Philosophy and Humanities at the Free University of Berlin in 2007, aims to fill one of these gaps. His book on Rainer Schlösser and official Nazi policies vis-à-vis music is, in fact, the first scholarly attempt to discuss the Reich dramaturge's office (*Reichsdramaturgie*). Schlösser was one of Nazi Germany's pre-eminent cultural functionaries. From 1933 he was Reich dramaturge (*Reichsdramaturg*) and headed the theatre section in the Propaganda Ministry, and in 1935 also became president of the Reich Chamber of Theatre (*Reichstheaterkammer*). In these roles, and in particular as *Reichsdramaturg*, Schlösser was theoretically in a position to control the repertoire at every single German theatre.

Unfortunately, however, Boris von Haken's approach is confusing. He claims that he is primarily interested in structural questions and the workings, influences, and history of the *Reichsdramaturgie* in terms of *Institutionengeschichte* (institutional history). He specifically points out that he does not intend to write a biography of Schlösser (p. 8). His book title, however, suggests otherwise; a study which

¹ Rolf Düsterberg, *Hanns Johst: 'Barde der SS'* (Paderborn, 2004).

clearly embraces Schlösser's personal input, policies, and beliefs. The other major problem with von Haken's study is his sole concentration on *Musiktheater*, that is, opera, operetta, and concerts performed at subsidized theatres. This focus leaves out both musical activity outside theatres (for example, amateur, and especially, choral societies) and theatrical performances. This is all the more unfortunate as contrary to von Haken's claim, music theatre did not represent the *Reichsdramaturgie*'s 'principal remit' ('zentrale Themenstellung', p. 8)—a claim, incidentally, which he does not back up—as Schlösser's major field of operation was, in fact, the theatre. Not all municipal theatres could afford to have their own orchestra and chorus, and opera in particular proved too expensive for many playhouses to perform. Had the author presented some figures here it would immediately have become obvious that the number of theatres without any provision for music, presenting only *Sprechtheater* (spoken drama) was, in fact, substantial. Intriguingly, von Haken adds that a focus on the theatre was not necessary anyway as 'a first study of this topic already exists' ('für diesen Bereich eine erste Studie bereits vorliegt', p. 8). This is an opportunity missed as the study he mentions, while pioneering in many ways, is not particularly strong on the *Reichsdramaturgie* and the topic would have merited another critical reflection of Schlösser's influence on the theatre.²

Unfortunately, von Haken continues to offer misleading interpretations. In the introduction he claims that 'what was performed in concert halls did not appear to have mattered much' ('was in den Konzertsälen gespielt wurde, erschien . . . kaum relevant', p. 9), although works by 'non-Aryan' composers by and large ceased to be put on the stage straight after the Nazi seizure of power. Von Haken fails to mention that leading artists such as the operetta composer Jean Gilbert, the famous tenor Richard Tauber, and conductors such as Fritz Busch were forced to leave Germany in 1933. The names of Kurt Weill and Paul Dessau, who also had to emigrate from Nazi Germany, do not even appear in the index. To be fair, von Haken later deals with repertoire policy and the Nazi ban on 'non-Aryan' works and composers (chs. 3, 4, 5) but the above statement is clumsy if nothing else. Equally problematic is the fact that von Haken's only

² Henning Rischbieter (ed.), *Theater im 'Dritten Reich': Theaterpolitik, Spielplanstruktur, NS-Dramatik* (Seelze, 2000).

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source for this claim is Werner Stephan's 1949 biography of Goebbels. Judging from this statement alone it appears that he has failed to consult either the lists of 'unwanted' composers, musicians, librettists, and so on,³ or such seminal studies as Joseph Wulf's documentation of music in the Third Reich.⁴ Fortunately, von Haken later admits that the content of musical programmes was, indeed, scrutinized after 1933 (for example, on pp. 48–9).

However, von Haken has also done some convincing work. His discussion of the peculiarities of the way files were composed, passed on, and kept in the *Reichsdramaturgie* (pp. 10–12), for example, is illuminating. He clearly and rightly points out that Schlösser, unlike functionaries working in more established offices and ministries, was not bound to a particular legal framework. His job, then, does not seem to have consisted of classic administrative duties, but largely of *Menschenführung* (translated literally as 'leading people', pp. 15–17). The particular strength of von Haken's study is the discussion of the *Reichsdramaturgie* as an office within the framework of the Propaganda Ministry. After humble beginnings without any actual remit or executive powers, Schlösser managed to gain influence via the Reich Theatre Chamber, part of Goebbels's Reich Culture Chamber (*Reichskulturkammer*) founded in November 1933. Eventually the *Reichsdramaturgie* was put on a firm legal footing with the 1934 Reich Theatre Law, which also established the Propaganda Ministry's leading role in Nazi cultural policy. Von Haken identifies the chaos in the administration in the first few years after the Nazi seizure of power, presents the different power players and their various concepts of the arts in detail (Göring, Rosenberg, Goebbels, Ley), and discusses Schlösser's day-to-day work in detailed and often fascinating case studies. He also makes clear that especially during the early years of his office, Schlösser's power seems to have been limited and that many theatres did not follow his directives. Crucially, too, the general policy of the *Reichsdramaturgie* was destructive and reactive rather than constructive and proactive. This finding stands

³ e.g. Adolf Schmid (ed.), *Judentum und Musik: Liste der jüdischen Komponisten als Unterlage für die Säuberungsaktionen auf dem Gebiete der Musik* (Straßburg, Abteilung Volksaufklärung und Propaganda beim Chef der Zivilverwaltung im Elsaß, 1941).

⁴ Joseph Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich: Eine Dokumentation* (Frankfurt, 1964).

in clear contrast to the extravagant claims of the regime's representatives that they were establishing a genuine Nazi art. In fact, this materialized neither in theatre, nor in music, poetry, or the visual arts.

After consolidating his power, Schlösser tried hard to appear not as a crude censor but, as von Haken persuasively demonstrates, as someone who closely cooperated with the theatres on questions of repertoire. When proposing a play for production he avoided appearing forceful, although theatre managers clearly knew what was expected of them. Equally, when approached by composers who were looking for an official endorsement of their work, or who wanted particular theatres to be instructed to produce their piece, Schlösser was anxious not to commit himself. He would state only that there was no 'objection' to a production if, indeed, it corresponded in some way to official ideology (see, for example, the case of Ortner's opera *Tobias Wunderlich*, which von Haken discusses on pp. 39–41). Schlösser manoeuvred carefully and stayed flexible. He did not take sides with particular factions within the Nazi movement, and von Haken presents plenty of evidence of tactical ad hoc decisions which could have gone either way. The author convincingly elaborates on this in the case of three operettas which were regarded as 'degenerate' (as written/composed by Jewish artists), but still received official permission to be performed in Nuremberg in 1935 because theatre manager Maurach had the backing of the mighty Julius Streicher (pp. 97–102). In particular, Schlösser was prepared to grant exemptions if there were financial considerations, for example, with box office hits such as Georges Bizet's operas (although it was credibly insinuated that Bizet was not of 'Aryan' descent). Even with ideological questions central to the Nazis' concerns, decisions were not made immediately. The Propaganda Ministry did not enforce *Berufsverbote* (bans) against Jewish artists until 1935. Here, however, von Haken concentrates too much on the perpetrators' side rather than the victims' perspective, which would have benefited his study. Most Jewish artists had been forced to leave their jobs long before Goebbels had formulated an official policy in response to pressure from local politicians and SA groups.

Overall, the book leaves the reader with mixed feelings. On the one hand, it is well written and well researched, and von Haken is able to contextualize most of his interesting case studies. He has worked in a considerable number of archives, has consulted the rele-

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vant sources, and manages his material well. On the other hand, the introduction is at times confusing, as is the title of the book. It is also unfortunate that von Haken does not discuss the research situation and fails to relate his study to other approaches. However, as an attempt to discuss the office of the *Reichsdramaturgie* from an institutional perspective, von Haken largely succeeds.

Much broader in approach is *Bühnen der Politik*, a collection of essays on opera in European societies during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries edited by Sven Oliver Müller and Jutta Toelle. The publication is part of a larger research project funded by the Volkswagen Foundation, which investigates opera not only as a musical art form, but also as linked to social practices and as part of modern cultural history. Broadly speaking, the editors aim to investigate links between politics and opera. In their introduction they make it clear that although audiences often 'only' seek entertainment and amusement when visiting the opera, there are no apolitical performances, that opera, and art in general, is always political (p. 10). This is particularly obvious in the productions of *Historien-* or *Nationalopern* towards the end of the nineteenth century, which put powerful national myths onto the stage. Audiences were invited to make connections between their cultural heritage and the present political situation. Less sublime methods of influencing audiences were similarly used, mostly to stabilize the political status quo, for example, gala performances, architecture, conventions, or specific costumes, scenery, and so on (pp. 13, 15). In fact, 'Sinn stiften' (literally, making sense of, or giving meaning to, something) was important, and reducing often complex political issues to one glamorous performance made them 'digestible' (pp. 14, 17). The other side of the coin is that opera performances did not necessarily have to be acclamatory. They, or press reviews of their performances, could be highly critical, raise sensitive issues, cause arguments, or even riots.

Methodologically Müller and Toelle locate their approach within New Political History, which sees politics as a communicative and competitive process (p. 9). They claim that attendance at opera performances not only mirrored the principles of social order, but also created them. Particularly interesting is the contextual approach of the book (and the whole research project, see below). So far opera research has largely concentrated on the operas themselves and has neglected the social and political contexts in which these operas

were produced, including audience reception and contemporary reviews.

The volume is structured by three overarching themes: performance, affirmation, and conflict. In the first essay in the 'Performance' section, Michael Walter argues that the popularity of the *grand opéra* can be explained by the *liberté* of its structure, which he interprets as a manifestation of nineteenth-century liberalism, without the operas themselves becoming a manifestation of a particular discourse. In that sense, Walter concludes intriguingly, the composer's *liberté* illustrated the movement of liberalism perfectly and even welcomed comments such as 'je n'y comprends rien' (p. 38).

Markian Prokopovych then turns to Hungary and discusses the 1887 Budapest production of the ballet *Excelsior*, a hit show all over the Continent at the time, as a vehicle for the political legitimization of the elite. He convincingly argues that a comment on the aesthetics of the production invariably turned political: a positive comment was read as support for the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and the present Hungarian administration, whereas a negative review was understood to be a call for political change (p. 40). The ballet also acted as a political tool for the new artistic director Keglevich, who wanted to target a particular audience (exclusive, rich, male) to support his new venture – an attempt which ultimately failed.

Attempts to find suitable *sujets* to illustrate and foster German nation-building increased in Germany during the early nineteenth century, not least to rival successful Italian and French model operas. Commentators called for a grand opera which could appeal to a sense of nationalism and educate its audience at the same time, and the medieval sagas (such as the *Nibelungenlied*) were believed to provide perfect material. In relation to this premise, Barbara Eichner concentrates in her essay on three different productions of the *Kudrun/Gudrun* epic, which was widely regarded as perfect material for a 'national' opera celebrating Germanic values. Eichner convincingly argues that it was not the literary quality of the text that attracted composers to the story but its 'national' character (pp. 74–5).

In the last essay in this section, Irina Kotkina turns to the twentieth century and the Bolshoi and La Scala theatres of the 1920s and 1930s, claiming that each represented 'perfect imperial opera concepts' (p. 76). Interestingly, she finds a number of parallels between fascist Italy and the Soviet Union under Stalin. In both countries,

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opera was seen as an important vehicle for propaganda. Commentators, artists, and politicians increasingly turned to neo-classical forms in their aesthetic, and both regimes were eager to find operatic works which would glorify their own past and could rival Wagner's dominance. The Bolshoi's production of Glinka's *Ivan Susanin* had the added advantage of featuring, in its new production of 1939, a true Soviet hero ready to fight against foreign aggression.

In the second part of the collection, entitled 'Affirmation', Peter Stachel looks at post-1945 Austria to discuss the re-opening of the Vienna State Opera in 1955 amidst political claims of Austria's newly found international influence and a public discourse which was trying to eradicate Austria's Nazi past. Instead, commentators created an image of Austria as the first victim of Hitler's aggression and of Vienna as the international 'city of music', a paradigm which, according to Stachel, also compensated for lost political influence and was used time and again during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (p. 91). More disturbingly, the 'new Austria' happily took artists who had openly supported the Nazi regime and had accepted official posts back into leading positions.

Sarah Zalfen continues the theme of affirmation but discusses examples of more problematic relationships between state and opera, illustrated by the debates around the leading opera houses in London and Paris during the 1980s and 1990s. During this time notions of excellence and access placed particular demands on opera houses which were required to shed their elitist image and open up to the masses. In both countries the public debate centred on the issue of taxpayers' money being spent on institutions which seemed anachronistic and undemocratic. Ultimately, as Zalfen argues, attempts to democratize the opera houses not only largely failed but, in fact, stressed the continuing elitist image of opera (p. 124).

In the next essay Vjera Katalinic discusses calls for a Croatian national opera, which formed an important part of the nationalist discourse in nineteenth-century Croatia. Katalinic identifies some overarching issues in a number of early Croatian operas. Simple friend-foe dichotomies were used to foster Croatian nationalism, as were traditional folk melodies, the Croatian language, and historical references.

In the last essay in this section, Stephanie Kleiner looks at the political aesthetic of the Frankfurt opera house in Germany during

the Wilhelmine monarchy and the Weimar Republic. Since its opening in 1880, the opera house had become an important centre of Frankfurt's urban festive culture, and Kleiner presents two case studies in particular. The 1922 Goethe festival, which aimed to rally support for the new political order of the Weimar Republic, attempted to establish a new democratic political culture, whereas the 1896 jubilee of the Peace Treaty of Frankfurt (1871), with a gala performance in the opera house, brought to light contrasting views of state, nation, and society. In celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the end of hostilities rather than the 1870–1 Franco-Prussian war itself, the city seemed to be making a political choice which did not go down well with conservative circles.

In the last section of the collection, entitled 'Conflict', Sven Oliver Müller discusses audience violence in London opera houses during the nineteenth century, presenting two case studies. As musical performances could be seen as either supporting or endangering the political order, audiences never just silently witnessed shows, but always played an active part. For example, during the Tamburini scandal of 1840, aristocratic members of the audience used a seemingly mundane issue to mark out their territory and to make it clear to everyone that they, the wealthy patrons of Her Majesty's Theatre, and not the theatre's management, actually called the shots. Subsequently this attitude was successfully challenged by middle-class audiences in a debate which clearly related to wider socio-political issues of participation.

Bruno Spaepen continues by discussing Milan's La Scala as a tool for power politics during the Risorgimento in northern Italy. During the Austrian occupation the authorities saw La Scala as a potentially dangerous place because of its size and popularity, and its importance to the city's cultural life and elites. Despite attempts to pacify audiences by stupendous performances and increased funding, patrons became more aware of their political power and started to stay away from an opera house that they saw as a propaganda tool of the Austrian oppressors.

Ostap Sereda follows with a similar example of cultural propaganda by a foreign power. He looks at the Russian opera house in Kiev and shows that during the late 1860s the Russian government increasingly tried to curtail Polish and Ukrainian influence in the region. Theatre and opera played an important part in their consid-

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erations and were tightly controlled by the Russian authorities whose cultural imperialism, Sereda argues, eventually succeeded (p. 203). Finally, Jutta Toelle sheds some light on another Italian opera house under similar circumstances to La Scala, discussed by Spaepen. In contrast to Milan, however, in Venice cultural politics were implemented not by the Austrian authorities generously funding the city's most glorious opera house, but by its private owners, who kept it shut for seven years in an obvious act of defiance.

In all, the essays assembled in this collection make intriguing reading. They gain additional currency by being assembled in this volume on opera and politics in an international context. In their introduction Müller and Toelle frame the different contributions well, placing them into a convincing structure based on their three overarching themes of performance, affirmation, and conflict. The various contributions largely successfully illustrate the validity of the claims made in the introduction. They substantiate, for example, how far opera in particular has been used for purposes which are not purely aesthetic. Conveying national myths, supporting or openly criticising political regimes, and questioning the social order are recurring themes in the history of opera. So far, they have tended to be neglected in approaches which have concentrated solely on specific aspects in isolation, such as libretti, musical scores, theatrical architecture, or costume design. The attempt to pull these different threads together and contextualize opera is perhaps the most important achievement of this volume. If there is one criticism of this most useful volume, it would probably concern the lack of a conclusion, which could have pulled the different threads together and mapped out the scope for further investigation.

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JOHN LEWIS GADDIS, *The Cold War: The Deals. The Spies. The Lies. The Truth* (London: Penguin Books, 2007), x + 333 pp. ISBN 978 0 141 02532 2 (paperback). £8.99

BERND STÖVER, *Der Kalte Krieg 1947–1991: Geschichte eines radikalen Zeitalters* (Munich: C. H. Beck Verlag, 2007), 528 pp. ISBN 978 3 406 55633 3. €24.90

The political rhetoric of the summer of 2008 reminded commentators of the Cold War period. During the conflict about south Ossetia, both the USA and Russia struck a tone that seemed familiar from the second half of the twentieth century. A brief glance at the books by John Lewis Gaddis and Bernd Stöver, however, is enough to reveal that this short flare-up of rivalry cannot be compared with the systemic conflict of capitalism versus Communism, which had incomparably more victims and was much more embittered. The Cold War is history, once and for all, and deserves a proper survey.

The two books under review here take fundamentally different approaches. For Gaddis, the doyen of Cold War research, it is mostly men, with the exception of Margaret Thatcher, who make history. Apart from the Iron Lady, the only other women mentioned in passing are the US actor Jodie Foster (Ronald Reagan's would-be assassin, John W. Hinckley, wanted to impress the movie star with his murder attempt) and Condoleezza Rice as US President George H. Bush's adviser on the Soviet Union. Thus Gaddis, whose aim, in his own words, is to 'cover more years with fewer words' (p. viii) reveals his political history approach to understanding the Cold War. He sees the outstanding politicians and other influential actors of this period as having an important influence on the course of events which, to Gaddis, often seems more interesting than the impact of historical determinants.

