UC BERKELEY
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
WINTER 2016 NEWSLETTER
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Dear Friends of Berkeley History:

Greetings once again from the beautiful (if somewhat cluttered) corner office of Dwinelle Hall, Level C, where I have the pleasure to serve as the History Department chair. One thing I’ve realized this year, on my second trip around the calendar in this job, is just how much academic life is governed by the circular version of the passage of time. Of course, everyone from student to professor knows this well from the course calendar, which marches us along in lockstep from the giddy first days of class through homework assignments, mid-terms, papers, and final exams, whether we’re on the studying side or the grading side of the lectern or seminar table. But this year, as I write the memos, letters of recommendation, merit reviews, announcements, and countless other missives that come with this job, and as I scratch my head and try to remember, “how did we do this last year?” I often discover (through the magic of saved email or time-stamped electronic documents) that I’m doing the very same thing I was doing one year ago to the day (or even the hour or minute).

So what does this mean—that history repeats itself? Not exactly. I wouldn’t dignify my memos, meetings, and messages with such a grand title as “history.” We historians tend to spend our time tracing time’s arrow more than time’s cycle, figuring out how and why Big Deal A at Time X became Big Deal B at Time Y. And yet, when it comes right down to it, we often find the evidence we need to build our change-over-time arguments about big events from the quotidian sources produced by ordinary people immersed in daily life.

My colleagues know that on ceremonial occasions, I often turn to one of my favorite documentary sources for inspiration—the massive two-volume diary kept by a Boston merchant and judge, Samuel Sewall, from the 1670s through the 1720s, 50 years of an active life captured through more-or-less daily observations. Samuel Sewall experienced his share of Big Deals—wars, fires, epidemics, pirates (he was responsible for overseeing the return of Captain Kidd’s ill-gotten treasure to authorities in London), rebellions, and the infamous Salem witchcraft trials (he was one of the nine judges on the Court of Oyer and Terminer that decided the
cases, and the only judge later to repent his actions). But I am as often drawn to his observations about the small things, the ordinary events of his life and the lives of his neighbors, friends, and family.

For instance, in his diary entries from exactly 300 years ago, in the first week of December, 1716, Sewall noted a visit from the Royal Governor of Massachusetts: “Governour Shute comes to my house in his Chariot, with a Petition for the youth Sentenced for Altering a Bill of Credit.” Sewall, the judge, was being asked to show leniency in a case of counterfeiting. The next day was “Very cold, Serene.” On the following day, Sewall was a pallbearer at the funeral of an aged member of the illustrious Winthrop family. And on the next, he heard the news that “Six men were lost out of one Whaleboat.”

None of these specific events or observations will make it into the history of Boston that I’m finishing now. Nor have I seen them cited in anyone else’s history of Boston or early New England. In that sense, these are not the “stuff of history.” And yet, Sewall’s observations do touch on important themes that no history of this subject can ignore: the precariousness of life in a seafaring colony in early America; the ever-present problem of the scarcity of money in a colony far from the imperial center; the strenuous efforts necessary to retain continuity and memory across generations in the pre-modern world. In some ways, it’s the depth, richness, and persistence of Sewall’s observations about the ordinary that give me confidence when citing his testimony about the prominent events that do make historical headlines.

“In the many stories you’ll find in this newsletter, you’ll see plenty of the History Department’s highlights from 2016: faculty members publishing new books, winning big prizes, giving keynote addresses at major conferences; graduate students winning grants to do cutting edge research all over the world, and advancing to new phases of their careers as historians; and our brilliant undergraduates learning what it means to think critically, do research, and write cogently about the past across a dazzling array of subjects. These are the things that keep Berkeley History at the forefront of the discipline, and how we keep the discipline advancing into the future.

What lies behind these major achievements that make it into the newsletter is an enormous amount of daily effort around the cycle of each academic year. The work of our fabulous and dedicated staff, who schedule the courses, enroll the students, order the textbooks, help students negotiate requirements, process fellowships and stipends and benefits, and on and on. The hours upon hours spent by faculty and grad student instructors, coming up with lectures, reading assignments, lesson plans, grading papers, reviewing drafts. And the many more hours, days, weeks, and months spent in reading, research, and writing. Most of this is nothing like the “Eureka” moment of Hollywood’s stereotypical professor, but rather the patient (i.e. tedious) sifting through sources to make certain your argument isn’t wrong or that there isn’t one more shred of evidence that will shore up that bit you’re not so sure of. To say nothing of copyediting, proofreading, footnote checking.

