

QUOTING AND TELLING

Mediating Techniques of Tour Guides in German Home Museums

Irit Dekel, Friedrich Schiller University Jena, Humboldt University, Berlin

Tour guides in home museums perform a special mediating role: they connect past and present through stories that mark both proximity and distance from them. This paper is based on ethnographic research in four home museums in Germany, those of Konrad Adenauer, Bertolt Brecht and Helene Weigel, Albert Einstein, and Kaethe Kollwitz. I analyze the performance of guides quoting the words, either written or allegedly spoken, of home museums' protagonists. I claim that the quotes work along two axes coordinated according to the relative differentiation of hierarchical distance and temporal displacement. The guides navigate the space created by these axes and negotiate the meaning of histories through the perspective of home life. The axes help us understand both guides' and visitors' work and interpretation.

Keywords: hierarchy in tourism, tour guides, museum temporality, collective memory in museums

Guides and Visitors: Encounters in Home Museums

Tour guides in home museums use different resources and techniques to draw their audience into a story at a certain site. They point to different sources they use, such as objects, diaries, art works and media, and they quote sources. Those can be understood, following Handler (2016), as multidimensional resources for the historical imagination of visitors, and guides draw from them to tell personal stories linked to events of local as well as national magnitude. In home museums, they often quote the protagonist who used to live there or a text they wrote. This is a technique that the anthropological literature on tour guides discusses as central to site sacralization (Fine & Speer 1985) and a "trick of the trade" that involves bridging historical knowledge for contemporary visitors (Wynn 2005). Guides co-produce a scene

together with visitors (Feldman 2007) and with it a claim of belonging. Such claims of belonging to a scene at home enable visitors to relate to a shared social past enacted by museum guides who, in their rhetoric, encode museum's narratives (Katriel 1997a). Guides present those narratives with varying degrees of pedagogical and seductive construction of the imagination of the tourist site (Salazar 2012). This article wishes to discuss how quoted texts from poems, fiction, drawing, and diaries are used as indexical tools (Rojek 1997) in representing a home. Vinitzky-Seroussi and I (Dekel & Vinitzky-Seroussi 2017) define a home museum as a heritage site in which a famous person has lived and which is open to the public as a partial or full reconstruction of a home. I adopt Brin and Noy's (2010: 27) definition of the guide's performance as a situated event during which both guide and tourist assume the presence

of a site as a stage and partake in reconstructing it. This perspective highlights the hermeneutical negotiation of difference, as Steinberg (2002) does while discussing the creation of a “contact zone” or a site of encounter between tour guides and visitors during a boat tour from Europe toward Israel, in which Zionist ideologies are presented in the guides’ articulation of Jewish belonging.

Casting home museums as such sites of encounter, I show how, by *condensing* or *expanding* the distance from the home’s dwellers and their time, guides make the home into a space of temporal encounter. This encounter also positions the visitors and the protagonist in a hierarchical relation, with visitors present in a place that is at once mundane (being “merely” domestic) and enshrined (being the former home of an important historical personage).

The guides thus create a space of relation to other publics and other times in which the protagonist lived, or in which their home became a museum. With visitors’ own sense of belonging to a certain home, be it a national, group, or family home, museum guides present (and often debunk) competing narratives about the person and their time. This encounter is constructed through (1) the guide’s utterance, (2) the visitors’ position and reactions and the (3) home-museum’s curated space, ranging from a preservation of the time in which it was occupied, to the preservation of different stages of its renovations as a home and later on as a museum.

Class, ethnicity and level of education mark those who fit and do not fit into museums (Fyfe & Ross 1996; Bourdieu 1984; Gable & Handler 2006; Gable 2011). The intimate relation between home museums and national projects (Young 2015) is pronounced in our cases, as the homes studied are those of national heroes. Visitors are encouraged to feel proximity to the protagonist in home museums. As a consequence, visitors and guides switch roles in maintaining distance or creating proximity to the protagonists’ times and the various tourist-imaginaries available in telling them. In other words, they alternate following the guides in “returning” to the time of the protagonist, leaving the guide there, or vice versa. Salazar and Graburn (2014: 1) define

tourism imaginaries to be socially transmitted representational assemblages that interact with people’s personal imagining and are used as meaning-making devices. These imaginaries are intangible and implicit schemes of interpretation.

Studying home museums provides a lens on the co-construction and negotiation of such imaginaries in museums. Guides often collapse this distance between the protagonist and the visitors, presenting the protagonist as being “like us” (or natural, authentic and simple).