In seven essay-like chapters, Gaddis provides a successful and mostly original survey of the Cold War directed mostly at young readers and students who have not experienced this period themselves. He thus mostly presents familiar material, while there is little that is really new and goes beyond what historical research today knows. This is probably why the British edition dispenses with the promising subtitle of the first edition, released in the USA: *A New History*. But even the spies of the title cannot be found, with the exception of Soviet super-spy Kim Philby. In this account we find

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neither Oleg Penkovsky – ‘The Spy who Saved the World’¹ – nor the top CIA source in Soviet military intelligence, General Dimitri Polyakov, who supplied the US secret service with a great deal of internal Soviet material for more than twenty years.

Nonetheless, Gaddis presents a logical and, for large sections, excitingly written history of the Cold War. In the first chapter the author recapitulates the genesis of the conflict. He sees its origins as lying in the wartime coalitions of the Second World War and the problems of a post-war order to which they gave rise. The struggle for spheres of influence which finally peaked in the Berlin blockade, Mao’s victory in China, and the Korean War necessarily led to antagonism between the two main political systems of the twentieth century: capitalism and Communism. The fact that it did not result in open conflict can be attributed to the existence of nuclear weapons. In his second chapter, Gaddis traces how politicians’ opinions changed after the atom bomb was dropped in Japan, as they came to the realization that nuclear weapons could not, in principle, be used in the case of a conflict. Nonetheless, he suggests that on both sides of the Iron Curtain, the risk of nuclear escalation and an annihilating war was real for a long time. High-ranking generals in East and West not only believed that such a war could be fought, but planned the mass deployment of nuclear weapons all over the world. Politicians such as Nikita Khrushchev, for example, repeatedly tried to improve the position of their own side by means of diplomatic nuclear blackmail. It was the Cuba crisis that finally resulted in a rethink.

Chapter three analyses the building of blocs around the centres of gravity Moscow and Washington, and the competition between the systems that was at the basis of the Cold War. Chapter four shows how the rise of the non-aligned countries and centrifugal forces of alliances relativized the bipolarity of the Cold War. In chapter five Gaddis looks first at the numerous activities of the CIA as the more or less covert instrument of US foreign policy before discussing the consequences of the Vietnam War for the USA and showing how the suppression of the Prague Spring turned into a serious crisis for the Soviet system. Beyond this, Gaddis outlines, if only sketchily, the profound consequences of the process initiated by the Conference on

¹ Thus the title of a book by Jerrold L. Schecter and Peter S. Deriabin, *The Spy who Saved the World: How a Soviet Colonel Changed the Course of the Cold War* (New York, 1992).

Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and the Helsinki Final Act for the Communist states.

In chapter six, the author again lets people make history, presenting Pope John Paul II, Lech Walesa, Margaret Thatcher, Ronald Regan, and Mikhail Gorbachev as actors on the world stage. After the end of détente, initiated by the war in Afghanistan and rearmament, the Cold War, according to Gaddis, got stuck in a political vacuum that could only be filled by the unconventional acts of the actors named above. These also overcame the status quo which, until then, had seemed immovable. In the final chapter of his book, Gaddis provides a brief survey of the events which, from the American point of view, led to the end of the Cold War and thus to the dissolution of the Communist bloc in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

Bernd Stöver's book about the Cold War as a radical period can stand as contrast to the work by Gaddis in respect of both style and concept. Stöver's ambitious work, which is almost twice as long as the American's account, is divided into twelve chapters which are grouped into three thematic sections. On the whole, Stöver sees the Cold War as a unitary period and describes it as a 'largely boundless political-ideological, economic, technological-scientific, and cultural-social conflict' (p. 21).

Stöver starts by presenting the prehistory and emergence of the Cold War between 1917 and 1945-6, before turning to the strategies of a total conflict. By this he understands the 'rollback' as a liberation from Communism, to which the Soviet Union responded with the global class war. This is followed by an account of the first big crises of the Cold War which led via Berlin and Yugoslavia to Korea and ended in the formation of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Thereupon the author turns to the escalation of the conflict in Europe, looking at the Hungarian uprising and the second Berlin crisis. With the erection of the Berlin Wall in August 1961, according to Stöver, the Cold War was 'put on ice' (p. 132) in this part of the world, and the conflict shifted to the Third World where, as it was below the nuclear threshold, the systemic conflict could again be expressed by military means.

At the beginning of the second section of his book the author looks at the military competition, in particular, at the arms and technology race, and at the strategies of both sides for a nuclear war, before examining the impact of the permanent conflict on society in

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East and West. In chapter seven, Stöver explains that the conflict was also seen as a 'war of cultures', before turning to the economic and social policies of the two competing systems. He also provides a very good account of how the two blocs used development aid and arms supplies to compete for influence in the Third World.

The third section of the book goes back to the roughly chronological course of the East-West conflict since the Cuba crisis, and in addition to the Vietnam War, casts light on the numerous proxy wars fought in Africa and central and southern America. The 1970s, characterized by disarmament negotiations and détente, ended with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and Reagan's plans for a Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI). Although Stöver tries, for long stretches, to explain the Cold War mainly in terms of systems theory, its end was largely determined by a personal factor: Gorbachev. With his policies of glasnost and perestroika, the young Soviet party leader and head of state was not pursuing the political goal of ending the Cold War, but wanted to strengthen the USSR, economically overstretched by the conflict, for a new bout in the struggle between East and West. The freedom of action this involved for the Eastern European 'brother states' ultimately led, via an internal struggle for greater democracy and civil rights in their societies, to a dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and thus to the end of the Cold War.

Stöver's impressively factual and fluently written account becomes unclear when its systems theory approach forces him to compare phenomena which appear similar in East and West without really differentiating between them. For example, when he writes that both NATO and the Warsaw Pact were 'dominated by the hegemonial power', it would have been useful to explain the different scope which Washington's and Moscow's allies enjoyed, in order to allow the differences between the two military blocs to emerge more clearly.

The many careless slips, which could have been avoided by more careful editing, are annoying. Thus the fourteen-page section entitled 'Atomwaffen und Rüstungswettlauf' contains more than eight factual errors. For example, the first Soviet atom bomb RDS-1 was not called Tatiana; this name was reserved for the next model, the RDS-4. And the Soviet counterpart to the American atomic cannon called Atomic Annie was not the 180mm S-23, but the 406mm-calibre SM-54 Kondensator. Despite these minor quibbles, both Stöver and

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Gaddis have produced successful overviews of the Cold War of a high academic standard, although they take different interpretative approaches. Everyone who wants to find out anything about this conflict, which shaped the second half of the twentieth century, will not be able to pass by these two books.

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BENJAMIN ZIEMANN, *Katholische Kirche und Sozialwissenschaften 1945–1975*, Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, 175 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007), 396 pp. ISBN 978 3 525 35156 7. €44.90

Benjamin Ziemann's *Habilitationsschrift* investigates the relationship between the Catholic church and the social sciences in West Germany. Its main argument is 'that it was only by coming to terms with the methodological instruments of the empirical social sciences that the Catholic church was able to gain insight into the dynamic of functional differentiation, and thus to observe "secularization" and its consequences' (p. 12). The study is divided into six parts. The first deals with church statistics, the second with research on the milieu, the third with opinion polls, the fourth with the sociology of roles and organizations, the fifth with psychology, and the sixth with semantic controversies about scientization and secularization since 1965. A conclusion and a bibliography of sources and secondary material consulted completes the volume.

The chapters analyse how the Catholic church appropriated the instruments of the social sciences in order to be able to observe itself. It began with relatively simple methods such as keeping church statistics, leading to elaborate psychological studies by the 1970s. The appropriation of this set of instruments, it is said, led to fierce internal controversies in the church. Even simply counting the number of people who attended church, a practice which was introduced in the nineteenth century, was considered untheological. This technique could not register faith practised independently of church attendance, it was argued, while proof of low attendance figures could lead to unpleasant consequences for priests, which would impair their ability to exercise their ministry. In any case, these statistics were not intended, at first, to reflect real church practice. Rather, they were 'to demonstrate the inner unity and stability of traditional Catholic patterns of piety' (p. 53). Nonetheless, the figures depicted a crumbling milieu, but the church was not prepared to admit to a crisis, or to discuss it, until the 1960s. The chapter shows that sociological methods were used in an instrumental rather than an objectively scientific sense. They were intended to strengthen the Catholic church; critical self-observation was more an unwanted side-effect.

The practical statistical discourse, however, did not fulfil the expectations that the church held of it. Instead of providing an account of commitment to the church which conveyed unambiguous proof of the constancy of the patriarchal church that had been created in the nineteenth century, the ambivalence of the network of figures and the vacillation between hope and fear that went along with it supported a pastoral discourse which oscillated between self-sufficient optimism and conjuring up faults. Only the irreversible decline of the most important indicators since the 1960s dissolved this ambivalence and turned statistics into a visible and much discussed yardstick of the crisis in the church (p. 75).

It was similar with sociographical milieu analysis. The point was to establish why the church's social message had become less attractive, and to do this, the congregation had to be sociographically investigated. It was necessary to know what sort of social environment the church was established in, and how the people received its message. This, however, it was feared, could allow social considerations to become more important than theological ones. And indeed, the outcome of countless sociographical studies initiated by priests and church institutions was that the church could not adequately portray church realities by using moralizing categories. But should social developments be allowed to dictate the theological message? Despite a number of controversies around this question, the sociographical approach proved to be important in opening doors to allow sociological methods to penetrate the Catholic church from the 1950s.

Public opinion research (*Demoskopie*, also criticized as *Dämoskopie*) was seen as even more problematic because the demon of anonymous majority polling absolved individuals of the obligation to be responsible for their opinions. But as the Kinsey report shows, the fact that dominant opinions that were contrary to church teaching became public also played a part.

Since the publication of the Kinsey report, public opinion research was seen by many Catholics, both clergy and lay, as a technique that irresponsibly possessed the individual, leveling out and extinguishing every person's specific features. At the same time, the descriptions of sexual behaviour contrary to

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Catholic moral teaching which the report contained were a deterrent example of how the positivism with which science treated 'facts' could contribute to moral relativism (p. 200).

Public opinion research made it quite clear that there was a large degree of dissent between believers and the church. Consequently, the results of such polls were often kept locked away by the church leadership. But because statistical investigations of church attendance provided no reasons for the diminishing figures, polling became an important instrument for the interpretation of these developments. At the same time, it promoted the politicization of internal church debates, which is why it always remained a double-edged instrument as far as the church leadership was concerned.

An examination of the social position of priests—role behaviour and role conflicts—revealed to the church how little its message was able to abstract from the social environment. Pastoral overload, uncertainty, and increasing bureaucracy demanded a reform of the office of priest. This led the church to introduce new methods of corporate organization into an area 'which so far had been a residue of theological formulae which had emphasized the special dignity of the priesthood. The tenor had been to stress the divine origin of the office conferred by ordination, which was thus not open to human disposition.' The clergy had to learn to organize their work rationally. 'The sociological terminology further implied that expectations of a priest were comparable with those held of other professionals, such as doctors or lawyers. It thus robbed him of the uniqueness symbolized by the sacrament, and effected at least an implicit desacralization' (p. 223). The fear was that priests and bishops might gradually become pure functionaries, either of the Annunciation or of church reform structures, which would gradually hollow out their central theological task.

Psychology, finally, had been strongly rejected by the church as competition since the 1920s. Albert Görres first offered a sober introduction to the teachings of Sigmund Freud in 1958. From the early 1960s, when it became clear 'that the days of the pastoral dispensation that had subjected the faithful to a dense mesh of moral prohibitions and precepts concerning everyday behaviour, especially relating to sexuality, and whose application had been regulated by a highly differentiated casuistry, were numbered' (p. 273), the traditional,

formal ritual of confession in which grown women confessed greediness and strong men disobedience to the Father was no longer adequate. In a modern consumer society, pastoral care required more differentiated techniques of pastoral discussion. The use of psycho-analytical methods, however, meant that the theological image of humanity began to resemble the individualistic, rational view of humans held by modern consumer society, changing the church in the process, just as sociographical studies had previously eroded corporatist notions of social order. The scientization of the church helped it to assert itself in a radically changing world, but it also changed the church. Here Ziemann's study closes a gap in our knowledge of the relationship between the church and society in the Federal Republic of Germany. This makes his book an important building block towards a social history of West Germany with a cultural history approach.

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ANJA KRUIKE, *Demoskopie in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Meinungsforschung, Parteien und Medien 1949–1990*, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, 149 (Düsseldorf: Droste, 2007), 562 pp. ISBN 978 3 7700 5281 3. €74.80

As could be observed in the news coverage of the recent US election campaign, opinion polls nowadays serve as a major instrument in the constant game of interpreting and predicting political change. Considering the predominance of opinion surveys today, it is worthwhile noting that polling and sampling are rather new techniques for monitoring society. Their infiltration of political life can be seen as part of a larger development that has caught the attention of historians only recently. Inspired mainly by Lutz Raphael's dictum of the 'scientization of the social' (*Verwissenschaftlichung des Sozialen*), a number of recent historical studies have investigated the advance of the social sciences and the diffusion of social scientific knowledge in the political realm. Using the notion of 'scientization' as a heuristic tool, they approach the government of modern society via the (scientific) knowledge informing it.

Anja Kruke's study of the role of public opinion polling in West German politics can be seen as an important contribution to this debate. In a lucid historical analysis based on her Ph.D. thesis, Kruke investigates the growing influence of public opinion research in the Federal Republic of Germany between 1949 and 1990. Situating her study within the triangle of opinion research, the political parties, and the media, she offers insight not so much into the production as into the diffusion of survey data. Her analysis focuses on the question of how opinion polls entered the public domain and shaped political processes. Politics is understood as a communicative event, an approach to the history of politics that has been termed New Political History (*Neue Politikgeschichte*) in German historiography. By asking how opinion polling entered the political field and how it transformed the very notion of politics, Kruke focuses on the 'how' of West German politics and historicizes it.

The study under review here is divided into two major parts. The first deals with the organizational aspect of opinion polling, analysing how surveys were commissioned and dealt with by the government and the two major political parties, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and the Social Democratic Party (SPD). The

second part concentrates on changes in political discourse and the overall political setting. It describes how the growing influence of opinion polling affected political language and the understanding of the body politic, the electorate, and the public sphere. It then focuses on the media, investigating how the mass media dealt with opinion polls from the 1950s to the 1980s and analysing the changing relationship between politics and media coverage. The commentary that follows here summarizes Kruke's findings with regard to 1) how opinion polling was established in the political field, 2) how its rise affected political strategies, and 3) how its position in the public domain changed over time.

When the first opinion research institutes in West Germany began work in the late 1940s, they could draw on a sparse tradition of surveying reader interest and consumerism in German journalism and economics. Apart from that, they were influenced by US market and opinion research. With Gallup already synonymous with opinion polling in the 1930s, US research was regarded as pioneering in the field. As the study reveals, many of the theories and techniques employed in German opinion polling in the following decades were inspired by American research. The analysis traces the various stages by which opinion polling was established in the Federal Republic. During the early post-war years, the Western allies in particular advocated opinion surveys as an eminently democratic technique. They supported the emerging research institutes which often used personal connections in order to offer their services and establish themselves in the evolving field of policy advice.

Opinion polling slowly became part of political life in the 1950s, when the government – the Federal Press Office (*Bundespresseamt*) in particular – and the political parties began commissioning surveys. In this context, the major federal election campaigns structure Kruke's account, as they were a catalyst for closer cooperation between opinion pollsters and politicians. Next to the government, the CDU and SPD were foremost in commissioning polls. For a time, each party concentrated its support on one institute. The Social Democratic Infas and the Christian Democratic WIKAS conducted surveys for them and acted as policy advisers. But eventually the CDU and the SPD settled for a different strategy. By the 1980s the two parties were cooperating with various institutes and consulting competing surveys.

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As the study reveals, it was when both parties were losing their traditional clientele that the way they dealt with political polls changed. Opinion research confronted them with the image of voters who were not committed to vote for one party, but constantly changed their preferences. The rise of the swing voter engendered political change. The CDU and the SPD increasingly presented themselves as popular parties (*Volksparteien*) that could, in principle, claim to represent the whole population. At the same time, the idea of an election market gained currency. Considering themselves *Volksparteien* with no clearly defined traditional electorate, the two parties found themselves competing for the same voters. They began to formulate their political strategies with regard to constantly redefined target groups. Especially in the case of the SPD, which had traditionally considered itself a proletarian mass movement, this shift resulted from a rather slow process of examining and reformulating its own political agenda. Each party now attempted to shape its profile based on opinion polls, occupying specific policy fields in order to define its image. This development mirrored the growing influence of opinion research, and at the same time secured its further influence in the political field. While earlier assumptions about the electorate and the parties were dissolving, opinion pollsters successfully suggested that they could measure public opinion and help control it.

In the final part of her analysis, Kruke points to the growing influence of the media. In her view, the question of how the mass media covered political topics became increasingly important throughout the 1960s. In order to measure the success of an issue or an image, political actors paid more and more attention to its news coverage. At the same time, the way in which newspapers and TV dealt with opinion surveys was changing. Even though they repeatedly criticized opinion polling from the late 1950s, journalists did not refrain from using polls. On the contrary. By repeatedly quoting opinion polls, they put themselves in the position of seemingly neutral observers, who were merely stating the opinion of the common man, or rather, the people. While they originally just reproduced the survey data they received from various research institutes, the media now began to assume a pro-active role. They became major interpreters of political polls and increasingly commissioned surveys themselves. During the 1970s, newspapers and television stations replaced the political parties as the main clients of opinion research institutes.

Opinion Polling in the Federal Republic of Germany

As a result of these developments, the data generated by opinion polling became more and more diffused. In the 1950s, the surveys commissioned by the government and the political parties had mostly been considered secret and had only been circulated to a limited extent. The government and the political parties wanted to choose what information was revealed to the public, with the aim of controlling public opinion. Step by step, opinion polls became increasingly up-to-date and were circulated among a wider public. Whereas in the 1950s individual survey projects had been seen as instruments of long-term planning, polls were soon conducted more frequently. And by the 1970s regular reports based on current opinion polls had become part of the everyday political routine. Political actors now saw themselves through the lens of second order observation and routinely turned to survey data before making decisions.

Kruke argues convincingly that the rise of opinion polling as a new observational technique transformed the political field profoundly. She also directs attention to the concept of 'scientization' and underlines its virtues as an analytical instrument. Her study illustrates the merits of this approach, as it offers an empirically well-founded and theoretically reflected insight into the changing conceptualization of politics in West Germany. At the same time, it also raises questions.

