

AANZET

Historisch Tijdschrift

Jaargang 39 nr. 2

Women's Bodies as Ideological Battlefields:

The Politics of the Veil in Iran

Franca Haug

Innocent Manipulation: Animation

Propaganda in the Second World War

Emma Rademaker

A Clandestine Existence: Commemoration of the Second World War by Student Association

Unitas S.R.

Michelle Moonen



REDACTIONEEL

Beste lezer,

Voor u ligt de tweede editie van de 39^e jaargang van *Historisch Tijdschrift Aanzet*. Er is weer veel veranderd binnen de redactie. Hanne en Fabienne delen het hoofdredacteurschap nu. Jessica en Berber versterken Floor als eindredacteurs. Doris en Sylvia hebben zich bij ons PR- en webredactie team aangesloten. Ook onze podcast *Studio '82* is gegroeid. Deze podcast heeft een geheel eigen redactie, bestaande uit vijf producenten. De podcast is op Spotify te beluisteren.

In het eerste artikel van deze editie, onderzoekt Franca Haug hoe het gedwongen ontsluitingsbeleid van Reza Shah Pahlavi de lichamen van Iraanse vrouwen politiseerde en de effecten van deze politisering. In het tweede artikel kijkt Emma Rademaker naar de wereld van geanimeerde propaganda in de Tweede Wereldoorlog. Ze concentreert zich op de Sovjet-Unie en nazi-Duitsland, waarbij ze Ian Kershaw's concept van '(non-)interventionisme' gebruikt om de twee te vergelijken en te contrasteren. Het artikel geeft ook een korte geschiedenis van animatiefilms in deze twee landen. In het laatste artikel richt Michelle Moonen zich op het dynamische samenspel tussen uitgevonden verzonnen tradities, denkbeeldige gemeenschappen en herdenking van de Tweede Wereldoorlog binnen de Utrechtse studentenvereniging Unitas S.R.

Zoals gebruikelijk worden de artikelen afgewisseld met onze rubrieken. De *Beeldspraak* van Berber de Bruin kijkt naar de status van de Ampelmann als Duits icoon en hoe deze verbonden is aan het verschijnsel 'Ostalgie.' In deze editie van *Onder een historische loep* onderzoekt Thomas Rademaker kritisch de weergave van politiek en oorlogvoering in Ridley Scott's film

Napoleon. Vervolgens analyseert Doris van Wijk in *Uit het archief van* hoe je gebruik kan maken van een fictief verhaal om de geschiedenis van huwelijkenhet trouwen in de negentiende eeuw te vertellen. Voor *De passie van* interviewen Fabienne van Wijngaarden en Hanne Meulenbeld Dr. Peter Malcontent over zijn platencollectie. Rajae el Morabet Belhaj analyseert recenseert hoe de film *Les Hommes Libres* de rol van Noord-Afrikaanse moslims in het Franse verzet tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog belicht. Tot slot recenseren Jessica Tuinstra en Sylvia van Hees het boek *Middeleeuwse medemensen*.

Veel leesplezier!

Namens de redactie,

Fabienne van Wijngaarden en Hanne Meulenbeld
Hoofdredacteurs

EDITORIAL

Dear reader,

Before you lies the second edition of the 39th volume of *Historical Journal Magazine Aanzet*. A lot has changed within the editorial team. Hanne and Fabienne are now both now share the editorship-in-chief. Jessica and Berber joined Floor as final editors. Doris and Sylvia have joined our PR team that manages the PR and website. Our podcast *Studio '82* has also grown. This podcast has its own editorial staff, consisting of fourfive producers. The podcast can be listened to on Spotify.

In the first article of this edition, Franca Haug examines how Reza Shah Pahlavi's forced unveiling policy politicized the bodies of Iranian women and the effects of this politicization. In the second article, Emma Rademaker looks at the world of animated propaganda in the Second World War. She focuses on the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany, using Ian Kershaw's concept of ""(non-)interventionism"" to compare and contrast the two. The article also provides a brief history of animated films in these two countries. In the last article, Michelle Moonen focuses on the dynamic interplay between invented traditions, imaginary communities and commemoration of the Second World War within the Utrecht student association Unitas S.R.

As usual, the articles alternate with our rubricssections. The *Beeldspraak* by Berber de Bruin looks at the status of the Ampelmann as a German icon and how it is connected to the phenomenon of 'Ostalgie.' In this edition of *Onder een historische loep*, Thomas Rademaker critically examines the representation of politics and warfare in Ridley Scott's film *Napoleon*. Doris van Wijk then analyses how you can use a fictional story to tell the history of marriage in the nineteenth century in the *Uit het archief van*. For *De passie van* Fabienne van Wijngaarden

and Hanne Meulenbeld interview Dr. Peter Malcontent about his record collection. Rajae el Morabet Belhaj reviews how the film *Les Hommes Libres* illuminates the role of North African Muslims in the French Resistance during World War II. Finally, Jessica Tuinstra and Sylvia van Hees review the book *Middeleeuwse medemensen*.

Enjoy your reading!

On behalf of the editors,

Fabienne van Wijngaarden and Hanne Meulenbeld
Editors-in-chief



UHSK

Historisch Tijdschrift Aanzet is opgericht in 1982. Sinds 2000 wordt het tijdschrift uitgegeven door de Utrechtse Historische Studentenkring. Deze jaargang bestaat uit drie nummers.

De redactie biedt jonge historici de ruimte artikelen te publiceren op basis van historisch onderzoek of recente historische uitgaven.

De Aanzetredactie bestaat uit studenten Geschiedenis die op vrijwillige basis werken.

De redactie heeft ernaar gestreefd rechthebbenden van copyright te achterhalen. Zij die menen aanspraak te maken op bepaalde rechten worden vriendelijk verzocht contact op te nemen.

POSTADRES

Historisch Tijdschrift Aanzet
Drift 6
3512 BS Utrecht

ONLINE

redactie.aanzet@gmail.com
www.aanzetonline.nl
@aanzetonline op Instagram
@Aanzet, Historisch Tijdschrift op LinkedIn

Abonnementen

Sluit een abonnement af door een mail te sturen naar redactie.aanzet@gmail.com. Een jaarabonnement kost €10,-. Een steunlid betaalt €15,-. Losse nummers zijn op aanvraag beschikbaar en kosten €5,-. Rek. Nr.: NL45 TRIO 0379 4550 80 t.n.v. UHSK Utrecht o.v.v. het gewenste abonnement.

Hoofdredactie

Fabienne van Wijngaarden & Hanne Meulenbeld

Eindredactie

Floor Schuurmans, Berber de Bruin & Jessica Tuinstra

Webredactie en PR

Beau Visser, Marissa van de Kreke, Doris van Wijk & Sylvia van Hees

Vormgeving

Lars Tupker & Mika Feldman

Redactie

Anna Haima, Anne Habes, Niels Verheul, Tessa Russchen, Thomas Rademaker.

Omslag

Woman with a veil. Jean-Léon Gérôme. Bron: Wikimedia Commons.



Scan om direct naar onze website te gaan!

Mei 2024

ARTIKELEN

- 1 **Redactioneel - Editorial**
Fabienne van Wijngaarden & Hanne Meulenbeld
- 5 **Women's Bodies as Ideological Battlefields: The Politics of the Veil in Iran**
Franca Haug
- 20 **Innocent Manipulation: Animation Propaganda in the Second World War**
Emma Rademaker
- 32 **A Clandestine Existence: Commemoration of the Second World War by Student Association Unitas S.R.**
Michelle Moonen

RUBRIEKEN

- 13 **Beeldspraak - De Ampelmann: DDR-erfgoed als een toeristisch icoon**
Berber de Bruin
- 16 **Onder een historische loep - Dissecting the politics and warfare of Napoleon (2023)**
Thomas Rademaker
- 26 **Uit het archief van... - De realiteit van fictie**
Doris van Wijk
- 29 **De passie van... - Dr. Peter Malcontent: kasten vol vinyl**
Hanne Meulenbeld en Fabienne van Wijngaarden

RECENSIES

- 38 **The Forgotten Memory of the Free Men in France**
Rajae el Morabet Belhaj
- 41 **De donkere eeuwen belicht**
Jessica Tuinstra en Sylvia van Hees



A photograph taken in the city of Tabriz during the Islamic Revolution (1978). Source: Wikimedia Commons, <https://bit.ly/48oPsRZ>.

Women's Bodies as Ideological Battlefields: The Politics of the Veil in Iran

Franca Haug

In this article, Franca Haug will explore the influence Reza Shah's veiling policy had, and continues to have, on the lives of Iranian women. She does this by investigating how the legacy of the forced unveiling under Reza Shah Pahlavi (1878-1944) affects Iranian women in the Islamic Republic today. She concludes that if women can opt to veil or unveil, this would make the cloth a symbol of women's agency, rather than their oppression. However, as long as women's bodies are politicized, women will remain objects through whom societies fight their ideological battles.

In September 2022, protests erupted across Iran in response to the death of twenty-two-year-old Mahsa Amini in police custody. She had been arrested by the Guidance Patrol for wearing her veil "inappropriately".¹ Amini became a symbol of the repression felt by Iranians

– especially women – in the Islamic Republic. Veiling and the societal debates surrounding it have a long history in Iran.

In the seventh century, the introduction of Islam to the region of today's Iran led to the veil turning from an elite status symbol to an increasingly common garment. During the Safavid period (1501-1736), the *chōdor* – a cloth covering the whole body besides hands and face – became the most common form of the veil and remains so until this day.² During the eighteenth and

¹ Feranak Amidi, "Hashtags, a viral song and memes empower Iran's protesters," *BBC*, November 2, 2022.

² Ashraf Zahedi, "Contested Meaning of the Veil and Political Ideologies of Iranian Regimes," *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 3, no. 3 (2007): 77-80.

nineteenth centuries, Iranian elites began traveling to Europe and became inspired by Western development. Among many other reforms, some intellectuals advocated for unveiling – as they believed veiling signified backwardness and otherness.³ It was in this environment that the avid reformer Reza Shah Pahlavi was able to rise to power in 1925. On January 8, 1936, in an event known as *Kashf-e hijab* (the unveiling), Reza Shah banned veiling in Iran, a policy which stayed in place until his forced abdication in 1941.⁴ In the years before the 1978-1979 revolution, many citizens grew increasingly frustrated with the social changes and destructive Western influence, which they dubbed 'West-toxification'.⁵ They turned to Islam as a solution to these social problems.⁶ As the veil was considered a visual representation of Islamic piety, it was viewed as a defense mechanism against the West.⁷ Two years after its founding in 1979, the Islamic Republic made veiling compulsory.⁸ Since then, women have been forced to veil in public. If they do not comply, they can be violently punished and arrested, like Mahsa Amini.⁹

³ Afsaneh Najmabadi, *Women with Mustaches and Men Without Beards: Gender and Sexual Anxieties of Iranian Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 133.

⁴ Houchang Chehabi, "Staging the Emperor's New Clothes: Dress Codes and Nation-Building under Reza Shah," *Iranian Studies* 26, no.3/4 (1993): 220; Zahedi, "Contested Meaning of the Veil," 82.

⁵ Zephie Begolo, "Veiled Politics," *History Today*, September 2008, 43.

⁶ Zahedi, "Contested Meaning of the Veil," 85-6.

⁷ Reina Lewis, and Sara Mills, "Introduction," in *Feminist Postcolonial Theory: A Reader*, eds. Reina Lewis and Sara Mills (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003), 8.

⁸ Azar Tabari, "The Enigma of Veiled Iranian Women," *Feminist Review* no. 5 (1980): 19-20.



Fig. 1: Reza Shah Pahlavi in the 1930s. Source: Wikimedia Commons, <http://bit.ly/4b0v6jZ>.

Veiled women faced police brutality and state-issued violence

This article will explore the influence Reza Shah's veiling policy had, and continues to have on the lives of Iranian women, by investigating how the legacy of the forced unveiling under Reza Shah Pahlavi (1878-1944) affects Iranian women in the Islamic Republic today.¹⁰ The first part examines Reza Shah's dress reform and its effects on Iranian women. Subsequently, the politicization of women's bodies in the Islamic Republic of Iran will be explored. This article argues that neither forced veiling

⁹ Begolo, "Veiled Politics," 44; Dian Safitri, "What Went Wrong With The Veil? A Comparative Analysis of the Discourse of the Veil in France, Iran, and Indonesia," *Al-Jōmi'ah* 48, no.1 (2010): 81-100.

¹⁰ Due to the availability of sources, this article mainly focuses on the experiences of urban, upper-class women.

nor unveiling improves the situation of women. As long as their bodies are politicized, women will remain objects through whom societies fight their ideological battles.

Reza Shah: feminist liberator or brutal oppressor?

