"Epistemologies of Restitution". Interactive Audiovisual Historiography on Returning Cultural Materials Looted From the Former German Colony of Togo

Martin Doll

Introduction

In this chapter, I aim to explore the extent to which a robustly theoretically grounded historiography can be manifested not only through traditional scholarly texts but also within an academically informed audiovisual project. I intend to elaborate on certain ideas and showcase materials that I generated during my fellowship at the Merian Institute for Advanced Studies in Africa (MIASA) at the University of Ghana in the fall of 2021.

The interactive documentary research project is part of a three-month undertaking by the International Fellow Group 5 (IFG 5), a team of scholars from Germany, Ghana, and Togo working on the topic of "The 4Rs in Africa: Reality or Transcultural Aphasia?".[1] The research team's primary focus was not on practically resolving the specific restitution case involving at least 15 royal regalia, some of which are currently housed in the Ethnological Museum in Berlin and are presently being reclaimed by representatives of the "Akpini Traditional Area" in Kpando (a region that was part of the German colony "Togo" until 1914 or 1919, depending on how one counts).[2] Instead, the team was more focused on examining the intricacies of restitution processes as such using the specific case as a starting point.

I conceived of the documentary project before my trip to Ghana as a means of addressing the primary goals outlined in the proposal of the IFG research project at MIASA. These included "a) multiplying the voices/narratives of interest groups

1 Gertrude Aba Mansah Eyifa-Dzidzienyo (University of Ghana), Stefanie Michels (Heinrich Heine University Düsseldorf), Kokou Azamede (University of Lomé), Martin Doll (Heinrich Heine University Düsseldorf), Jakob Zollmann (WZB Berlin Social Science Center). The 4Rs comprise: restitution, return, repatriation and reparation.

2 1914 is the year when German troops surrendered to French and British forces who had invaded the territory. 1919 is the year when the territory was officially placed under British and French mandate by the Treaty of Versailles.

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on local, national, and international levels" and "b) multiplying the perspectives on the issues" (Eyifa-Dzidzienyo & Michels, 2020, 4). I concluded that an interactive documentary film[3] might be better than a traditional written paper for effectively making these different perspectives seen and voices heard.[4] This choice would make it possible to steer clear of a simplistic, linear "realist historical narrative", to borrow a term from Vivian Sobchack (1996, 8). A film project of this nature is liberated from an overly homogeneous perspective, although it is naturally shaped by numerous editorial decisions.

Audiovisual Historiography: Integrating Film as both Method and Outcome in Research

I would like to term my specific approach "audiovisual historiography". It is a term I did not coin. You can find it in scholarly journals, where it is typically used in a more traditional sense. On the one hand, it encompasses the indispensable examination of audio-visual materials such as archival film, archival photography, and archival sound recordings that every historian must consider during the research process. On the other hand, it also entails the production of audio and video recordings by the researcher as part of the research process, serving as a foundation for preparing the final *written* results. In both cases "audiovisual" is used as an attribute, a quality of the *sources*.[5] I propose a slightly different interpretation because I want to argue that this crucial aspect of audiovisual historiography doesn't need to be replaced; instead, it should be complemented by an understanding of audiovisual historiography that extends to the research *outcomes*.

Examining the etymology of the word "historiography", the suffix "-graphy" originates from the Greek verb γράφειν (gráphein). At first glance, this might imply that history is limited to writing. However, the term *gráphein* encompasses not only writing but also drawing (e.g., *graph*ics and photo*graphy* as well as cinemato*graphy* derive from this root). Consequently, I advocate for an audiovisual historiography that integrates original audio and video recordings, particularly "oral history" interviews. This integration goes beyond treating them merely as historical sources to

3 I owe this important decision to Florian Krautkrämer, who fortunately encouraged me to experiment with this format during a longer Zoom conversation in spring 2021.

4 However, the research also resulted in an elaborate scholarly article authored by the whole IFG: Eyifa-Dzidzienyo et al (2023).

5 Sometimes, the term "visual history" is used in this context. For an overview on the growing field encompassing visual practices, infrastructures and discourses, with a strong emphasis on photography, see Paul (2017), 15–74 and the standard textbook Paul (2006).