Kruke's tale is one of the almost unhindered expansion of social scientific data. Using the specific example of opinion polling, she describes its growing importance and mainly tells a success story of academic experts gaining influence. But such an account raises the question of whether this process also provoked backlashes. Could societies always process the growing amount of data produced by opinion research? Or, to put it differently, when and why was social data not used; when and where was it ignored? And what happened if belief in the measurability of social processes was undermined?

Kruke points out that a widespread belief in political planning helps to explain the success story of quantifiable public opinion in the mid twentieth century. During the 1960s in particular, political actors were inspired by cybernetics and hoped to organize and regulate political processes based on information. Kruke also notes that the planning euphoria of the late 1960s lost momentum during the 1970s. She emphasizes, however, that this did not put an end to scientization in West German politics. Indeed, academic experts were still

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consulted, and scientific terms continued to infiltrate political discourse, which points to an on-going process of scientization. Nevertheless, it seems relevant to ask whether the decreasing belief in the engineering of society in the late 1970s affected opinion polling in any way. Did the predicted limits of growth and the disturbed faith in progress affect the way in which empirical data was dealt with? With regard to these questions, it seems problematic that the 1980s are mostly absent from Kruke's analysis. They are merely referred to as a period of further stabilization, and might have deserved more attention.

This critique notwithstanding, it remains a merit of Kruke's study that it triggers such questions. Her inspiring book adds interesting aspects to the history of West German politics. It offers important insight into the history of opinion research, which in the case of Germany has so far been widely neglected – most undeservedly, as Anja Kruke's study successfully demonstrates.

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PETER BARKER, MARC-DIETRICH OHSE, and DENNIS TATE (eds.), *Views from Abroad: Die DDR aus britischer Perspektive* (Bielefeld: W. Bertelsmann Verlag, 2007), 284 pp. ISBN 978 3 7639 3569 7. €19.90

Does it still exist, the special British view of the GDR? From a distance, can more be seen – different, more important things? At any rate it is clear that British research on the GDR is active and is producing a wealth of results. This is demonstrated by the volume under review here, in German with English abstracts, the third in an informal series of recent years.¹ It goes back to a conference held in July 2006, organized by the Centre for East German Studies at the University of Reading and supported by the Stiftung Aufarbeitung and the German History Society. The twenty-one essays give a taste of the numerous projects undertaken, indeed still being undertaken, at British universities in recent years. Thematically and chronologically the essays cover a broad spectrum: from the Soviet internment camps of the occupation period to the film industry after the *Wende*. The essays by historians focus on problems of life within GDR society, while the Germanists concentrate mainly on the position and self-perception of writers and other intellectuals in the GDR and afterwards.

For historians some of the empirical research on the society of the GDR offers some interesting new insights. Jessica Reinisch has taken a closer look at the personnel policy of the health service in the Soviet zone and early GDR. She discovered that because of the exigencies caused by the disastrous state of health in the post-war period there was a remarkable continuity from the Third Reich as regards doctors and other health workers. This ran contrary to all declarations about de-Nazification, nor was it later revised (the results are well-known, for example, the fact that many doctors who had carried out euthanasia had successful careers in the GDR). Reinisch's verdict is clear: 'Doctors and health workers emerged as clear winners from the conflict between an attempt to normalize living conditions on the one hand, and the desire for social change on the other' (p. 90). According to a Soviet report of 1946, the effect was that more than 50 per cent of

¹ The two earlier ones are Arnd Bauerkämper (ed.), *Britain and the GDR: Relations and Perceptions in a Divided World* (Berlin, 2002); and Stefan Berger and Norman LaPorte (eds.), *The Other Germany: Perceptions and Influences in British–East German Relations, 1945–1990* (Augsburg, 2005).

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senior doctors in the Soviet zone were former members of the NSDAP. It is not entirely surprising that the Communist leadership was prepared to accept such a high level of continuity in this professional group, but this finding underlines the fact that GDR society also had its post-fascist burdens, concealed beneath the anti-fascism it proclaimed.

In one of the studies of the Honecker era Mark Allinson uses the discussions on economic policy of 1977 to question the extent to which the GDR economy can really be described as a planned economy. According to his findings, although the economic plan played a certain role in procedural terms, as far as the actual development processes in the GDR economy were concerned it was more a reflection of existing problems than a genuine executive instrument. He argues that the GDR economy should no longer be looked at purely in terms of plan and deviation from plan, and that the significance of any planning aspects should be relativized. 'The sources cited here show that there was no plan that established a "feasible course of action and a set of results to be achieved"'. Equally the unrealistic figures in the plan were not balanced and therefore could not serve 'as a basis for coordinating economic activity'. Seen in this light, he maintains, the plan was never anything more than a target for the GDR economy in the broadest sense. 'Instead of achieving the plan, all the GDR works managers and economic planners could do was administer the shortfalls and demonstrate to the GDR state and party leaders that they were doing everything possible to achieve their illusory plan' (p. 105). His findings confirm that more attention should be paid to the significance of informal processes in the functioning and failure of socialist national economies. What should not be overlooked, however, is that from the early 1970s decisions based on the plan, for instance, reduction of the investment quota in favour of social relief measures, made a lasting contribution to the erosion of the national economy. For this reason, there should be no rush to regard the plans as insignificant and consign them to the files.

One of the most impressive essays in the volume is by Mike Dennis on Vietnamese contract workers. This group, which in the last years of the GDR numbered almost 60,000, was subjected to a harsh regime, designed to turn them into a permanently available pool of workers. They were constantly threatened with expulsion and severe punishment, for example, in the case of pregnancy or intimate rela-

tionships. They were generally accommodated in hostels (like the earlier West German *Gastarbeiter*). The Vietnamese did, however, generate their own sense of purpose to a considerable degree: they did all they could to give their families at home as much financial and material support as possible. Alongside their actual jobs, they developed a veritable black economy, amongst other things by extensive textile production, which quickly transformed their hostels into stockrooms and sewing rooms, making them the place to go for GDR citizens keen to make purchases. Certain sections of the GDR population reacted to this 'otherness' with latent racism, quaintly described by Dennis as 'hostility to foreigners', which coincided with the interests of the SED state. An MfS report of 1989 established as a source of unrest 'their achieving unjustified demands (e.g. wage increases) by methods that GDR workers only associated with capitalist countries, for example, threatening to or actually going on strike; state and works officials giving in to the demands of foreign workers because of the shortage of labour; extreme interest in materialism'. In the eyes of the system, which by this time was already crumbling, the Vietnamese represented a 'combination of the parasitic way of life in the GDR with glorification of the capitalist system' (p. 117) – a vocabulary that speaks for itself.

Anna Saunders's enquiries into GDR patriotism amongst young people, beyond the revolutionary upheavals of 1989, are particularly convincing because of the wealth of sources used and the precise differentiation of the findings: 'From one day to the next carefully planned careers were destroyed and the abundance of new opportunities became overwhelming. Young people sought to steer a course through this changing landscape as best they could and, in the process, experienced an ever faster emotional rollercoaster' (p. 137). Equally profound were the numerous identity crises they went through, in their attitude to the disappearing GDR homeland, to reunification, and to their personal perspectives. After all, the end of the GDR did not only mean escape from the constraints of the party dictatorship, but also the disruption of all their plans. 'Many entered . . . reunited Germany with a tried and tested apolitical mentality distanced from the state, yet continued to feel emotional ties to their immediate surroundings – as at the time of the GDR. The national feeling of the young during this period seems to have been at its least pronounced just when the German nation was celebrating what was

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supposedly its greatest triumph' (p. 146). At the same time the self-liberation of 1989–90 proved to be a source of pride for young people and, interestingly, also the yardstick for life under the dictatorship, against which the older generations, including in the Third Reich, were measured. Saunders shows how changeable and multilayered memory of life in the GDR is. The somewhat bland formula 'Ostalgie' conceals rather than explains all of this.

Jeannette Madarász's investigation of the membership of independent women's groups in the late GDR illustrates fairly convincingly the generational and sociological background of these oppositional women, most of whom, in terms of the system, were well educated and had successful careers, and had thus profited from the GDR's 'achievements' for women. However, Madarász's assertion that the typical reasons for joining the oppositional milieu, such as the fight for women's rights, for a clean environment, or for acceptance of homosexuality, were not 'political motives' (p. 119), is somewhat dubious. Likewise, the claim that oppositional women were 'encouraged by values and attitudes that were at least officially promoted by the socialist system' can hardly be even half true, considering those values and attitudes of hatred against civil rights and individualism that may not always have been officially propagated, but had fuelled the harsh attitude of the state against these women. Surely we can assume that the strength of character of these courageous women would have come to the fore even without the SED women's policy.

Finally, Peter Barker deals with an aspect of the unification process that has so far received little attention in his study of the Domowina, the Sorbian organization in the GDR. As a distant by-product of Soviet nationality policy, the Domowina enjoyed a status of notional autonomy, even though this was restricted, in essence, to a certain folkloristic character because it lacked any real right to self-organization. The *Wende* suddenly gave the Rote Domowina scope for democratic participation, but this quickly disintegrated into little more than a local curiosity, which never achieved the political status of, for example, the Danish minority in Schleswig-Holstein.

And now for the essays in the volume by literary historians, which continue the discussion that has been going on since 1990 about the confrontation of significant authors with the state. These deal primarily with their self-presentation and self-reflection, in con-

trast to what is now available in the SED and Stasi files. The common themes running through this section are the intense and heated debates in Germany in the 1990s about the character of the GDR, Stasi involvement, and the re-assessment of the biographies and lives of leading East German writers.

Dennis Tate's remarks on the chequered role of autobiographies or autobiographically-inspired fictional texts are particularly interesting. During the early GDR they were regarded with general suspicion as a 'subjective narrative form' since they were reminiscent of the 'renegade literature' of disloyal Communists. Later, however, through the work of authors such as Christa Wolf, Brigitte Reimann, Franz Fühmann, and Günter de Bryun, they came to be appreciated in their own right. After 1989 this genre flourished by working through persecution and repression although, especially in the *Literaturstreit* surrounding Christa Wolf, this led to fierce criticism of the role of literary figures in the GDR system and their self-perception. Even today, autobiographies are still an important form of expression for East German writers. At the same time the public debate about their 'subjective authenticity' is characterized by an ongoing confrontation with intellectual life under the conditions of the GDR. Several essays take up this topic.

In his autobiography Stefan Heym presents himself as an upright intellectual who opposed the ignorant power of the state. Sara Jones puts this to the test by looking at the disputes about his novel *Lassalle*. According to the Central Committee files, Heym was far more of a tactician who wheedled for compromises than the self-image portrayed in *Nachruf*, his memoirs published in 1987, suggests. Jones, however, does not go along with Wolf Biermann's speech about the 'vain lifelong illusion' – and rightly so. A balanced representation of the battles between the intelligentsia and the state should not be based on their self-stylization or on the hen-fights that went on between them. It is nonetheless possible to conclude that these were figures of the day with considerable backbone.

Beate Müller goes a step further in attempting to analyse the linguistics of the secret service and its functions, using as an example Operation Lügner conducted by the Stasi against Jurek Becker between 1976 and 1982. Looking at the ritualization and semantic references in Stasi-speak can be very useful, for example, in the choice of code names for unofficial collaborators and the designations used

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for 'enemies' under surveillance. On the other hand, it should be borne in mind that the files provide only a distorted image of the persecution that went on at the time. They are weighed down by the linguistic rituals and prescriptive jungle of the security bureaucracy that were often regarded by the officers as a burdensome duty. This genre of text says very little about the motivation and thought-processes of the Stasi officers; this would require some knowledge of the unofficial language they used, which was full of affective, derogatory expressions such as the 'bent guy' in the IM. One has to be careful here not to take what has been passed on in the files more seriously than was intended.

These essays are supplemented by studies of a more institutional nature, for example, on the Johannes R. Becher Literary Institute in Leipzig. According to David Clarke it only partially fulfilled its role as a training ground for new cadres in a literary landscape loyal to the party considering the long list of students who, either during or after their education there, refused to don the corset of socialist realism. Laura Bradley looks primarily at the practical problems for the East Berlin theatre caused by the erection of the Berlin Wall. The draining away of actors from West Berlin who had previously crossed over to the East also had its good side: it gave various GDR actors who later became very famous the opportunity to appear on the stages of the capital.

These essays are rounded off by Renate Rechten's study of the connection between everyday prose and autobiography in Christa Wolf's work. This emphasizes once again the importance of the personal references in the work of this author, who always responded with her own literary programme to the call for 'Vom Ich zum Wir'.

Rosemary Stott's analysis of western films in the eastern cinema is very reminiscent of the attitude towards pop and rock music in the GDR. Here again there was much playing around with tricks and numbers in order to reconcile ideological line and public appeal. Daniela Berghahn concludes the section with a piece in memory of the DEFA film company which, having just thrown off the shackles of censorship, then went bankrupt. She treads the path from the Zoo to the *Dschungel* with more cultural pessimism and nostalgia than the film-makers themselves, but, at the end, discovers the legacy of the DEFA in East German productions such as *Sonnenallee*, *Halbe Treppe*, and *Sommer vorm Balkon*.

Following on from this Seàn Allan highlights the exclusively male perspective in the successful GDR film retrospectives and ends with an ambitious plea: 'What is sadly still lacking in the post-*Wende* cinema is a look back at the GDR from a perspective that truly represents the female other, and indeed in a new way, by rejecting the nostalgic tendencies of the young male protagonists, and presenting instead a balanced critical view of the GDR past, though without completely disowning it or, in an over-simplifying way, favouring the political system of the FRG' (p. 258).

So now, what about the specifically British view of the other German state? Strictly speaking, there is nothing British that unites the essays in this volume, apart from the fact that they all take an empirical approach and do not see the need to embellish their findings with any theoretical decoration. In fact, they fit very well into the socio-historical perspective favoured by German and, for example, French historians.²

The perspective is, of course, British in the studies of the relationship between the GDR and Britain. Andrew Beattie looks back at the British perception of the Soviet internment camps, and of the 'Stalinist antifascism' practised there. Marianne Howarth examines how diplomatic relations were established, from the preparations for setting up an embassy, to economic and cultural contacts which were endangered by attempts to aid escape alleged to be British. For the 1980s Stefan Berger and Norman LaPorte emphasize Britain's interest, partly secret, partly overt, in having two recognized states. These two essays supplement the historiography on British-East German diplomatic history.

This volume makes one thing quite clear: the dichotomies of the 1990s, the analytical division between a totalitarian system and the 'right life in the wrong setting' in the everyday experience of the ordinary people or amongst the critical-loyal intelligentsia now belong to the past. All this is replaced here by an integrative perspective which takes the dictatorships of the twentieth century as a serious challenge to social history.

The volume is rounded off along these lines by David Childs and Mary Fulbrook, who reflect on British research on the GDR past and

² For French research see Sandrine Kott and Emmanuel Droit (eds.), *Die ost-deutsche Gesellschaft: Eine transnationale Perspektive* (Berlin, 2006).

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present. Childs's recollections of the life of the GDR make it clear that research on the GDR in Britain had just as many political implications as in West Germany. In Britain there were both romantic lovers of the supposedly 'better Germany' and notorious anti-Communists (though Childs reckons that the GDR-lovers were in the majority). Quietly triumphant, he looks back at his experiences in and with the GDR, collected since a trip organized by the British council in 1978 with 'all its negative impressions': 'Fear and shortages were omnipresent, and the poor state of the buildings, which I was able to see in schools, housing estates, and student hostels' (p. 34).

On the other hand, Mary Fulbrook's claim, meanwhile presented in both book and film,³ that from the distance of Britain she can paint a more objective picture of 'normality' in the GDR than the dogged, over-politicized German researchers, seems somewhat exaggerated. The trend she identifies for the early 1990s, that 'academic debates often imitated political debates' (p. 41) is hardly surprising given the political significance of the collapse of the GDR. It has, however, long since been overtaken by solid basic research and is not a German peculiarity – as evidenced by various English-language books.

Nowadays, as regards trends in research on the GDR, the 'national character' of the researchers in question is only one of many dimensions. Concrete approaches and findings often transcend the boundaries of national academic traditions. This sort of globalization can only be welcomed, and the volume under review makes an excellent contribution to it.

³ Mary Fulbrook, *The People's State: East German Society from Hitler to Honecker* (New Haven, 2005).

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Imperial Legacies: The Afterlife of Multi-Ethnic Empires in the Twentieth Century, conference organized by Ulrike von Hirschhausen (Hamburg), Jörn Leonhard (Freiburg), and Benedikt Stuchtey (London), held at the German Historical Institute London, 14-16 Sept. 2008.

All empires generate their own legacies. The dissolution of Europe's three continental empires at the end of the First World War, the British and French reorientation regarding their maritime empires, and, finally, the process of decolonization after 1945 did not simply mark the end of imperial experiences. The many successor states which emerged from the tsarist empire, the Habsburg monarchy, and the Ottoman empire after 1918, and post-colonial states and societies from the 1950s, were confronted with many political and social models and cultural paradigms from the imperial past. In addition, there was an element of continuity among the administrative, military, and economic elites which influenced the transition from empires to a post-imperial world.

The conference 'Imperial Legacies: The Afterlife of Multi-Ethnic Empires in the Twentieth Century' was held against the background of a research focus shifting from the seemingly inevitable decline and dissolution of empires to a differentiated analysis of the integrative and disintegrative elements of imperial rule and their long-term consequences. The conference concluded a series of workshops held in the context of a research project on 'Empires: Chances and Crises of Multi-Ethnic Empires in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries', led by Ulrike von Hirschhausen and Jörn Leonhard, which has been generously supported since 2006 by the Gerda Henkel Foundation.

After a warm welcome by Andreas Gestrich, director of the GHIL, the conference focused on a set of thematic questions. Is it possible to identify lines of continuity between imperial past and post-imperial realities after the First and the Second World War? How did imperial legacies influence the self-images of post-imperial states and societies? How did they contribute to the development of a new interna-

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tional system, of new political cultures and different dealings with the past?