Before Reza Shah's reign, Iran was a deeply patriarchal country. As Abol-Qasem Aref Qazvini, one of the most popular Iranian poets of the early twentieth century, wrote: "There is no one more deprived in this country than women."¹¹ Women were not considered equal and were subjected to the decisions of their male guardians.¹² They were largely restricted to the home, which was deemed female territory, while the public sphere was regarded as male terrain. If they went into public, women were considered trespassers and thus required to diminish their presence by veiling.¹³ In Islam, female sexuality is imagined to be incredibly powerful, and it is believed that the mere sight of a woman can seduce a man and lead to societal chaos. Consequently, these spatial and visual restrictions were put into place to protect society from *fitna* (chaos) and to protect women from sexual harassment.¹⁴ However, in effect, they lead to the exclusion of women from the public sphere, consequently preventing them from becoming

educated or working. In the years leading up to and during the 1905-1911 Constitutional Revolution, some women began protesting against these misogynistic rules.¹⁵ Activists founded organizations and published magazines advocating for their rights.¹⁶ This was to little avail. Article 3 of the Electoral Law of September 9, 1906, banned women from voting, stating: "The persons who are entirely deprived of electoral rights are as follows: (i) women", while article 5 barred them "from being elected".¹⁷ Similarly, the Iranian constitution, implemented in 1907, did not improve the rights of women, instead defining them "as dependent wives and daughters within male-headed households".¹⁸

After ascending to power in 1925, Reza Shah Pahlavi quickly began instituting reforms.¹⁹ He viewed women as central to his modernization plans because he believed they were crucial in transmitting his ideology to the next generation.²⁰ Through the Shah's reforms, women were able to gain an education and join the labor market. He implemented law changes that removed some misogynistic inequalities. For example, the criminal code of 1940 abolished a law that had previously equated "the word of one male witness with that of two females".²¹ One of the



Fig. 2: Iranian woman wearing a chador in 2021. Source: Parastoo Maleki via Unsplash, <https://bit.ly/3HbHmjU>.

reforms Reza Shah believed to be most important for societal progress, was women's unveiling.²² In her research on the veil in Iran, sociologist Ashraf Zahedi argues that the female body is 'contested terrain' through which political battles are fought.²³ According to her, women are considered representations of nations and thus have to succumb to the social norms that suit the contemporary hegemonic ideology. Reza Shah wanted Iran to be perceived as a Western and modern state, and used women's bodies as a symbol for these changes.

The veiled Iranian woman became symbols of the revolution

The forced unveiling was met with mixed responses. Many upper-class women felt extremely liberated by this policy, and enthusiastically took off their veil, as they had been fighting for this right for decades.²⁴ However, the majority of Iranian women – especially lower-class, conservative, and Muslim women – struggled deeply under this policy. They had taken great pride in their veil, which they considered "a source of respect, virtue, protection".²⁵ Without the veil, they felt naked, shameful, and embarrassed.²⁶

Consequently, many women stayed at home and thus were unable to go to bathhouses, restaurants, and other public spaces.²⁷ The unveiling reform made them even more socially isolated and excluded from the public sphere than they had been before. More significantly, however, veiled women were unable to receive an education or go to work, as the Shah ensured that veiled women would be fired.²⁸ Therefore, *Kashf-e hijab* negated many of the positive changes achieved through Reza Shah's other reforms. Veiled women faced police brutality and state-issued violence, as the Shah had instructed the police and military to employ physical force to remove their veils. Conversely, women who appeared unveiled in public still risked experiencing violence. The local populace frequently harassed unveiled women, as they were considered to be naked.²⁹ Additionally, this policy

¹¹ Abbas Amanat, *Iran: A Modern History* (London: Yale University Press, 2019), 378.

¹² Noorian Zhinia, "Gender Feminism and Sexuality," Lecture 5, *Iran and the Modern Middle East: Regional and International Politics* (May 8, 2023).

¹³ Fatima Mernissi, "The Meaning of Spatial Boundaries," in *Feminist Postcolonial Theory: A Reader*, ed. Reina Lewis and Sara Mill (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003), 189.

¹⁴ Floya Anthias and Nira Yuval-Davis, "Introduction," in *Woman-Nation-State*, ed. Floya Anthias and Nira Yuval-Davis (London: The MacMillan Press LTD, 1989), 15; Safitri, "What Went Wrong With The Veil?," 86.

¹⁵ Amanat, *Iran: A Modern History*, 363.

¹⁶ Zahedi, "Contested Meaning of the Veil," 81.

¹⁷ Edward Browne, *The Persian Revolution of 1905-1909* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1910), 351-400.

¹⁸ Haleh Afshar, "Women and Reproduction in Iran," in *Woman-Nations-State*, eds. Floya Anthias and Nira Yuval Davis (London: The MacMillan Press LTD, 1989), 113.

¹⁹ Afshar, "Women and Reproduction in Iran," 113; Zahedi, "Contested Meaning of the Veil," 81.

²⁰ Afshar, "Women and Reproduction in Iran," 113.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Zahedi, "Contested Meaning of the Veil," 81.

²³ Ibid., 75-98.

²⁴ Begolo, "Veiled Politics," 42.

²⁵ Chehabi, "Staging the Emperor's New Clothes," 220; Zahedi, "Contested Meaning of the Veil," 82.

²⁶ Begolo, "Veiled Politics," 42; Chehabi, "Staging the Emperor's New Clothes," 218; Zahedi, "Contested Meaning of the Veil," 82.

²⁷ Chehabi, "Staging the Emperor's New Clothes," 219; Zahedi, "Contested Meaning of the Veil," 82.

²⁸ Zahedi, "Contested Meaning of the Veil," 82.



Fig. 3: A photograph taken in the city of Tabriz during the Islamic Revolution (1978). Source: Wikimedia Commons, <https://bit.ly/48oPsRZ>.

increased the vulnerability of marginalized groups. Sex workers, for example, were banned from unveiling to prevent the policy from becoming associated with “unwholesome mores”.³⁰ This made sex workers recognizable to anyone and thus subject to more harassment. Due to all this violence, many women only left their houses at night and some even fled the country.³¹ Thus, ironically, the Shah’s ‘emancipatory’ clothing reform increased violence against women and deprived the majority of women of choice.³²

“There is no one more deprived in this country than women”

²⁹ Chehabi, “Staging the Emperor’s New Clothes,” 220.

³⁰ Ibid., 219.

³¹ Ibid., 220.

³² Zahedi, “Contested Meaning of the Veil,” 82.

Reza Shah knew that *Kashf-e hijab* would upset the majority of Iranians, nevertheless, he had proven unwilling to compromise on the issue. His prime minister’s proposal to introduce a less radical form of unveiling was rejected. Furthermore, when women began wearing long dresses and headscarves to cope with the decree, the Shah ordered authorities to prevent this behavior.³³ In an attempt to explain these actions, historian Houchang Chehabi theorizes that Reza Shah viewed unveiling and his other dress reforms as the key to nation-building.³⁴ The Shah believed that unified clothing would build a strong nation, both internally, by creating a united people through the standardization of dress, and externally, by being accepted as an equal nation in the international community through the westernization of Iranian dress. In his speech during *Kashf-e hijab*, Reza Shah stated that the emancipation and unveiling of women allowed them to

³³ Chehabi, “Staging the Emperor’s New Clothes,” 217, 220.

³⁴ Ibid., 209-29.

serve their homeland.³⁵ This illustrates that his policy, which negatively impacted many Iranian women, was about nationalism and politics, rather than women themselves.

The aftermath

In their research, the sociologists Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias examine the relationship between women and the nation.³⁶ They posit that there are five ways in which women can be involved in national processes: as active participants in national and political struggles; by reproducing the boundaries of the group; by signifying differences between national groups; by birthing members of the national group; and by transmitting the culture. The following section will apply the first three ways women are involved in national and ethnic processes to the Islamic Republic of Iran, to examine how the veil and thus women have been politicized.³⁷

Women can participate in nation-building through their participation in political struggles, according to Yuval-Davis and Anthias.³⁸ During the protests against the Pahlavi Dynasty in 1978, women participated *en masse*. Almost all female protestors donned *chōdors*, even if they did not wear them in their everyday lives. The revolutionaries regarded the veils as so significant to their cause that they handed them out to unveiled women during the demonstrations.³⁹ The black *chōdor* and the veiled Iranian women thus became symbols of the revolution.⁴⁰

³⁵ Ibid., 218, 223-5.

³⁶ Anthias and Yuval-Davis, “Introduction,” 8.

³⁷ Ibid., 7.

³⁸ Ibid., 10.

³⁹ Tabari, “The Enigma of Veiled Iranian Women,” 19.

⁴⁰ Begolo, “Veiled Politics,” 42.

According to the Iranian feminist Azar Tabari, the 1978 Islamic Revolution prompted unveiled women to actively choose the veil as a symbol of resistance and solidarity with their veiled sisters.⁴¹ That the veil gained such importance as a revolutionary symbol was an after-effect of Reza Shah’s dress reform. The revolution sought to distance itself from Western influence and overthrow the Pahlavi dynasty – founded by Reza Shah. By taking up the veil, demonstrators effectively distanced themselves from both the West and the dynasty, as both had originally caused the unveiling. Significantly, female protestors chose to wear the veil. This exemplifies that the veil can be a powerful symbol of women’s strength – rather than their oppression – as long as it is donned voluntarily.

Both nations were (ab)using women to further their agenda

Additionally, Yuval-Davis and Anthias state that women are involved in national processes as reproducers and transformers of national and ethnic categories.⁴² They serve as a symbol of the nation and what it wants to stand for. According to journalist Zephie Begolo, women’s bodies become “a walking advertisement for a prescribed way of life”.⁴³ Reza Shah used unveiled women as symbols of a new, modern, and progressive Iran. Similarly, the Islamic Republic uses the veiled woman as a symbol of their new Iran, which prides itself on its religiousness, traditionalism,

⁴¹ Tabari, “The Enigma of Veiled Iranian Women,” 19-31.

⁴² Anthias and Yuval-Davis, “Introduction,” 7.

⁴³ Begolo, “Veiled Politics,” 43.

and anti-Western stance.⁴⁴ Iranian stamps and other visual displays have featured women wearing the *chōdor*, thus expressing the values of the new nation to the world. The regime considers women the bearers of authentic Iranian and Muslim culture.⁴⁵

Finally, Yuval-Davis and Anthias claim that women are frequently used to establish the differences between ethnicities and nations.⁴⁶ Especially their body, clothing, and sexuality tend to play a role in the distinction from other cultures.⁴⁷ In her comparative study of the veil in different countries, the political scientist Dian Safitri finds that women's bodies are used as battlegrounds in the ideological conflict between the West and Islam.⁴⁸ This is especially evident in the Islamic Republic, which considers the *chōdor* a symbolic border between 'us' and the West. The regime thus uses women's bodies "to alienate the 'foreign influence'".⁴⁹ Western women are considered to be behaving like 'sex objects' and disrespecting themselves and also their family's honor.⁵⁰ Consequently, Iranian women who refuse to veil are considered 'West-toxified' agents of Western imperialism and used as scapegoats.⁵¹

The most long-lasting impact of Reza Shah's unveiling policy was the

politicization of women's bodies. He spearheaded the state's intrusion on women's personal choices.⁵² Furthermore, the Shah enabled the public to assign meaning to women's bodies and clothes: if a woman was unveiled, she symbolized modern Iran; if she was veiled, she symbolized backwardness. Consequently, their bodies were used as signifiers of grand societal debates, such as about religion, nationalism, and Westernization.⁵³ He problematized the veil in Iranian politics, which enabled subsequent rulers to do the same.⁵⁴ In the Islamic Republic of Iran, founded in 1979, women are forced to wear the *chōdor*. If they do not comply, *basij* (a paramilitary organization) can punish them.⁵⁵ Thus, the situations of women under Reza Shah and the Islamic Republic are eerily alike. In both states, the political leadership denies women the right to choose and "to define their own actions".⁵⁶ Their freedom of religion and expression is infringed upon through the political interjection in their clothing. As they have almost no voice in the public discourse about their bodies and rights, they are objects rather than actors.⁵⁷

Agents or objects?

This article examined the effects of Reza Shah Pahlavi's forced unveiling policy on women, both during his reign and in the Islamic Republic. While the Shah passed many progressive measures, enabling women to be educated and work outside the home, the forced unveiling significantly diminished their positive effects. Many women were ashamed to leave the house without their veil, and were thus unable to gain an education or join the workforce. Furthermore, during the period from 1936 to 1941, both unveiled and veiled women were exposed to much violence, the former perpetrated by police and the latter by conservative and religious parts of the population.

The most significant effect of the unveiling policy, however, was the politicization of women's bodies. By preventing women from choosing their own clothes, Reza Shah reduced their agency. He objectified them and turned their bodies into advertisements for the modernization and Westernization he wanted to project onto the world. Reza Shah regarded women as symbols of the nation, rather than individuals. This politicization allowed the Islamic Republic of Iran to do the same, decades later. They have forcibly veiled women to present themselves as a deeply pious and conservative nation. Both nations were (ab)using women to further their agenda.