“Truthful, evidence-based, reasonable and reasoned explanation of how the world got to be the way it is—this seems to be an endangered commodity, a scarce resource, in our world today. We in the History Department take pride in the fact that this is our specialty.”

Truthful, evidence-based, reasonable and reasoned explanation of how the world got to be the way it is—this seems to be an endangered commodity, a scarce resource, in our world today. We in the History Department take pride in the fact that this is our specialty. We strive to produce it ourselves, to teach our students how important it is, and how they can produce it too. We could not do this without you, and your support. Your donations to the department play a crucial role in every aspect of our work, they help keep us going around the cycle of each academic year, so that we can work together to connect the past to the present. This endeavor has never been more important, more essential, to the well-being of our world and its future, and we are enormously grateful to you for helping us to pursue it. – Mark Peterson
The Department of History is delighted to welcome Professor Diliana N. Angelova, a specialist in Early Christian and Byzantine art. Though new to our department, Professor Angelova has been a cherished member of our community since she arrived in Berkeley in 2009 from the Department of Classics at the University of Colorado, Boulder, to take up a position in the Department of Art History, where she continues to be a faculty member.

Professor Angelova holds a PhD from Harvard University and she is the author of *Sacred Founders: Women, Men, and Gods in the Discourse of Imperial Founding, Rome through Early Byzantium* (UC Press, 2015). As the book’s title suggests, Professor Angelova’s principal research interests focus on the intersection between material culture and ideas, including notions of gender, which she uses to address areas traditionally reserved for more text-based scholarship, such as romantic love or concepts of empire.

Since her arrival at Berkeley, Professor Angelova has been an active member of the Graduate Group in Ancient History and Mediterranean Archaeology, the California Consortium of Late Antiquity, and she is on the editorial board of the journal *Studies in Late Antiquity*, to be launched by UC Press in February 2017. - Susanna Elm

On December 1, Jim Grossman, Executive Director of the American History Association (AHA), gave a talk titled “Careers Beyond Academia: What You Can Do with a History PhD and What Faculty Can Do to Help.” The talk responded to graduate student interest in alternatives to Research I (R1) tenure-track teaching positions, and provided advice on how to prepare for different careers.

According to numbers from the AHA, around 51 percent of History PhDs are employed in tenure track positions, and only about one-third of those are at R1 universities. In response to this, Grossman made two suggestions: first, that graduate students can and should think of alternative careers as viable options, and second, that there should be a major change in department curricula—one that would emphasize communication, collaboration, quantitative literacy, intellectual self-confidence, and digital literacy. These skills, Grossman argued, would not only make students better equipped for alternative careers, but would also be valuable assets for future faculty. - Paulina Hartono
Alaniz Recognized for Mentorship of GSIs

Rodolfo John Alaniz, visiting lecturer in history, is one of the three individuals who received the Faculty Award for Outstanding Mentorship of GSIs in April 2016. Graduate students are invited each spring to nominate faculty members for the award, and each nomination is typically supported by several GSIs who have worked with the honoree.

The award, sponsored by the Graduate Council’s Advisory Committee for GSI Affairs and the GSI Teaching & Resource Center, is presented as a surprise in the faculty member’s classroom, with the GSIs and other departmental faculty and staff present.

One of Alaniz’s GSIs summarized his mentorship in this way: “Through conversing with John during our weekly meetings and watching him interact with students in class, I learned what it meant to be a compassionate teacher, one who recognized that student success was not formulaic and groomed in the classroom alone but, rather, something that required appreciating students as constantly engaged in a larger process of self-understanding and growth.”

GSIs also credited Alaniz for modeling exceptional skills in course design, treating students as junior scholars, and providing ongoing support and feedback throughout the semester.

Alaniz’s History 180 course, “The Life Sciences Since 1750,” examines the individual choices biologists made during and after the Enlightenment, with particular regard for concepts of generation, the history of evolutionary theories, and the emergence of modern molecular biology.
MARGARET LAVINIA ANDERSON traveled to Hamburg in September 2016 to participate in a panel on “Democracy and the German Sonderweg” at the German Historical Association’s bi-annual convention. Her own paper was entitled (translated from the German): “A Democracy Deficit? The German Empire in Comparative Perspective.” This December she will give a paper at Vanderbilt University entitled “The Ambassador’s Story: Henry Morgenthau, the Armenian Genocide, and the Problem of Humanitarian Intervention.”

