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## Imperial Biographies Revisited

**ABSTRACT:** This article discusses recent developments in biographical research with a focus on protagonists in fin-de-siècle empires. It juxtaposes the approaches of “imperial biographies” and “imperial subjects”, which have been widely discussed by historians in recent years. After elaborating on how empirical studies have applied these and other concepts, the authors conclude that most of these studies choose not to settle on exclusively one approach, instead subscribing to a “methodological pluralism”.

The second part of the article therefore reflects on how the concept of the “imperial biography” might be relevant for future biographical research. The authors propose a number of modifications to the core ideas of the imperial biography, including a broadening of the target group being studied, a focus on trans-local personal networks and increased use of digital methods.

*Keywords:* imperial history – imperial biography – 19th century – biography – history of elites – digital humanities

### Introduction

Long gone are the times when historians – especially German ones – looked down on the biographical genre as lacking in complexity.<sup>1</sup> The postmodern turn in the 1970s introduced, *inter alia*, sociological, collective-psychological and gender aspects into the biographical field.<sup>2</sup> The focus shifted from (white) men as “makers of history” to individuals as a reflection of their specific time and social surroundings.<sup>3</sup> According to the new paradigm, stories are told through protagonists rather than about them. From a practical standpoint, this makes it much harder for historians to come up with coherent narratives and a sound foundation of source material. Since the individuals portrayed are merely gateways to a complex retelling of the past, careful consideration has to be given to which aspects of their life stories deserve attention and whether the available background information allows a multi-dimensional perspective.

In this regard the theoretical concept of “imperial biographies” provides a useful framework for biographical researchers with an interest in the history of late 19th-cen-

- 1 The Bielefeld School generally did not look favourably on the genre of biographies. See, for example, WEHLER *Zum Verhältnis von Geschichtswissenschaft und Psychoanalyse*.
- 2 A concise review of the developments in biographical methodology in the 1970s and 1980s can be found in: KLEIN *Handbuch Biographie*, pp. 261–263.
- 3 BÖDEKER *Biographie*.

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ture empires.<sup>4</sup> The framework focuses on specific social strata – roughly speaking “the elites” – and encourages an examination of the specific practices, characteristics and mindsets that the members of this group have in common, both individually and collectively. The belief is that the imperial setting shaped the lives of its upper class in unique ways, enabling it to function and thrive under its specific conditions. At the same time, empires as ideological and political constructs were created through the thoughts and deeds of its elite members. This codependency remained constant for centuries, which makes the eventual breakdown of empires at the turn of the 20th century all the more intriguing. The ultimate goal of “imperial biographies” is to shed light on the social, cultural and political dynamics that led to the decline of the imperial order from an actor-centred perspective. Now, a couple of years since the concept was established, a few observations about its reception and application can be made. This article firstly considers some of the main points of criticism regarding this research agenda before assessing its output so far and exploring the future of biographical approaches to (late) imperial history.

## The Criticism

After the terminology and concept of “imperial biographies” was developed at conferences in Berlin and Bamberg in 2012 and subsequently followed up by two publications in 2014 and 2015, review articles were generally favourable.<sup>5</sup> However, German historians in particular expressed some criticism. Frithjof Benjamin Schenk pointed out that the concept is overly socially exclusive in terms of its target group, while Dietrich Beyrau considered the assembled biographies as too heterogeneous to make generalized assumptions about their historical significance.<sup>6</sup> Similar concerns were in fact already raised during discussions at the above-mentioned conferences in Berlin and Bamberg, for example by Klaus Gestwa, who argued, that biographies of late 19th-century elites were influenced much stronger by global developments in science, technology and economy rather than by their imperial background.<sup>7</sup>

It is quite understandable that the introduction of “imperial biographies” was greeted with moderate scepticism from the scientific community. The fact that most case studies were written about elite male members of titular nations made them appear to

4 The concept of “imperial biographies” is set out in ROLF Einführung. *Imperiale Biographien* as well as in BUCHEN/ROLF *Eliten und ihre imperialen Biographien*, pp. 3–35.