Each regime was focused on using women's bodies to present their nation in a certain way, rather than aiming to improve the lives of its female subjects. Consequently, neither veiling nor unveiling contributed to a better situation for women as a whole. In order to become fully-fledged citizens, women need to be able to make their own choices and define their actions without political intervention. If women, both in Iran and in the rest of the world, can opt to veil or unveil, this would make the cloth a symbol of women's agency, rather than their oppression. However, as long as women's bodies are politicized, women will remain objects through

whom societies fight their ideological battles.

Franca Haug is currently doing a Master of Philosophy in Global and Area Studies at the University of Oxford. She is interested in the topics of gender, discrimination, politics, collective violence, and genocide. In 2023, she graduated with a Bachelor in History from Utrecht University.

⁴⁴ Zahedi, "Contested Meaning of the Veil," 91.

⁴⁵ Begolo, "Veiled Politics," 43.

⁴⁶ Anthias and Yuval-Davis, "Introduction," 7.

⁴⁷ Deniz Kandiyoti, "Identity and its Discontents: Women and the Nation," *Women living under muslim laws Dossier* 20 (July 1998): 7.

⁴⁸ Safitri, "What Went Wrong With The Veil?," 81-100.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, "What Went Wrong With The Veil?," 93; 98.

⁵⁰ Zahedi, "Contested Meaning of the Veil," 86.

⁵¹ Begolo, "Veiled Politics," 43.

⁵² Chehabi, "Staging the Emperor's New Clothes," 220.

⁵³ Linda Duits, and Liesbet van Zoonen, "Headscarves and Porno-Chic: Disciplining Girls' Bodies in the European Multicultural Society," *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13, no. 2 (2006): 114.

⁵⁴ Chehabi, "Staging the Emperor's New Clothes," 209.

⁵⁵ Safitri, "What Went Wrong With The Veil?," 92.

⁵⁶ Duits and van Zoonen, "Headscarves and Porno-Chic," 103.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 104; 115.

BEELDSPRAAK



Afb. 1: Een aantal Ampelmann-voorwerpen in een souvenirshop. Bron: Wikimedia Commons <https://bit.ly/3SyE8fn>.

De Ampelmann: DDR-erfgoed als een toeristisch icoon

Berber de Bruin

Wie Berlijn bezoekt, kan niet om de *Ampelmann* heen. Het stoplichtfiguurtje is vereeuwigd op T-shirts, sleutelhangers en zelfs snoepgoed en is verkrijgbaar in meerdere winkels die toegewijd zijn aan dit fenomeen. Het verkeerslicht is niet langer alleen een manier om de openbare orde te handhaven, maar ook een massaproduct. Hiermee is het getransformeerd tot een symbool voor een verenigd Berlijn.

Het *Ampelmännchen* werd in de vroege jaren zestig bedacht door Karl Peglau, een verkeerspsycholoog. Door de figuren een herkenbaar uiterlijk te geven, hoopte hij de emoties van mensen aan te spreken, om zo veiligheid en verantwoordelijkheidsgevoel te creëren.¹ Zijn ontwerp bleef redelijk

simpel: een klein, bol mannetje met een hoed, uitgevoerd in twee kleuren: groen en rood.

Bitterzoete nostalgie

Het kleine mannetje is een uitstekend voorbeeld van *Ostalgie*; de heimwee, nostalgie, naar het leven in de voormalige DDR (het *Osten*). Voor de val van de Berlijnse Muur waren producten uit het Westen alleen toegankelijk door advertenties en pakketjes van familieleden die niet in de DDR woonden.² In de DDR werden mensen soms geconfronteerd met lege schappen. Producten uit het Westen werden daarnaast gezien als 'echt'; de

¹ "The development of the East German Ampelmännchen," Ampelmann, geraadpleegd 16 maart 2024, <https://bit.ly/4aw8GWo>.

² Benjamin Julien Hartmann, Katja H. Brunk & Markus Giesler, "The Production and Consumption of Retro Brands Beyond Meaning Revival," *Advances in Consumer Research* 46 (2018): 402-403.

ultieme versie van het product in kwestie.³ In eerste instantie leken 'Ossi'-producten dan ook ingewisseld te worden voor hun tegenhangers uit het Westen.⁴ Zelfs de *Ampelmann* kon niet aan dit sentiment ontkomen: de verkeerslichten werden na de val van de Berlijnse Muur ontmanteld. Markus Heckhausen, een West-Duitse ontwerper, was het hier niet mee eens en begon producten te verkopen die geïnspireerd waren door de *Ampelmann*. De persaadacht die hierdoor vergaard werd, hielp het Oost-Duitse verkeerslicht om toch te blijven bestaan.⁵

De Ampelmann is een bijzondere design- erfenis uit het DDR- tijdperk

Na de val van de muur en de hereniging van Oost- en West-Duitsland, waren de twee delen van het land nog niet gelijk. Een zekere mate van inferioriteit werd een deel van de *Ossi*-identiteit. Door te focussen op de DDR, werd deze nieuwe identiteit meer eigen gemaakt. Het is als het ware een reactie op een moeilijke transitie naar het verenigde Duitsland.⁶ Het stoplicht kon juist als voorbeeld dienen voor een product dat niet inferieur was aan zijn westerse tegenhanger.

Knipperlichtrelatie met het verleden

Deze verheerlijking van producten uit de DDR-tijd laat een soort weemoed voor

³ Hartmann, Brunk & Giesler, "The Production and Consumption of Retro Brands," 403,

⁴ *Ibidem*, 403

⁵ "Saving the Ampelmännchen," Ampelmann, geraadpleegd 18 maart 2024, <https://bit.ly/3TISjz4>.

⁶ Timothy Barney, "When We Was Red: Good Bye Lenin! and Nostalgia for the "Everyday GDR," *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 6, no. 2 (juni 2009): 133.



Afb. 2: De groene en rode Ampelmännchen. Bron: Wikimedia Commons <https://bit.ly/3uT5sxc/>

een beter voorspelbare tijd zien. Een hang naar het leven van vroeger, toen er een duidelijke tweedeling was in de samenleving door de Berlijnse Muur. Met de val van de muur moesten Oost-Duitsers hun dagelijkse leven opnieuw vormgeven. Deze nostalgie is in het moderne, kapitalistische Duitsland getransformeerd tot een volwaardige industrie. Inmiddels zijn er talloze producten te vinden in *Ossi*-stijl. Veel van deze dingen hebben te maken met het dagelijkse leven; eten, drinken, schoonmaakartikelen en andere curiosa. Musea in Oost-Berlijn besteden ook veel aandacht aan gebruiksvoorwerpen. Waar westerse objecten mee zijn gegaan met de tijd, blijven *Ossi*-voorwerpen voor altijd een testament uit het DDR-verleden, een soort cultureel erfgoed. De *Ampelmann* zelf past in dit rijtje van 'geliefde onderwerpen' door zijn alledaagsheid; tijdens een dagelijkse wandeling is hij bijna niet te missen. Wellicht is de nostalgie naar het DDR-verleden, geuit in een enorme interesse

in fenomenen zoals de *Ampelmann*, een manier van rouwverwerking van een levensstijl die voorgoed verdwenen is. De soms neerbuigende houding vanuit West-Duitsland ten aanzien van hun Oosterburen hielp niet mee. Geïnteresseerd blijven in DDR-producten was een vorm van verzet.⁷

Nostalgie, is niet altijd even makkelijk te verklaren of zelfs te beschrijven. *Ostalgie* valt het best te typeren als een soort identiteitscrisis. Design is immers innig vervlochten met ons dagelijkse leven. Als daar opeens een deel van wegvalt, is het menselijk dat er teruggegrepen wordt op oude herinneringen. De *Ampelmann* is een voorbeeld van hoe sterk design een plek in het collectieve geheugen kan veroveren.

Berber de Bruin is a second-year history student with a keen interest in everything culture.

⁷ Daphne Berdahl, "(N)Ostalgie' for the present: Memory, longing, and East German things," *Ethnos* 64, no. 2 (1999): 194.

ONDER EEN HISTORISCHE LOEP



Afb. 1: František Xaver Sandmann, Napoléon in Sainte-Hélène, 1820. Bron: RMN-Grand Palais, Paris, <https://bit.ly/49wJLgt>

Dissecting the politics and warfare of Napoleon (2023)

Thomas Rademaker

When the trailer for Ridley Scott's *Napoleon* was released, I was hyped. It had been a long time since I had seen a historical epic of such proportions. Directed by the man behind *Gladiator*, combined with the amazing Joaquin Phoenix playing the emperor himself, it seemed set to become a major blockbuster. What I witnessed, however, was quite the contrary: while the film has some good aspects, as a whole it felt rushed, revisionist and completely inaccurate. The film left historians as well as casual hobbyists disappointed. In this *Onder Een Historische Loep*, I will examine the politics and warfare from the Treaty of Tilsit to the Battle of Waterloo in *Napoleon* (2023).

As shown in the film, in 1807 Napoleon and Alexander I of Russia met in Tilsit to discuss the terms of a peace treaty between the two nations. Scott glosses over the stunning victory Napoleon had won over the Russians at Friedland three days prior, effectively ending the War of

the Fourth Coalition. The czar met Napoleon in a tent on a raft in a river, while soldiers stood guard on the opposite shores. In the scene all but the location is accurate. The dialogue between the two emperors seems accurate, as Napoleon flattered and manipulated the young czar, with Alexander I writing to his sister that their conversation all "seems like a dream".¹ The main point of the treaty was that Russia would join the Continental Blockade against Britain in return for some territorial gains in Poland.² Some achronological events also are shown in the scene, as Napoleon asks for the hand of one of the Czar's sisters

¹ Alexander I, *Correspondance de l'Empereur Alexandre Ier avec sa sœur la Grande-Duchesse Catherine* (St. Petersburg: Manufacture des Papiers de l'Etat, 1910), 18-19.

² Adam Zamoyski, *1812: Napoleons fatale veldtocht naar Moskou*, trans. Han Meyer (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Balans, 2010), 47-49

to strengthen their alliance. Alexander answers that the eldest, Catharina, has already been promised to another. Napoleon then responds by suggesting the younger sister, 15 year old Anna. This is accurate, but in 1807 these marriage arrangements were only rumours. Catharina was wed in 1808, and Napoleon only approached Alexander about Anna in November 1809. When the czar delayed his response, the emperor turned to the Austrian Marie-Louise.³

This new peace in the east allowed Napoleon to set his sights on the Iberian Peninsula, where Portugal ignored the Continental Blockade and maintained trade with the United Kingdom. During the Peninsular War the *Grande Armee* suffered major defeats at the hands of Spanish guerrillas and the future Duke of Wellington Arthur Wellesley, resulting in serious blows to France's power. This campaign is completely ignored,⁴ and the Treaty of Tilsit is immediately followed by Napoleon's invasion of Russia, which feels jarring to the viewer. The alliance is broken within mere moments in the film, while in reality both leaders struggled to keep their countries at peace. But the problems concerning the blockade, military support, marital arrangements and the existence of Poland proved too great to overcome.

This depiction of Napoleon's 1812 campaign into Russia is my personal highlight, although not completely accurate either. We see his *Grande Armee* get worn down through constant attacks by cossacks on his way to Moscow. They are depicted as distinctly not ethnically Russian. This seems to

imply they are Kalmyks, part of the larger Don Cossacks, or perhaps Tatars. The cossacks were critical in disrupting the logistics and their guerrilla tactics arguably led to the French defeat. While it is good to represent the different peoples serving under the Czar, I feel like the Kalmyks get orientalised: horrific men from the East with fantastical uniforms and weapons. Nonetheless, the scene works well in portraying the brutality of the Russian campaign, showing the soldiers Napoleon spoke so highly of in his memoirs. The cossacks are notably absent during the retreat from Moscow, when they made the biggest impact on French morale, and I believe this scene would work better during the retreat, adding an additional layer of horror for the demoralised French.⁵

Sadly, the pivotal Battle of Borodino is completely overlooked, as Scott decides to show a cavalry charge led by the emperor, and within sixty seconds swiftly moves on. Despite this, the music in this scene does an amazing job of building the tension leading up to the climax of the campaign; the capture of Moscow. Upon arriving in the capital of the Russian Empire, Napoleon finds a ghost town. Although the skyline is made of an amalgam of anachronistic CGI buildings, it really sells the emptiness felt by the emperor. Phoenix's acting in the sequence adds onto this: his wide eyes show the sheer disbelief at the Russian scorched earth tactics while Moscow burns in the foreground. After the following retreat, Scott immediately fast-forwards to Napoleon's exile in 1814. He overlooks the War of the Sixth Coalition, which saw the emperor destroyed from all sides despite putting up a fearsome

resistance during the Six Days' Campaign around Paris.