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be transcribed into textual form; rather they serve as proper media for presenting research findings.[6]

Sobchack emphasized this perspective in a 1997 paper, stating that "as filmgoers have not been able to escape the lessons of historiography, so, on their side (and try as they might), historians have not been able to escape the lessons of the movies and television. Today, then, in our culture, the binary oppositions commonly posited between the transparency of the image and the opacity of the word […] no longer hold" (Sobchack 1997, 5). To a certain extent, Sobchack's thoughts guided me through the entire production process of my film project. Specifically, I have adopted the term "historiographic heteroglossia", with which she addresses the "dialogic layering of various voices" (ibid., 7). Sobchack borrows the term "heteroglossia" from Mikhail Bakhtin, applying it to historical discourse to emphasize that it is not a single and unified historical narrative but is internally stratified into diverse, socially embodied points of view. She quotes Bakhtin: "As such they all may be juxtaposed to one another, mutually supplement one another, contradict one another and be interrelated dialogically" (Bakhtin 1981, 292). However, this does not result in a mere "hodgepodge of voices", which would be indicative of an unresolvable conflict between two or more fundamentally incompatible systems of logic; by contrast, these voices "do not simply coexist, but significantly 'intersect [with] each other in a variety of ways'" (Sobchack 1997, 8, citing Bakhtin 1981, 292). Overall, the term "historiographic heteroglossia" has helped me in aiming for a complex multiperspectivity, incorporating a multiplicity of voices and narratives about the "colonial situation" (cf. Balandier 1952).

In this context, I want to emphasize a crucial point: An audiovisual historiography, even in its interactive form, should by no means be mistaken for being closer to reality than one that takes the form of writing. Like any other audiovisual product, it represents a specific form crafted by a director through decisions such as how to film, which material to include, how to tag it with keywords, and so on. Therefore, when I initially decided to produce an interactive documentary, it was primarily a decision not to get *to* something but to move away *from* something. What is this "something" in the complex field of restitution? I aim to explore this by summarizing some basic difficulties in the field of restitution and colonial history:

To quote Dipesh Chakrabarty, one challenge lies in addressing "subaltern pasts", in staying "with heterogeneities without seeking to reduce them to any overarching principle that speaks for an already given whole" (Chakrabarty 2000, 101, 107–108). In other words, the issue revolves around preventing a "colonial epistemology" (cf.

6 This approach shares similarities to Slávik's "imaginary history" (cf. Slávik 2020). Furthermore, it draws inspiration from visual ethnography, with a notable distinction – placing a significant focus on "oral history" and employing various means to emphasize differentiation and relationality within the context of historiography.

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Mignolo 2006, 217; Stoler 2016) from re-emerging in research output, thereby perpetuating a form of Eurocentric "epistemic injustice" (Mudimbe 1994a; cf. also Bhargava 2013) of historiographic writing that makes African voices disappear or distorts them (cf. Sarr 2019, 72; cf. also Michels 2003). To illustrate these somewhat abstract terms: The "Open Restitution Project" has recently highlighted that in the ongoing restitution debate, the voices of African researchers and curators are once again being overshadowed by Western perspectives. This is particularly evident in the case of the "Benin Bronzes". In 2022, Molemo Moiloa's report "Reclaiming Restitution: Centering and Contextualizing the African Narrative" brought attention to the fact that non-Africans were approximately eight times more likely to appear in Google searches related to restitution in 2021. Additionally, in June 2021 there were 7,747 Google Scholar citations for non-African authors and 282 for African authors writing on the Benin Bronzes (Moiloa 2022, 16–17).[7]

Another challenge arises in addressing how, even in well-intentioned approaches to restitution issues, old stereotypes of "Africa" persist. As Stefanie Michels, a global historian and convenor of the research project in Ghana, notes: "If the former colonial territories and the people who lived there at that time are perceived and treated in the restitution debate exclusively as the stolen, the defeated, the murdered and the humiliated," this "inadequately reduces and stereotypically narrows their long history" (Michels 2022, 12, author's translation). I would like to add that this also diminishes their agency.