5 For a report on the second conference, see TONDERA *Imperiale Biographien. Tagungsbericht*. For the edited volumes, see ROLF (ed.) *Imperiale Biographien*; BUCHEN/ROLF (eds.) *Eliten*. The latter was reviewed by DÓNAL O’SULLIVAN in *Russian Review* and DAVID SCHIMMELPENNINCK VAN DER OYE in *Slavic Review*. Moreover, Ulrike von Hirschhausen pointed out the heuristic potential of the “imperial biographies” approach: VON HIRSCHHAUSEN *A New Imperial History?*, esp. pp. 734–737.

6 The edited volume of Buchen and Rolf was reviewed in German by FRITHJOF BENJAMIN SCHENK (*Neue Politische Literatur*); PIOTR KISIEL (*Pol-Int*); NORA MENGEL (*ZfO. Journal of East Central European Studies*) and DIETRICH BEYRAU (*H-Soz-Kult*).

7 TONDERA *Imperiale Biographien. Tagungsbericht*.

be of limited value for explaining larger social processes in late 19th-century empires. Leaving women, ethnic minorities and pretty much anyone without major political influence out of the picture might have made “imperial biographies” seem decidedly conservative, even outdated. Moreover, placing the focus on a rather homogeneous group of elite citizens seemed to conceal the complexities of an enormously diverse mix of contemporary protagonists, especially in the empire’s contested border regions, to which recent research has increasingly turned its attention.<sup>8</sup> The claim that biographies, unfolding under disparate social, cultural and ethnic circumstances thousands of kilometres apart from each other, have much in common is indeed far from self-evident. It is therefore not surprising that both during the above-mentioned conferences and in later book reviews, “imperial biographies” were criticized for being a somewhat over-ambitious concept.

Indeed, as a methodological framework, “imperial biographies” is no modest undertaking. It could be argued that its goals and scope, formulated in the introductions to the edited volumes in 2014 and 2015, raised expectations that the individual contributions struggled to fulfil both independently and taken together. This, however, had less to do with the quality of the articles and more with the breadth of the research design. After all, the concept tried to integrate both recent developments in biographical methodology and newer trends in postcolonial and (trans-)imperial studies. The contributions in the volume – which represented only a small proportion of the presentations at the conferences – rather aimed at mapping out the possibilities of “imperial biographies” than fully realizing this potential. However, a close reading of these articles certainly counters some of the aforementioned criticism. Female agency, for example, plays an important role in Alexa von Winning’s article about the Mansurov family, as do members of minority communities in a number of contributions, among them Tim Buchen’s take on the lives of Rabbi Joseph Samuel Bloch and the Roman Catholic priest Stanisław Stojalowski in the late Habsburg Empire.<sup>9</sup> As these examples show, even though, from a conceptual perspective, “imperial biographies” are concerned with elites in a broad, yet well-defined sense, this does not necessarily imply the exclusion from the analysis of those population groups which generally had limited access to the higher echelons of the imperial society. Towards the end of the long 19th century, hierarchies in empirical settings became increasingly complex, fragmented and dynamic, offering former outsiders a sideways route to a higher societal status; if only in certain regional or professional contexts or by influencing those occupying the ruling positions. One of the intentions of “imperial biographies” is to accentuate precisely those processes which turned a ra-

8 See, for example, KHODARKOVSKY *Bitter Choices*; MORRISON *Russian Rule in Samarkand, 1868–1910*; STEINWEDEL *Threads of Empire* and SCHEDRIN *Jewish Souls*.

9 VON WINNING *The Mansurovs and Noble Participation in Imperial Russia, 1850–1917*; BUCHEN *Religiöse Mobilisierung im Reich*. Ethnic minorities are also featured in HILLIS *Making and Breaking the Russian Empire* and WEEKS *Jan Baudouin de Courtenay*.

ther static society into a much more fluid one; including accompanying dynamics such as nationalism and political radicalization.<sup>10</sup>

The question of who did or did not belong to the elite at a given time and therefore “deserves” scientific investigation is for all those reasons very much debatable and will shift as the historiography on this period continues to evolve. The concept of “imperial biographies” in any case does not include a static definition of its target group. Choosing appropriate protagonists and coming up with justifications for their historical relevance remains up to each individual researcher. As will be extended on below, a variety of biographical concepts are available for imperial historians and it depends on the problem and the research aim whether “imperial biographies” can offer a useful framework or not.