After escaping from exile to Elba, the emperor arrived off the coast of Antibes in early 1815, but Scott misrepresents the scene: he did not wade to shore after rowing over a boat. Instead, he walked to shore over a catwalk held up by Polish soldiers who joined him in exile.⁶ This absurd scene would have worked well in the apparent 'comedy' Scott wanted to make, but lack of research caused him to overlook this historical anecdote. When Phoenix's Napoleon is halted by soldiers on his way to Paris, he feels beaten and small. This pales in comparison to Rod Steiger's Napoleon, who through his mannerisms and deterministic glare much better represents the character of the emperor.

The film felt rushed, revisionist and completely inaccurate

After retaking power, Napoleon meets with his marshals to discuss war plans, as the members of the Congress of Vienna had formed another coalition to defeat him for once and for all. Before they could invade France from all sides, *le petit caporal* decided to strike preemptively, to drive a wedge between the coalition forces led by Wellington and the Prussian army led by Blucher. In the film, he points out the village of Waterloo on a map, but this is complete fiction: his real target was Brussels. Wellington had to keep the city out of French hands, and had tried and failed days earlier at

Quatre-Bras. Napoleon gave chase to a retreating Wellington, who was forced to make a stand at Waterloo to defend Brussels: losing the second capital of the newly-founded Kingdom of the Netherlands would mean a Dutch withdrawal from the coalition. This was crucial, as Wellington's army was not as uniform as Scott depicts: whereas the film shows the English wearing redcoats aided by Prussians in dark-blue fighting the French in blue, the reality was that there were many different nationalities present on the 18th of June 1815. In fact, Wellington's army consisted of only 35% British soldiers (of which 20 to 30% was actually Irish), with the rest of his forces being made up by 26% Dutch soldiers and 49% from the smaller German kingdoms, and one soldier was Italian. The forces serving under Arthur Wellesley, the Duke of Wellington and commander of coalition forces, and Blücher, the Prussian field marshal, wore red, blue, black, white and even old green Russian uniforms. The costumes we do see are well-designed and accurate, an effort that has been rewarded with a nomination for the Academy Award for Best Costume Design. The weapons department created an abomination however: a scoped sniper rifle, almost half a century before they were invented.

The fundamental misunderstanding of battle tactics of the period shines through in this depiction of Waterloo. In the film, the coalition hides in trenches, but in reality they could not and did not dig those. Napoleon orders his cavalry *through those defences* to engage rows of British infantry squares, *carré* in French, formations made especially to counter attacks from horseback. This was explicitly discouraged in a French military handbook published two years

³ Zamoyski, 1812, 73-74

⁴ As is the War of the Fourth Coalition (1808-1809)

⁵ J.W. Bezemer and Marc Jansen, *Een geschiedenis van Rusland: van Rurik tot Poetin* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij G.A. van Oorschot, 2008), 117-121.

⁶ Alessandro Barbero, *Waterloo: Het verhaal van de veldslag*, trans. Anton Haakman (Amsterdam: Mets & Schilt, 2004), 11.

beforehand, and makes Napoleon look like an idiot. In reality, these formations were hidden behind the ridgeline dividing the battlefield so they would not be bombarded by the French artillery, as was the practice to deal with a *carré*. Napoleon would deny ordering this disastrous attack in his memoirs, but he surely saw everything on the battlefield that was only four kilometres wide.⁸ The film depicts a blunder of massive proportions that not one officer in the *Grande Armée* would have made, much less the master strategist Napoleon Bonaparte.

Ridley Scott's *Napoleon* was not what I had hoped it to be: willingness to turn away from historical accuracy in favour of sensationalism and revisionism plagues the film throughout, and left me as well as many others disappointed. Luckily, all hope is not lost: Stephen Spielberg announced he is working on an adaption of esteemed filmmaker Stanley Kubrick's script from many years ago, and as we have seen with films like *Saving Private Ryan* (1998) and *Lincoln* (2012), this director is committed to historical accuracy and portraying a truthful narrative. But, until it releases, for both historians and fans of this time period, as Napoleon himself (never) once said:

"*There is nothing we can do.*"

⁸ Barbero, *Waterloo*, 212-213.

ARTIKEL



Fig. 1: Still from Soyuzdetmultfilm, *Fascist Jackboots Shall Not Trample Our Motherland*, 1941.

Innocent Manipulation: Het Animation Propaganda in the Second World War

Emma Rademaker

In this article, Emma Rademaker explores the world of animated propaganda in the Second World War. She focuses on the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany, using Ian Kershaw's concept of '(non-)interventionism' to compare and contrast the two. The article also provides a short history of animated film in these two countries.

I gave the Führer twelve Mickey Mouse films for Christmas. He is very happy with them and is enjoying such a precious gift.
- Joseph Goebbels, 20th December 1937.¹

Even the Führer could not resist the whimsical temptations of animated film. Film as a medium gained popularity towards the end of the nineteenth century, where it originated as a circus act. Its popularity was largely due to the visual aspect: the illiterate population was able to understand the narrative without having to rely on their educated companions. This added to the feeling of

camaraderie that film brought about; people could enjoy cinema regardless of their social background.² Film developed quickly: black and white silent films were replaced by Technicolor films with sound, soon followed by animated films. Within animation, The Walt Disney Company was the leading company worldwide, indisputably so after the 1937 release of *Snow White and the Seven Dwarves*. This first full-length animated film in colour became an Oscar winner and the

¹ Joseph Goebbels, *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels* (online), 22nd December 1937 (trans. Elke Fröhlich). Berlin, 2012, <https://bit.ly/4adcRGy>.

² Richard Taylor, *Film Propaganda: Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1998), 17.

most financially successful film of the decade.³

“Of all the arts, for us cinema is the most important”

The popularity of animation was primarily due to its large reach, with an all-encompassing demographic.⁴ After the start of the Second World War, the innocent medium – created mostly for children’s amusement – became a successful mode of propaganda. Using animation as propaganda proved extremely effective; its innocence and accessibility attracted more – and more diverse – viewers.⁵ An example of German animated propaganda is *Armer Hansi* (1943), made by the *Deutsche Zeichentrickfilme* (DZF) under the leadership of Joseph Goebbels. The Soviets also dabbled in animated propaganda, creating *Fascist Jackboots Shall Not Trample Our Motherland* (original: *He топтать фашистскому сапогу Нашей Родины*) in 1941. This film was produced by *Soyuzdetmultfilm*, a film studio controlled by the Cultural Ministry. Both examples were thus released under the watchful eye of Nazi and Soviet regimes. This article will give a short historical overview of both countries and their relationship with cinema. It will also give an analysis of both films, with specific attention given to Ian Kershaw’s 1993 article ‘Working Towards The Führer’ and the (non-)interventionism he discusses within. Interventionism entails the

amount of interference a dictator had within their regime, with non-interventionism meaning very little interference. Kershaw juxtaposes Stalin and Hitler’s work ethics; whilst Stalin meddled in every aspect of his regime, Hitler was a ‘lazy’ dictator that left most of the work to his subordinates.⁶ The use of animated film as my primary source is a unique angle, as this category of film still receives little to no academic attention. Academics still seem to deem this category childish and uninformative, based on their own bias and (often elevated) sense of superiority.

Ich liebe Animation

The establishment of film studio *Projektions-A.G. Union* in 1907 encouraged the German film industry to create cinema that reflected German identity. The outbreak of the Great War gave Germany another reason to produce their own films: becoming less dependent on foreign media.⁷ After the war, centralisation of cinema became the focus of the *Universum-Film Aktiengesellschaft* (UFA), with the German film industry eventually turning into an important film producer, second only to the United States. Everything changed after the Nazis gained power in 1933, causing film to become synonymous with propaganda. Hitler saw the initial advantage of propaganda, but Goebbels truly grasped its power and possibilities. Film became an essential part of Nazi propaganda, wanting to transform civilians’ passive acceptance of National Socialism into active participation.

The Führer’s love for cinema was common knowledge in Germany; he often visited premieres – a symbol of his stamp of approval.⁸ Even though Hitler chose to view some films before release, his personal opinion did little to sway production – Goebbels was the one pulling the strings.⁹ He would read all the scripts and watch all the films in order to decide which added most to Nazi ideology. The founding of the *Reichsfilmkammer* in 1933 saw a shift in cinematic freedoms in Germany. Jews were denied membership and projects with prominent pro-Nazi messages would receive more funding, resulting in these films being made, rather than those without.¹⁰ A distinction was made between direct and indirect propaganda films; Goebbels realised that civilians did not want to be constantly confronted with ideological cinema and proceeded to give preference to subtle, indirect usage of Nazi imagery and doctrine.¹¹

The DZF was established in 1941, with its main goal being to compete with Walt Disney’s increasingly popular – alas American – animations.¹² This competition is visible in *Armer Hansi*, due to the similar animation style and use of animals as protagonists, a popular tool used by Disney. Germany’s best animators were put to work at the DZF, showcasing the high expectations the party had for animation.¹³ As the war went on, it became increasingly difficult



Fig. 2: Still from DZF, *Armer Hansi*, 1943.

to produce new films, due to a shortage of materials and transportation issues. From 1944 onwards, cinemas were the only operating cultural institutions in Germany, becoming symbolic of German resistance against the ever-advancing Allied forces.

Nazi Calimero

Armer Hansi starts by showing a picturesque German village, with the blonde bird Hansi being stuck in a cage. Agitated, he paces his cage until he sees a black female bird fly by. He is instantly enamoured, escapes from his cage and flies after her. Hansi sees a group of black birds on electricity wires, singing completely off-key. After joining in, his singing skills prove superior, and the jealous black birds send him away. Hansi sees the black bird from before and flies after her, into a nest. But alas, the bird already has a partner and has been leading Hansi on! Her partner beats Hansi up and sends him on his way. Down on his luck, Hansi searches for food and water, but to no avail. He is chased by a black cat, all the way back to his village. Hansi flies into the nearest house to escape from the cat. There, he finds a blonde female bird in a cage, and immediately falls for her. He uses his singing to open the cage and – instead of escaping – goes in willingly. The blonde birds embrace, and a red curtain falls over the cage.

³ Michael Barrier, *The Animated Man: A Life of Walt Disney* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 130.

⁴ Henry A. Giroux & Grace Pollock, *The Mouse that Roared: Disney and the End of Innocence* (Washington DC: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2010), 18.

⁵ Taylor, *Film Propaganda*, 17.

⁶ Ian Kershaw, “‘Working towards the Führer’. Reflections on the nature of the Hitler dictatorship,” in *Contemporary European History*, 2, no. 2 (1993): 40.

⁷ Taylor, *Film Propaganda*, 127-128.

⁸ Rolf Giesen, *Nazi Propaganda Films* (Jefferson: McFarland & Co Publishing, 2003), 10.

⁹ Bill Niven, *Hitler and Film: The Führer’s Hidden Passion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), 37.

¹⁰ Taylor, *Film Propaganda*, 145-146.

¹¹ Claudio Ravenstein, *Nazi Propaganda in Animation* (dissertation, 2016), 17, <https://bit.ly/3PxHfno>.

¹² Allan Todd, *The European Dictators: Hitler, Stalin & Mussolini* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 178.

¹³ Rolf Giesen & J.P. Storm, *Animation under the Swastika: A History of Trickfilm in Nazi Germany* (Jefferson: McFarland & Co Publishing, 2012), 100.

Armer Hansi is an example of indirect propaganda; the Nazi ideals only become apparent when the audience actively searches for symbolism. However, the use of indirect propaganda plays into unconsciously indoctrinating the German people – they are not even aware that it is happening. Furthermore, when children are brought into contact with specific symbolism from a young age, these ideas – blonde is good, black is bad – subconsciously remain.¹⁴ Hansi is a blonde, spunky bird, symbolic for Aryan Germany. He lives in a typical German village, with a comfortable life. Nevertheless, he is curious about the outside world and is seduced by the black bird to leave his home behind. In the film, the colour black represents bad characters and decisions, leading the viewer to assume the resemblance with Jews, homosexuals or communists. After leaving his village, Hansi only meets characters that are up to no good, meaning to trick or catch him. The film showcases the importance of German nationalism and reinforces the Nazi doctrine that others, non-Aryans, are not trustworthy.

“Our cause is just! Victory shall be ours!”

The seductive black bird is symbolic of untrustworthiness and immorality, and could be representative of Jews. According to Nazi propaganda, Jews were the reason for all of Germany's suffering due to their selfishness.¹⁵ Historian Ernst Hombrich wrote that, with the help of propaganda, the NSDAP had created a mythical world in which

¹⁴ Giesen & Storm, *Animation under the Swastika*, 102.

¹⁵ Jeffrey Herf, *Jewish Enemy: Nazi Propaganda during World War II and the Holocaust* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2008), 3.