In view of these considerations, the theoretical framework of the documentary film project has been shaped not only by the perspectives of the film scholar Vivian Sobchack and the historian Dipesh Chakrabarty, but also significantly by the insights of ethnographer Helen Verran. Building on her critical reflections on postcolonialism, one is prompted to question how to navigate the "dialogic layering of various voices" (Sobchack) by acknowledging how they "intersect with each other" (Bakhtin), i.e. without succumbing to problematic "differentialism" or "diversificationism" (Verran 2001, 32). Verran's critical terms caution against "maintaining the purities" even within postcolonial approaches, highlighting the risks of misconceptions such as stable "indigenous forms of knowledge" versus "Western forms," among others (ibid. 27). In my opinion, these old and new essentialisms persistently resurface in the audiovisual aesthetics of restitution ceremonies, exhibition openings, and recent documentary films on the topic. In light of this, I'd like to explore how we can move away from a naïve notion of authenticity that generalizes a multitude of diverse speaking positions and interest groups into a single "source community" or "society of origin" – linked to images of a seemingly

7 I am grateful to Stefanie Michels for making me aware of this.

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"natural, immutable, primordial identity" (Lentz 1994, 59).[8] This oversimplification often entangles us in the complexities of essentialist identity politics.

Eventually, grappling with these challenging questions led me to choose the format of an interactive documentary. This decision is driven by the aim of portraying the contradictions and ambivalences inherent in the restitution debate, aspiring to offer a "polycentric vision" – a concept invoked by Ella Shohat and Robert Stam to emphasize that "the world has many dynamic cultural locations, many possible vantage points" (Shohat & Stam 2014, 48).[9] I seek to adopt this concept to counter essentialist dichotomies, as questioned by Verran in her notion of "diversificationism".[10] In the words of Sobchack, the goal is instead to showcase "incompatible stories from incompatible speaking positions" (Sobchack 1996, 11).[11]

I implemented this practically in the project using the functionality of the interactive documentary software Korsakow, which allows the organization of original material via keyword-tagging. These keywords operate in the background, influencing how links are offered from one clip to another. Instead of a linear film, this approach provides viewers with various entry points to engage with the material. Additionally, the polycentric interface supports this by constantly juxtaposing certain audiovisual materials with others (up to three alternatives simultaneously) combined with the option to preview – or rather pre-listen to – clips.

Against this background of multiplying the voices with "incompatible stories", one might object that this could lead to an ill-founded relativism. Audiovisual history would then be nothing but a fabrication, leaving no longer any difference between historical reality and pure invention or fiction. Needless to say, this objection is false. In fact, Sobchack explicitly speaks out against realism, positivism, *and* relativism:

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8 This approach does not devalue these self-attributions and perceptions of others, but rather reveals that "behind this essentialist facade" there is room "for multiple meanings and negotiation" by various actors with their respective interests. In this context, Lentz emphasizes the dynamic construction and redefinition of ethnic categories and institutions by various stakeholders, including "colonial administrators, newly appointed chiefs, labor migrants, Catholic missionaries, anthropologists, and an emergent educated elite". She thereby indirectly opposes a too one-sided view that exaggerates the power of "the colonizers" in this context. She suggests that ethnic discourses and symbols, originally introduced by colonial rulers to uphold unequal relationships, can be appropriated by local groups to affirm their dignity and challenge colonial and post-colonial domination (ibid.); on the "process towards fostering a wider Ewe identity", see, e.g., Yayoh (2015, 129–145).

9 This has been further developed as "multiple viewpoint" by Nicholas Mirzoeff (2000, 1–18).

10 In the same vein, Stoler and Cooper speak of "Manichaean dichotomies" in questionable forms of colonial history that obscure "hybridity and variation" (Stoler & Cooper 1997, 9). For an elaboration of the concept of polycentrization based on Nicholas Mirzoeff, Ella Shohat, and Robert Stam, see Alkın (2019, 109, 182–183).