ANDREW BARSHAY was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in April 2016. Barshay also presented a paper, ”The Protestant Imagination: Maruyama Masao, Robert Bellah, and the Study of Japanese Thought,” at the Maruyama Masao Center for the History of Ideas, Tokyo, in October 2016. He is “making painfully slow progress” on his new book, Tracking the Future: Railways and Social Reconstruction in Postwar Japan.

TOM BRADY (retired 2006) had a happy surprise in recent months when two writings (long delayed in the process of publication) appeared in print. The first one—from a conference held at the Herzog August Library in Wolfenbüttel, Germany—is entitled “Maximilian I and the Imperial Reform at the Diet of Worms, 1495” in Jan-Dirk Müller and Hans-Joachim Ziegler, eds. Maximilians Ruhmeswerk: Künste und Wissenschaften im Umkreis Kaiser Maximilians I. (Berlin/Boston: deGruyter 2015). The second was the plenary lecture—from a conference held in 2010 at Bethel College in North Newton, Kansas—entitled “The Cost of Contexts: Anabaptist/Mennonite History and the Early Modern European Past” in Mark Jantzen, Mary S. Sprunger, and John D. Thiesen, eds. European Mennonites and the Challenge of Modernity over Five Centuries: Contributors, Detractors and Adapters (North Newton, KS: Bethel College 2016). Occasional trips to conferences, several writing projects and visits from former students, family and friends round out the days at home.

The University of Pennsylvania Press will release RICHARD CÁNDIDA SMITH’s next book, Improvised Continent: Pan-Americanism and Cultural Exchange in 2017 as part of the press’s series The Arts and Intellectual Life in Modern America. At the beginning of the 20th century, both the U.S. government and private philanthropies like the Carnegie Endowment started new cultural exchange programs with the goal of building a common pan-American identity linking the citizens of the United States to countries in the Pan American Union. One of the first results was Spanish in the 1920s becoming the most widely studied foreign language in the United States. This is the first book on cultural exchange that focuses on how programs worked within the United States and how Americans responded to Latin American writers and artists reaching out to them. The big question guiding the book is how does a country in the process of becoming a world power prepare its citizens for the responsibilities and costs of global leadership? Can they develop a sense of connection with people in other countries? Do they have the information and insight needed to make government actions abroad accountable to democratic oversight? This book answers these questions by looking at the careers within the United States of some of the most important writers and artists to come out of Latin America in the twentieth century. The stories behind Diego Rivera’s murals, the movies of Walter Salles and Alejandro G. Iñárritu, the poetry of Gabriela Mistral, the novels of Carlos Fuentes shows us how interaction with Latin American creativity challenged ideas in the United States about its place in the world and about the kind of global relations the country’s conflicting interests could allow. Some of the figures are still well known, but others are forgotten even though people in the United States used to be excited about what they had to say. The book digs into an often-overlooked history of an unlikely effort to promote better understanding of the issues and concerns of most importance to the citizens of other countries.
THOMAS DANDELET was invited to give a lecture on “Fabrizio Colonna, Machiavelli and the ‘Art of War’” at the University of Chicago in the fall of 2015. In June of 2016, he was invited to give a paper at the Sorbonne on the theme of “Spanish Palermo” for a conference on the Early Modern City. His publications this year included “Imagining Marcus Aurelius in the Renaissance: Forgery, Fiction and History in the Creation of the Imperial Ideal,” in For the Sake of Learning, edited by Ann Blair and Anja-Silvia Goeing (Leiden: Brill, 2016).


JAN DE VRIES spent the Fall semester as a visiting professor at Utrecht University where he gave a lecture on the past and future of social scientific history and a seminar on new approaches to measuring historical purchasing power. His ongoing interest in global history is revealed in recent review essays in the American Historical Review and the Journal of Economic History, as well as in his recent book chapter: “Understanding Eurasian Trade in the Era of the Trading Companies,” in Maxine Berg, ed., Goods from the East, 1600-1800. Trading Eurasia (Basingstoke and New York, Palgrave Macmillan Press).