In the first session, entitled 'Alliances, Spheres of Interest, Conflict Strategies: The Legacy of Multi-Ethnic Empires in Twentieth-Century International Relations', John Swanson (Syracuse), giving the opening paper, questioned the hypothesis that there were strong lines of continuity between the foreign policy positions of the Habsburg Empire and its successor states Austria and Hungary during the inter-war period. Whereas Austrian foreign policy was dominated by attempts to achieve *Anschluss* with Germany, Hungarian diplomacy concentrated on winning back the territories lost after 1918. In his presentation, Guido Hausmann (Dublin) examined the commemoration of the battles of Poltava (1709) and Borodino (1812). The trauma of both these invasions of Russian territory was an influential legacy after the Second World War. At the same time, the cultural representation of key moments in foreign policy also reflected very different interpretations of the events. In contrast to the tsarist regime which had emphasized the Russian national dimension of these battles, the Soviet Union pursued a politics of history which stressed the supra-national dimension of these events. Distinct 'reservoirs of meaning' thus pointed to very particular ways of dealing with imperial legacies. Jörn Leonhard (Freiburg) contrasted French and British experiences of decolonization after 1945. The use of the Commonwealth and *Francophonie* became part of the imperial legacy in international politics, helping both countries to position themselves prominently in an era of shifting international status and to cope with the impact of decolonization on their geopolitical interests and their spheres of influence abroad. Benedikt Stuchtey (London) concluded that attempts to come to terms with decolonization had focused on social elites and institutions in the post-colonial world, whereas consequences in metropolitan societies, such as mixed marriages or racism, have not been sufficiently covered by research. Racism, however, was a common feature of all European and non-European forms of imperialism, a substantial ingredient of imperial ideology, and thus could not easily be shaken off once imperial rule was overcome. Looking at the long-term impacts of decolonization and legacies of empire 'at home', it would be helpful to replace a mere top-down approach by a bottom-up perspective. He asked how big the moral issues of imperialism were, how strongly the heritage of colonial con-

cepts such as the 'civilizing mission' prevailed, and to what extent immigration and immigrants in Europe in the age of decolonization served as living reminders of the former overseas enterprises. With immigration, Stuchtey argued, the colonial frontier came back to England. Soon concepts such as Britishness and Englishness, the ethnic and cultural identity of England, and the moral legacies of the world's greatest empire were challenged.

The discussion of the first session concentrated on the complex question of continuities and discontinuities between the empires and their respective successor states. Leonhard argued in favour of overcoming this rather narrow perspective in order to look at long-term legacies with regard to particular policies. The different functions of the Commonwealth for Britain and its former colonies were critically discussed. Stuchtey pointed to the differences in context between political discontinuities and social continuities and particularly the dynamism of the latter. Stephen Howe (Bristol) argued that the significance of the Commonwealth was not only negative. For smaller member states, the Commonwealth had a growing and positive meaning as a forum in international relations, both economically and politically. In contrast, British politicians from the 1970s regarded it with more scepticism, and feared that it could be used by African and Asian members to restrict Britain's freedom in foreign policy action.

The keynote lecture, delivered by Dietmar Rothermund (Heidelberg), compared the confrontation of post-imperial states with their imperial pasts. Special attention was paid to conditions for acquiring citizenship and reactions to migration. In addition to European countries such as France, Britain, and the Netherlands, Japan provided a non-European case for comparison. It became clear how influential the experience of decolonization and its consequences were for the national profile, although in very different ways everywhere. In all cases, though, a common and mounting interest in the colonial pasts appeared to emerge slowly. In some places, however, this started only very recently.

The second session, 'Representation and Leadership: The Afterlife of Empire in Political Cultures', compared the long-term effects of empires on the political cultures of their successor states. How varied this handling of domestic legacies in the case of the Habsburg monarchy proved to be was shown by Steven Beller (Washington) in his

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comparison of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Austria. While the multinational Czechoslovak state rejected any reference to the supra-national bureaucracy and legislative structures of the Habsburg monarchy, Hungary referred strongly to its pre-1918 role. Austria, however, after failing in its wish to merge with Germany, had to deal with violent internal conflicts and opt either for a national or an imperial identity. The construction of an anti-imperialist Soviet empire was the subject of Malte Rolf's (Hanover) paper, which took national sporting parades as an example. He described the tensions between stressing national diversity in the Soviet Union on the one hand, which produced a certain degree of political and cultural autonomy, and enforcing a coherent Soviet culture on the other. Michael Meeker's (San Diego) paper discussed the Ottoman legacy in the Turkish republic with regard to the political culture connecting core and periphery. He showed how in Turkey the social profile of the networks transferring decisions made at the centre to the provinces after 1918 remained much the same as before 1918 and explained that the legacy of this was that the Young Turk revolution was only political, not social. This was a significant precondition for the continuing participation of the old elites in the new system. Finally, Stephen Howe (Bristol) examined the recent rise in the British public's interest in its imperial past. The deployment of soldiers in international conflict zones turned the shared experience of being killed far away on a post-imperial battlefield into a rediscovered imperial legacy. This, he argued, was a prime example of how long-rooted imperial traditions might create new ones.

In the following discussion von Hirschhausen pleaded for the validity of the traditional, one-directional view of relations between core and periphery to be scrutinized. Core and periphery, Stuchtey added, were two competing discourses to the extent that the colonized people were not only victims but also collaborators within the imperial framework. He asked the following questions: who are the interpreters of imperial legacies? Who profits from them? For whom did nostalgia play an important role, and does it still? Ulrike Freitag (Berlin) introduced the term 'imperial toolkit', of which frequent use was made in the following discussion. The discussion asked whether there were symbols and techniques of rule common to both maritime and continental empires which were also usable by the successor states, and to what extent they made use of them?

The third session looked at the implementation, ambivalences, and consequences of 'Dealing with Multiple Pasts' in historiography and the education systems of empires. Benjamin Fortna's (London) paper described the rhetorics of rupture with the imperial past which the newly founded Turkish republic used to justify itself. Taking iconography and texts used in the education system as examples, he outlined the outbreak of previously defused conflicts stemming from the Turkish attempt to rewrite the political subtext of shared cultural items into support for a nationally homogeneous, secular, and modernizing state system. In similar vein, yet on a smaller scale, Rainer Lindner's (Berlin) paper dealt with institutional, personal, and ideological continuities obstructing the implementation of a historical narrative justifying Soviet rule in Russia. To the end of Stalin's rule, patriotism was a troubled paradigm, and historians of tsarist education had to be strictly supervised to forge a passably coherent narrative of pro-Soviet history from it. Von Hirschhausen analysed new historiographical narratives in post-war Hungary with respect to what views of the imperial past became dominant after fundamental political upheavals such as those of 1918 and 1945. Hungary stood out as one of the few successor states which, for obvious political reasons, produced narratives of nostalgia for the Dual Monarchy. Interpreting the large, multi-ethnic state's past as a 'successful multi-ethnic existence in the Hungarian crown lands' served the purpose of supporting the reduced nation's goal of regaining the lost territories. Retelling the story of Britain's hegemonic historians' work on the history of the empire in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, characterized first by support for imperial interests and later nostalgia, Richard Drayton's (Cambridge) polemic rubbed salt into the wounds of historians not dedicated to this hegemonic narrative and ignored by the British public. Pointing to the interrelationship between seemingly strong public interest in certain historical narratives and foreign policy traditions still shaping the course of the United Kingdom's world policies, Drayton's paper reconstructed the transformed, but apparently unbroken, vision of a world 'Mission of Britain' supported by a reactionary political history. Xosé-Manoel Núñez (Santiago de Compostela) introduced the assembled historians to the Spanish tradition of imperial historiography characterized by two competing narratives, of conservative Catholic and liberal origin respectively, and their elaboration of American, Pacific, and

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North African colonial projects. The imperial past has been a 'reservoir of meaning' often tapped in order to contribute to day-to-day political debates, reminding Spain to overcome historical legacies preventing it from becoming a modern, competitive state.

Contributing to the thoughts discussed in the papers of the third session, Leonhard pointed to the often implicit, unintended continuities in the presented historiographical, post-imperial projects and the possible challenges stemming from the reservoir of meaning which all these politics of history had to come to terms with. He encouraged historians to look for common determining factors that helped to foster historical narratives. This was exemplified by discussing von Hirschhausen's observations about the Hungarian historiography. The example also supported more general musings on the validity of the core-periphery model for historical explanations of the simultaneous emergence of nostalgia for, and the general discrediting of, imperial orders. Summing up the argument, von Hirschhausen considered the core-periphery dichotomy as a highly valuable pattern for analysing empires during their existence, but as hardly helpful for post-imperial constellations. With regard to the Spanish and the British cases, Catherine Hall (London) observed the lasting significance of the hegemonic historiography in regard to domestic, geopolitical, and social questions. She pointed out that the primacy of the 'European right to rule' had not been challenged by hegemonic historians, apart from some criticism of the manner of this rule in the past. She also convincingly described the apologetic programme of this historiography as ignorant and obstructive to new historical questions of political significance, in particular, gender and post-colonial studies. Only the emergence of immigrant communities in the former metropolises and the global revolution of gender roles, she suggested, had introduced significant new actors to the resulting politics of history and institutions of historical research.

In Tuesday's closing panel discussion, panelists Michael Meeker (Berkeley), Ulrike Freitag (Berlin), Andrew Thompson (Leeds), Andreas Eckart (Berlin), Steven Beller (Washington), and Dietmar Rothermund (Heidelberg), and the conference participants invoked the lasting significance of imperial legacies at many different levels not only to historians but also to current political challenges. Relating the 'soft' methods of the imperial toolkit for the creation of systemic support to 'hard' military and economic conditions would be more

productive, Freitag and Meeker argued, when looking at social practices and gender studies.

Thompson and Eckart acknowledged the advantages of a comparative approach, yet criticized the fact that the previously discussed concepts of *longue durée* and 'layers of meaning' had not been incorporated productively into the conference's papers and discussions because of their complexity. Beller, Rothermund, and many other commentators stressed the importance of meta-approaches which allowed re-evaluation of more traditional dimensions of comparison, such as continental v. maritime, settler v. non-settler, and formal v. informal empires. Stuchtey concluded that it was as important and difficult to compare the imperialisms and anti-imperialisms of the societies of the colonial powers under review as it was to bridge the gap between the different historiographical cultures. Mentioning the long continuity of colonial criticism, he pointed out that it was not so much the empires themselves as their modes of imperialism that were contested. Who were the interpreters of imperial legacies: the historians, the general public, and who else? By reconnecting the basic ideas of the European integration process to Europe's historical experience of imperial rule and compromise, outreach, and decolonization, the panelists made a powerful point about the pressing reality and problems which existing projects have in upholding privileged positions in the international economic and political system dating from imperial times.

In his words of farewell, conference organizer Jörn Leonhard expressed his gratitude to the German Historical Institute London for hosting the conference, the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung for financial support, and to the conference participants for their de-centring, constructive, and inspiring input. Comparative history, he concluded, especially when looking at perceptions of empire and imperial legacies at the peripheries, results in a multiplication of study units which makes the subject far too complex to be described in terms of a narrow 'continuities v. discontinuities' framework. He advocated a *longue durée* perspective reflecting the layers of imperial legacies. At this conference, the most promising 'inroads' into imperial studies and its legacies, offering new opportunities to historiography, seemed to be questions of agency, social practices, and their relation to the past as a reservoir of meaning; analysing the 'rhythm of memory', the determining factors making historiographical change come

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about; and diachronic comparison of the strength of supranational institutions and their ability to respond to international crisis as a means of relating historical research to their present counterparts.

Special thanks to Tom Neuhaus, who took good care of all the conference participants' needs and provided a comfortable setting for the three days of the conference.

JOST ACHENBACH and HELEN SCHMITT (University of Hamburg)

Knowledge Production and Pedagogy in Colonial India: Missionaries, Orientalists, and Reformers in Institutional Contexts, conference organized by the German Historical Institute London and the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, held at the GHIL and SOAS, 13–15 Nov. 2008.

One of the more salient shifts in the study of colonial societies, and indeed studies of the British Empire more generally, in the last two decades has been a new analytical focus on knowledge and knowledge production.¹ The ‘paradigm shift’ in the field was inaugurated by Edward Said’s widely influential study *Orientalism* (1978),² which analysed European representations of the Orient as an integral element of wider programmes of imperial domination. Said’s work produced a generation of scholarship on Orientalist knowledge, but perhaps nowhere was the study of colonial knowledge more fruitfully received than in South Asian studies. Inspired by Said, anthropologists and historians largely associated with the University of Chicago produced extended critiques of the discipline of Indology,³ and of the great surveys and other information-gathering projects of the colonial state.⁴ The position forwarded in these studies tended to argue that colonial elites exercised dominance over indigenous societies in part by commanding ‘knowledge’ over them, in diverse ways, from census reports and cartographic surveys, to novels, films, and scholarly publications. At the level of culture, it was argued by these scholars that colonial knowledge had the effect of stripping South Asians of agency and imposing new modes of thought and experience upon them, sometimes so profound that the recovery of indigenous agency was precarious at best.

From the mid 1990s, however, new lines of research have addressed the wider intellectual contextualization (both in the colony

¹ Tony Ballantyne, ‘Colonial Knowledge’, in Sarah Stockwell (ed.), *The British Empire: Themes and Perspectives* (Oxford, 2008), 177–98.

² Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London, 1995).

³ Ronald Inden, ‘Orientalist Constructions of India’, *Modern Asian Studies*, 20 (1986), 401–46; id., *Imagining India* (Oxford, 1992).

⁴ Bernard S. Cohn, *An Anthropologist Among the Historians and Other Essays* (Oxford, 1987) and *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge* (Princeton, 1996); Nicholas B. Dirks, *Castes of Mind* (Princeton, 2001).

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and metropole) of 'Orientalist' knowledge,⁵ as well as a deeper exploration of the careers of colonial scholars and particularly their relations with indigenous 'informants' and cultural 'intermediaries'.⁶ They have intensively engaged with the question of agency of indigenous informants and interlocutors, and thus examined knowledge in the fluid field between (colonial) institutional and non-institutional, informal frameworks. This move to a more historically nuanced and richly 'sourced' understanding of the subject has had the overall effect of revising our notions of colonial knowledge itself – from the coherent and hegemonic instrument of rule advocated by an earlier generation of scholars to a more fractured, dialogically produced, potentially open-ended, and socially unstable constellation of ideas and practices.

The conference jointly organized by the GHIL and SOAS sought to take stock of this new research and both probe and extend the existing questions around knowledge production in colonial South Asia. The papers engaged intensively with the complexity of knowledge production and the wider field of pedagogy in colonial India and focused specifically on certain key questions: the conceptual, methodological, and stylistic differences between various strands of colonial scholarship and their relationship with pedagogical realities; the diverse terrain of knowledge production and pedagogy, ranging from the institutional to the informal, thereby calling into question the earlier conceptualization of the monolithic nature of colonial knowledge; the diverse and constantly negotiated relationships between different institutional settings, that is, the potentially diverse relations between schools, museums, and centres of higher learning; the importance of Indian elites in the production and pedagogic implementation of this knowledge about India; the complex

⁵ Javed Majeed, *Ungoverned Imaginings: James Mill's the History of British India and Orientalism* (Oxford, 1992); John M. MacKenzie, *History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester, 1995).

⁶ Eugene F. Irschick, *Dialogue and History: Constructing South India, 1795–1895* (Berkeley, 1994); C. A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780–1870* (Cambridge, 1996); Phillip B. Wagoner, 'Precolonial Intellectuals and the Production of Colonial Knowledge', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 43 (Oct. 2003), 783–6; Michael S. Dodson, 'Re-Presented for the Pandits: James Ballantyne, "useful knowledge", and Sanskrit Scholarship in Benares College During the Mid-Nineteenth Century', *Modern Asian Studies*, 36 (2002), 257–98.

question of indigenous agency in the production and dissemination of knowledge in colonial India, which was addressed by a large number of the papers; an intensive and critical examination of what specifically constituted the sphere of pedagogy and education, and how precisely it disseminated and reproduced knowledge; and asymmetries between discourse and policy, and the varied, fractured, and negotiated conditions of reception of colonial knowledge both in India and the metropole.

The conference consisted of eight panels and one keynote lecture. Following the welcome address by Andreas Gestrich, director of the GHIL, the academic sessions got underway. The first panel, 'Missionaries, Knowledge and Education', was chaired by Avril Powell (SOAS) and addressed the relationship between missionary pedagogy and 'hegemonic' colonial knowledge. Heike Liebau (ZMO, Berlin) focused on the work of a printing press in Vepery, Madras, which had been established by the English East India Company with the help of German Protestant missionaries. She drew attention to the role of networks which included both European and Indian agents with their own particular interests, who nevertheless were largely dependent on each other. Karen Vallgård (Copenhagen) spoke of the hegemonizing project of an 'alien' pedagogy based on strict codes of conduct in a school run by the Danish Missionary Society in colonial South India. Helge Wendt (Mannheim) referred to the variegated nature of knowledge produced 'on the spot' by missionaries.

The second panel, 'Framing Words and Objects', was chaired by Daud Ali (SOAS). The presenters concentrated on the diversity of aims and intended audience, and the essentially 'conflicted' nature of knowledge produced even within the framework of colonial pedagogical institutions. Kate Teltscher (Roehampton) in her paper on the mutual engagement and the convergences and divergences between the Anglo-Indian work of lexicography, the Hobson-Jobson, and the New English Dictionary, dwelt on the importance of the Hobson-Jobson for the compilers of the NED. At the same time she highlighted the 'open and inclusive' character and 'playful irreverence' of a text constructed at the colonial 'periphery', which nevertheless acquired an international circulation along trade routes. Anne-Julie Etter (Paris 7) drew attention to the conflicts between scholars and antiquarians from the colonial establishment on the one hand, and colonial policy-makers on the other, in deciding on a policy of monu-

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ment preservation in early colonial India. Geoffrey Oddie (Sydney) spoke of the divergent aims and intended audiences between missionary museums in London, displaying objects of (usually religious) art of India in London, and missionaries 'in the field', who actually collected these objects. He referred to the specific compulsion of missionary museums in the metropole to educate the English working classes about the morally uplifting effects of Christianity by holding up to them the relics of a 'degenerate' religion (Hinduism).