11 On the "multiplicity of viewpoints" in history films, see Rosenstone (1996, 206).

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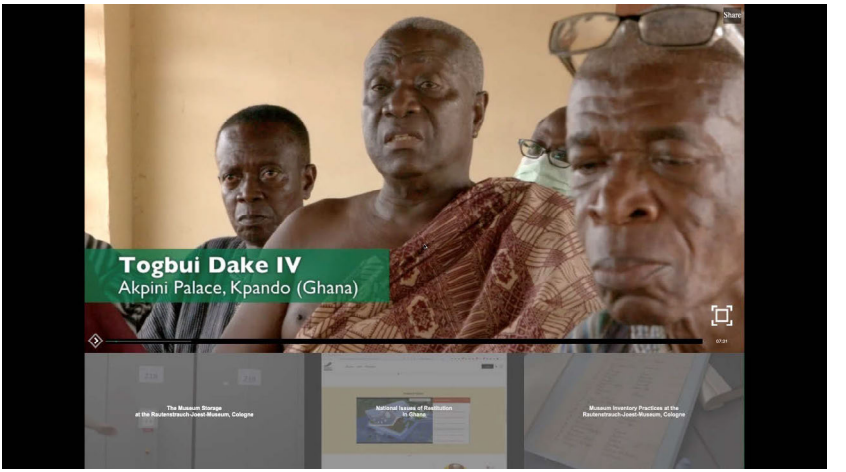
> History cannot be "taken up" by consciousness, but, rather, must be subjectively "made out." This is not to deny the world its spatial solidity nor the temporal event its reality – that is, its material causes and consequences. (There is a difference between "making something up" and "making it out.") It is, rather, to recognize – as I think most people do today – that we are subjectively implicated in and responsible for the histories we tell ourselves or others tell us and that, while these are just representations, their significance has both value and consequence to our lives. (Sobchack 1996, 6)

Fig. 1: Screen layout of the interactive documentary "Epistemologies of Restitution"



Source: Screenshot *Epistemologies of Restitution* (Martin Doll, 2022)

Deferring Synthesis While Producing Meaningful Connections

Ultimately, the aim is not just to introduce new statements into the "colonial library" but to found a "newly expanded library" (Mudimbe 1994b, 194). This new foundation also entails placing well-known historical facts in a new context, particularly that of oral history. Following Sobchack, who in turn draws on Hayden White, the objective is to present a "collage of multiple versions" (Sobchack 1996, 9).[12] But my approach radically differs from White's concept of "emplotment", which involves creating a linear narrative, "making a story out of mere chronicles" (White 1987, 83). In doing this, one would make sense of history by shaping historical data into a familiar story

12 On the relevance of the fragment, see White (1996, 25).

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format, "by endowing what originally appears to be problematical [...] with the aspect of a recognizable, because it is a familiar, form" (ibid.). Instead, my interactive documentary seeks to maintain the problematic status of the different positions and keep them somewhat unfamiliar. In contrast to traditional historiography, which Paul Ricœur described as "a synthesis of the heterogeneous" (Ricœur 1990, 66), my project deliberately suspends synthesis as much as possible. The interactive interface serves to present fragmentary yet historically significant speaking positions without overly smoothing or ordering their diversity. For example, due to keyword-tagging, which is sometimes connected to specific timestamps in certain statements, viewers may come across juxtapositions of inconsistent audiovisual materials. This means that when they select an alternative clip by clicking on a preview offered through the interface, they might be presented with conflicting points of view on the same matter of concern. However, no definitive or conclusive answer is ultimately provided.

As an illustration, German newspaper reports often oversimplify the situation of restitution, portraying it as a straightforward matter of museums retaining looted cultural materials for too long and emphasizing the urgent need for an immediate return to the states of origin. While this framing is not entirely false, our fieldwork uncovered a significantly more complex reality. Various stakeholders, including local communities, government bodies, and international scholars, each brought forth distinct perspectives and demands that resist easy amalgamation into a single story about restitution. Instead, this diverse range of voices contributes to a multifaceted and intricate landscape of restitution dynamics:

Fig. 2: Togbui Dake IV, Akpini Palace, Kpando (Ghana)

Source: Screenshot *Epistemologies of Restitution* (Martin Doll, 2022)

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Fig. 3: H.E. Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, President of the Republic of Ghana (2017–2025)