Unlike in other tourist sites, in home museums this negotiation is carried out in a place that is the most ordinary site of all – a former home. Rojek (1997: 60) maintains that “the indexing and dragging processes” through which the visitor understands a site “have independent, self-generative cultural meanings” such that the meaning the visitor comes to assign actually starts at home, away from the visited sites, and often independent of the visit. Practices of sense-making rest on other resources, such as a book the visitors have read or a film they have seen, which then produce memories and sentiments of events and sites that potential tourists would like to visit and of which they are reminded when they do visit the home museums. The guides in home museums respond to and mediate an encounter where complex hierarchical relations obtain between parties that would not otherwise meet: the visitors at the house of the great figure and the great figure, now absent, within the home as the stage for telling public-national and private stories as mutually related and at times mutually constitutive.

Mallet (2004) defines “home” as a multidimensional concept involving dwelling and its space with practices and relations of the household. Woodward (2001: 120) claims: “Domestic spaces are not exclusively public or private. As such, meanings shift according to the social and familial location of visitors to the spatial organization of the home.” According to Douglas (1991), home is constituted by patterns of doing, and thus also provides orientation to an embryonic community living therein, by which she means that the space of the home is defined by the set of practices of living together which can also get

carried to other communities. This understanding of homes affects the representations of family, space and habits in home museums. Beranek (2011) claims that founding narratives concerning the national context in which the heritage site is ensconced are integral to the preservation of home museums. This affects the position of both guides and visitors within the domestic politics of the home museums, within a larger national context of the museum. Handler (2016: 70) claims that a time-space matrix undergirds the “domain of history” which, “as understood in modern ideology, has both spatial expanse and temporal depth; translating this into nationalist terms, the national territory has attached to it a particular history”. This particular history is inseparable from the space of encounter guides create for and with visitors to home museums. Those historical events can be seen as part of a multi-vocal story and approaching them in this way, Johnson (1999: 199) suggests, underlines the significance of the local space without using the house “as an exemplar of general historical processes made local”.

It is in this respect, Vinitzky-Seroussi and I suggest elsewhere (2017) that visitors in the home museums are *doubly* situated: in relation to the exhibited home and in relation to their own home. We argue at length (2017) that the crucial point is that while “home” is complex and constructed, people typically come to a home museum believing that they know what “home” is from their own, personally and politically defined, experience. The guides, therefore, represent home as an identifiable cognitive construction for different individuals and collectives. Guides and visitors, as well as the curated space, partake in the construction and maintenance of atmosphere. Vinitzky-Seroussi and I define atmosphere in home museums to be “created, maintained and transferred through the condensation of time in specific areas in the home museum” (2017: 337). Atmosphere is created in the interplay between (1) stories of home, (2) objects at home, and (3) the situation of visitors in it. The condensation of time is enabled by the existence of what Vinitzky-Seroussi and I (2017: 337–338) define as “a temporal multitude”, as we can see in the analysis of the practice in

which guides frequently engage, namely, quoting the protagonists of “their” home museums.

Here, I demonstrate that such a temporal multitude indexes not only the coexistence of temporalities, in which past, present and future show themselves to overlap and intersect, contrary to our usual sense of them as discrete magnitudes with definite boundaries. While such a coexistence of temporalities is also a feature of a memory atmosphere, the phenomenon of temporal multitude can be further conceptualized as the way in which the “present” of a visit to the home museum, mediated by the gesture of the guide, is over-saturated with temporality as such. As Vinitzky-Seroussi and I (2017: 252–254) demonstrate with respect to the experience of the “uncanny” (the *unheimlich*, or “condition of being not-at-home”), the temporal multitude does not describe the overlap of the temporalities of past, present and future, but rather indexes the degree of time-determination during the home museum visit. More prosaically, this means that the museum visit itself, at certain crucial moments like those felt to be “uncanny”, is experienced not as a moment in time, but as the experience of temporality itself. This understanding has far-reaching implications both for the study of home and historical museums as well as the work of guides in them.

Quotes are situated by guides within a specific home area, often anchored to an object around which the story evolves or can be abstracted from. The objects, we will shortly see, are taken out of their context, perhaps their original location, and get re-located in a de-contextualized manner which makes it possible for visitors to consciously experience the lapse of time since the person who lived in the house departed. This can create a very familiar and inviting atmosphere but also an uncanny feeling, a limit case of the time-space condensation (Dekel & Vinitzky-Seroussi 2017), as we will encounter shortly. In showing, telling and asking about the home, both the guide and the visitors partake in creating a stage on which the moving body “is intertwined with discursive techniques in the purposeful construction of a tourist place” (Chronis 2015: 125).