This summer and fall, PAULA FASS has been speaking several times on campus and elsewhere in the US and Europe about her new book, The End of American Childhood: A History of Parenting from Life on the Frontier to the Managed Child (published in June 2016). Her article on the End of Adolescence was published online by Aeon on October 26, 2016 and can be accessed at aeon.co/essays

ERICH GRUEN maintains a reasonably active schedule of lecturing, conference hopping, and writing to assure colleagues and friends (the two categories occasionally overlap) that he still functions. He spoke at conferences in Atlanta and Thessaloniki, lectured at Oxford, Macalester College (keynote address at the annual meeting of the Classical Association of Minnesota), and Middlebury College. Among recent articles published are “The Twisted Tales of Artapanus: Biblical Rewriting as Novelistic Narrative,” “The Jews of Rome under Nero,” “When is a Revolt not a Revolt: A Case for Contingency,” and “Josephus and Jewish Identity.” And his new book just appeared, a crushing tome of well over 500 pages, suitable as a door stop: a collection of selected essays he has published during the past twenty years entitled Constructs of Identity in Hellenistic Judaism: Essays on Early Jewish Literature and History. The price is prohibitive.

DAVID HENKIN has been speaking and publishing on and around the subject of his forthcoming book, currently titled People of the Week: Seven-Day Rhythms in Nineteenth-Century America. He is teaching a new course this year on “The Road in U.S. History” and remains very proud of Becoming America, the survey text he co-authored with Rebecca McLennan (2014).

In November DICK HERR was happy to welcome the publication of his book Separate but Equal? Individual and Community since the Enlightenment published by the Berkeley Institute of Governmental Studies. The product of several decades of work and patience, it argues that the social motivations of individualism and community spirit preached by the Enlightenment had the effect in the next century of establishing the ideal of the homogeneous national society marginalizing or excluding ethnic and language minorities and women. After the horrors of the 1930s and 40s, the book assesses the efforts since WW II to correct the evils of the homogeneous ideal. It focuses on the US and western European nations. Dick is working on another book on the lives of his parents running silver mines in Mexico and Central America in the tumultuous early decades of the twentieth century.
After 45 years of teaching at Berkeley, **MARTIN JAY** retired in June. The Department, Jay said, “graciously let me share the wisdom, such as it is, that I’ve accumulated over that time with the audience at the Commencement ceremony.” Jay’s former and current doctoral students—some 31 of them—gathered in October to present their research at a conference marking his retirement.


and the Frankfurt School: An Interview with Martin Jay,” film by Foad Mir, YouTube, June 23, 2016; Philosophical Trends (China), 2016.

**STEPHANIE JONES-ROGERS** was awarded a National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship for University Teachers. Jones-Rogers will use the fellowship in order to support her second book-length project, *Women, American Slavery, and the Law*.

**GEOFFREY KOZIOL** is putting the finishing touches on a book about the Peace of God (think a medieval movement that combines the First and Second Great Awakenings in the United States). He also published an article in Early Medieval Europe on the fascinating visions of a 10th-century peasant girl. He presented one keynote lecture on Charlemagne at Humanities West and another on medieval charters at the International Medieval Society in Paris. He was invited to participate in a new project on the Transformation of the Carolingian World—meaning, essentially, what on earth happened to Europe in the 10th century that turned the ordered imperial vision of the 9th-century Carolingians into the entropic mess of the 11th century. As part of this project he signed on to coordinate research on 10th- and 11th-century social change for a research program initiated by scholars at the Institut für Mittelalterforschung at University of Vienna. He organized sessions and presented papers at the Medieval Academy in Boston and at the International Medieval Congress in Leeds. Believing that careful, rigorous comparative history is far more important than global history (which tends to only look at a handful of completely atypical international “emporia”—the pre-modern equivalents of London, Frankfurt, and San Francisco), he will be joining Nick Tackett next semester in teaching a comparative course on the very different ways medieval China and Europe looked at the outside world.

**TOM LAQUEUR**’s recent book won three more prizes this fall: The Mosse Prize of the American Historical Association for the best book in cultural and intellectual history, the Stansky Prize of the North American Conference on British Studies for the best book in modern British history and most recently the $75,000 Cundill Prize in Historical Literature, administered by McGill University and “offered each year to an individual who has published a book in English determined to have had, or likely to have, a profound literary, social and intellectual impact.” He has been elected a Phi Beta Kappa lecturer for next year and will under the auspices of the lectureship spend two days on each of six campuses throughout the US. His faculty research lecture this spring will be about “How Dogs Have Made Us Human.”