Source: Screenshot *Epistemologies of Restitution* (Martin Doll, 2022)

Fig. 4: African Science Center, The University of Yaoundé I

Source: Martin Doll, 2021

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Fig. 5: Malik Saako, Principal Curator of the National Museum of Ghana, Accra

Source: Martin Doll, 2021

The representatives of the "Akpini Traditional Area" express a desire to return their cultural heritage to their *own* chiefdom. Togbui Dake IV made this clear during our meeting: "We wouldn't like anything being returned to us being diverted to a national place!"[13] On the national level, President Akufo-Addo of Ghana promoted a Pan-African Heritage Museum, stating: "The museum will provide a natural residence and resting place for all the looted cultural artifacts of our continent which are housed in foreign museums and which will be returned to us, come what may!"[14] By contrast, David Simo, a professor of German studies from Cameroon, echoes the arguments of Achille Mbembe (2019), suggesting that the memory of violence, etc. associated with looted cultural heritage should be preserved by not restituting it too quickly. Simo advocates for a trusteeship by UNESCO, asserting, "by taking all these African objects from Europe you erase the memory of the fact that the objects have been stolen from Africa". Malik Saako, chief curator of the National Museum of Accra, emphasizes the importance of not forgetting the African diaspora. He raises questions about repatriation, asking: "If we repatriate all these objects to the various African countries, what are we telling our colleagues who are in the diaspora? … Are they part of the history of Africa or are they part of the history of Europe"?[15] These are just a few of the many conflicting positions encountered – perspectives at risk

13 You can jump to the specific clip via this link: *Epistemologies of Restitution*, https://thinking-about-restitution.info/film#?snu=8491.

14 *Epistemologies of Restitution*, https://thinking-about-restitution.info/film#?snu=8534.

15 At the time of writing this paper, these interviews were not yet included in the interactive documentary.

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of being lost in the "tsunami" (Abungu 2021) of the current "restitution Olympics", amidst the "scramble for decolonization" (Hicks 2022) – important critical objections concerning the dynamics of current restitution processes raised by the Cambridge-trained archaeologist and former director-general of the National Museums of Kenya, George Abungu, and Dan Hicks, Professor of Contemporary Archaeology at Oxford University.

Nevertheless, the project does not merely amass a haphazard collection of entirely incoherent and, therefore, potentially insignificant material. Even though the interface of the interactive documentary constantly produces juxtapositions of highly heterogeneous speaking positions, it also establishes meaningful links between the specific audiovisual materials. This dynamic contextualization enhances the audience's engagement with the different perspectives. In contrast to a linear "realist historical narrative" the endless network of relations that emerges during the viewing of the interactive film – connecting *lieux de mémoire* (sites of memory), desktop documentary clips and interviews – allow users to experience the "polycentric vision" individually. Depending on the route each viewer chooses to take through the material, a different combination of the heterogeneous occurs, resulting in different meanings of the clips and their ensemble.

Bringing Perspectives and Their Relatedness to Light

Within this multiplicity of perspectives and positions, it was crucial for me not only to capture the diversity of viewpoints but also to illuminate the intricate relationships that existed already during shooting. This included highlighting the connections of the speakers to our international research team and, simultaneously, revealing the relationships between the interviewees and me, in my dual role as scholarly filmmaker and one-man film team. It's important to note that the specific conversations or meetings were anything but immediate. Drawing inspiration from Rey Chow's approach to "cultural translation", I aimed at questioning traditional subject-object relations where one subject looks at another as an object. Instead, as Chow underlines: "'Us' and 'them' are no longer safely distinguishable; 'viewed object' is now looking at 'viewing subject' looking" (Chow 2010, 153). Thus, the film is in this sense as well not about predefined positions but about relations, and the evolving nature of these relations. In other words, the narrated memories, the political positions, and restitution demands were always clearly addressed to us or me, acquiring their own quality because of these relations.