The Friday morning session began with the panel 'Producing Space, Making History', which was chaired by Indra Sengupta (GHIL) and took as its framework knowledge production for the construction of place and (historical) time. The papers highlighted the role of indigenous agency in the production of a new kind of knowledge based on the scientific principles of disciplinary knowledge being produced in Europe at the time and introduced to India through colonial rule. The speakers emphasized the power of indigenous agency while engaging with European science, but also referred to its limitations. Michael S. Dodson (Bloomington) spoke of the discourse of decline in relation to urban landscapes of North India (Jaunpur), which was often perceived as a metaphor of 'Muslim decline'. At the same time, Dodson showed how architectural decline was used in very constructive ways by Muslim elites to ask for government grants for the preservation of historic buildings, thereby asserting their identity as a group. Peter Gottschalk's (Wesleyan) paper used the case study of a village in Bihar (Chainpur) to engage with the rising influence of 'scientism' in the production and dissemination of colonial knowledge in institutional settings such as learned societies, surveys, museums, and schools. Chitralekha Zutshi (William and Mary) focused on the princely state of Kashmir, where knowledge of the region was the product of the efforts of colonial Indologists, Brahmin scholars (*pandits*) of the region, and the indigenous rulers who wanted to produce a regional history and geography for strengthening a particular kind of Kashmiri identity that would serve their own interests. David Lelyveld (William Paterson) examined the increasing adoption of positivist historiographical approaches in two editions of Syed Ahmad Khan's work on the Qutb Minar, the *Asar Al Sanadid*; at the same time, Lelyveld stressed the difficulty of trying to straitjacket the work by pointing out the ways in which it defies the structures of colonialist historiography.

The following two sessions were dedicated to the theme 'Debates on Knowledge and Pedagogy'. The first of these was chaired by Markus Daechsel (Royal Holloway) and consisted of two papers on pedagogical theory. Catriona Ellis (Edinburgh) spoke of the debates on pedagogy in colonial Madras in the 1930s. Iqbal Singh Sevea's (Nanyang Technological U, Singapore) paper focused on the North Indian Muslim discourse on national education and national development by focusing on the prominent public figure Muhammad Iqbal. The second part of the session was chaired by Siobhan Lambert-Hurley (Nottingham Trent). Alan M. Guenther (Briercrest College) returned to the text and, by engaging with Syed Mahmood's *History of English Education in India*, tried to place Syed Mahmood as a key figure in promoting dialogically produced knowledge in a colonial context. S. Akbar Zaidi's (Cambridge/Karachi) paper explored the practice and operation of indigenous agency by examining the notion of *zillat* or (self-imposed) state of decline among the middle-ranking North Indian Muslim intelligentsia in the second half of the nineteenth century. Zaidi argued that, contrary to what has been previously established in studies of North Indian Muslims, the perceived decline of the community did not lead to its stagnation, but rather was used as an argument to encourage action and self-improvement.

The keynote lecture, 'What's in a (Proper) Name? Authorship, Nomenclature, and Individuals in the Linguistic Survey of India, 1894-1928', was delivered by Javed Majeed (Queen Mary). Majeed emphasized the mood of high imperial anxiety in the classificatory project of the Linguistic Survey of India and argued that the linguistic survey, burdened by its own classificatory logic as it were, imploded on itself. For reasons very different from those depicted by Kate Teltscher in her paper, the work of the Linguistic Survey, as Majeed showed, bore testimony to the weakness and instability of empire. Thus Majeed demonstrated the sharp contrast between the stability and power that is associated in Said's analytical framework with grand, hegemonic projects of colonial knowledge production on the one hand, and the work of the Linguistic Survey of India on the other.

The final day's session was held at SOAS and started off with a panel on 'Schooling Sensibilities', which was chaired by Francis Robinson (Royal Holloway). In her paper on the pedagogy of emotions, Margrit Pernau (MPL, Berlin) dwelt on the conceptual histories

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of Victorian notions of civility and the Urdu concept of *tahzib ul akhlaq* and the entanglement of these histories in colonial Delhi in the nineteenth century. Bhavani Raman (Princeton) focused on the *Tinnai* schools in colonial South India to challenge the widespread notion in colonial educational policy about the inability of Indians to learn in any other way than by rote and thus, their inability to imbibe meaningful learning. She showed how rote learning in these schools was practised for the cultivation of the senses and to teach mental and physical discipline.

Of the two papers in the section 'Pedagogy in Practice: Textbooks and Curriculum' chaired by Talat Ahmed (Goldsmiths), Amrita Shodhan (London) spoke of the relationship between colonial knowledge, legal action, reformist activity, and education by examining school textbooks in early colonial Gujarat. Vikas Gupta (Delhi) dwelt on the fractured nature of colonial knowledge as created and disseminated in textbooks by arguing that this was due, on the one hand, to the reluctance of the colonial government to impose Western knowledge on indigenous knowledge systems; on the other, it was the result of the participation of the Indian elites and Christian missionaries with their own respective agendas in the production of curricular knowledge.

The final panel, 'Reformers and Institutions', chaired by Anshu Malhotra (Delhi), included two biographical studies, both of which engaged with the role of individuals who were potentially 'outsiders' to the colonial educational system in India and operated in both institutional and extra-institutional contexts in the production and dissemination of colonial knowledge. Jeffrey Diamond (Charleston) used the cases of the British Orientalist of Austro-Hungarian descent G. W. Leitner and the prominent Indian Muslim intellectual Muhammad Hussain Azad to show the contested and fractured nature of knowledge in a specific regional context. Gail Minault (Austin, Texas) explored the chequered and ambiguous role of the Austrian Orientalist scholar Aloys Sprenger in the institutional context of the Delhi College in the middle of the nineteenth century.

The range and variety of the papers presented was an indication of the complexity of new research and new research questions in the field of colonial knowledge. By opening up lines of inquiry such as the role of indigenous agency and the social practice of pedagogy, and by questioning the notion of a stable system of knowledge pro-

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duced entirely within structures of colonial power, they made a substantial contribution to a newer, more critical engagement with Saidian analytical categories than was the case in the first almost two decades of scholarship on colonial knowledge.

INDRA SENGUPTA (GHIL)

Engineering Society: The Scientization of the Social in Comparative Perspective, 1880–1990, international conference held at the University of Sheffield, 20–22 Nov. 2008. Conveners: Kerstin Brückweh (German Historical Institute London), Dirk Schumann (University of Göttingen), Richard F. Wetzell (German Historical Institute Washington, DC), Benjamin Ziemann (University of Sheffield). Supported by the German History Society, German Historical Institute London, German Historical Institute Washington, DC, and the Department of History at the University of Sheffield.

This international conference was dedicated to analysing the application of social sciences to social problems. The Douglas Knoop Centre at the University of Sheffield provided an appropriate meeting place for a wide-ranging programme consisting of three panels: Social and Penal Policy; Diagnosis and Therapy; and Organizations, Polling, and Marketing. The interdisciplinary contributions centred on the manifold ways in which applied social sciences (in particular, legal and statistical knowledge, the neurosciences, psychology, polling, market research, and organizational research) have classified social phenomena, described abnormal situations, defined social ‘problems,’ provided blueprints for possible solutions, and called for therapeutic intervention in the lives of individuals. Thus the ‘scientization of the social’ aimed to shed light on both the scientific self-descriptions and the structures of modern Western societies since the late nineteenth century.

Lutz Raphael’s public keynote lecture, ‘Experts, Ideas, and Institutions: Main Trends in Embedding the Human Sciences in Western Societies since the 1880s’, argued in favour of a methodological pluralism in examining the scientization of societies over space and time. The different discourse cycles that characterized this process should not only be described, but also examined in terms of their effects and consequences. Raphael advocated research that is not restricted to examining expert knowledge, but also takes into account the role of clients, sponsors, and resistance. Further, he stressed the need to develop a cogent periodization of the scientization of the social that would pay attention to different discourse levels and antagonistic positions in the ‘fields’ of knowledge.

The first panel was devoted to the interface of knowledge and society in the field of social and penal policy. Peter Becker’s (Uni-

versity of Linz) paper, 'New Members of the Research Family? Neurosciences and their Presence in Criminological Debates', critically examined the recent rise of neurochemical explanations of violence in criminological debates. Becker considered the appeal of the neurosciences as lying in their promise, first, to establish a 'causal link' between violent behaviour and specific pathologies of the brain, and secondly, to redress undesirable behaviour by individualized interventions into neurochemical processes in the offender's brain. Becker went on to analyse how neuroscientists were able to translate their scientific authority for the purpose of political and public debates, arguing that newspapers played a key part in integrating the neurosciences into public discourse.

In her paper, 'Compensation and Legal and Scientific Expertise about Workplace Accidents, 1880-1920', Julia Moses (University of Oxford) analysed the emergence of workplace accident insurance legislation in Germany, Britain, and Italy. The social sciences, namely, statistical ways of thinking about workplace accidents, she argued, were a crucial catalyst in the evolution of this new framework. Statistics suggested that industrial accidents were the product of 'workplace risk' rather than individual actions for which workers or employers could be held personally responsible. Moses emphasized that once the respective compensation laws in each country had been adopted, expertise from medicine and the natural sciences became especially important for defining the scope of these laws. After the First World War, specific governmental structures and 'compensation cultures' gained importance at the expense of transnational expertise networks.

Martin Lengwiler (University of Basel) emphasized the importance of transnational exchange on social insurance in his paper, 'From Standards to Coordination: Universalism, International Organizations, and the Limited Convergence of Welfare States in the Twentieth Century'. Lengwiler's main interest lay in exploring the extent to which universalistic expert knowledge was able to define social policy models in Britain, France, Germany, and Switzerland. Therefore he closely examined the International Labour Office (ILO, 1919-70) and the International Congress of Actuaries (1895-1951). Lengwiler argued that such international expert bodies were very successful in defining international technical standards for national welfare systems, but were unable to bring about convergence in

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insurance legislation and regulation because of national institutional obstacles and national antagonisms.

Ted Porter (University of California, Los Angeles) investigated the engineering of society with particular attention to statistical knowledge in his contribution, 'How Society Became Statistical'. As the form of social investigation that was most conscious of its methods, statistics contributed considerably to the 'hardening' of the sciences during the late nineteenth century in a transnational context. The example of economic ideas and econometrics in the twentieth century also illustrated how statistical investigation gave a new specificity and 'concreteness' to the notion of 'the economy' across national and ideological differences. For the measurement of gross domestic product, for example, statistical efforts were closely allied with economic management and involved government along with university economics. Most importantly, from this perspective, the free market and the state were not simply in opposition, but were refashioned, each by the other, by the distinct representations of statistical measurement and cost-benefit analysis.

Richard Wetzell (German Historical Institute Washington) noted in his comment that both the rise of social insurance (Moses) and the penal reform movement associated with biological explanations of crime (Becker) were characterized by a shift from individual responsibility to risk and 'dangerousness'. This shift, he argued, was undoubtedly due to the impact of the social and human sciences on social policy, but was also connected to transformations in the image of man, from viewing people as rational and autonomous individuals to seeing them as products of biological and social forces. Wetzell also addressed the theme of experts transgressing their disciplinary boundaries in order to make pronouncements on social and political issues, such as neuroscientists offering solutions to the crime problem. Raising the question of why society accepted the interventions of experts beyond their field of expertise, Wetzell suggested that experts might have offered a welcome opportunity to replace genuinely political debate with supposedly apolitical 'expert opinion'.

The second panel explored the relationship between the individual and society by focusing on diagnosis and therapy. In her paper, 'Narcissism as Social Critique', Elizabeth Lunbeck (Vanderbilt University) investigated how 'narcissism' became a category used by American social critics around the mid 1970s. As a peculiar conver-

gence of two distinct discursive *topoi*—of public intellectuals and of psychoanalysts and psychiatrists—narcissism and the narcissist became leading actors in the then popular dramas of cultural critics. Yet Lunbeck pointed to the inherent paradox that the category first coalesced as a clinical phenomenon not in the abundance of late twentieth-century America, but in the deprived circumstances of Vienna and Budapest in the First World War. Here, Lunbeck identified a conflation of two opposed analytical traditions—organized around privation and gratification respectively—into one that celebrated release and abundance.

Mathew Thomson (University of Warwick) critically assessed ‘Psychology and the Engineering of Society in Twentieth-Century Britain’ and questioned the idea that psychology provided an authority and set of tools for the shaping of society. He argued that such ‘psycho-eugenic’ forms of social engineering must be regarded in the light of a history of both ambition and practical achievements. The effects of opinion surveys as a tool of social psychology in the context of war propaganda, for example, have to be evaluated against the backdrop of historical opportunities, disciplinary struggles, and the promise of a popularization of professional psychological knowledge. Likewise, with regard to psychology as an applied social science, its relative underdevelopment and scarce therapeutic resources made its relative success in education via mental testing an exception.

Harry Oosterhuis’ (University of Maastricht) paper, ‘Mental Health and Civic Virtue: Psychiatry, Self-Development, and Citizenship in the Netherlands (1870–2005)’, examined the link between democratization and the psychologization of citizenship, illustrated by the development of mental health care in the Netherlands. On the basis of four different ideals of self-development, Oosterhuis argued that psychiatrists, psycho-hygienists, and other mental health workers were clearly involved in the liberal-democratic project of promoting not only productive, responsible, and adaptive citizens, but also autonomous, self-conscious, and emancipated individuals as members of a democratic society. This account is particularly valid for the pillarized Dutch social system, which witnessed a major shift from the ideal of adaptation to existing values and norms (character) to that of individual self-development (personality) after the Second World War.

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Katharine Norris (American University, Washington, DC) explored 'Scientific Child Psychology and Healthy Child Development in the French Third Republic, 1870-1940' as an emblematic moment for the co-construction of the nascent social sciences and modern social policies. Retracing debates among psychiatrists, criminologists, philosophers, and educators revealed competing scientific stances towards the working of the child's mind as the key to devising effective curricula, cultivating loyal citizens, and ensuring healthy families. Thus according to Norris, the interrelated discussions of lying, suggestibility, and the origins of child psychology not only illustrate the establishment of child psychology as a discipline, but have also become a touchstone for public debates about the republic's future.

In her comment on the second panel, Sabine Maasen (University of Basel), a sociologist of science, mentioned several important theoretical issues from a Foucauldian perspective. From this point of view, she missed both the 'technological' aspect of how scientific knowledge is translated and made effective (for example, through therapeutic action) and, consequently, the question of how a 'neo-social' subject is formed as simultaneously being responsible for itself and society.

The third panel examined the evolution of applied social sciences in the field of business organizations, polling, and marketing and was opened by Anja Kruke's 'Polls in Politics: Restructuring the Body Politic in West Germany, 1940s to 1980s'. Kruke (Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Bonn) explored the development of polling as the epitome of democratic science in West Germany. For the 1960s, she identified a situation of mutual benefit to political parties and pollsters in their attempt to investigate the chances of political approval from non-voters or floating voters. Following the idea of a transparent market, the electorate was placed under scrutiny. Also, looping cycles between polling categories and self-descriptions led both to contingent interpretations of the electorate's rationalities and to a self-perception of the people as a population and a normal feature of the public sphere.

Kerstin Brückweh (GHIL) was interested in 'How to Streamline a Diverse Society: Market Research and Social Classification in Britain'. Acknowledging the multiple meanings of 'social class', Brückweh focused on the usage of 'class' as a statistical categorization put forward and widely used by applied social sciences. A brief genealogy

of official social classifications revealed that the ways of classifying people in Britain were based on measurements of employment and had remained unchanged for decades, despite significant changes in society. Not until the census of 2001 were the old model of 1911 and the 'socio-economic groups' of the 1950s merged into one new official system. That market researchers decided to draw on these inflexible official classifications for their own 'social grades' is a puzzling historical fact that Brückweh explained by reference to cost-efficiency, accordance with accepted British self-descriptions, and the relative proximity of early market researchers to governmental social scientists.

Emil Walter-Busch's paper, 'Business Organizations, Foundations, and the State as Promoters of Applied Social Sciences in the USA and Switzerland, 1900-50', concentrated on the often forgotten history of specific sub-disciplines of the applied social sciences, that is, industrial psychology, industrial relations research, and market and public opinion research. He highlighted the puzzling fact that these fields had a remarkable career in the USA, whereas in Switzerland only industrial psychology gained ground. Walter-Busch (University of St Gallen) found the reason for this in a suspicion of academia and intellectualism in Switzerland, which prevented the establishment of private foundations that were so important in the USA for the promotion of the social sciences in general (for example, the commitment of J. D. Rockefeller, Jr. from the 1920s to the 1960s).

Stefan Schwarzkopf's paper, 'The "Consumer Jury": Historical Origins, Theoretical Implications, and Social Consequences of a Marketing Myth', investigated the emergence, since the 1930s, of market research innovations that coincided with the popularization of the Austrian School of Economics and thus helped to forge the imagination of the marketplace as a 'democracy of goods' or a 'consumer democracy'. The 'consumer-citizen equation' proved to be a powerful myth for legitimizing mass consumption and the 'free' market in Western democracies. Schwarzkopf (Queen Mary, University of London) argued that the scientization of market research tools through consumer interviews, panel surveys, and product testing panels helped to project the marketplace as the new agora and to install the consumer as the new sovereign. Here the 'consumer jury' symbolically aligned the act of voting with the act of consumer choice.

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In his comment on the third panel Felix Keller (University of Zurich) highlighted the often forgotten role of machines in the processes of scientization and their interaction with symbolic languages (of the social sciences), that is, the importance of algorithms for multivariate analysis. He characterized the applied side of the social sciences as one that has shaken off epistemological reflections, adding that they seem to be constitutive for university-based research, but negligible for market research or web-based 'quick polling'.

The concluding discussion, introduced by Dirk Schumann (University of Göttingen), reflected upon several conceptual omissions that need to be taken up or clarified for further research. First, the question of what an expert is remained unclear. Is the expert a public figure with access to mass media, an authoritative figure whose social position is constituted by a transgression of disciplinary boundaries, or a practitioner of certain fields of knowledge (for example, nurses and social workers)? Secondly, it was noted that the categories of gender and race were absent from most contributions. This omission meant that the issue of the dominance of male experts and the importance of the colonial 'Other' for the constitution of distinctly Western legal-political concepts (for example, citizenship) as well as scientific and social ideas were neglected. A third prominent omission was the history of emotions, that is, the issue of how particular emotional regimes interacted with processes of scientization (for instance, parents' anxieties for their children and home-based security in the USA). Finally, there was unanimity that it is futile to draw a distinction between pure and applied (social) sciences because a 'science effect' is most tangible through a mixture of scientific and popular knowledge. Nevertheless, a conceptual distinction between the history of 'scientization' and that of 'popularization/vulgarization' was considered heuristically useful. The organizers plan to publish a volume of essays based on the conference.

JOCHEN F. MAYER (University of Edinburgh)

Visual Representations of the Unemployed, conference organized by the German Historical Institute London and the University of Exeter, held at the University of Exeter, 12–13 Dec. 2008.