Germany had to protect themselves against their enemies.¹⁶ Hansi meets these enemies on his travels, with the looming message being not to trust strangers. His naivety is used as a tool to identify with young viewers and to instruct them on how to proceed from now on. Hansi finally finds love with a bird from his own village, showing that you need not venture from Germany to find love and happiness. Again, the need for Aryan people to only fornicate with one another is evidently visible.

Communist Hollywood

During the 1910s, the Soviet Union (USSR) was forced to create their own entertainment. Instead of pamphlets, the Communist Party turned to cinema to spread their ideology. Of this, Lenin said: “Of all the arts, for us cinema is the most important.”¹⁷ Full control over film was realised in 1919 with the founding of state regulated production company VFKO. The economic decline and electricity shortages did not help cinema's popularity in Russia. The tide turned from the 1920s onward, when Russian cinema received international acclaim and was even dubbed “communist Hollywood”.¹⁸ In 1924 the VFKO was replaced by *Soykino*, which received more concrete plans under Stalin. The ultimate goal was a self-sufficient Russian film industry, foreign (American) screenings had to be stopped.¹⁹ The first Five Years Plan in 1928 marked a turn for Russian cinema, as its main purpose became spreading communist ideology. Within the Cultural

¹⁶ E. H. Gombrich, *Myth and Reality in German War-Time Broadcasts* (London: Athlone Press, 1970), 18.

¹⁷ Grigorii Boltianski, *Lenin i kino* (1925), 16-17.

¹⁸ Maria Belodubrovskaya, *Not According to Plan: Filmmaking Under Stalin* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2017), 3.

¹⁹ Belodubrovskaya, *Not According to Plan*, 13.

Revolution, film had an important role to play: “a weapon of class enlightenment for the proletariat”²⁰. Film was given priority in propaganda plans, but in reality many projects were never realised due to the long production time.²¹

Stalin's role in Russian cinema was that of ‘super-producer’²², meaning he ‘fired’ anyone who disagreed with him. The mistrustful dictator created mass insecurity within the industry; he read every script and gave extensive notes to every director.²³ He gave preference to printed works to spread communist ideology, resulting in fewer cinematic projects.²⁴ Nevertheless, the possible impact of cinematic propaganda was not disregarded, and a plan was devised: the *kinofikatsiia*. Cinemas were built all over the country, so that even the most rural civilians could learn about communism.²⁵ The Soviet Union had a unique position within the war; they consistently created new cinema to mobilise the nation. All wartime cinema was created for propaganda, direct albeit indirect.²⁶ After the German invasion, production moved from Moscow to Alma-Ata, showing the importance of safekeeping cinema in Soviet Russia.²⁷

²⁰ Grigorii Boltianskii, *Kino* (1930), 15.

²¹ Taylor, *Film Propaganda*, 47.

²² Solomon Volkov, *Modern Moscow* (Moscow: AST, 2019), 14.

²³ Belodubrovskaya, *Not According To Plan*, 215.

²⁴ Karel Berkhoff, *Motherland in Danger: Soviet Propaganda during World War II* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2012), 11.

²⁵ Taylor, *Film Propaganda*, 38.

²⁶ Peter Kenez, “Films of the Second World War,” in *The Red Screen: Politics, Society, Art in Soviet Cinema*, ed. Anna Lawton (London: Taylor and Francis Publishing, 1992), 149.

²⁷ Taylor, *Film Propaganda*, 47.

Stylish Fascist Boots

Fascist Boots Will Not Trample Our Motherland starts by showing the boots of a Nazi soldier walking through Europe: Czechoslovakia, Poland and Denmark. The text reads: “Fascism brings mass destruction, starvation and death to hundreds of thousands and millions of people.” The bombing of Western

European countries is shown, after which the boots venture further into Eastern Europe, through Yugoslavia and Greece. The boots – first so confident – now slow in pace, as they enter the USSR. The face of the soldier becomes visible: a pig in Nazi uniform, complete with tiny black moustache and slicked-back black hair. Before the pig even takes a step into the USSR, a bomb is thrown at its feet. A star-adorned fist appears and beats the pig, until it's completely disoriented and defeated. More text: “The Red Army shall sweep the fascist barbarians from the face of the Earth.” The Russian cavalry appears, shown in a realistic style of animation. A song begins to play; a variant of ‘The March of the Soviet Tankists’ (1939). During this song, the Russian army attacks with tanks, planes and submarines – all shown with the communist star. More explosions follow and the pig is completely destroyed. Russian planes fly through the dark clouds and create a hole, through which the sun begins to shine. The film ends with the text: “Our cause is just! Victory shall be ours!”

The German boots stroll confidently through the defeated European countries, but take caution once they enter Russian territory. This indicates Soviet superiority, as opposed to the weaker occupied territories. Both the fist and army vehicles have a star on them, so no one is able to question who is being portrayed in this film. The ugly, drooling pig is no match for the power and might of the Russian army, meaning that Hitler is no match for the Russians and therefore also Stalin. The pig is obviously meant to depict Hitler, with his characteristic moustache and hair being

prominent. The drooling can be seen as his thirst for power and expansion. The usage of an animal as a symbol for Hitler is a clear contrast with the realistic depiction of the Russian army, suggesting that Hitler and his regime are inhumane, not worthy of a human representation.

The sunlight, coming through the clouds created by the Russian aeroplanes, symbolise the good things to come after the war. The dark colours are a representation of evil, of fascism, of Hitler and of war in general. The film is inherently nationalistic, the Soviet Union is shown to be the one and only reason for the ending of the war and of fascism. Other Allied forces, such as the United States and the United Kingdom, are not mentioned at all.

The way in which Hitler and Stalin dealt with the making of propaganda is compliant with Kershaw's theory. Whilst Kershaw sees Stalin as a highly involved, interventionist dictator, Hitler is laid-back and entirely dependent on his party members. You could compare them to an overbearing mother and to a son who still lives in his parents' basement – whilst also killing millions in the process. Stalin was the 'super-producer', giving orders and keeping a watchful eye on the entire film production process. Hitler, on the other hand, left the Ministry of Propaganda entirely up to Goebbels. This difference shows the distrust Stalin had towards his nearest comrades and the utmost trust Hitler had in his men.²⁸ As previously noted, Hitler's love for cinema also indicates a penchant for laziness; he was known to spend his evenings watching films for leisure.²⁹ Workaholic Stalin, however, was prone to reading every script, watching every film and making his own personal opinion the only one that mattered.³⁰ Hitler left this

job to Goebbels, who did not even always respect Hitler's opinion when it was given. Stalin was always occupied with his rivals (imaginary or not) – which eventually led to the tragedy of the Great Purge, and millions of innocents dead. He had to determine his position and establish himself as the one true leader of the USSR.

This could be why the powerful Soviet narrative is so explicit in *Fascist Boots*, Stalin has to align himself with the power of the USSR. *Armer Hansi* does not mention the Führer, the NSDAP or the war at all, the reason of which could have been the absolute, undeniable hold Hitler had over Nazi Germany.³¹ Could the NSDAP really have become so powerful without him? Or was the lack of mention simply because Hitler was too busy watching his twelve gifted Disney films?

Born in Scotland, Emma Rademaker gained a love of history by visiting Viking sites, stanning Mary, Queen of Scots and watching Horrible Histories. She discovered her passion for cultural history and the arts during her bachelors, and is currently doing the masters Comparative Arts and Media at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam.

²⁸ Kershaw, "Working towards the Führer," 43.

²⁹ Niven, *Hitler and Film*, 29-30.

³⁰ Berkhoff, *Motherland in Danger*, 4.

³¹ Todd, *The European Dictators*, 160.

UIT HET ARCHIEF VAN...



Afb. 1: Negentiende-eeuwse scheiding. Bron: Wikimedia Commons, <https://bit.ly/43NjSvW>.

De realiteit van fictie

Doris van Wijk

Om de geschiedenis van een onderwerp te schrijven, heb je feiten nodig. Waarom zou je een fictief verhaal bestuderen tijdens een historisch onderzoek? In dit artikel laat ik aan de hand van de roman *Zóó wordt men lid van de Tweede Kamer* van Henry van Meerbeeke zien dat een fictief verhaal wel degelijk gebruikt kan worden als primaire bron.

Hoewel het verhaal van Van Meerbeeke fictief van aard is, biedt het een aardig inkijkje in het dagelijks leven van burgers in de negentiende eeuw. De auteur laat aan de hand van fictieve personages en een fictieve verhaallijn zijn eigen mening en de publieke opinie doorschemeren.¹ In het boek van Van

Meerbeeke is dit te zien aan de manier waarop hij de totstandkoming van het huwelijk tussen de hoofdpersonen Frits en Clara beschrijft.

Obstakels

In het boek draait het om de liefdesgeschiedenis tussen advocaat Frits Molmer en Clara van Ramen. Frits wil trouwen met Clara, maar haar vader, een welvarende bierbrouwer, keurt het huwelijk af vanwege Frits' gebrek aan maatschappelijk aanzien en financiële middelen. Om zijn status te verbeteren en vaders goedkeuring te winnen, betreedt Frits de politieke arena. Hij ontvangt steun van de Eensgezinden, maar Clara's vader is een overtuigd aanhanger van de rivaliserende Welgezinden. Ondanks verschillende obstakels weet Frits uiteindelijk een Kamerzetel te bemachtigen en trouwt hij met Clara.²

¹ A. Labrie, "De roman als historische bron," *Groniek: Gronings historisch tijdschrift* 156 (2002): 409-410; A.M., Taylor "The Historical Novel: As a Source in History," *The Sewanee Review* 46, no. 4 (1938): 470.

De elite kon zelf de liefde kopen

De rol van het huwelijk in het verhaal wordt benadrukt door de tegenstelling tussen Frits' liefde voor Clara en de sociale barrières die hun relatie bedreigen. Clara's vader, als lid van de elite, ziet Frits als ongeschikte huwelijkskandidaat vanwege zijn lagere stand. Hij gelooft dat Frits alleen met haar wil trouwen wegens hun vermogen. 'Wanneer een man dertig jaar bereikt heeft, meent gij dat hij dan nog even vatbaar is voor verliefdheid, als een meisje van twintig? Geloof uw verstandigen vader en mij, Clara; hij weet zeer goed te berekenen, dat uw ouders vermogende lieden zijn ...'³ Clara en Frits worden geconfronteerd met de harde realiteit van sociale verwachtingen en economische omstandigheden.

Huwelijk en romantiek in de negentiende eeuw

De huwelijkse staat was in het negentiende-eeuwse burgerlijke denken eenieders bestemming. Het huwelijk was essentieel voor de maatschappelijke orde en de vitaliteit van het vaderland. Een huwelijk heeft niet alleen te maken met het vinden van liefde, het is vooral een relatief vast, sociaal gereguleerd en historisch overgeleverd sociaal instituut.⁴ Van een huwelijkskandidaat werd verwacht dat die in economisch, fysiek en sociaal opzicht volwassen was. Pas



Afb. 2: Trouwfoto van Willem II en Anna Paulowna. Bron: Wikimedia Commons, <https://bit.ly/3xfo0v8>.

als men aan deze criteria had voldaan, kon iemand zich een huwelijk veroorloven.⁵

Men trouwde bij voorkeur niet onder zijn stand.⁶ Om stand en status te behouden was het zelfs niet uitgesloten om binnen de eigen familie een partner te zoeken. Het grootste deel van de mensen trouwde met mensen uit dezelfde sociale kring, onder het motto 'soort zoekt soort'.⁷

² Henry van Meerbeeke, *Zóó wordt men lid van de Tweede Kamer* (Amsterdam: Gebroeders Binger, 1869), 12-58.

³ Van Meerbeeke, *Zóó wordt men*, 54.

⁴ T. de Nijs, *In veilige haven: het familieleven van de Rotterdamse gegoede burgerij 1815-1890* (Nijmegen: Sun, 2001), 153-156; K. Matthijs, *De mateloze negentiende eeuw: bevolking, huwelijk, gezin en sociale veranderingen* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2001), 166-168.

⁵ F. van Poppel, *Trouwen in Nederland: Een historisch-demografische studie van de 19e en vroeg-20e eeuw* (Wageningen: Landbouwniversiteit, 1992), 559-560.

⁶ E. De Ruijter, "Trouwen in de 19e eeuw. De wisselwerking van familiegeschiedenis en regionale geschiedenis," *Historische Kring* Bussum 21, no 3 (2005): 28-30.

⁷ T. Hammer-Stroeve, *Familiezoet: Vrouwen in een ondernemerselite, Enschede 1800-1940* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2001), 83.