### Imperial Biographies and Imperial Subjects

At first sight, the projects about “imperial biographies” and “imperial subjects” – launched within a short space of time in the early 2010s – have a lot in common.<sup>11</sup> They both emphasize the heuristic value of biographical sources for inter-imperial studies and examine the cultural dynamics of the late 19th century.<sup>12</sup> However, on closer inspection, it did indeed make sense to create separate semantic spaces for the two approaches as they have unique features in terms of methodology and empirical foundation. The concept of “imperial biographies” has its roots in the classical collective biographical works of Richard Robbins and Dominic Lieven who combined social and cultural-historical approaches to shed light on the education, habitus and professional life of Russian elites.<sup>13</sup> “Imperial subjects”, on the other hand, draw heavily on the concept of “autobiographical practices”, which Jochen Hellbeck and Klaus Heller had developed with a focus on practices of “selfhood” in pre- and post-revolutionary Russia.<sup>14</sup> Broadening the latter to encompass inter-imperial dimensions provided scope for fruitful comparative studies. The strength of “imperial subjects” lies in its interdisciplinary ambition and it being centred on the individual. Moreover, the incorporation of linguistic approaches encourages a deep reading of (auto-)biographical sources and a reflection on the multi-faceted links between “fictional” and “non-fictional” literature. In terms of its target group, Aust and Schenk’s concept is slightly broader than “imperial biographies”, since it is concerned

10 A current research project being conducted at the University of Oldenburg focuses on the political self-mobilization of Russian nationalists in the Western peripheries, see also footnote 28.

11 The “imperial subject” project was launched with two initial conferences in Basel and Munich in 2013 and 2014; for conference reports and additional information, see <https://dg.philhist.unibas.ch/de/bereiche/osteuropaeische-geschichte/forschung/imperial-subjects/> [04.02.2021].

12 The methodological foundation of the “imperial subjects” approach can be found in AUST/SCHENK *Einleitung*. *Autobiographische Praxis und Imperienforschung*, pp. 9–35.

13 ROBBINS *The Tsar’s Viceroy*; LIEVEN *Russia’s Rulers under the Old Regime*.

14 HELLBECK/HELLER (eds.) *Autobiographische Praktiken in Russland*.

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not only with eminent professionals but also with those who did not have glittering careers.

In general, it would certainly make sense (and be productive) to consider the two methodological approaches under discussion here as complementary rather than mutually exclusive. Scholars do not necessarily have to make a definitive choice between them but can use them as methodological toolboxes depending on their given source material.<sup>15</sup> As the most recently published monographs of relevance by Carla Cordin, Jan Diebold and Barbara Henning prove, this pragmatic approach is certainly prevalent among younger researchers.<sup>16</sup> In what Diebold calls “methodological pluralism”, both concepts have their place in multi-dimensional and deliberately eclectic methodological prerequisites, tailor-made for the specific needs of the authors’ research.<sup>17</sup> It has thus been shown in practice, that a fruitful coexistence of “imperial biographies”, “imperial subjects” and other approaches is indeed possible.

It is an entirely different question, however, whether, beyond this, the above-mentioned concepts have a future as single coherent methodological framework for individual or collective research projects. As we will argue in detail below, the preconditions for realizing the full potential of the concept of “imperial biographies” appear to be improving as a result of ongoing developments in historical methodology.

## The Past, Present and Future of Imperial Biographies

Looking back, the emergence of “imperial biographies” was part of a long-term trend in imperial historiography focused on reassessing time, space and collective identities in colonial settings.<sup>18</sup> The concept is closely related to the “new imperial history”, which emerged around the turn of the millennium and is mainly concerned with challenging preconceptions which historians have held dearly (or simply accepted as given) for decades, from epochal divisions to territorial boundaries.<sup>19</sup> One of the key features of “new imperial history” is the ambition to identify new explanation patterns beyond a centre/periphery divide or the agency of state institutions and instead regard the empire as an overarching cultural sphere that provided a formative framework for regional, local and individual processes of change.<sup>20</sup> From this perspective, empires appear much more dynamic, interconnected and porous than previously believed. What kept imperial peripheries in touch with the core were not (only) centripetal forces generated by military

15 The argument for a pragmatic approach has also been advocated by Simone Lässig, see LÄSSIG *Die historische Biographie auf neuen Wegen?*, pp. 540–553.