**REBECCA MCLENNAN** and David Henkin’s popular new US history textbook, *Becoming America: A History for the 21st Century* (McGraw Hill, 2014), has been adopted by colleges and universities in over a dozen states, including Texas, New York, and California. Since publishing *Becoming America*, McLennan has taken her work in American legal history in fresh directions, focusing on the changing relationship among the environment, domestic and international law, and mass consumer capitalism, with particular emphasis on changing conceptions of “wildlife.” In this vein, 2016 saw her conducting original research on the remote Pribilof Islands (the “Fur Seal Islands” of the Bering Sea), and the fur-trade capitals of New York, London, Leipzig, and Guangzhou, for her ongoing book project on the making—and unmaking—of international environmental law between 1860 and World War I (*The Wild Life of Law*). She also introduced students to this and related subject matter in several new courses, including an interdisciplinary graduate seminar, *Bodies, Borders, and Belonging: An Introduction to American Legal History* (cotaught with Prof. Karen Tani of Berkeley Law).

MAUREEN C. MILLER’s book, *Clothing the Clergy: Virtue and Power in Medieval Europe*, c. 800-1200 was awarded the Otto Gründler Prize at the May 2016 International Congress on Medieval Studies. This is the second prize the book has garnered; last year the American Catholic Historical Association honored it with the John Gilmary Shea Prize. Since the last newsletter she has been finishing several articles on papal attire. *Textile History*, the journal of the Pasold Research Fund in the UK, will publish “A Descriptive Language of Domination? Curial Inventories, Clothing, and Papal Monarchy c. 1300” early next year and a study of clothing as a means of communication is in preparation for a workshop in Rome next January at the Danish Institute. Professor Miller was also in Italy over the summer working on a series of episcopal registers in the Archivio Diocesano in Mantua.

CAITLIN ROSENTHAL hosted a lively department workshop on her book manuscript-in-progress, *Accounting for Slavery* this September. She also joined in an even livelier debate at Dartmouth University over the question “Was Slavery Essential to Modern Capitalism?” The debate pitted two historians against two economists, and almost everyone began by disputing the question! In Spring 2016 Rosenthal taught her lecture on the “History of American Capitalism” which included a new simulation of banking in the antebellum U.S. and a tour of the Port of Oakland. The course won the 2015-2016 Innovation in Teaching Award from the American Cultures Center.

YURI SLEZKINE finished his book, *The House of Government: A Saga of the Russian Revolution*, and flew to Sochi to ask President Putin for ideas about a new final lecture in his lecture course on modern Russia. President Putin’s response will be revealed at the conclusion of next semester’s 171C.

WILLIAM TAYLOR released a new book: *Theater of a Thousand Wonders: A History of Miraculous Images and Shrines in New Spain* (Cambridge University Press, 2016) and received the 2016 Hubert Howe Bancroft Award from The Bancroft Library.

PETER ZINOMAN published several essays this year including “Nhan Van Giai Pham on Trial: The Prosecution of Nguyen Huu Dang and Thuy An” in the *Journal of Vietnamese Studies* and “Great Leap” in the *Mekong Review*. He delivered talks at Northwestern, Texas A&M and the University of Hanoi. He was awarded the “Vietnamese Studies Prize” for 2016 from the Phan Chau Trinh Cultural Foundation based in Ho Chi Minh City. In the Spring, he worked with President Obama’s speechwriters to help craft an address that the POTUS delivered in Hanoi to Vietnamese university students. This past Fall, he convened a symposium on campus entitled “Nation Building During War: The Case of the Republic of Vietnam, 1954-1975.” The event brought scholars working on South Vietnam together with elderly officials and intellectuals from the southern state currently living in the U.S. Zinoman is currently working on a book about anti-Stalinism in Hanoi during the late 1950s.

Students in Caitlin Rosenthal’s “History of American Capitalism” course toured the Port of Oakland in Spring 2016.
Diane came up and introduced herself to me, then a first-year grad student here at Berkeley, at a department Christmas party in 1973. She struck me then as I remember her now: warm, big-hearted, vivacious, and brilliant. Throughout the 1970s my encounters with Diane were scattered but always positive. Whether it was a greeting and short conversation, usually about how I was doing, in the Dwinelle hallways, or at some departmental social function. She always made me feel that I truly belonged and would indeed make it through the program.