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Fig 6: Filming and being filmed during the meeting with the chiefs and elders of the Akpini Traditional Council (September 2021)

Source: Stefanie Michels, 2021

Fig 7: Filming and being filmed during the meeting with the chiefs and elders of the Akpini Traditional Council (September 2021)

Source: Screenshot *Epistemologies of Restitution* (Martin Doll, 2022)

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Fig. 8: Approval of interview clips used by the chiefs and elders of the Akpini Traditional Council

Source: Gertrude Aba Mansah Eyifa-Dzidzienyo, 2021

On numerous occasions, my interviewees, who were familiar with the project's goals, expressed a clear desire to have their voices and positions heard. For instance, after the documented meeting with the Akpini Traditional Council, the clips used in the documentary received approval from the chiefs and elders, ensuring that the representation accurately reflected their perspectives and positions. However, it's essential to note that the concept of this interactive documentary project fundamentally differs from collaborative or participatory projects that focus more radically on the co-creation of content, as in many community projects.[16] So, I, as a scholar and filmmaker, was less a "context-provider" in the thoroughgoing sense of Sharon Daniel, who aims at providing the "tools that will induce others to speak for themselves, and the context in which they may be heard" (Daniel 2012). Instead, the people involved in my project played more of a content-provider role, with *some* control over the outcome. Rather than handing over the camera for the interest groups to decide what to film, I retained sole responsibility for the filming, though there was

16 In this context, I recommend Marta Fiolić's excellent participatory "artivist" project with and about women's homelessness (see Fiolić's article in this volume).

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an approval process in which the elders of the Akpini Traditional Council were consulted. Thus, although I employed an interactive mode of documentary filmmaking, the majority of decisions within the project were made by me, both during the editing process and the tagging of the clips with keywords.[17] This approach inevitably yields an outcome profoundly characterized by my perspective on the topic.

Taking this insight seriously from the outset, I adopted the strategy of making this perspectivity as transparent as possible through specific aesthetic decisions in the recording and publishing process. This included the consistent use of a monopod during the interviews, resulting in a sort of hand-held camera movement that clearly emphasized the activity of filming, along with the establishment of a visually clear axis between me and the interviewees. In place of a Lavalier microphone placed close to the speaker, I opted for a directional microphone, which not only records the speaker's voice but also captures some ambient sound and at times my own voice. Additionally, all my texts and inserts in the film were written from a first-person point of view. Furthermore, I disclosed the keywords I used to structure the material on the project's website. Although I have not yet found a solution to make the selectivity behind the material shown (or not shown) visible, I have incorporated a "landing page" after the end credits. On this page, viewers can see which clips they did not encounter during the viewing experience, without the opportunity to view those they missed. This highlights that as a viewer, one has, firstly, actively omitted certain (possibly important) voices, and secondly, can never truly grasp the full picture of the restitution process.[18]

Fig. 9: Keywords as listed on the project website

Source : Screenshot www.thinking-about-restitution.info (Martin Doll, 2022)

17 I initially planned to collaborate with the chiefs and elders in tagging their statements. However, a second field trip to Kpando was halted due to chieftancy issues.

18 *Epistemologies of Restitution*, https://thinking-about-restitution.info/film/#?snu=6782.

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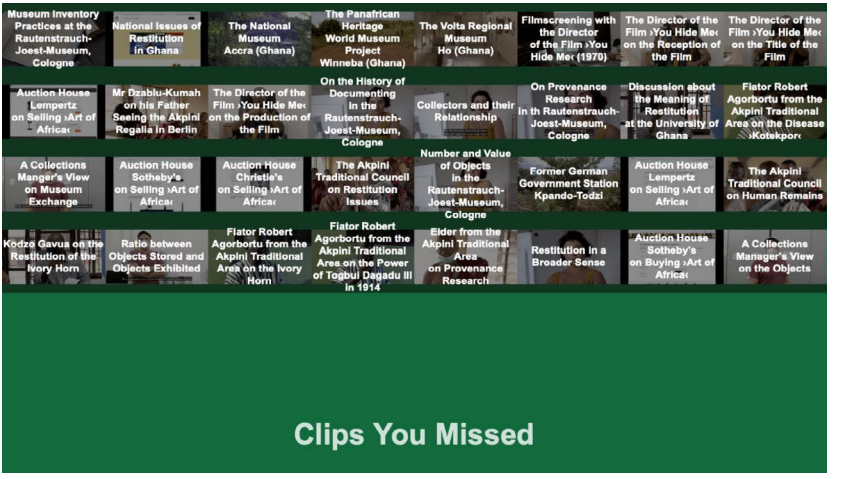
Fig. 10: Landing page after the end credits