Unemployment is a perennial problem in modern industrial societies. Recurring economic depressions repeatedly throw large numbers of people out of paid employment and make them dependent on benefits of some sort. Rising welfare and benefit expenditures spur public discussions about the character of 'the unemployed' and create a flood of textual and visual representations which are used in the debate about how to best deal with those who are out of work. Yet while the iconography of poverty has attracted some scholarly attention, the iconography of the unemployed has largely failed to do so. The conference 'Visual Representations of the Unemployed', held at the University of Exeter, was the first of its kind held for the purpose of discussing whether there is an iconography of the unemployed, how it has changed over time, whether it is transnational in character, and how it has influenced the political and social discourse on the workless in various countries and during different periods.

The conference, which brought together historians, art historians, sociologists, and experts on film studies and photography, was organized by Matthias Reiss (History, University of Exeter) in cooperation with the German Historical Institute London and the University of Exeter's Department of History. After a short introduction by Matthias Reiss, Sam Smiles (Art History, University of Plymouth) chaired the first panel on 'Foundations'. In his paper 'To See is to Believe? Images and Social History', Jens Jäger (Collaborative Research Centre 'Media and Cultural Communication', University of Cologne) addressed the challenges of interpreting images which are positioned at the intersection between social documentation, art, and politics. Jäger focused especially on the photograph of an unemployed Georgian villager which the World Bank has posted on its website to document the work it does in countries it considers to be underdeveloped. The purpose of the photograph is to give an abstract problem a face. Using this and other photos, Jäger asked whether we can believe what we see – both literally and metaphorically – in a photo. The institutional context and the reputation of the artist provide some solutions to this problem. However, Jäger argued

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that it is ultimately impossible to show that people are out of work without relying on additional textual explanations or familiar, if largely outdated, icons such as the dole queue or the individual with the cardboard sign which identifies him or her as looking for work.

In his paper on 'Visual Representations of Poverty and Idleness in the Early Modern Period', Andreas Gestrich (German Historical Institute London) demonstrated that these problems had already existed well before the industrial revolution. William Hogarth, for example, had to mark one of his figures with a sign 'out of employ' on his forehead to identify him as unemployed. However, Gestrich stressed that only a few selected groups, such as mercenaries or journeymen, were in danger of becoming 'unemployed' in the modern sense of the word during the early modern period. Poverty was the dominant problem for the majority of the population, and a rich iconography of poverty has developed since medieval times. Some of the images developed during this and later periods, such as the resident deserving poor or the fraudulent beggar, later influenced the image of the unemployed during the industrial era.

Speaking on 'Representations of the Unemployed in German Art before the First World War', Ute Wrocklage (Art History, Carl von Ossietzky University of Oldenburg) observed that the visualization of the unemployed in Germany initially resembled the depiction of beggars and vagabonds. The main difference was that the workless were depicted as younger and stronger than the poor, who were pictured as disabled and old. The use of signs and symbols associated with beggars, such as sticks, bundles, dogs, or melancholy, reflected the bourgeois view that the unemployed were themselves responsible for their fate. At the same time, the artists also began to identify the unemployed with the political left by using markers such as a red scarf or handkerchief or certain types of beards. Around the turn of the twentieth century, the iconography of the unemployed changed and expanded as unemployment came to be recognized as an economic problem and the influence and militancy of the working class grew. The unemployed were now shown in public places and in groups to stress that unemployment was a mass phenomenon. The hands of the unemployed remain largely invisible in the pictures as a sign of their inactivity. There is no communication between them or with the viewer, and they are static or only move slowly. All the pictures emphasized the psychological and social effects of unemploy-

ment, although economic deprivation also remained a topic. Wrocklage concluded that much of the iconography of the unemployed associated with the Great Depression was developed around the turn of the century, although some of it was later altered and infused with new meaning.

'Film', the final session of the day, was chaired by Will Higbee (French and Film Studies, University of Exeter). Steve Cannon (Media Studies, University of Sunderland) talked about "'Social Realism" and the Unemployed in Contemporary European Film'. Cannon focused especially on the Spanish film *Los Lunes al Sol* (*Monday in the Sun*, 2002), which was inspired by the French unemployed movement of the 1990s. *Los Lunes al Sol* is set in northern Spain and features a group of men who deal with their unemployment in different ways. At the end of the film, they capture a ferry to stage a symbolic but futile protest. Unable to pilot the vessel, they drift on the river for another 'Monday in the Sun'. Cannon contrasted this ending with the British film *The Full Monty* and its affirmation of capitalist values. He also placed *Los Lunes al Sol* into the context of Spain's contemporary collective protest against the war in Iraq.

The topic of unemployment was marginal to the film industry of the 1930s, as Matt Perry (History, University of Newcastle) explained in his paper 'Visualizing Unemployment through the Aesthetics of Capitalist Modernity: Case Studies in Films from the 1930s'. Referring to feature films from Great Britain, the United States, France, and Germany, Perry explained the various ways in which the unemployed and unemployment were represented in movies of the 1930s. Directors used archetypal images of the unemployed, such as the tramp or the workman, to visualize the unemployed. Laid off workers expressed the torment they were going through by looking down, avoiding eye contact, or keeping their hands in their pockets. However, the unemployed were also visualized through collective protest or their antithesis, such as landlords or bosses. Unemployment itself was depicted through newspaper headlines or the 'landscape of unemployment'. Geographical signifiers of unemployment were contrasted with their opposites. Many films were critical of capitalist modernity and suggested that alternatives to it existed. Perry concluded that the films of the 1930s contributed to the development of a transnational repertoire of visual representation which is still influential today.

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The following day opened with a panel on photography, which was chaired by Andrew Thorpe (History, University of Exeter). Jeannette Gabriel (History, College of Mount Saint Vincent, New York) opened the panel with her paper 'Pink Slips on Parade: Building the Unemployed Movement through Images of Everyday Protest, 1935-9'. During the New Deal, the American government commissioned documentary photographs of the economic distress to create public support for its programmes. These images depicted the unemployed as socially isolated, passive, humble, and appreciative of private charity or government help. Pictures such as Dorothea Lange's 'Migrant Mother' have acquired iconic status and shaped our ideas about life in the United States during the Great Depression. Gabriel contrasted these official images with pictures taken of members of the unemployed organization Workers' Alliance of America (WAA). The WAA organized the occupation of government buildings, strikes of relief workers, marches, and other forms of protest, and was often able to gain concessions from the authorities in the late 1930s. These pictures show the degree of interracial cooperation in the unemployed movement as well as the leading role women played in it. Press photographs of WAA protest actions were published in American newspapers and have hitherto not been examined by historians. They reveal a completely different picture of the behaviour of the unemployed during the Depression from the documentary images commissioned by the government. Because the memory of the protest has faded, Gabriel concluded that the visual images are indispensable to fill the gap and create a more complete picture of how the workless responded to their fate during the slump.

Antoine Capet (British Studies, University of Rouen) examined how photographs were used in Great Britain to convey a particular image of the unemployed. In his paper 'Photographs of the British Unemployed in the Inter-War Years: Representation or Manipulation', Capet showed a wide variety of pictures taken in the 1920s and 1930s. Among other things, Capet highlighted the limited control photographers had over how their pictures were used, presented, and interpreted. The pictures alone were often not sufficient to create a narrative. Even the use of familiar icons such as the queue or loafing men does not guarantee that the people in the photograph are identifiable with certainty as unemployed. Captions are necessary to explain the context of an image, but also provide a chance to manipu-

late the viewer. They were often changed or added later on, so that they did not necessarily reflect the intentions of the photographer. According to Capet, some captions literally twist the scene into new directions. The only way photographers were able to retain a certain degree of control was by introducing documentary evidence in the image itself, which some of them did.

The final panel was chaired by Matt Perry and focused on the unemployed in political cartoons. In 'Dragon Slayers and Dole Queues: Unemployment and the Unemployed in German Political Cartoons, 1974 to 1998', Matthias Reiss examined 1,297 cartoons on unemployment published in seventy-eight different German-language newspapers or magazines. Reiss highlighted the use of iconography from the 1920s and 1930s by the cartoonists. Although the cartoons rarely referred directly to mass unemployed in the Weimar Republic, they frequently alluded to it. The unemployed were rarely blamed for their fate, and from the second half of the 1980s onwards, cartoonists tended to portray the problem in individual instead of abstract terms. Unemployment among women or foreigners was rarely made a topic. The typical unemployed person in the cartoons was a German male blue-collar worker isolated and abandoned by society but still actively looking for work. Unemployment was mostly depicted as a natural disaster or an animal (especially a dragon) which appeared on the scene. The responsibility for fighting it was assigned to the politicians, but their incompetence and proneness to squabble among each other prevented the problem being solved. By comparing his findings with the results of opinion polls, Reiss argued that the cartoons did reflect public opinion towards the workless during the twenty-five years under examination.

Nicholas Hiley (British Cartoon Archive, University of Kent) concluded the conference with his paper '“If we only had a job, we could take a holiday”: Unemployment in British Political Cartoons of the last Hundred Years'. Unlike their German colleagues, British cartoonists struggled to find a favourite visual shorthand for unemployment or the unemployed. Unemployment was usually depicted as a natural disaster, ghost, or shadow from which the politicians could not escape. Politicians were often depicted as uncaring towards the fate of the workless, but the latter rarely appear in the drawings. Although the character of Andy Cap became immensely popular in Britain and the United States, he could not be adapted by

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political cartoonists because he was already a cartoon figure. British cartoonists used the dole queue and other icons extensively in their works, but did not develop a new iconography of unemployment after the Great Depression.

The papers of the conference showed that there is, indeed, an iconography of the unemployed which is distinct from the iconography of the poor. The workless are usually pictured in groups, but as socially isolated and immobile. They are predominately male and usually depicted in public places rather than in their private homes. There is little communication between them or with the viewer. Iconic images, such as the dole queue or the cardboard sign, continue to dominate the visual representations of the unemployed, while older signifiers such as socialist tendencies or hidden hands have become less common. Protest continues to be a strong signifier of unemployed status in visual images, although the dominant stereotype of the workless has been one of political apathy since the *Marienthal* study of the early 1930s. Images were, and still are, used to create pity or sympathy or to assign blame. However, they have also been used to assert respectability and agency despite being out of work. The impact of these images, as well as the question of how the unemployed expressed their view of themselves through visual art, deserves more research.

MATTHIAS REISS (University of Exeter)

NOTICEBOARD

Research Seminar

The GHIL regularly organizes a research seminar at which recipients of grants from the Institute, Fellows of the GHIL, and other scholars report on the progress of their work. Any postgraduate or postdoctoral researchers who are interested in the subjects are welcome to attend. As a general rule, the language of the papers and discussion is German, and meetings start at 5 p.m. unless otherwise indicated. The following papers will be given this term. Further meetings may also be arranged. Future dates will be announced on each occasion, and are available from the GHIL website. For further information contact Benedikt Stuchtey (stuchtey@ghil.ac.uk).

5 May Patrick Schmidt
(3 p.m.) Mediale Diskurse über Behinderung und Behinderte in der Frühen Neuzeit

Florian Schnürer
Der Luftkrieg im Ersten Weltkrieg als transnationales Medienereignis: Die Berichterstattung deutscher, englischer und französischer Zeitungen im Vergleich

23 June Joachim Berger
(3 p.m.) Arbeit am Tempel 'Europa': Westeuropäische Freimaurereien transkulturell, 1850–1930

Bodo Mrozek
Jugendstile und Popkultur nach 1945 in transnationaler Perspektive

30 June Julia Feurich
(3 p.m.) Chor als Spiegel der Gesellschaft: Vergleichende Studien zur Neuformierung des Chorwesens in der DDR und England (1945–75)

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7 July Julian Becker
(3 p.m.) Das britische Board of Longitude 1714–1830: Wissensproduktion und -distribution

Caspar Hirschi
Compiler into Genius: The Rise of Dictionary Writers in Eighteenth-Century England and France

As a matter of interest to readers, we record the following papers which were given before the publication date of this *Bulletin*:

27 Jan. Falco Neininger
Die Pfarreien in England im 13. Jahrhundert: Strukturen, Ressourcen und Klerus im Spannungsfeld konkurrierender Interessen

10 Feb. Christine Krüger
Jugendfreiwilligenarbeit in Westdeutschland und in Großbritannien nach 1945

24 Feb. Andreas Remy
Bürgerkrieg in der spätmittelalterlichen Gesellschaft: Kulturgeschichtliche Studien zu den Rosenkriegen

17 Mar. Katrin Leonhard
Studies in Black and White: Seventeenth-Century Graphic Culture in Britain

Christiane Winkler
Performing Memory: Returned German Prisoners of War in Divided and Re-united Germany

24 Mar. Miriam Yegane Arani
Transnationale Soziologie der Fotografie, 1933–45

28 Apr. Christian Lotz
Der umstrittene Wald: Konflikte um die Wahrnehmung
und Nutzung am Beispiel von Wald und Holz in den Län-
dern Hannover, Norwegen und Schottland (1780–1890)

Sara Kröper
Neue Universitäten—neue Urbanität? Fallstudie zur Ver-
bindung von universitären Neugründungen und Stadt-
entwicklungen

Scholarships Awarded by the GHIL

Each year the GHIL awards a number of research scholarships to German postgraduate students 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's postgraduate research, and be studying German history or Anglo-German relations. Scholarships are advertised each year in September on H-Soz-u-Kult and the GHIL's website. Applications may be sent in at any time, but allocations are made in April (deadline for applications 15 Mar.) for the current year and October (deadline 30 Sept.) for the following calendar year. Applications, which should include a CV, educational background, list of publications (where appropriate), and an outline of the project, together with a supervisor's reference confirming the relevance of the proposed archival research, should be addressed to the Director, German Historical Institute London, 17 Bloomsbury Square, London WC1A 2 NJ.

During their stay in Britain, German scholars present their projects and the initial results of their research at the Institute's Research Seminar, and British scholars do the same on their return from Germany. In the first allocation for 2009 the following scholarships have been awarded for research on British history, German history, and Anglo-German relations.

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Research scholarships

Julian Becker (Düsseldorf): Das britische Board of Longitude 1714–1830: Wissensproduktion und -distribution

Tobias Becker (Berlin): Inszenierte Moderne: Unterhaltungstheater in Berlin und London, 1880–1930

Enrico Böhm (Marburg): Gipfel der Kooperation? Die Entstehung der G7 als Instrument nationaler Sicherheitspolitik

Julia Feurich (Berlin): Chor als Spiegel der Gesellschaft: Vergleichende Studien zur Neuformierung des Chorwesens in der DDR und England (1945–75)

Alexander Geppert (Berlin/Harvard): Kosmische Visionen: Europäischer Astrofuturismus und außerirdisches Leben im 20. Jahrhundert

Sara Kröper (Trier): Neue Universitäten – neue Urbanität? Fallstudie zur Verbindung von universitären Neugründungen und Stadtentwicklungen

Christian Lotz (Leipzig): Der umstrittene Wald: Konflikte um die Wahrnehmung und Nutzung am Beispiel von Wald und Holz in den Ländern Hannover, Norwegen und Schottland (1780–1890)

Ralf Lützel Schwab (Berlin): Herrschen durch Heilige? Die Reliquienschatze europäischer Herrscher und Herrscherkirchen und ihr Einfluss auf die herrscherliche Legitimierung (13.–16. Jh.)

Heidi Mehrkens (Brunswick): Außer Dienst: Europas abgesetzte Staatsmänner und Monarchen als politische Akteure (1848–1918)

Bodo Mrozek (Berlin): Jugendstile und Popkultur nach 1945 aus transnationaler Perspektive

Falco Neiningner (Potsdam): Die Pfarreien in England im 13. Jahrhundert: Strukturen, Ressourcen und Klerus im Spannungsfeld konkurrierender Interessen

Laura Pachtnner (Munich): Charlotte Lady Blennerhassett (1843–1917) – Historikerin, Publizistin, liberale Katholikin: eine Biographie

Andreas Remy (Berlin): Bürgerkrieg in der spätmittelalterlichen Gesellschaft: Kulturgeschichtliche Studien zu den Rosenkriegen

Florian Schnürer (Giessen): Der Luftkrieg als transnationales Medienereignis: Die Berichterstattung deutscher, englischer und französischer Zeitungen im Vergleich

Silke Strickrodt (Berlin): 'The Truly Married Woman': Christian Missions and Female Education in Nineteenth-Century Sierra Leone

DGIA travel grants

Volker Barth (Cologne): Weltnachrichtenordnung: Strukturen und Bedingungen internationaler Kommunikation, 1859–1934

Joachim Berger (Mainz): Arbeit am Tempel 'Europa': Westeuropäische Freimaurereien transkulturell, 1850–1930

Rüdiger Graf (Bochum): Petroknowledge und politisches Handeln in den westlichen Industrienationen in der ersten Hälfte der 1970er Jahre

Karin Leonhard (Eichstätt-Ingolstadt): Studies in Black and White: Seventeenth-Century Graphic Culture in Britain

Patrick Schmidt (Giessen): Mediale Diskurse über Behinderung und Behinderte in der Frühen Neuzeit

Miriam Yegane Arani (Berlin): Transnationale Soziologie der Fotografie 1933–45

Postgraduate Students' Conference

The German Historical Institute London held its thirteenth postgraduate students' conference on 15–17 Jan. 2009. Its 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 warm words of welcome from the deputy director of the GHIL, Benedikt Stuchtey. Over the next two days, twenty-two speakers from Germany, Ireland, and the United Kingdom introduced their projects to an interested and engaged audience. Most sessions were devoted to the nineteenth century, the First World War, the inter-war period, the Third Reich, and the post-1945 period. Only one paper was given on the early modern period and none on the Middle Ages. Participants gave a short summary of their work containing general ideas, leading questions, sources, and initial findings, and this was followed by discussion. As well as discussing their subjects and methodologies, the participants exchanged information about practical difficulties, in particular, the restrictive use of digital photography in German archives. Many comments came from the floor and the possibility of the GHIL organ-

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izing a workshop on how to work with German handwritten sources was discussed. 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 GHIL also provides scholarships for research in Germany (see above).

The GHIL is planning to hold the next postgraduate students' conference early in 2010. For further information, including how to apply, please contact the Secretary, Anita Bellamy, German Historical Institute, 17 Bloomsbury Square, London WC1A 2NJ, or by email (abellamy@ghil.ac.uk).