Een laatste factor, die wij tegenwoordig als belangrijkste zien, is de romantische connectie. Wat nu in de negentiende eeuw de doorslaggevende factor van een huwelijk was, geld of liefde, is ingewikkeld om te zeggen. De Duitse historicus Peter Borscheid onderzocht of het belang van geld, sociale status en economische prestige in de partnerkeuze gedurende de negentiende eeuw verminderde, of werd vervangen door romantiek en passie. Volgens Borscheid speelde 'de liefde' in de eeuw van de romantiek een rol in de sociale omgang, maar vooral bij een kleine, kapitaalkrachtige elite. Deze groep kon bij wijze van spreken zelf de liefde kopen. Pas in een latere fase, na de algemene welvaartsverhoging, verspreidde het romantische liefdesideaal zich naar de brede samenleving.⁸

'Soort zoekt soort'

Inkijkje in het verleden

Ook al biedt een fictieve bron niet altijd even veel historisch accurate informatie, kan deze wel degelijk historische inzichten bieden. Zo is het duidelijk dat er door de Industriële Revolutie een nieuwe soort standensamenleving ontstaat waarin er mogelijkheden ontstaan om omhoog te klimmen op de ladder van de standenmaatschappij. Dit is iets waar Frits goed gebruik van maakt in de roman. Hij komt erachter dat het hebben van een slechtlopend advocatenkantoor een belemmering is in het ten huwelijk vragen van zijn geliefde. Door zichzelf verkiesbaar te stellen en een zetel in de Tweede Kamer te bemachtigen, verhoogt hij zijn eigen status.⁹

Dat men kon veranderen van stand betekende nog niet dat standen geen betekenis meer hadden. De vader van Clara wil een geschikte echtgenoot vinden voor zijn dochter. Deze geschikte echtgenoot is te vinden in hun 'eigen' kringen, het liefst zelfs uit dezelfde provincie. De economische belangen waren sterk terug te vinden bij het huwelijk, zeker voor een welvarend man als de heer Van Ramen. Tevens is er in de roman te zien dat liefde vaak niet eens als reden werd gezien om te trouwen. De heer Van Ramen en zijn omgeving kunnen niet geloven dat Frits met Clara wil trouwen omdat hij verliefd op haar is, er wordt vanuit gegaan dat Frits uit is op het geld. Ook Clara wordt als naïef gezien om te denken dat Frits daadwerkelijk van haar houdt.

Te midden van de romantiek van Frits en Clara, biedt Henry van Meerbeeke's meesterwerk niet alleen een boeiend liefdesverhaal, maar werpt het ook een licht op de sociale dynamiek van de negentiende eeuw. In de wereld van Frits en Clara ontdekken we dat zelfs in een romantische setting de echo's van geschiedenis en maatschappij weerklinken. De roman zorgt voor een inkijkje in de negentiende eeuw, verpakt in de woorden van een auteur.

Doris van Wijk is a second-year History student. She follows the specialization 'Conflict, violence and security'. She is also interested in modern, Asian history.

⁸ Matthijs, *De mateloze negentiende eeuw*, 175-176.

⁹ Van Meerbeeke, *Zóó wordt men*, 41-42.



Afb. 1: Peter Malcontent bij zijn platencollectie.
Bron: Fabienne van Wijngaarden.

dr. Peter Malcontent: kasten vol vinyl

Hanne Meulenbeld en Fabienne van Wijngaarden

Dr. Peter Malcontent is a well-known and recognized specialist on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the history of international human rights. He has published many books and articles on both topics, like *Facing the Past: Amending Historical Injustices through Instruments of Transitional Justice* and *Een Open Zenuw*. Nederland, Israël & Palestina.

Wanneer we dr. Peter Malcontent mailen voor een interview, reageert hij meteen enthousiast. Hij nodigt ons bij hem thuis uit met de belofte dat 'de koffie en de thee klaarstaan' voor het interview. In de woonkamer worden we begroet door een grote kast vol met lp's en cd's. Honderden verschillende lp's bij elkaar: het is de droom van iedere muzikliefhebber. Toch is dit niet het enige waar we meteen jaloers op zijn. Het huis heeft prachtige glas-inloodramen en op de bank ligt een zachtjes spinnende kat. We kijken met grote ogen naar Peters vinylcollectie. Wanneer we vervolgens aan tafel plaatsnemen, vertelt Peter ons over zijn grote passie: het verzamelen van vinyl uit de jaren zestig tot de jaren negentig. 'Van het ene op het andere moment kwam ik in aanraking met muziek. Het begon met

KISS. Die muziek was toen in de mode, en je moet tenslotte ergens beginnen.'

Zijn liefde voor muziek heeft Peter niet echt vanuit huis meegekregen. 'Mijn vader had op een gegeven moment een carnavalsplaat gekocht, maar dat was geen groot succes', zegt hij grappend. 'Mijn broer is een stuk muzikaler, we hebben allebei de verschrikkelijke neiging om overal op te trommelen.' Hij deelt zijn passie ook met een goede vriend die een nog grotere muziekcollectie heeft. 'Die ademt echt muziek, om dat samen te hebben is heel erg leuk. Met vrienden ga ik vaak naar concerten, ook al hebben we andere interesses qua genre.'

Openbaring

Peter heeft zijn passie voor muziek net als menig tiener op school opgedaan, samen met zijn vrienden. 'De platen die ik uit mijn jeugd heb, zijn een soort muzikaal fotoalbum van mijn jonge jaren.' Er ging een wereld voor hem open toen hij bekend raakte met muziek en vinyl in de tweede klas van de middelbare school. 'Mijn eerste vinyl heb ik nog steeds! Het was een lp van The Status Quo met 'Whatever You Want'.' Hoewel Peter het merendeel van zijn platen wel heeft bewaard, zijn er ook vinylplaten die niet meer onderdeel zijn van zijn grote collectie. 'Grease' heeft het helaas niet gehaald.' Bij de vraag of Peter ooit een plaat weg heeft gedaan waar hij achteraf spijt van had, begint hij te lachen. 'Ik heb een keer een plaat verkocht en daar had ik heel erg spijt van. Toen ik hem op een gegeven moment ergens tweedehands zag liggen, was hij meteen weer van mij!'

Een plaat uit de collectie die er eigenlijk niet zo goed tussen past? Die heeft Peter ook zeker. Hij loopt naar de grote kast vol met platen en haalt 'A Hero's Death' van Ozzy Osbourne eruit. 'Ik heb een hardrockperiode gehad. Ik kwam uit een klein dorpje uit het zuiden van Brabant, dus het was of hardrock, of top 40.' Peter werd een enorme fan van Black Sabbath, een band die inmiddels wordt beschouwd als de eerste metalband. 'Iedereen had toen een spijkerjackje met een opdruk, maar ik wilde wat specialers. Ik kocht een oude, groene legerjas en daar heb ik een groot kruis van Black Sabbath op gezet.' Dat was iets wat je niet veel zag, zeker niet op het Brabantse platteland. 'Die vriend die muziek ademt, leerde ik 'opnieuw' kennen tijdens mijn studie in Nijmegen. Hij vertelde later dat hij mij herkende doordat ik dat jongetje was met die groene legerjas. Opvallen deed ik dus wel!'

'Ik dacht dat ik van mijn stoel af zou vallen'

'De platen die ik uit mijn jeugd heb zijn een soort muzikaal fotoalbum van mijn jongere jaren'

De recentste aankoop is 'Wall of Eyes' van The Smile, een band die Peter is bijgebleven door een speciaal concert. Ook andere bands zijn speciaal voor Peter. 'Toen ik voor de eerste keer de zangers van bands zoals The Beach Boys, Radiohead en recentelijk Nick Cave hoorde, sprongen de tranen in mijn ogen.'

Veranderend muzieklandschap

Dat de tijden veranderd zijn wanneer het aankomt op muziek luisteren, beaamt Peter. 'Vroeger was je heel erg afhankelijk van de radio, dat is nu natuurlijk wel anders.' Door middel van uitruilen met vrienden, muziek opnemen en veel sparen werd Peters collectie steeds groter. Zo leerde hij nieuwe muziek kennen. 'Ik weet nog goed dat toen ik voor de eerste keer 'Strawberry Fields Forever' van The Beatles hoorde, ik dacht dat ik van mijn stoel af zou vallen, dat was zo goed en nieuw.' Op een gegeven moment kwam de cd om de hoek kijken, waardoor hij een tijdje overging op het sparen van cd's. Rond het jaar 2000 keerde hij toch weer terug naar vinyl. 'Nieuw vinyl was er toen nog niet echt, maar we gingen vaak naar platenbeurzen en tweedehandswinkels, toen groeide mijn verzameling enorm.' Inmiddels zijn platenmaatschappijen weer helemaal terug in de wereld van vinyl, maar volgens Peter zit er wel een groot verschil in de kwaliteit van vroeger en nu. 'Platen zijn enorm duur geworden en de kwaliteit is soms heel slecht. Toch is mijn collectie veel serieuzer geworden.' Peter is nu een echte verzamelaar.

Met name de mogelijkheid om muziek op apps zoals Spotify of Apple Music te beluisteren heeft volgens Peter het sparen van vinyl veranderd. 'Inmiddels leven we in een wereld waar je van tevoren kan luisteren naar de muziek en kan beslissen of je de vinyl wil kopen. Dat haalt wel de magie weg; het 'Strawberry Fields Forever'-moment komt daardoor eigenlijk nooit meer voor.' Peters collectie heeft ook recentere uitgaven, maar The Beatles blijven belangrijk. 'Ik ken alle platen en alle nummers, maar ik kan er nog steeds een opzetten en denken: "Hoe is dit in godsnaam zo goed gemaakt?!". Wat is er dan juist zo speciaal voor Peter aan vinyl, als we ook streamingdiensten hebben? 'Je hoort elke keer weer iets anders als je een vinyl opzet: de ene keer de basgitaar, dan de samenhang, steeds is er weer iets nieuws.'

Wanneer we Peter vragen naar zijn bijzonderste of mooiste plaat, zucht hij. 'Dat vind ik heel erg lastig om te zeggen. Toen ik jong was en echt goed moest sparen, was de beleving sowieso al specialer. De platen die ik toen heb gekocht, blijven dus echt bij mij.' Na een korte onderhandeling spreken we af dat hij ons een top vijf geeft van de beste platen die hij heeft. Deze zijn niet gerangschikt, want dat was 'echt te lastig'.



Afb. 2: De plaat 'A Hero's Death' van Ozzy Osbourne bij Peter thuis. Bron: Fabienne van Wijngaarden.

Peters top vijf:

1. 'Pet Sounds' van de Beach Boys
2. 'Who's Next' van The Who
3. 'The Kinks Are the Village Green Preservation Society' van The Kinks
4. 'Ok Computer' van Radiohead
5. 'A Hero's Death' van Fontaines D.C.

ARTIKEL



Fig. 1: Daniël de Moulin in uniform, 1944. Source: Unitas S.R.

A Clandestine Existence: Commemoration of the Second World War by Student Association Unitas S.R.

Michelle Moonen

In this article, Michelle Moonen sheds light on the dynamic relationship between invented traditions, imagined communities, and commemoration within student association Unitas. She does this by analysing the way Unitas members commemorate and deal with the Second World War. For this article, Michelle interviewed multiple people.

In 1941, when all Utrecht student associations were disbanded by the invading Nazis and the clubhouse of Unitas S.R. was taken by the youth branch of the NSB, Daniël de Moulin and his fellow Unitas members decided to retrieve what was taken from them: chairs, among others. Since Unitas' building was overtaken by the NSB, members could no longer access their clubhouse and most of Unitas' belongings were shipped or stowed away. The most important items that were still present at Unitas were the chairs of the Senate, their candelabras, a number of pennants and paintings. Deep in the night, De Moulin succeeded in securing these items alongside his club mates. This is when De Moulin's renown within Unitas boomed.

Unitas members decided to retrieve what was taken from them

This research centres around the Utrecht student association Unitas S.R. The association has approximately 1,200 members and profiles itself as a traditional association, as they are "proud of [their] history, and many mores and traditions [they] still hold dear".¹

Unitas is a private community that practises its politics exclusively within its association. Non-members are usually not aware of what goes on behind the doors of the clubhouse and are not familiar with the traditions. General knowledge about Unitas is easily accessible, yet the driving powers and long-term policy behind the association are reserved for its members. This means that only

¹ Senate, Unitas S.R., 'Unitas S.R. in oorlogstijd / Unitas S.R. in wartime', *Geschiedenis / History*, accessed 4 May 2023, <https://bit.ly/3TFcmzw>.

members come into close contact with those traditions, starting from their introduction period. This article examines the role of traditions and local imagined communities within Unitas, with a focus on commemorating the Second World War from 2018 until the present. The analysis for this article is done via a set of interviews with various people associated with the commemoration of the War within Unitas. The interviewees were the organisers of the 'Klim naar de Vrijheid', which translates to 'Hike to Freedom'. Additionally, I interviewed the Secretary of the board of Unitas.