16 CORDIN *Anatolij F. Koni (1844–1927)*; DIEBOLD *Hochadel und Kolonialismus im 20. Jahrhundert* and HENNING *Narratives of the History of the Ottoman-Kurdish Bedirhani Family in Imperial and Post-imperial Contexts*.

17 See DIEBOLD *Hochadel*, pp. 16–18.

18 These developments are sometimes referred to as the “imperial turn”, though this term is rather vague; see DAVID-FOX/HOLQUIST/MARTIN *The Imperial Turn*, pp. 705–712.

19 VON HIRSCHHAUSEN *A New Imperial History?*

20 STOLER/COOPER *Between Metropole and Colony*, pp. 1–56.

power and bureaucratic subjugation, but beneath that a more subtle interplay of cooperation, incentives and cultural adaptation.<sup>21</sup> Some of the key analytic concepts in this context are space, agency and loyalty, which put an emphasis on the dynamic aspects of historic transformations.<sup>22</sup> In this understanding, empires are constantly re-imagined and re-negotiated, by their populations as well as by their elites, as hierarchical topographies, collective identities and belief systems. They are – metaphorically speaking – constantly on the move, which means that individual and particularly collective biographies present an obvious opportunity to track this highly dynamic change over time.<sup>23</sup>

As is often the case, however, it is far from easy to turn a new conceptual idea into reality. Writing a state-of-the-art “imperial biography” is very demanding of the author in terms of their ability to organize their source material and to present their findings. The challenge here is to create a narrative that can absorb the huge amount of empirical data but still satisfies the demands of historical story telling. Recent authors have found different solutions for this. In his highly regarded biography of Baron Roman Ungern-Sternberg, *The Baron's Cloak*, Willard Sunderland compensated for the lack of available personal information on his protagonist with a detailed investigation of his environment, not shying away from speculations about the possible psychological impact of personal encounters, living conditions and political literature on the Ungern-Sternberg's decision-making.<sup>24</sup> Thanks to these techniques, Sunderland's study is immensely readable and serves as a good primer on the various topics it discusses. Unfortunately, the book's 300-plus pages are insufficient for an in-depth analysis of the enormously heterogeneous social, political and cultural circumstances that Ungern-Sternberg encountered during his well-travelled life. Nevertheless, conceptually, *The Baron's Cloak* provides an intriguing example of how to trace the movements of an imperial actor despite a scarcity of primary sources.

In contrast to Sunderland, Verena Dohrn had a plethora of biographic material to work with in *Die Kahans aus Baku*, a dense book dealing with the widely ramified Kahan family and their oil business.<sup>25</sup> Eschewing a traditional chronological approach, Dohrn jumps back and forth in the family history that bridges the 19th and 20th centuries and spans several empires and nation states, picking out certain key moments and protagonists as starting points for an in-depth examination of everyday life and business operations. Though the narrative is skilfully constructed, the density and depth of Dohrn's source material as well as the multitude of protagonists pose a challenge even for expert readers. The author does not attempt to organize the abundance of heterogeneous infor-

21 Recent studies have taken different angles on the various layers of cooperation and conflict that marked social life in the imperial peripheries. See, for example, KHODARKOVSKY *Bitter Choices*; CAMPBELL *Knowledge and the Ends of Empire*; ROLF *Between State Building and Local Cooperation*, pp. 385–416.

22 DIETZE/NAUMANN *Revisiting Transnational Actors from a Spatial Perspective*, pp. 415–430; OSTERKAMP/SCHULZE WESSEL *Texturen von Loyalität*, pp. 553–573.

23 David Lambert pointed out the importance of investigating not only the “dots” of “imperial biographies”, but also their “arrows”; meaning those biographical elements that took place in between sojourns in different areas. See LAMBERT *Reflections on the Concept of Imperial Biographies*, pp. 33–39.

24 SUNDERLAND *The Baron's Cloak*.

25 DOHRN *Die Kahans aus Baku*.



mation into one master narrative and instead maps out the complexity and contingency of (post-)imperial living. It is only natural that a decentralized, pluralistic perspective on the imperial past should be reflected in the way history is told, and Dohrn's collage-like style is a fitting solution for telling the tale of a widely scattered family in tumultuous times.