Speakers at the 2009 Postgraduate Students' Conference

Julie Deering (UCL): The Treatment of the National Socialist Past and the Persistence of National Socialist Ideology in the Political Culture and Society of the SBZ/GDR

Christopher Dillon (Birkbeck): The Dachau SS 1933–39

Christopher Geissler (Cambridge): Race, Volk, Nation: Slavery and Abolitionism in German Writing, 1848–1918

Julia Hoerath (Birkbeck): Asocials and 'Professional Criminals' in the Concentration Camps 1933–39

Aaron Jacobson (UCL): *Alltagsleben* and Identity Formation: Re-Establishing 'Normalcy' in the Lives of DDR *Umsiedler*, 1944–70

Mark Jones (EUI Florence): 'Freikorps' and Civilian Crowds: The Schloss and Marstall Myth-Complex

Alexandria Kerr Flucker (Glasgow Caledonian): *Wehrmacht* Medical Services during the Italian Campaign, 1943–44: An Army Level Study

Karoly Konecsny (Exeter): The German Military Administration in Hungary, March–October 1944

Rui Lopes (LSE): West German–Portuguese Relations in the Era of Détente, *Ostpolitik*, and Colonial War, 1968–74

Richard Millington (Liverpool): Teaching 17 June 1953 in the Schools of the GDR

Stefan Moitra (UCL): West German Cinema Protests: Fighting Veit Harlan in the 1950s

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Paul Moore (Birkbeck): 'An Arbitrary Act of the Most Reprehensible Kind': Public Humiliation and 'Protective Custody' in Nazi Germany, 1933–39

Claudia Müller (Leeds): Touring Socialisms: GDR Citizens on Holiday in other Socialist Countries, 1961–89

Catriona Macrae Haston (Glasgow): Higher Education Reform and its Effects on East and West German Economic Growth 1945–89: A Comparison

Stephan Petzold (Aberystwyth): The Production of Historical Knowledge: A Sociology of Knowledge of West German Historiography on the Origins of the First World War, 1960–80

Jeff Porter (Birkbeck): Before *Wiedergutmachen*: The Western Allies, Restitution, and the Jewish Communities 1943–53

Aodhan O'Shea (UCL/Bielefeld): The Image of Japan within the *Deutscher Werkbund*: Aesthetic Experience as a Medium of Historical and Social Interpretation

Katrin Seyler (Birmingham): The Migration of European Artists in the Eighteenth Century. The Ecksteins: A Family of German Artists in Britain c.1758–c.1804

Russell Wallis (RHCUL): British Memory of German War Atrocities after the First World War

Abaigéal Warfield (NUI Maynooth): *Hexenzeitungen*: Mediators of Meaning

Kim Wünschmann (Birkbeck): Before the Holocaust: Jewish Prisoners in Nazi Concentration Camps, 1933–39

Teresa Zuhl (Aston): Expatriates and Ethnic Identity within the German Community in Richmond-upon-Thames since 1970

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 (submitted to a British or Irish university), British history (submitted to a German university), Anglo-German relations, or an Anglo-German comparative topic. The Prize is 1,000 Euros. In 2008 the prize was awarded to Christiane Reinecke for her thesis 'Freizügigkeit: Die

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Politik der Migrationskontrolle in Großbritannien und Deutschland, 1880–1930', submitted to the Humboldt University, Berlin.

To be eligible a thesis must have been submitted to a British, Irish, or German university after 31 August 2008. To apply, send one copy of the thesis with

- a one-page abstract
- examiners' reports on the thesis
- a brief CV
- a declaration that the author will allow it to be considered for publication in the Institute's German-language series, and 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, 17 Bloomsbury Square, London WC1A 2NJ, by 18 September 2009.

The Prize will be presented on the occasion of the Institute's Annual Lecture on 13 November 2009.

For further information visit: www.ghil.ac.uk

Email: ghil@ghil.ac.uk Tel: 020 7309 2050

Staff News

KERSTIN BRÜCKWEH studied history at the University of Bielefeld and Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, USA. Before joining the GHIL as a Research Fellow in 2007, she worked as a politics and history editor in Munich. Her main field of interest is the twentieth century. She received an MA for a study of the history of medicine and medical ethics in the USA and wrote a Ph.D. thesis on the history of violence in Germany, published in 2006 as *Mordlust: Serienmorde, Gewalt und Emotionen im 20. Jahrhundert*. She is now working on a history of market research and opinion polling in Great Britain. She was a member of the editorial committee of the *GHIL Bulletin* until February 2009 and is now the GHIL's Press Officer.

CHRIS MANIAS joined the GHIL in October 2007 as a Research Assistant on the series *British Envoys to Germany* after studying at King's College London and Birkbeck College, University of London. His primary research interests are in the fields of modern European history (particularly nineteenth-century Britain, France, and Germany), transnational history, the history of the human sciences, and the history of historiography. He is currently working on a monograph based on his Ph.D. thesis, which was entitled 'Learned Societies and the Ancient National Past in Britain, France and Germany, 1830 to 1890' and examined changing scholarly conceptions of the earliest periods of national history and their implications for nineteenth-century ideas of nationality, race, and social development.

MARKUS MÖSSLANG, who joined the GHIL in 1999, studied modern and social history at the University of Munich, where he was a research assistant in 1997–8. He is co-editor of vols. ii. *1830–1847* (2002) and iii. *1848–1850* (2006) of *British Envoys to Germany, 1816–1866*, a multi-volume edition of British diplomatic reports from Germany, and is currently preparing, with Chris Manias and Torsten Riotte, vol. iv. *1851–1866* for publication. His further publications include *Flüchtlingslehrer und Flüchtlingshochschullehrer* (2001) and (co-ed.), *The Diplomats' World: A Cultural History of Diplomacy, 1815–1914* (2008). He is coordinator of the GHIL's German-language series, *Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts London* and, as of February 2009, also a member of the editorial committee of the *GHIL Bulletin*.

MICHAEL SCHAICH joined the GHIL in 1999. After completing an MA he became a Research Assistant in the Department of History at the University of Munich. He is the editor (with Jörg Neuheiser) of *Political Rituals in Great Britain, 1700–2000* (2006) and of *Monarchy and Religion: The Transformation of Royal Culture in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (2007). While at the Institute he is working on the British monarchy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He is also a librarian at the Institute, and a member of the editorial committee of the *GHIL Bulletin*.

JOCHEN SCHENK, who joined the GHIL in October 2007, studied history and Islamic studies at the University of Tübingen and Trinity

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College Dublin. He received an M.Phil. in medieval history from Trinity College Dublin in 2001, a Ph.D. in history from Cambridge University in 2006, and a Licence in Mediaeval Studies (LMS) from the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies (PIMS), Toronto, in 2008. His doctoral thesis, 'Family Involvement in the Order of the Temple in Burgundy, Champagne and Languedoc, c.1120–c.1307', is currently being prepared for publication. In 2006 he was elected an Andrew Mellon Research Scholar at PIMS and it was during the tenure of the fellowship that he began working on a religious history of the medieval military orders, a project which he is now pursuing with particular focus on their spirituality and popular perception as religious institutions in medieval England. His publications include 'Forms of Lay Association with the Order of the Temple', *Journal of Medieval History*, 34/1 (2008), 70–103 and 'Aspects of Non-Noble Family Involvement in the Order of the Temple', in Judi Upton-Ward (ed.), *The Military Orders* (2008), iv. 155–61. He is also a member of the editorial committee of the *GHIL Bulletin*.

INDRA SENGUPTA joined the GHIL in September 2004. She studied history at the University of Calcutta and received her doctoral degree from the University of Heidelberg. She has taught at the Universities of Calcutta and Heidelberg (South Asia Institute) and held a research fellowship at the University of Tübingen. Her research interests include the production of knowledge on India in colonial India and Europe, in particular German Orientalism, and monument-making practices in colonial India. Her publications include *From Salon to Discipline: State, University and Indology in Germany, 1821–1914* (2005), and 'Sacred Space and the Making of Monuments in Colonial Orissa', in H. P. Ray (ed.), *Archaeology and Text: The Temple in South Asia* (forthcoming 2009). She is also the editor of *Memory, History, and Colonialism: Engaging with Pierre Nora in Colonial and Postcolonial Contexts*, *GHIL Bulletin Supplement No. 1* (2009). Her current research is on monument-making practices and sacred space in colonial India in colonial and metropolitan perspectives.

MARTINA STEBER studied history, German, and theology at the universities of Augsburg and Cambridge. Before joining the GHIL in 2007 she worked as a lecturer at the universities of Augsburg and Eichstätt-Ingolstadt. A monograph based on her Ph.D. thesis on the

relevance of regionality between the German Kaiserreich and the National Socialist regime will appear in 2009. She has published on the *Heimat* movement, mental mapping, National Socialist cultural politics, and the British historian Herbert Butterfield. Her main fields of interest include modern regional history, the history of historiography, and the history of the political sphere in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. While at the GHIL she is engaging in research on British and German conservatism in the long 1960s.

SILKE STRICKRODT joined the GHIL in April 2009. She holds an MA in English, African, and Portuguese studies from Leipzig University and a Ph.D. in history from the University of Stirling. Her Ph.D. project dealt with Afro-European trade relations on the Western Slave Coast (in present-day Togo and Benin) in the pre-colonial period. Between 2003 and March 2009 she was assistant professor of African history at the Institute of African and Asian Studies, Humboldt University, Berlin. Her research focuses on West Africa, with particular interest in the history of the Atlantic slave trade, the history of encounters between European and African cultures in the pre-colonial and colonial periods (particularly in the context of trade, Christian missionary activities, and scientific exploration), and British colonialism. Her current project deals with missionary attempts to transplant Victorian ideas about marriage, family, and femininity to nineteenth-century Sierra Leone.

BENEDIKT STUCHTEY is Deputy Director of the GHIL. His main research interest is presently the history of European imperialism and his *Habilitationsschrift* on anti-colonialism from the early modern period to the twentieth century in a comparative perspective will be published in the series *Studien zur Internationalen Geschichte* (Oldenbourg, Munich). His most recent publication is (ed.), *Science across the European Empires, 1800–1950* (2005) and he is working on a new project on the history of adoption. A former editor of the *GHIL Bulletin*, he is on the boards of *European Review of History*, *Revue Européenne d'Histoire* and *Storia della Storiografia. History of Historiography*.

KARINA URBACH joined the GHIL in January 2004 as a Research Fellow in twentieth-century history. She studied modern history and political science at the University of Munich and took an M.Phil. in

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international relations and a Ph.D. in history at the University of Cambridge. She taught at the University of Bayreuth. Her fields of interest include British–German relations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. She is the editor of *European Aristocracies and the Radical Right in the Interwar Years* (2007) and *Royal Kinship: British–German Family Networks 1815–1914* (2008). Karina Urbach left the GHIL in March 2009.

Forthcoming Conferences

Local Histories, Global Heritage, Local Heritage, Global Histories: Colonialism, History, and the Making of Heritage. Conference to be held at the GHIL, 16–17 May 2009. Convener: Indra Sengupta (German Historical Institute London).

The relationship between colonial power structures, the ‘making’ of modern archaeological/architectural heritage, and the writing of histories of colonized societies since the early days of modern European colonial empires has for some time been the subject of scholarly interest. Taking the cue from Edward Said’s theorizing on Orientalism, one major focus of such studies has been on the hegemonic nature of colonial practices in the making of monuments and the writing of histories of colonized societies. Recent research has, for instance, drawn attention to the appropriation of local sites by colonial officials, archaeologists, and historians from local groups and communities and the re-framing of the histories of these sites in such a way as to serve the interests of colonialism. The ultimate goal was to emphasize the stabilizing, civilizing, and guardianship role of colonial rule in preserving the cultural heritage, history, and thus the social fabric of the colonies in order to provide legitimation for colonialism.

Comparatively less attention has been paid in studies of colonial archaeology, preservation, and heritage to the fact that colonialism itself was ‘neither monolithic nor omnipotent’. Despite the discursive thrust of colonial heritage thinking and history writing, in practice colonial officials and archaeologists were often circumscribed in their endeavours. This limitation on the autonomy of colonial regimes came from various sources: local communities and social practice on

the spot, but also groups of heritage thinkers in the imperial metropol- es and outside, all of whom engaged in various different and asym- metrical ways with preservation, heritage practices, and conceptual- izing the past. At the same time, the 'making' of heritage in colonized societies was also taking place against the backdrop of thinking about heritage in a global sense. Colonial systems on the one hand acted as major agents of such global ideas of heritage and enforced these in the colonies. On the other hand, colonialism was itself part of the chequered and contested history of globalized ideas of heritage, and colonial authorities often found themselves having to stave off the invasion of global heritage thinking, often by resorting to the argument of specificity of local practice.

The aim of the conference is to understand colonial practices of rewriting the past of colonized societies and heritage-making on the interface of the global and the local.

South Asian Experiences of the World Wars: New Evidence and New Approaches. Workshop jointly organized by the Centre of South Asian Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies (London), the German Historical Institute London, and the Zentrum Moderner Orient (Berlin), to be held at the GHIL and the Centre of South Asian Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, on 26 May 2009.

Since historiography is increasingly turning to the experiences and memories of war, the problem of a significant but largely 'forgotten' non-European participation in the world wars has also received some attention. South Asia was famously utilized as an 'English barracks in the Oriental seas' throughout the colonial period and, in previous- ly unseen dimensions, as a recruitment base during both world wars.

Since the 1990s, numerous publications have shed more light on the 'sepoy' (as the South Asian soldier was called), his institutional involvements and experiences. The exploration of South Asian expe- riences of the world wars in these writings has mainly been confined, however, to combatants, although auxiliary non-combatant forces were present in comparable numbers, and the impact of war was deep and transformative for the families of those shipped to the bat- tlefields of the world as well as for various other groups of South

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Asian society. With regard to South Asia, the social history of the world wars still struggles to fully step out of the long shadow of military history.

As for the materials used by historians to recover the experiences of South Asian soldiers, the availability of fascinating and voluminous censorship reports that contain numerous translations of soldiers' letters written or dictated during the First World War appears to have rendered the search for further material less urgent in the eyes of historians. Non-British archives have hardly been explored for such purposes, nor have the remarkable efforts of historians of Africa to generate oral histories of the world wars inspired similar projects in South Asia.

Yet several recent publications and ongoing research projects seem to indicate possibilities of expanding and transforming the field. This workshop will discuss the problem of locating/generating new evidence and will, for instance, introduce the rich depositories of various archives in Berlin on South Asian (combatant as well as non-combatant) prisoners of war in Germany during the First World War, including numerous unique sound recordings. Considering new methodological and conceptual approaches, the workshop will also seek to develop new perspectives for future research in this field.

For enquiries and registration please contact Ravi Ahuja (ra33@soas.ac.uk) or Indra Sengupta (isengupta@ghil.ac.uk).

Civic Virtue and Modernity: Debates on Rousseau in German-Speaking Europe and in Britain. Conference to be held at the GHIL, 5–6 June 2009. Conveners: Avi Lifschitz (Centre for Transnational History, University College London), and Andreas Gestrich (German Historical Institute London).

'The sovereign authority being everywhere the same, the same principle should be found in every well-constituted state' (*On the Social Contract*, III.4). The principle underpinning all forms of sovereignty was, according to Rousseau, virtue; this was his response to Montesquieu's characterization of virtue as the foundational tenet of democratic republics alone (as distinguished from fear in despotic regimes and honour in modern European monarchies). Civic virtue

maintained a central position throughout Rousseau's philosophy, from the early *Discourses* on the arts and sciences and on the origins of inequality to works on theatre, language, education, and politics. The impact of Rousseau's notion of civic virtue has been widely observed in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century France and in Rousseau's native republic, Geneva; it has frequently been invoked in relation to the American and French Revolutions. German-speaking Europe has been less intensively studied, if only because of the broad variety of political and cultural outlooks within the domains of the Holy Roman Empire and the Habsburg lands alongside Swiss cantons, Hanseatic towns, and other areas in Central Europe. The conference aims to examine the reception and transformation of Rousseau's notion of civic virtue in these different political, social, and religious contexts, while comparing them to English, Scottish and Irish responses.

Why Fighting Ends: A History of Surrender. International Conference of the University of Leeds and the University of Oxford in cooperation with the German Historical Institute London, to be held at Weetwood Hall, Leeds, 25-8 June. Convenors: Holger Afflerbach (University of Leeds), Hew Strachan (All Souls College, Oxford), and Andreas Gestrich (German Historical Institute London).

This conference proposal presents an international scholarly cooperation between several institutions with the aim producing and publishing a meticulously researched volume of high scholarly standard on the topic of 'surrender' in history. It will be a joint project of the University of Leeds and the Leverhulme Programme on the Changing Character of War at the University of Oxford; the German Historical Division of the German Army (Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt, Postdam) has also agreed to contribute. The conveners want to invite a group of specialists to present papers at an international conference at the end of June 2009, hosted by the University of Leeds. The Leverhulme Programme on the Changing Character of War will integrate the project into its running research programme on 'the changing character of war', which has already published six volumes with Oxford University Press and has two more in prepara-

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tion (Changing Character of War series). It is hoped that OUP will also publish this conference volume.

The actual list of authors includes, at the moment, sixteen speakers from Britain, nine from the USA, six from Germany, and one each from Austria, Canada, Ireland, and Japan. A clear concept, rigorous guidelines, careful discussion of the contributions during the conference, and careful editing of the manuscripts will guarantee maximum coherence of the completed work.

The projected outcome of our project is, as mentioned, a scholarly and carefully edited volume; the conference is the means to that end. The volume will offer stimulating and contrasting viewpoints and guarantee competence and diversity. To analyse the moment of surrender as closely as possible, we will ask our contributors to offer a 'thick description', based on sources, of a specific event which happened in their field of expertise. They will use the typical instruments of historians, namely, the close analysis of sources. They will be asked to describe the 'framework', that is, the actual military situation, the possibility of surrender, and then to analyse the wishes and motivations of the surrendering soldiers. They should then provide an outlook on the subsequent fate of the vanquished, that is, their fate in captivity or, as a returning but defeated soldier, at home.

Participation is possible only after previous registration. The number of places for attendance is limited. There is no registration fee, but participants have to pay the day-delegate rates of Weetwood Hall.

For further inquiries and information contact Patrick Bourne (conference-on-surrender@leeds.ac.uk).