De Moulin

On May 4th annually, the Unitas board closes the clubhouse and visits the official Utrecht commemoration on the Dom Square. Interestingly, Unitas' remembrance happens throughout the entire year, not just on this national day of memorial. A considerable part of Unitas' commemoration centres around one former member: Daniël de Moulin. De Moulin founded the 'College van Ephoren' during wartime, which took care of Unitas' internal affairs and clandestine existence. For instance, the College ensured that the introduction period was organised secretly and that other activities, such as the anniversary theatre play, also continued. Increasing measures from the occupying forces forced the College to disband in 1943. Because De Moulin and some of his fellow members had done a lot of resistance work, they decided to leave for England at the end of 1943 to escape the Germans. After the war, De Moulin returned to the Netherlands to rebuild Unitas as chair of the new board.² De Moulin was crucial for the institutional survival of the association, and his legacy is commemorated in different ways.

Dining, hiking and making history with De Moulin

As a tribute, one of the rooms in the clubhouse was renamed after him in 2021. This room functions as a space for dining and partying.³ Therefore, many

members come into close contact with this room and are, via its name, explicitly reminded of Unitas' history.

Unitas aimed to give its members a space to remember

Commemoration also takes place on a smaller scale. For instance, Unitas has nine disputes, which are smaller unions within the larger association that focus on a variety of projects. The dispute that is seen as the right-hand of the board is the *Collegium Illustrissimum Hermandad*, referred to as CIH. Joep Wegstapel, vice-president of CIH, describes that its main function is the retention of tradition within the association and the sustention of Unitas' history.⁴ Accordingly, CIH gives 'history lessons' to aspiring members during the introduction period. The premise of these lessons is based on raising awareness of Unitas' history and traditions.⁵ A large part of these history lessons are focused on the institutional survival of the war, with Daniël de Moulin as the main character. Accordingly, Wegstapel told me that besides educating new members on Unitas' history and traditions, the CIH also aims to pass along the message

² Collegium Illustrissimum Hermandad, *De Geschiedenis Der Unitas Studiosorum Rheno-Traiectina* (Utrecht: Unitas S.R., 2018): 19.; Joep Wegstapel, Collegium Illustrissimum Hermandad Vice-President Joep Wegstapel over de herdenking van de Tweede Wereldoorlog bij Unitas S.R. en 'Klim naar de Vrijheid' / Collegium Illustrissimum Hermandad Vice-President Joep Wegstapel on the commemoration of the Second World War at Unitas S.R. and 'Klim naar de Vrijheid', interview by Michelle Moonen, Teams call, 3 May 2023.

³ Roos Ledebøer, Unitas S.R. Ab Actis Senatus e.t. Roos Ledebøer over de herdenking van de Tweede Wereldoorlog bij Unitas S.R. / Unitas S.R. Secretary of the board Roos Ledebøer on the commemoration of the Second World War at Unitas S.R., interview by Michelle Moonen, Phone call, 9 May 2023.

⁴ Interview Wegstapel.

⁵ Ibid.

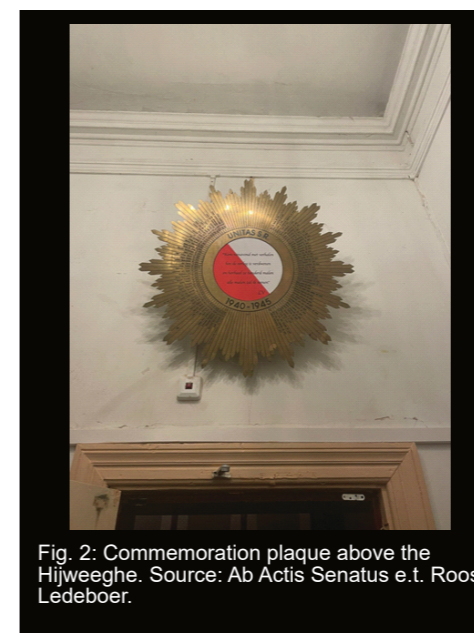


Fig. 2: Commemoration plaque above the Hijweeghe. Source: Ab Actis Senatus e.t. Roos Ledebøer.

that members should not only learn history, but also actively make and write it themselves.⁶ He was referring to the commemoration of Unitas' survival of the War; members should not only know of this but actively contribute to its remembrance, as it partially formed the association as it is nowadays.

CIH also hiked a part of the escape route De Moulin used when fleeing the Germans in the winter of 1943-1944. This hike was organised in the summer of 2022, with around forty members participating and was through a part of the Pyrenees, guided by people whose parents hiked the same route as De Moulin during the War. During the hike, parts of De Moulin's diary were read to the group to recreate the atmosphere that De Moulin experienced.⁷ Through this, CIH encourages members to actively think about the past, and how their own lives would be affected by war. Summarised, CIH is not only teaching

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

history to members but is also instigating them to actively engage in it through creating new traditions and organising activities that keep the history alive.

Institutional survival

Roos Ledebøer, secretary of the board of Unitas, explained that De Moulin guaranteed the institutional survival of the association, and that without his actions, the association would not be as it is today.⁸ Unitas actively profiles itself as a traditional association. It commemorates De Moulin as an intrinsic component of Unitas retaining these traditions. Ledebøer also explicitly stated that De Moulin is relatable to current members; De Moulin was a part of the same association, in the same clubhouse, with roughly the same associational structures as they have nowadays. This makes it easier to engage in commemoration.⁹

Besides CIH's activities, Unitas has implemented other forms of remembrance in recent years. One example is that in 2018, the board had a commemorative plaque hung above the entrance to the Hijweeghe, which is the most frequently visited room for having drinks. At the centre of the plaque are lines from the poem 'Peace', written by former member Leo Vroman, which reads as follows:

Come tonight with stories
How the war disappeared
And repeat them a hundred
times
All the times I will weep.
L.V.¹⁰

⁸ Interview Ledebøer.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Dutch translation:
Kom vanavond met verhalen
Hoe de oorlog is verdwenen
En herhaal ze honderd malen
Alle malen zal ik wenen.
L.V.

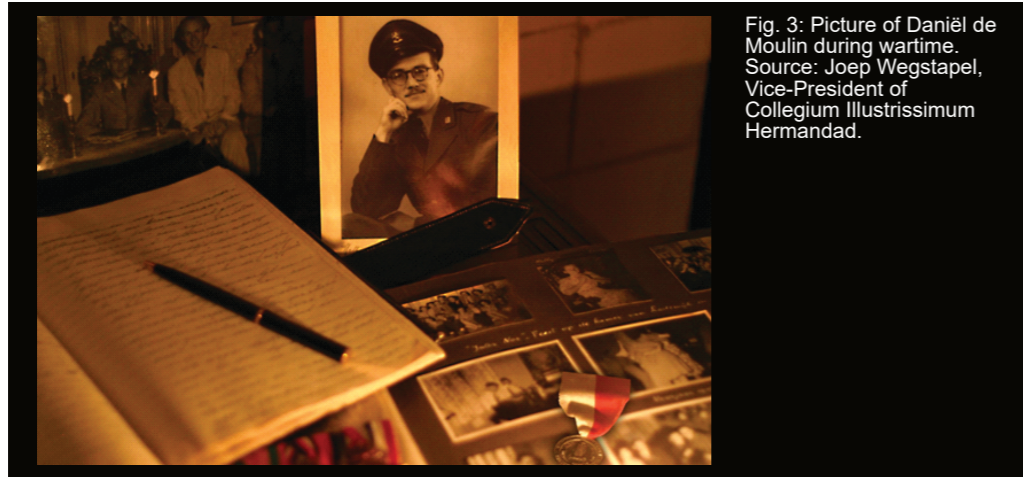


Fig. 3: Picture of Daniël de Moulin during wartime. Source: Joep Wegstapel, Vice-President of Collegium Illustrissimum Hermandad.

Around these words are the names of all members who fought in the war, depicted in sunbursts.¹¹ The purpose of this plaque is to remind current members that the association endured hard times, which it could not have survived without its dedicated members.¹² Moreover, with this plaque, Unitas aimed to give its members a space to remember the victims and to tell war stories from relatives to keep that part of history alive.¹³

Hike, write, commemorate, repeat

Traditions, as explained by historian Eric Hobsbawm, are repetitive practices that teach members of a group certain values to create continuity with the past.¹⁴ This can be seen within Unitas. The association actively encourages members to make history their own, by encouraging activities for commemoration, such as the 'Hike to Freedom'.

Traditions created by Unitas show an active attempt to continue past values. Unitas imparts to members that their association and clubhouse would not have been the same had it not been for De Moulin. Regarding institutional survival, members are encouraged to continue commemorating this in several ways. Examples of this are as the hike or the commemorative plaque above the Hijweeghe.

The unique nature of Unitas allows for the invention of unique traditions

Student associations are ideal for implementing these invented traditions because they are imagined communities on a local level. Anthropologist Benedict Anderson defined imagined communities as a group in which "the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each life the image of their communion."¹⁵ As Unitas has more than

a thousand members, it means that they will never know most of their fellow members, especially not when taking former members into account. Nevertheless, in the minds of each member lives the image of the traditions of their association. Unitas displays a direct continuity with the past after the War. The association survived institutionally with help from De Moulin; he forms a direct connection to the past, via which members are taught the same structural values. Members are encouraged to actively commemorate these figures by way of creating their own traditions in line with the association's history. Unitas' community is created and imagined by way of invented traditions that try to retain continuity with the past.

Unitas as a local imagined community

This community is locally formed, therefore most of their commemoration is based on their own invented traditions and are specifically meant for their community. Their members are exclusively part of it and thereby also exclusively have those traditions imparted to them, which non-members will not have. Thus, Unitas functions as a local imagined community in which commemoration of the Second World War provides opportunities for the invention of tradition. These traditions are based on the commemoration of former members and are periodically and repetitively performed by members to create their exclusive community.

This imagined community shows the crucial role local institutions play in commemorating the past. Similarly, historian Jenny Wüstenberg's research was centred on the German History Movement of the 1980s and analysed the impact of this decentralised movement on remembering the Second World War. She showed that local, decentralised movements and associations were able to create a historical narrative on their own, via which local inhabitants were taught more about their history and changed their traditions accordingly.¹⁶ This was done

via commemoration of the impact of the War at local sites on memory, instead of focussing on large memory sites popular among tourists.¹⁷

The traditions live on

This article has explored the role of traditions and imagined community within Unitas S.R. in the context of commemorating the Second World War from 2018 until the present. Through a closer study of the association, this article has shown how traditions function as repetitive practices that transmit norms and values and create continuity with the past. Unitas actively engages in the creation and maintenance of traditions, albeit with different approaches. Unitas emphasises institutional survival and imparts the importance of their association's history to its members.

This research has shown that Unitas is actively creating new forms of commemoration and shaping them into traditions to strengthen their community. The unique nature of student associations as imagined communities on a local level makes them ideal for the implementation of invented traditions. Anderson's concept of imagined communities, where members share a collective image of their community despite not knowing most of their fellow members, resonates with the experiences of association members. The traditions of Unitas serve as markers of identity and communion, providing a direct link to the past and imparting the same structures, norms, and values to current members. By commemorating specific individuals as Daniël de Moulin, Unitas creates a connection to the past and fosters a sense of community among members.

¹¹ DUIC, 'Oorlogsslachtoffers Studentenvereniging Unitas Herdacht Met Plaquette', 22 November 2018, <https://bit.ly/3PsaJmj>.

¹² Interview Ledeboer 2023.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1.

¹⁵ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso US, 2006), 14.

¹⁶ Jenny Wüstenberg, *Civil Society and Memory in Postwar Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 127.

¹⁷ Wüstenberg, *Civil Society*, 127.

In conclusion, this article sheds light on the dynamic relationship between invented traditions, imagined communities, and commemoration within student association Unitas. The active creation and communication of traditions create a sense of continuity with the past, while the unique nature of an association such as Unitas as a local imagined community allows for the invention of unique traditions.

Interested in more student association history? Also read Michelle's piece about U.V.S.V. in Aanzet, 39-1:



Michelle Moonen studies political history and is interested in environmental history, political and cultural memory studies, and Irish history of the 20th century. She is now in the third and last year of her BA History and is currently working on her thesis.

RECENSIE

The Forgotten Memory of the Free Men in France



Fig. 1: Si Kaddour Ben Ghabrit. Source: Wikimedia Commons, <https://bit.ly/3TH2kNf>.

Rajae el Morabet Belhaj

Revealing a previously untold story, the 2011 French film *Les Hommes Libres* sheds light on the important involvement of North African Muslims in the French resistance during World War II. Set in Paris during the German occupation, the film follows Younes, an Algerian immigrant, who becomes involved with the resistance after being recruited by the French police to spy at the Grand Mosque, which serves as the backdrop. Inspired by true events, the film explores the mosque's significant contribution of providing Jewish individuals with certificates of Muslim identity to protect them from Nazi concentration camps. In this review, I explore the impact of *Les Hommes Libres* on French collective memory and memory discourse.