Source: Screenshot *Epistemologies of Restitution* (Martin Doll, 2022)

Freedoms in Interactivity: Presenting and Restricting Opportunities

The characterization of the interactive film and its interface in negative terms – as something that moves away from specific aspects, does not provide certain opportunities, and defers synthesis – clearly indicates that the project is positioned beyond the euphoria of interactivity[19] that was prominent in the 1990s. The excitement of this era emphasized user-controlled synthesis, attributing, for example, to hyperfiction the potential to grant users unlimited freedom over the text – an ideal of user freedom that sometimes stemmed from literally (mis)understood metaphors such as Roland Barthes' "death of the author" (cf. Wirth 1997, 320–321).[20] By contrast, my project aims to clearly highlight my authorial position, going as far as to explicitly define certain restrictions for the user within the interface and emphasizing them distinctly. Thus, the freedom lies more with the interest groups, whose recorded statements or interview answers – sometimes presented completely unabridged –

19 I thank two of the editors, Vanessa Zallot and Tobias Conradi, for bringing up this point about the user perspective.

20 The true progenitor of this idea is Marshall McLuhan. He sees in the electronic age of interdependence the possibility of emancipating oneself from the constraints of linear, sequential writing, which he inextricably links to a certain conceptual tradition of thought and centralized power and thus to a fundamental lack of freedom. See McLuhan 1962; McLuhan 1969, 244; McLuhan 1994, esp. 81–88. On hyperfiction, see also Doll 2018.

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can occupy more space in their multiplicity than in the traditional dramaturgy of a linear documentary format. In the end, the interactive nature of the project also affords me, as the author, greater freedom. I can include longer interview sequences, since users have the option to stop playback if they find the pace too slow according to their expectations of rhythm and structure. Most importantly, it enables me to integrate more diverse and incompatible material and to avoid rigid editing decisions and their associated interpretations, as users compose the sequences through their mouse clicks. Thus, they are somewhat compelled to engage in creating meaningful relationships. However, this does not free me from certain responsibilities in sense production, as this co-constitution of meaning occurs within the framework of my selection of video clips and the links provided by my keyword tagging within the Korsakow software.

Conclusion

Multiplying the voices and perspectives, as outlined in the IFG proposal, may not only lead to the presentation of "incompatible stories from incompatible speaking positions" but also emphasize the diverse frames of reference inherent in these speaking positions and their role in contextualizing restitution. With this project, my explicit goal is to make these different frames of reference visible and audible, highlighting their intricacy and ambiguity. The ultimate aim is to underscore the necessity of continued contemplation of how they interrelate. In the end, this might encourage the interactive users to put *their own* only seemingly self-evident frames of reference into perspective: Through the diverse viewpoints of actors and interest groups in Ghana and Germany, the viewers can experience how the four Rs – restitution, return, repatriation, and reparation – are seen and conceptualized from different, sometimes discordant, and constantly evolving standpoints, along with their associated concerns. However, it's important to note that I view my interactive film *Epistemologies of Restitution* not as a panacea against the postcolonial challenges but as one – modest – means to engage with them.

It is modest because advocating for audiovisual historiography is not at all intended to replace academic historiography in its current state. Instead, it aims to add supplementary resources to it by contributing to its complexity. As already indicated, moving images, photographs, and sound recordings should not be seen as providing more direct or immediate access to reality and the past; rather they need to be complemented. To apply Sobchack's view of popular historical cinema to interactive audiovisual historiography: "the multiplication and visibility of particular and concrete things […] seek any further expression in the conceptual rather than the concrete, in historiographic saying and writing" (Sobchack 1997, 19). Within the context of historiography, a further relationality has to be acknowledged: the mu-

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tual relationship between audiovisual historiography and written history. They need each other. They also interact. And thus they can mutually enrich each other.

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