Imperialkriege. Conference of the Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt Potsdam, organized jointly with the Arbeitskreis Militärgeschichte e. V., the German Historical Institute London (Benedikt Stuchey), and the Hamburg Institut für Sozialforschung, to be held in Potsdam, 29 June–1 July 2009.

This conference aims to achieve a historically and theoretically based understanding of asymmetrical and transcultural violent conflicts from the early modern period to modern times in diachronic and

international comparison. The term 'imperial wars' is intended to open the horizon for contributors to look at conflicts going beyond the high noon of the European colonial empires. Wars of decolonization and the most recent western interventions are to be investigated to see how far they fit into a tradition of violence in European expansion since about 1500, follow the same logic, and display comparable structures.

While the conference will focus mainly on the historical classification of imperial wars, a panel of distinguished experts in the fields of politics, the armed forces, and academia will debate the contemporary dimensions of the topic in a public panel discussion to be held on 30 June.

German Images of 'the West' in the 'Long Nineteenth Century'. Conference to be held at the GHIL, 2-4 July 2009, organized by Riccardo Bavaj and Bernhard Struck (St Andrews), and Andreas Gestrich and Martina Steber (German Historical Institute London).

Images of 'the West' have played a decisive role in modern German history. Until the middle of the twentieth century a sharp divide between 'Western civilization' and 'German culture' dominated the political discourse, but after 1949 German politicians ensured that the Federal Republic was anchored in 'the West' and German intellectuals alluded to the 'Western' role model. Models of the 'West' were adopted by historiography. They included the concept of 'Westernization' (Anselm Doering-Manteuffel), accentuated by consensus liberalism, and the normative model of 'the long road West' (Heinrich August Winkler), used to characterize a specific German path to modernity. However, in the process of analytic modelling almost inevitably unambiguous images of 'the West' are constructed. With a shift of focus to actual historical perceptions of 'the West' the unambiguousness starts to dissolve. What emerges instead is a plurality of conflicting notions.

Focusing mainly on the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the conference intends to historicize the concept. Examining elements of appropriation and rejection, taking seriously the spatial dimension, and grasping the concept's inherent dynamism, the conference

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seeks to scrutinize the function of images of 'the West' within political discourse.

For further information contact Martina Steber (msteber@ghil.ac.uk).

'Gentle Bobby' and Rigid 'Pickelhaube'? Communicating Order, Policing Society: A Comparison of Policing in Great Britain and Germany in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. Twentieth Colloquium for Police History, to be held at the GHIL, 9-11 July 2009. Conveners: Philipp Müller (University College London) and Andreas Gestrich (German Historical Institute London).

Differences between British and German society are palpable when it comes to policing. The strong institutional tie between the police and the military in Prussia, the lasting tradition of armed police forces and, finally, the history of extreme violence and the particular role the German police played in it are apparently absent from the British system. However, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries witnessed similar developments in technology, administration, and media in both societies. The central question is: how did crucial developments during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in technology, administration, and media impact on policing? In order to answer this question with regard to Great Britain and Germany the conference highlights three essential dimensions of policing in the modern period. First, how does 'cop culture' respond to the regulation of policing and under what circumstances do police officers modify and circumvent certain regulations while on the beat? Secondly, how did new technology facilitate the spread of police information, and did it change public opinion of the authority? Thirdly, how did the authorities exploit the various means of recording, and how did the recording itself impact on the representation of the matter?

Communities in Conflict: Civil Wars and their Legacies. Conference to be held at the James Callaghan Building, Swansea University, 4–5 Sept. 2009. Conveners: Regina Poertner (School of Humanities, University of Swansea), and Andreas Gestrich (German Historical Institute London).

Contemporary Western perceptions of civil wars and their cultural and political significance are to a large extent shaped by the seemingly endemic and interminable nature of such conflicts in post-colonial African and Asian societies. The media convey powerful images of intrastate violence that reflect and reinforce a consensus within Western political discourse about the profound 'otherness' of these societies and their deficiency when measured by Western standards of democratic statehood. By contrast, Western states are supposedly defined by mutually balancing and supportive powers of the state and non-governmental agents of 'civil society'. The cultural assumptions underlying the interpretation of non-European civil wars primarily in terms of their ethnic dimension have recently been called into question by empirical studies investigating the quantifiable economic and political determinants of civil wars. From a historical perspective, civil wars have played an important but deeply ambiguous part also in the formation of the modern Western state. The conference focuses on the significance of civil wars as defining moments in the life of political communities. A second objective is to explore the legacies of civil wars for present-day societies and modern political discourse. The intention is not to attempt a comprehensive historical survey or typology of civil wars, which existing studies reveal as posing complex methodological and terminological problems. Adopting a selective and pragmatic approach, the conference proposes to investigate the multiple meanings of a select number of European and non-European civil conflicts from an interdisciplinary and global perspective. The papers for this conference will thus deal with the impact of civil wars on the political culture, social relations, and historical memory of the societies concerned, and some of the papers will consider the long-term significance and legacy of past conflicts to today's world.

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Medieval History Seminar. Postgraduate research seminar organized by the German Historical Institute London (Jochen Schenk) and the German Historical Institute Washington (Carola Dietze) to be held at the GHIL, 8–11 Oct. 2009.

The German Historical Institutes in London and Washington are pleased to announce the sixth Medieval History Seminar, to be held in London from 8 to 11 Oct. 2009. The seminar is designed to bring together American, British, and German Ph.D. candidates and recent Ph.D. recipients (2007/8) in medieval history for a weekend of scholarly discussion and collaboration. They will have the opportunity to present their work to their peers as well as to distinguished scholars from both sides of the Atlantic. Conveners for the 2009 seminar will be Michael Borgolte (Humboldt University, Berlin), Frank Rexroth (University of Göttingen), Patrick J. Geary (University of California, Los Angeles), Barbara H. Rosenwein (Loyola University Chicago), Dame Janet L. Nelson (King's College London), and Miri Rubin (Queen Mary, University of London).

New Approaches to Political History: Writing British and German Contemporary History. Summer school to be held at the GHIL, 7–12 Sept. 2009. Organized by Kerstin Brückweh (German Historical Institute London) and Martina Steber (German Historical Institute London).

For some time, historians in Britain and Germany have been thinking (often independently of each other) about how a 'new' political history can be written. They start from an open, constructivist, and dynamic concept of politics, thereby releasing 'the political' from a perspective focused solely on (nation-)states, political parties, and interest groups. On the one hand, established themes such as power or rule are re-examined; on the other, attention is drawn to fields that are new to political history (for example, emotions). These new departures bear various labels, such as 'New Political History' or 'Cultural History of Politics'. So far there has been little exchange between British and German historians. The GHIL Summer School 'New Approaches to Political History: Writing British and German

Contemporary History' seeks to set up such an exchange, and to concentrate the dialogue on German and British history since 1945. In four sessions, Ph.D. students and post-doctoral researchers will debate their work and conduct a theoretical-methodological discussion under the guidance of German and British experts: (1) Changing focuses of attention: religion and emotion; (2) Linked spheres: politics and society; (3) New rules of the political game: state and parties in transition; (4) Politics in a globalized world: security and transnationalization.

For further information contact Martina Steber (msteber@ghil.ac.uk) or Kerstin Brückweh (kbrueckweh@ghil.ac.uk).

The Cultural Industries in the Late Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Britain and Germany Compared. Conference of the German Historical Institute London and the Centre for British Studies at the Humboldt University, Berlin organized by Christiane Eisenberg (Centre for British Studies) and Andreas Gestrich (German Historical Institute London), to be held at the GHIL, 20-1 Nov. 2009.

Increasingly during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, patrons, associations, courts, and the other public purveyors of culture were joined by private enterprises that approached the organization of cultural events as a business, using professional methods, such as targeted advertising and cooperation with the mass press, and employing professional artists and managers. These methods were applied not only to new cultural forms such as film, cinema, and sport, but also to such traditional ones as theatre, concerts, choral performances, and variety shows. The growing popularity of commercial culture irritated social reformers and politicians, and stimulated discussion of political interventions and new opportunities for social engineering.

As cultural industries of this sort had a long history in Britain, going back as far as the early modern period, they had become an accepted part of modern society by the late nineteenth century, like industrial production or the consumption of goods, and legal copyright was established early. By contrast, the literature on the cultural industries in Germany gives the impression that the breakthrough came later there, not until the end of the nineteenth century. It sug-

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gests that socially and politically, commercial culture was regarded in a highly critical way, some aspects of it being strongly rejected, and that the legal basis of commercialization was established with some delay. On the other hand, from the start, political parties, churches, and other ideological interests seem to have been readier to intervene politically and to nurture the cultural industries in Germany than in Britain—an aspect that is of interest in relation to the formulation and political instrumentalization of mass culture during the inter-war period.

The conference will investigate the context within which the cultural industries were created in Britain and Germany, and ask whether the paths of development and modes of reaction were really as different as the literature suggests. In addition, it will analyse perceptions and mutual cooperation between the actors.

German History Society Essay Prize

The German History Society (GHS), in association with the Royal Historical Society (RHS), will award a prize of £500 to the winner of their annual essay competition. In addition, the article will be considered for publication in *German History*.

The prize will be presented to the winner at the Annual General Meeting of the GHS in October 2009.

The Rules

- The essay can be on any aspect of German History, including the history of German-speaking people both within and beyond Europe.
- Any postgraduate registered for a degree in a university in either the UK or the Republic of Ireland is eligible to enter the competition. All postgraduates who submitted their dissertation within the last twelve months are also eligible.
- The text of the essay must not exceed 10,000 words.
- Two hard copies of the essay must be submitted to the office of the RHS, University College London, Gower Street, London WC1E 6BT by Monday 15 June 2009 along with details of the

author's name, address (including e-mail address), institutional affiliation and degree registration.

The Decision

- The essays submitted will be read by a jury of three historians, two nominated by the GHS and one by the RHS. (The two societies reserve the right to nominate additional jurors if this is considered appropriate.)
- The jury reserves the right not to award a prize in any particular year.
- The decision of the jury is final.
- The jury will make its decision by October 2009.

Eva Alexandra Mayring

On 24 August 2008 Dr Eva Alexandra Mayring died prematurely of a severe illness. Eva Mayring had been a Fellow of the German Historical Institute London from 1990 to 1993, when she took up a leading position at the Deutsche Museum in Munich. While in London, Eva Mayring worked on a post-doctoral research project on Great Britain and democratic development in Germany after 1945. Before becoming one of the Institute's regular Research Fellows she had already worked in London since 1987 on a research project also attached to the Institute, as well as the Bundesarchiv in Koblenz and the Niedersächsische Staatsarchiv, on the cataloguing of documents on British post-war occupation policy held by the British National Archives/Public Record Office in London. Eva Mayring was an able historian and a wonderful colleague. While at the Institute she was elected representative of the research fellows. We would like to pay this tribute to her as an amiable and dear colleague who will be sadly missed by her friends and former colleagues at the German Historical Institute London.

LIBRARY NEWS

Recent Acquisitions

This list contains a selection of recent publications in German and English, primarily on German history, acquired by the Library of the GHIL in the past year.

- Albert Aquensis, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. and trans. Susan B. Edgington, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007)
- Aly, Götz (ed.), *Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden durch das nationalsozialistische Deutschland 1933–1945*, i. *Deutsches Reich, 1933–1937*, ed. Wolf Gruner (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2008)
- Amend, Anja, Anette Baumann, et al. (eds.), *Gerichtslandschaft Altes Reich: Höchste Gerichtsbarkeit und territoriale Rechtsprechung*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Höchsten Gerichtsbarkeit im Alten Reich, 52 (Cologne: Böhlau, 2007)
- Bach, Steven, *Leni: The Life and Work of Leni Riefenstahl* (New York: Vintage Books, 2008)
- Bähr, Johannes, *Der Flick-Konzern im Dritten Reich* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2008)
- Bald, Detlef and Wolfram Wette (eds.), *Alternativen zur Wiederbewaffnung: Friedenskonzeptionen in Westdeutschland 1945–1955*, Frieden und Krieg, 11 (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2008)
- Bange, Oliver and Gottfried Niedhart (eds.), *Helsinki 1975 and the Transformation of Europe* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008)
- Baum, Dajana, *Johann Friedrich Benzenberg, 1777–1846. 'Doktor der Weltweisheit' und 'Professor der Konstitutionen': Verfassungskonzeptionen aus der Zeit des ersten preußischen Verfassungskampfes*, Düsseldorf Schrften zur neueren Landesgeschichte und zur Geschichte Nordrhein-Westfalens, 79 (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2008)
- Baumgart, Peter, Bernhard R. Kroener, and Heinz Stübiger (eds.), *Die Preußische Armee: Zwischen Ancien Régime und Reichsgründung* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2008)
- Beach, Alison I. (ed.), *Manuscripts and Monastic Culture: Reform and Renewal in Twelfth-Century Germany*, Medieval Church Studies, 13 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007)

- Beck, Hans, Peter Scholz, and Uwe Walter (eds.), *Die Macht der Wenigen: Aristokratische Herrschaftspraxis, Kommunikation und 'edler' Lebensstil in Antike und Früher Neuzeit*, Historische Zeitschrift. Beiheft. NS 47 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2008)
- Becker, Bert, *Georg Michaelis: Preußischer Beamter, Reichskanzler, christlicher Reformers, 1857–1936. Eine Biographie* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2007)
- Becker, Josef (ed.), *Bismarcks spanische 'Diversion' 1870 und der preußisch-deutsche Reichsgründungskrieg*, iii. *Spanische 'Diversion', 'Emscher Depesche' und Reichsgründungslgende bis zum Ende der Weimarer Republik. 12. Juli 1870–1. September 1932* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2007)
- Bell, David A., *The First Total War: Napoleon's Europe and the Birth of Modern Warfare* (London: Bloomsbury, 2008)
- Benz, Wolfgang (ed.), *Der Ort des Terrors*, viii. *Riga-Kaiserwald, Warschau, Vaivara, Kauen (Kaunas), Plaszów, Kulmhof/Chelmno, Belzec, Sobibór, Treblinka* (Munich: Beck, 2008)
- Benz, Wolfgang and Barbara Distel (eds.), *Hinzert: Das Konzentrationslager Hinzert und seine Außenlager* (Munich: Beck, 2008)
- Benz, Wolfgang, *Die Protokolle der Weisen von Zion: Die Legende von der jüdischen Weltverschwörung* (Munich: Beck, 2007)
- Berendse, Gerrit-Jan and Ingo Cornils (eds.), *Baader-Meinhof Returns: History and Cultural Memory of German Left-Wing Terrorism*, German Monitor, 70 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2008)
- Berghahn, Volker Rolf and Simone Lässig (eds.), *Biography between Structure and Agency: Central European Lives in International Historiography*, Studies in German History, 9 (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008)
- Biefang, Andreas, Michael Epkenhans, and Klaus Tenfelde (eds.), *Das politische Zeremoniell im Deutschen Kaiserreich 1871–1918*, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, 153; *Parlament und Öffentlichkeit*, 1 (Düsseldorf: Droste, 2008)
- Biskup, Thomas and Marc Schalenberg (eds.), *Selling Berlin: Imagebildung und Stadtmarketing von der preußischen Residenz bis zur Bundeshauptstadt*, Beiträge zur Stadtgeschichte und Urbanisierungsforschung, 6 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2008)
- Biskup, Thomas and Martin Kohlrausch (eds.), *Das Erbe der Monarchie: Nachwirkungen einer deutschen Institution seit 1918* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2008)

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- Borgolte, Michael, Juliane Schiel, et al. (eds.), *Mittelalter im Labor: Die Mediävistik testet Wege zu einer transkulturellen Europawissenschaft, Europa im Mittelalter*, 10 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2008)
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- Boyer, Josef, *Die Grünen im Bundestag, i. 1983–1987, Quellen zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien. Reihe 4: Deutschland seit 1945*, 14,1, 2 vols. (Düsseldorf: Droste, 2008)
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- Brandt, Willy, *Verbrecher und andere Deutsche: Ein Bericht aus Deutschland 1946*, ed. Einhart Lorenz, *Willy-Brandt-Dokumente*, 1 (Bonn: Dietz, 2007)
- Breuer, Stefan, *Die Völkischen in Deutschland: Kaiserreich und Weimarer Republik* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2008)
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- Brocks, Christine, *Die bunte Welt des Krieges: Bildpostkarten aus dem Ersten Weltkrieg, 1914–1918, Frieden und Krieg*, 10 (Essen: Klartext, 2008)
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- Fritz, Regina, Carola Sachse, and Edgar Wolfrum (eds.), *Nationen und ihre Selbstbilder: Postdiktatorische Gesellschaften in Europa, Diktaturen und ihre Überwindung im 20. und 21. Jahrhundert*, 1 (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2008)
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- Hürter, Johannes and Jürgen Zarusky (eds.), *Besatzung, Kollaboration, Holocaust: Neue Studien zur Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden*, Schriftenreihe der Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte, 97 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2008)
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- Jaworski, Rudolf and Peter Stachel (eds.), *Die Besetzung des öffentlichen Raumes: Politische Plätze, Denkmäler und Straßennamen im europäischen Vergleich* (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2007)
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- König, Wolfgang, *Kleine Geschichte der Konsumgesellschaft: Konsum als Lebensform der Moderne* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2008)
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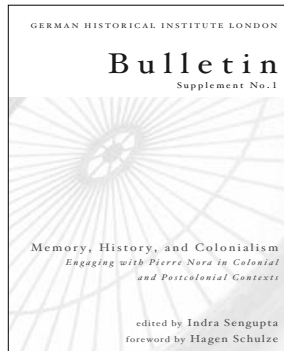
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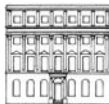
Memory, History, and Colonialism
Engaging with Pierre Nora in Colonial and Postcolonial Contexts

Edited by Indra Sengupta
Foreword by Hagen Schulze

The articles in this first supplement of the GHIL Bulletin address some of the major concerns of the use of memory as an analytical tool in historical research by engaging with Pierre Nora's notion of *lieux de mémoire*. Based on studies of colonialism and postcolonialism, the articles take issue with the claims to exclusivity that Nora made for the approach: that is, its applicability to the nation-state and national identity and its suitability for the French national context alone. The aim of this collection is to use the specific parameters of colonialism and postcolonialism to enter into a methodological dialogue with the *lieux de mémoire* approach to the writing of history.

With contributions by

Aleida Assmann, Astrid Erll, Stephen Heathorn,
Monica Juneja, Brigitte Reinwald, Indra Sengupta,
and Jay M. Winter



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