Jews and Muslims in 1940s Paris

Before discussing the potential lessons from the film's portrayal of the past, it is important to acknowledge the uncertainty surrounding the accuracy of

the events depicted. Limited documentation makes it difficult to confirm what exactly happened during this time, as aid to the Jews was provided in an improvised manner. Recording such actions would have posed significant risks for the mosque involved, as is explicitly stated by the characters in the film.¹

The film is based on true events shared in 1983 by Albert Assouline, a North African Jew who escaped from a prison camp during the German occupation. Assouline claimed that over 1700 resistance fighters found refuge in the mosque's underground caverns, with the

¹ Elaine Sciolino, "Heroic Tale of Holocaust, With a Twist," last modified October 3, 2011, <https://nyti.ms/4avEsnb>.

mosque's rector issuing Muslim identity certificates to Jewish individuals.² So far, no other witnesses have come forward to support Assouline's account, except for the current rector of the Mosque, Dr. Dalil Boubakeur, who confirmed the mosque's role in issuing Muslim identity certificates to Jewish individuals.³

In the film, the viewer sees Younes transitioning from being a selfish opportunist, selling out his 'own' people at the mosque to the French police, to a noble resistance fighter when he witnesses the atrocities committed against the Jewish community. Younes quickly forms a bond with Salim Halali, a Jewish-Algerian singer. Si Kaddour Ben Ghabrit, the Algerian-born rector of the mosque, plays a significant role by concealing the Jewish roots of Halali, providing him with a false birth certificate as a Muslim and even arranging a tombstone with his late father's name in a Muslim cemetery. This is an interesting connection to real-life events, since both Ben Ghabrit and Halali really existed. Throughout the film, Halali becomes a symbol of the bond between different faiths. Younes is inspired to abandon his self-centred nature and join the noble resistance movement upon witnessing the exceptional compassion and resilience displayed by Halali.

French collective memory

Les Hommes Libres renewed the debate on how North Africans in France were remembered throughout history. The actions taken by Arabs and Muslims to shield Jews during World War II have unfortunately faded from French

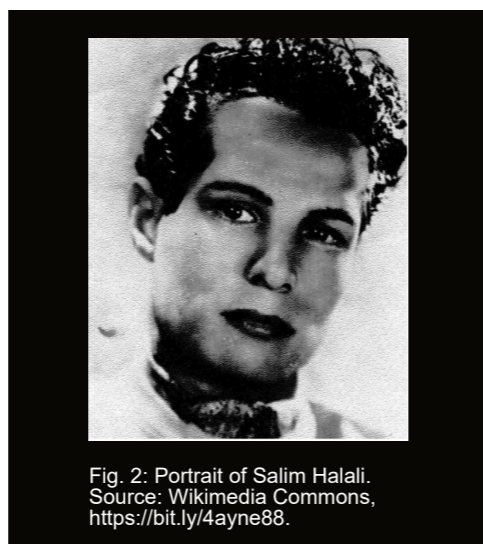


Fig. 2: Portrait of Salim Halali. Source: Wikimedia Commons, <https://bit.ly/4ayne88>.

collective memory. French historian on North Africa and consultant on the film, Benjamin Stora, told *The New York Times* that the film sheds a different light on Muslims and North Africans. He argues that a lot is written about the Muslim-Nazi collaboration, but that the knowledge of the Muslim-Jewish collaboration remains scarce.⁴ Before the release of the film, Arab and Muslim participation during the war in general was not extensively studied in academic research.

For this review, I will focus specifically on the role of North Africans, emphasizing Algerians. Back then, France was a powerful state with many foreign possessions, with Algeria being the most important. Sociologist Steven Loyal asserts that Algeria was not perceived as a colony, but rather as an extension of French territory.⁵ The first wave of Algerian emigration to France occurred in the early twentieth century and

continued throughout the interwar period. Keep in mind that at the time, native people from the colonies in North Africa were seen as French subjects and not as French citizens. This means they were under French control and authority but did not have the full rights and benefits of being French citizens.

Unveiling Inclusive Resistance History

Les Hommes Libres uses the past to achieve multiple goals, one being to preserve the heroic history of resistance and make it more inclusive.⁶ According to Ismaël Ferroukhi, the Moroccan-Algerian director and writer of the film, *Les Hommes Libres* pays homage "to the people of our [French] history who have been invisible".⁷ The North African minorities have been often left out of the mainstream narratives of the world wars.⁸ The film also confronts the ongoing tensions between Muslims, Arabs, and the French state, exemplified by recent bans on religious symbols and attire in the name of secularism and preserving French ideals. Ferroukhi aimed to offer a nuanced reality, by challenging the stereotypes of anti-Semitism within Muslim and Arab communities.⁹

Ferroukhi not only seeks to shift the focus towards a more nuanced depiction of wartime resistance, but also on the political capabilities of Si Kaddour Ben Ghabrit. The film delves into the intricate

actions of Ben Ghabrit in maintaining a friendly political relationship with the Nazis while secretly undermining their persecution of Jews. Through this portrayal, Ferroukhi emphasizes Ben Ghabrit's significant risks in protecting and saving Jews during a challenging period. This depiction of Ben Ghabrit's political skills adds complexity to the narrative, enabling viewers to gain a deeper understanding of the intricacies and contradictions of resistance during the wartime era.

Les Hommes Libres reveals forgotten heroes of French resistance.

Les Hommes Libres uncovers a forgotten part of French history and deserves recognition within the discourse of World War II. The film showcases the bravery and sacrifices of those who stood up against oppression and discrimination during the War, underlining the power of resistance and resilience in pursuing freedom and justice. Director Ferroukhi is right in emphasizing the need to acknowledge the bravery and solidarity of these individuals who have been overshadowed. They deserve to be remembered. *Les Hommes Libres* stands as a powerful tribute to the unsung heroes of history, reminding us that unity, courage, and solidarity are the true pillars of resilience in the pursuit of freedom and justice.

Rajae el Morabet Belhaj is currently pursuing a research master's degree in History, as well as a master's degree in North American Studies in Leiden. Her research revolves around delving into the social dynamics between different ethnic groups and instances of police brutality portrayed in popular American films.

²Sciolino, "Heroic Tale of Holocaust".

³Ofer Aderet, "The Great Mosque of Paris That Saved Jews During the Holocaust," last modified March 23, 2012, <https://bit.ly/3vz3yCd>.

⁴Sciolino, "Heroic Tale of Holocaust".

⁵Steven Loyal, "The French in Algeria, Algerians in France: Bourdieu, Colonialism, and Migration," *The Sociological Review* 57, no. 3 (2009): 406-427.

⁶A.O. Scott, "In French Occupation, a Broader Resistance," last modified March 14, 2012, <https://nyti.ms/4cCO7tq>.

⁷Sciolino, "Heroic Tale of Holocaust".

⁸Quentin Duroy, "North African Identity and Racial Discrimination in France: A Social Economic Analysis of Capability Deprivation," *Review of Social Economy* 69, no. 3 (2011): 307-332.

⁹Sciolino, "Heroic Tale of Holocaust".



Afb. 1: De drie middeleeuwse standen verenigd in een initiaal: de geestelijkheid links, de adel in het midden en de derde stand rechts, dertiende eeuw. Bron: Wikimedia Commons <https://bit.ly/3wQifEl>.

De donkere eeuwen belicht

Jessica Tuinstra en Sylvia van Hees

'Als de geschiedenis een vreemd land zou zijn, dan zijn de middeleeuwen voor veel mensen toch wel het meest afgelegen en onbekende oord, diep verborgen in de schaduw...'.¹ Zo luidt de eerste zin van *Middeleeuwse medemensen*. De auteurs maken hun doel duidelijk met de ondertitel: *De clichés over de donkere eeuwen voorbij*. Gewelddadig, bekrompen, onhygiënisch: de middeleeuwen worden gezien als een tijdperk van verval en stilstand. Het traditionele beeld van de middeleeuwen is, op zijn zachtst gezegd, niet heel positief. Het boek *Middeleeuwse medemensen* ontkracht dit gangbare

beeld en nuanceert het op politiek, sociaal, economisch en cultureel vlak.

Hoewel de titel van het boek verwijst naar een geschiedenis van de hele middeleeuwen, wordt er in het boek alleen maar ingegaan op de late middeleeuwen, tussen grofweg de dertiende en vijftiende eeuw. Daarnaast is het geografische kader ingeperkt tot de gebieden van het huidige Nederland en België. Het boek is opgedeeld in tien hoofdstukken, elk geschreven door een andere historicus die een cliché of stereotiep beeld over de middeleeuwen aankaart. De verscheidenheid van de thema's is groot, wat het ook interessant om te lezen maakt. We zullen een aantal toelichten.

¹ J. Roelens en Nathan van Kleij, *Middeleeuwse medemensen. De clichés van de donkere eeuwen voorbij* (Deurne: Ertsberg, 2023) 7.

Ander perspectief

Het boek begint met het ontcrachten van het triomfantelijke idee over de autoritaire heersers, waarin de auteur, Minne de Boodt, de rol van verzoekschriften van burgers in besluitvorming van de bestuurders laat zien. Deze schriften werden vaak ingediend om eisen aan machthebbers kenbaar te maken. Er werd pas overgegaan op geweld – tevens een ander stereotype over de middeleeuwen – als deze verzoekschriften werden genegeerd. Zelfs dan werd er alleen geweld gebruikt tegen degenen die geen gehoor wilden laten geven: 'Defenestraties waren immers een kenmerkende straf voor onbekwaam geachte bestuurders'.²

De omgang met onze middeleeuwse medemens kan liefdevoller

De rol van vrouwen wordt in het vijfde hoofdstuk nader bekeken. Jonas Roelens ontcracht hierin de mythes van kuisheidsgordels en de 'kansloze' uitgehuwde vrouw: hij laat zien dat vrouwen, voornamelijk in de Lage Landen, juist erg financieel onafhankelijk waren. De auteur gaat daarbij ook in op seksualiteit, waar een ander hoofdstuk ook overgaat: er is dus wel redelijk wat overlap in het boek. Dit is haast onvermijdelijk, door de grote hoeveelheid experts die meewerkten aan het boek. Dit hadden de redacteurs wellicht beter op één lijn kunnen brengen.

² Roelens en Van Kleij, *Middeleeuwse Medemensen*, 42.

In het hoofdstuk *De middeleeuwen zijn goedgevolg* tracht Wendy Wauters het beeld van de extreem vrome en argeloze middeleeuwer te veranderen, door magie en toverij op een andere manier te benaderen en de negatieve connotatie van deze woorden los te laten. Als lezer word je hierdoor aangemoedigd een ander perspectief aan te nemen, en magische ervaringen niet slechts als onwetenschappelijk te bestempelen.

Middeleeuwse wetenschap wordt niet altijd serieus genomen, sterker nog; het wordt dikwijls belachelijk gemaakt. Lola Digard en Jonas Roelens willen benadrukken dat de middeleeuwen 'dus niet de periode van algemene wetenschappelijke stilstand' waren.³ De wetenschappelijke ontdekkingen uit de middeleeuwen komen weliswaar niet altijd overeen met de wetenschap van vandaag, maar vloeiden wel voort uit intellectueel denken en logisch redeneren met de kennis die de middeleeuwers tot hun beschikking hadden.

Verre van vreemd

De schrijfstijl over het gehele boek is uniform en goed te volgen. Hier en daar zijn er een aantal spelfoutjes of grammaticale foutjes te vinden in het boek, wat een beetje knullig overkomt. De vergelijkingen tussen het verleden en heden dragen bij aan de toegankelijkheid van het boek, en sporen de lezer aan om na te denken over het verloop van de geschiedenis, en de verbintenis tussen het leven van een middeleeuwer en die van de 'moderne' mens. Ook de titel van het boek suggereert deze verbintenis: de middeleeuwers staan helemaal niet zo ver van ons af. De omgang met onze middeleeuwse medemensen zou wellicht wat liefdevoller kunnen na het lezen van dit boek.

³ Ibid., 258.



Afb. 2 Schilderij van Edmund Blair Leighton, *The Dedication*, 1908. Bron: Wikimedia Commons. <https://bit.ly/3wRH0Nn>.

Gerecenseerd werk

Boeken: Jonas Roelens en Nathan van Kleij, *Middeleeuwse medemensen. De clichés van de donkere eeuwen voorbij*. Ertberg, Deurne, 2023. 337 pagina's, €29,50.

Het uitlezen van dit boek voelde als een voltooide ontdekkingsreis: als lezer werd je aan de hand genomen door alle auteurs terwijl ze de 'donkere eeuwen' belichtten. De middeleeuwen lijken niet meer een vreemd oord in ons geestesoog, maar een bekendere bestemming met veel te bieden, en nog meer te ontdekken.

Jessica Tuinstra and Sylvia van Hees are two first-year students of the bachelor History and both love the Middle Ages. On top of that, they enjoy reading and writing.



ISSN 0926-1265



9 770926

126009