Sunderland and Dohrn's monographs are – notwithstanding their different approaches – quite typical of a new generation of studies, the authors of which are well aware of the many pitfalls of biographical writing and therefore make the process of analysing their material as transparent as possible. The call to deconstruct the “biographical illusion” and critically reflect on the role of the biographer, once so forcefully advocated by Pierre Bourdieu, seems to have become second nature for today's historians.<sup>26</sup> The same can be said for the need to examine the relevance of historical actors beyond their individual achievements. In their books, Cordin, Diebold and Henning, in particular, take great care to continually analyse the social, cultural and political contexts in which their protagonists acted. These and other newer biographies are often about relatively little-known or even marginalized actors – it is the context that matters, not the assumed importance of the figures portrayed.<sup>27</sup> With this expanded research agenda, scholars move beyond the small circle of the core imperial elite.

Newer projects based on the “imperial biography” approach head for a similar direction. With more life stories told about representatives of the *raznochintsy* or the *intelligentsia*, the social horizon of their investigated target group is significantly broadened.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, inspired by other relevant ongoing research projects, the scope of “imperial biographies” will expand even further in the future.<sup>29</sup>

Firstly, it is already obvious that the approach opens up an avenue of research focused on the interconnectivity of the various provinces and border regions of empires.

26 BOURDIEU *L'illusion biographique*, pp. 69–72.

27 Apart from the above-mentioned studies by Cordin, Diebold and Henning, see also, for example, HERZBERG *Gegenarchive*; RÖSKAU-RYDEL *Zwischen Akkulturation und Assimilation*; HILDT *Der russische Adel im Exil*.

28 A current research project at the University of Oldenburg is tracing the political self-mobilization of Russian nationalists in the Western peripheries, applying the approach of “imperial biographies” to these mostly middle-class men. On this, see ROLF *What Is the “Russian Cause” and Whom Does It Serve?*.

29 Among these are Pierre Karila-Cohen's studies on French prefects that has led to numerous publications, among them KARILA-COHEN *Prefects Are Not Colleagues*; ALEXA VON WINNING's dissertation on the Mansurov family, “Leaving Home: The Noble Family, Imperial Russia, and Global Orthodoxy, 1855–1936”, which has already been defended but not yet published; NORA MENGE's dissertation on the Austrian biographical encyclopaedia; IRYNA VUSHKO's collective biography project on 25 Austrian officials tentatively entitled “From Empire to Nation States”, as well as BENEDIKT TONDERA's post-doc biographical project on high officials in the late Russian Empire. Moreover, a wide range of new projects was presented at the colloquium “Territorial Governance and State Representatives in the Long 19th Century. Circulation of Knowledge, Models and Men” in Brussels, organized by Pierre Karila-Cohen and Martijn van der Burg, 7–8 December 2017. Furthermore, very relevant for the complex of “imperial biographies” is the DFG-funded priority programme “Transottomanica” (<http://www.transottomanica.de>). Some of the associated projects explicitly deal with biographies and the role of trans-imperial mobility, see for example the programme of the conference “Eastern European-Ottoman-Persian Mobility Dynamics”, which features “Mobile Biographies”. <https://www.connections.clio-online.net/event/id/termine-42646> [04.02.2021].

While traditionally the relationship between the centre and the peripheries dominated the research agenda, this new perspective will allow for a much more colourful, complex and less centre-oriented picture of imperial history. Life courses and career patterns often crossed the borders of regions or localities and thus help to shed light on the multifaceted inter-exchanges between peripheral spaces taking place far away from the imperial metropole.<sup>30</sup>

These biographies go way beyond a focus on trans-regional interdependencies – these “wandering (wo)men” played an active part in tying the hitherto highly isolated provinces together. Following the life of mobile protagonists like these thus allows us to study how the strengthening of a variety of social and cultural links was able to bridge the singular regions. Creating trans-local personal or professional networks and fostering the exchange of knowledge facilitated forms of communication with a wider geographical reach. The empire as a framework for an overarching cultural sphere partly came into being with the help of such mobile biographies, which intensified the links *between* the empire’s provinces and peripheries. In this perspective, the “imperial biographies” approach provides us with a research tool to examine the complex inner structures of the empire, its (changing) internal hierarchies and the growing entanglement of spaces and social spheres in a less centre-dominated context. It also opens up an opportunity to contribute to the broader theoretical debates on the nature of empires which stress inter-imperial interconnectivity and which aim to overcome the traditional spatial framing of ethnic groups within a seemingly clear-cut “national” territory.<sup>31</sup>