Diane's *Yalta* book was one of the first books in what was then called diplomatic history, what we now call the history of the US and the world, that I read as a grad student. I remember being bowled over by its research, argumentation, and scholarly depth. It helped me as I struggled to make sense of diplomatic history generally and the Cold War and its consequences specifically.

Diane also came alive for me as a grad student in the 1970s through her own grad students in my cohort. These colleagues, especially John Yurecho, fulsomely and unanimously spoke of her towering intellect, scholarly command, commitment to them as grad students, and full and abiding concern for them as individuals, not just as students. While I never took a class with Diane, to reiterate, she welcomed me into the departmental fold and made me feel welcome and good about myself and my prospects as a historian, in particular along with Leon Litwack and Larry Levine, with whom I worked most closely. For that, I am eternally grateful and profoundly thankful.

After I returned to Berkeley in 1991, several times Diane and I co-taught History 280D: the second half of the historiography course in US History, designed principally for incoming grad students. In Diane, I had the good fortune to witness a master teacher at work: rigorous, probing, and engaging. Like the grad students, I marveled at her uncanny ability to help us see the centrality of diplomatic history to American history. But, she also helped us see the complexity and richness of both diplomatic history—on one hand—and American history—on the other. Put another way, Diane helped us to see anew the distinctiveness of diplomatic and American history. Ultimately, she enabled us to better understand how they both mutually shaped one another. Toward these ends, Diane's insights into Native American history and how that history formed a crucial and telling element of US diplomatic history was especially revelatory. That kind of insight was central to the very popular undergraduate American Cultures lecture course—one of a series of courses that fulfill the university's diversity requirement—that she taught with the invaluable assistance of Richard Allen, her scholarly partner and husband. That pioneering course helped her students understand what Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz calls an *Indigenous Peoples History of the US*.

Having gladly worked with Diane in a variety of department and university contexts over the years, I consistently came away impressed with her hard work, diligence, and strong moral sensibility. Having very much enjoyed the all-too-few times that we socialized together, I remember her fondly. Similarly, I fondly remember the all-too-few times that our paths crossed in the last few years. On those now treasured occasions, our conversation always turned to family. With me, for her, this meant talking lovingly and proudly about Lani, her daughter; Rose, Olivia, her granddaughters; the grandkids; and, of course, Richard.

Diane will always live for me as I first met her: warm, big-hearted, vivacious, and brilliant—a gem of a person.
The Work of the Dead: 
A Cultural History of Mortal Remains

By Thomas W. Laqueur | Reviewed by Ethan Shagan

How do you measure the importance of a work of history? Not by the size of its subject—for a history of everything quickly becomes a history of nothing—but perhaps by its power to change the way we think about ourselves. This is the extraordinary accomplishment of Tom Laqueur’s The Work of the Dead, a book which has already swept nearly every prize in the discipline of history, most recently the Cundill Prize for the best work of history published in the English language in 2015.

Laqueur’s work is, at one level, a history of dead bodies—objects at once utterly ubiquitous and terrifyingly sublime—and their place in Western Civilization. At this level, it is a history of changing places, from the churchyard with its “moldering heaps” (a phrase from Thomas Gray’s 1751 “Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard,” the most recited English poem of the nineteenth century) where the local community reproduced itself underground, to the civil cemeteries where a cosmopolitan bourgeoisie purchased plots as miniature real estate investments. It is also a history of changing modes, from the classic east-west burial of Christianity, so that the first thing the resurrected dead will see is Christ returning, to the radical modernity of cremation furnaces, designed to do in minutes what takes nature centuries. And finally, it is also a history of changing conceptions of whose bodies matter, from a world in which all but the most elite bodies were buried without any identifying markers—anyone who cared, after all, would already know—to the twentieth-century obsession with accounting for every body killed in war, so that no dead body is left without a name and no dead name is stranded without a body. In all these contexts, Laqueur offers us countless stories of individuals, both famous and obscure, whose bodies came to stand for the aspirations of their society.