Secondly, as the methodology was developed based on collective contributions from imperial historians during international conferences, its further advancement should ideally be driven by similar forms of collaboration. As the concept emphasizes the interplay between individual and collective thought as well as the need to analyse large-scale patterns of mobility, knowledge transfer and elite recruitment both within and between empires, the complex task of coming up with appropriate empiricism and translating it into coherent scientific studies does indeed call for cooperative efforts. This has been and will continue to be further encouraged by international workshops and the published results of these events.<sup>32</sup> To enhance the comparative potential of their research, future scholars willing to engage with the concept of “imperial biographies” should specifically be on the lookout for protagonists whose journey through life featured long-range mobility including the crossing of borders and regions, and who were active in different historical epochs. “New imperial history” is all about avoiding

30 With regard to the British Empire, David Lambert and Alan Lester already called for an approach like this some time ago. LAMBERT/LESTER *Imperial Spaces, Imperial Subjects*, pp. 1–31; LAMBERT *Reflections on the Concept of Imperial Biographies*, pp. 22–41. In a more recent study, David Schick demonstrated the potential of such an awareness of trans-regional interconnectivity. See SCHICK *Vertrauen, Religion, Ethnizität*.

31 For a discussion of spatial framing in the Soviet context, see SIEGELBAUM/MOCH *Transnationalism in One Country?*, pp. 970–986.

32 The concept of “imperial biographies” was discussed during a workshop at LMU Munich on 22 June 2017; a further international workshop will take place at the University of Oldenburg in September 2021.



well-trodden paths, and choosing appropriate biographic examples will go a long way towards achieving that goal.

Finally, new digital methods in the humanities provide additional opportunities for implementing ambitious projects based on “imperial biographies”. New data on elite circulation, mobility, recruitment, employment histories and education, which is currently mostly being collected by individual scholars for various cohorts and regions, will, through digital publication, increasingly become freely available for researchers everywhere.<sup>33</sup> As innovative methods of data collection, contextualization and visualization have gained traction in recent years, new opportunities to combine quantitative with qualitative research as well as for interdisciplinary cooperation are just over the horizon.<sup>34</sup> At the same time, using digitized sources (especially those provided by institutions other than traditional archives or libraries) raises questions of how to assure their scientific validity.<sup>35</sup> Partly because of such concerns and perhaps due to a general scepticism among imperial historians about unconventional approaches to their subject, the potential of digitization for “imperial biographies” so far remains largely untapped. An important challenge for scholars in this field in the future will therefore be to come up with ideas for how to make the most of the available technological tools to increase the interconnectedness and availability of their research.

In conclusion, biographical writing these days is typically cutting-edge when it comes to methodology and this is precisely what makes the genre so attractive for the study of late imperial history. The fact that two similar approaches appeared in the German-speaking academic landscape within a short space of time and are still being discussed today demonstrates the need to further intensify conceptual debates in an area where many historians are currently conducting new research projects. How to realize the full potential of biographies remains a contested question, and competition of ideas is, after all, what science is all about.

33 To take the Russian example, all major state archives as well as the state libraries in Moscow and St. Petersburg have gone to great lengths to digitize large parts of their inventories. Access to these resources is usually still restricted to visitors of these institutions, but the ability to reproduce large quantities of source material definitely poses new challenges for historians. Additionally, a large variety of mostly privately organized websites provide access to digitized sources, for example the web project [rulers.ru](http://rulers.ru), which provides an online version of various historical Russian encyclopaedias.

34 A relevant platform for such endeavours in Germany is the “Netzwerk Digitale Geisteswissenschaften” at the University of Potsdam, which offers assistance to scholars interested in implementing digital projects, see <https://www.uni-potsdam.de/de/digital-humanities.html> [04.02.2021].

35 For a discussion of virtual archives and the challenges of working with digital source material in a German context, see the report on a recent workshop at the Saxon Academy of Sciences in Leipzig: RESCHKE *Virtuelle Archive für die geisteswissenschaftliche Forschung*. For the Eastern European context similar questions were discussed at a conference, see the report: ASTROUSKAYA/BOLTOVSKA/STANICKA-BRZEZICKA *Why (Not)? Thinking Eastern Europe Digitally*.

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