But at a different level, Laqueur’s work is about a more subtle and transcendent problem in the history of the modern West, the failure of our changing ideologies to penetrate to the heart of what it means to be human. That is, few of us would ever claim, consciously and intellectually, that the disposition of our dead body matters. Ancient Jews, Christians, pagans, and atheists all agreed with their modern counterparts that wherever the dead are, if they are anywhere, it is not in their bodies; and ancient Christians were absolutely confident that God could reunite every part of our bodies at the Last Judgment, however scattered and lost. Bodies are only matter, they do not contain us, and what happens to them does not affect what happens to us, whatever that may be. And yet, if the believer and the atheist agree that dead bodies do not matter, they also agree that nothing in the world matters more than dead bodies: we have never for one moment shaken off the sense that the dead are our still-beating heart, and that to disrespect the dead would be to disrespect ourselves. So, for all that The Work of the Dead is a diachronic study of the different kinds of cultural work that dead bodies have done throughout history, it is also a study of how treatment of the dead
Today, in the teeming metropolis Istanbul, only few vestiges remain of its precursor, Constantinople, the New Rome founded by the emperor Constantine as the capital of a Roman empire on its way to becoming a Christian Roman empire. Most of Constantinople’s churches, palaces, and monasteries are gone, accessible to the historian only through textual sources. The same is true for the many statues of emperors and empresses, in particular those of Constantine and his mother Helena, that once adorned its public places. Taking the veneration of Constantine and his mother together as its focal point, Sacred Founders recreates aspects of the imagined topography of Constantinople by demonstrating how Byzantine rulers from the fourth century onward considered both, Constantine and Helena, as founders of their own rule, drawing on precedents that reached back in time to Augustus and his wife Livia, themselves founders of the Roman empire. Angelova illuminates how the emperors used statues, monastic foundations, public buildings, coins, and other means of expression to create a narrative of founding and generation that aligned them with the sacred; thus, the Virgin Mary became the exalted queen and, “as partner to a male ruler, a protector of the Christian monarchy” and of their city, Constantinople (p. 262).

University of California Press, 2015

Sacred Founders: Women, Men, and Gods in the Discourse of Imperial Founding, Rome through Early Byzantium

By Diliana Angelova | Reviewed by Susanna Elm

The fact that each of us owns (and is owned by) a body that will some day decay is perhaps the most fundamental condition of our lives, shaping nearly everything we do; yet, if you read Tom Laqueur’s The Work of the Dead, you will never think about it the same way again.
“Where they burn books, they will, in the end, burn human beings too.” So the great German Jewish poet and critic Heinrich Heine warned in his 1821 play Almansor, a warning often taken to be prophetic of the Holocaust. What is, however, often forgotten is that the specific book in jeopardy was the Koran, which was consigned to the flames by the Catholic zealot Ximenes during the Reconquista of Spain. That Heine sympathized more with the Moorish culture under attack than with its Christian attackers is, John Efron tell us in his remarkable new book, symptomatic of a larger tendency in the community out of which the poet came (and officially left when he accepted baptism as the "entry ticket" to European culture). Fascinated by the so-called Golden Age of Islam in Iberia, a period of tolerant convivencia in which Jews thrived as never before in their diaspora, many German Jews came to idealize their Sephardic forebears as models to be emulated in the present. Although in a few cases—Efron singles out the Hungarian-born founding father of Islamwissenschaft (the academic study of Islam) Ignaz Goldziher—this approached the elevation of Islam over Judaism as well as Christianity, its main expression was in a cult of the Sephardim themselves understood largely in aesthetic terms.

Drawing on a wealth of archival sources, as well as literary and visual evidence, Efron traces its various manifestations in often unexpected places. Among them are the admiration for the Sephardic pronunciation of Hebrew as more beautiful than the Ashkenazi, the widespread adoption of Moorish architectural styles for synagogues, the adoration of the superiority of the Sephardic body over its allegedly deformed Ashkenazi counterpart, and the elevation of Sephardic rationalism, emblemized by Moses Maimonides, over the irrationality of eastern European Hasidism. It appeared as well in the literary portrayals of brave and noble Spanish Jews in the novels devoured by readers who discovered there was more pleasure to be had in reading fiction than in studying sacred texts and their learned commentaries. Even the more putatively sober field of historical studies in the new Wissenschaft des Judentums often heroized the achievements of Jews in the Golden Age, which it invidiously compared with the alleged degradation of their cousins in Central and Eastern Europe.

As this latter comparison indicates, there are many moving parts to the story Efron lucidly narrates. Some German Jews sought to gain acceptance in a society that doggedly denied them full emancipation through assimilation, shedding whatever residue of their Jewish background they could plausibly abandon. Others preferred acculturation, the eager embrace of German Bildung, an aesthetic and ethical ideal of cultural formation that grew out of Enlightenment cosmopolitanism, but often gained nationalist overtones. Still others, ambivalent about the modernizing effects of the Jewish
Enlightenment (the Haskalah) and scorning the dilution of religious tradition in the name of Reform, self-consciously embraced a newly assertive neo-Orthodoxy, inspired by Rabbi Samuel Raphael Hirsch. However they attempted to traverse the hazardous terrain of a Germany seeking to define its own identity and create a viable nation-state, virtually all German Jews were anxious to differentiate themselves from the Ostjuden, the putatively vulgar Jews of Poland and the Pale of Settlement, who spoke Yiddish, were economically backward, and easily seduced by superstitious “enthusiasm” and even mystical irrationalism. Often internalizing the anti-Semitic stereotypes circulating in the larger society in which they found themselves, they insisted they were more refined and noble than their co-religionists to the east, capable of once again achieving the glories of the Sephardim now on German soil. Although sometimes denounced as an example of Jewish “self-hatred,” it would be better to see their psychology as a kind of “self-love” with the “self” aspirationally understood in ideal rather than empirical terms.

It was not until the early 20th century, as Efron shows in a coda to his main argument, that the romance of the Sephardim waned and a new appreciation of the vitality and authenticity of the Ostjuden emerged in the work of figures like Martin Buber, who found much to admire in the beliefs and practices of Hasidism. Perhaps it had served its purpose in providing a way for German Jews to retain their ethnic and religious identity through the mediation of an alter ego ideal that gave them the means to endure the hostility of gentile society. The cost, to be sure, was the tacit internalization of many of the negative stereotypes foisted on them by anti-Semites and their abjection on to the Yiddish-speaking Jews to the east.

What resulted, according to Efron’s ironic reading of the allure of the Sephardim, was a much more complex variant of the “orientalism” famously denounced as a hand-maiden of imperialism by Edward Said in his account of the British and French scholarship on what Europeans liked to call the “Near East.” Needing no ideological justification for an empire (at least in the Muslim world), and idealizing rather than denigrating both the Sephardim and the tolerant society in which they flourished, German Jews reversed the cultural hegemony lamented by Said. As Efron puts it, “the Ashkenazic discourse placed the Sephardic Jew in the position of authority, while the Ashkenazic Jew played the role of subjugated subaltern.” But, to acknowledge the complexity of the dynamic explored with such finesse by Efron, the Ostjuden became the victims of a kind of internal orientalism—one branch of the Ashkenazim stigmatizing another--that did display many of the condescending prejudices identified by Said.

Finally, to give the screw one more twist, it was possible to interpret the Sephardic experience itself as less a lesson in the possibility of Jewish flourishing in a tolerant gentile environment than as a cautionary example of what might go wrong when it faltered. With the success of the Reconquista, after all, both the Moors and the Jews were driven from the Iberian Peninsula, unless they converted or faked it as “Moriscos” and “Marranos.” The burning of books did indeed foreshadow something much uglier in the years to come, especially for the Jews who were forced into another and often less hospitable exile (with some exceptions such as Amsterdam, New York, Charleston and London). One hundred and seventy years after their expulsion from Spain in 1492, Sephardic Jews, many now scattered throughout the Ottoman Empire, were seduced by a false messiah, Sabbatai Zvi, who ultimately converted under pressure to Islam. This disastrous episode found its greatest historian in Gershom Scholem, who interpreted it, among other things, as a warning against any version of German-Jewish symbiosis along the model of the convivencia. He chose instead the Zionist alternative that the 19th-century allure of the Sephardim had been tacitly designed to forestall. (continued, page 18)
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Once it was created, the State of Israel, however, realized some of the ideals fueling the German Jewish romance of the “oriental Jews:” Hebrew, not Yiddish became the official language, and it was spoken with a Sephardic not Ashkenazic accent. And the strong, aesthetically inflected image of healthy “muscular Jews” replaced the much maligned stereotype of the bookish, effete, “degenerate” shtetl Jew despised by anti-Semites and Sephardic idealists alike. But as if to mock that very idealization, the empirical Jews who fled Islamic countries—the so-called Mizrahim—have themselves often been subjected to discrimination by their Ashkenazi-descended compatriots. Although Efron’s narrative ends well before 1948, the issues it so skillfully treats still bedevil the search for a positive Jewish identity, communal flourishing, and secure place in the world in an environment that shows no signs of allowing them to be realized any time soon.