The Museums: Artefacts, Tours and Understanding them “at Home”

This study is based on research which was carried out in home museums in Israel and Germany between 2014 and 2016.¹ I here discuss the homes of Kollwitz, Einstein and Brecht and Weigel – all in the former GDR, and of Adenauer, which is located in what used to be West Germany. The homes of Einstein and Kollwitz are virtually empty of furniture. In both cases it was deliberately decided to keep them empty of original furniture, or similar to them, in order not to fabricate a façade of a home that was never so, in the case of Kollwitz, or was brutally violated in the case of Einstein.² These decisions are often shared with the visitors. The study also included Goethe’s house in Weimar, and a set of other museums in Germany which the research team visited for comparison. In this article, the choice of these four museums is based on the fact that only in them guided tours took place. The four museums are:

- Konrad Adenauer’s house in Rhöndorf near Bonn: Adenauer (1876–1967) was the Mayor of Cologne between 1917 and 1933 and the first Chancellor of West Germany between 1949 and 1963. In 2016, the museum hosted 24,377 visitors.
- Bertolt Brecht and Helene Weigel House in Berlin: Brecht (1898–1956) was a poet and playwright, the founder of the theatre Berliner Ensemble in East Berlin (1949). His wife Weigel (1900–1971) was an acclaimed actress and the director of the Berliner Ensemble. In 2016, the museum hosted 4,936 visitors.
- Albert (1879–1955) and Elsa (1876–1936) Einstein’s summer house in Caputh near Potsdam: Albert Einstein was a theoretical physicist, and Nobel Prize laureate. In 2016, 7,221 visitors visited the house.
- Kaethe Kollwitz House in Moritzburg, near Dresden: Kollwitz (1867–1945) was an acclaimed woman artist and hero of the German Democratic Republic (GDR). The home hosts about 11,000 visitors annually, including special events in town at which times its grounds are opened to the public.

The ethnography included observation of 10–20 guided tours in each museum, thematic workshops and special events in all four museums. Specifically, I or a research assistant observed the tours, which lasted between 45 minutes and two hours; we recorded and transcribed them, used discourse analytical tools to analyze them, collected educational materials and publications shared in them. We additionally conducted semi-structured interviews with guides and visitors, sampled the visitors’ book and mapped the home museum as a curated space.

The studied home museums are small institutions with freelance tour guides (except for one case, in which the director serves as a guide). The directors, all women, are often the only full-time paid persons in their institutions (with the exception of Adenauer House that is directed by a state-supported foundation that finances the home museums of former Chancellors). In the Brecht-Weigel House, at the time of the study, the guides were also actresses, historians, and German literature students. In Adenauer’s house they were historians and educators, some retired; in Einstein’s house – historians, graduates of religious studies programs, and teachers; and in the Kollwitz House, the director and a part-time employee guided the groups – and they had a background in art education. However, most visitors walk through Kollwitz’ home without the guided tour offered to booked groups.

In each of the museums, guides followed a route that changed only for special events or for special groups. The tours included entering the home (often from what used to be its front door) and walking through, or viewing through glass doors, the main home areas such as living room, kitchen office/library and bedrooms. The guides were eager to talk about the details of the house acquisition or building, renovation and preservation work, attending to the dichotomy between the domain of tourism and the domain of the everyday (Skinner & Theodosopoulos 2011; Urry 1990) and often blurring it.

The tours were conducted in a relaxed mode, with the exception of Kollwitz House where the topics of death, war, violence, poverty and suffering are central and affected the mood of the tour. Home museums

tour guides joke about silly Einstein, messy Brecht, and ironic Adenauer, enacting what Schorsch (2013) terms a shifting self by which guides perform closeness to the protagonist, yet also criticism both of their acts and of the ways these have been interpreted. Guides offer enchanting stories and create a source of pleasure and trust between themselves and visitors. Pabel and Pierce (2016) demonstrate how guides' use of humor enhances the feeling of comfort and satisfaction among the visitors. The authenticity of the place, corroborated by the visitors' decision to be in this place, is effected by the guides, sometimes relying on objects in the home or else relying on stories and quotations, when objects are not at hand. By using quotations, I suggest that guides mediate hierarchy and temporality in helping visitors to experience the site *in situ*, in what Macdonald (2009: 155) terms a "here-site" within a home that nevertheless directs attention to events which mostly took place outside its confines. Following this technique, we will be able to better understand how guides manage hierarchy, temporal proximity and grand narratives. More specifically, this analysis elucidates how they are able to extract indexed meaning from the quote and its performance *in situ*, and drag it (Rojek 1997) into other realms of historical understanding, affording or denying belonging to various groups through them.

Guides and visitors often share what Feldman (2010: 5) terms a "common cosmology" or an understanding of how the world around them is ordered. The use of citations is effective in substantiating this common ground of shared views on a home and home rules. The citations work in two directions: sometimes making the home and protagonist "more real" and events he or she were part of very close, and the visitors' experience therefore "closer to the original". Other times staging the historical personage and creating a more "artificial" experience in visiting the home museum, and so, distance from the protagonist. Indeed, sometimes both proximity and distance operate at the same time in the encounter between visitors, the protagonist and the tour guide who mediates between them.

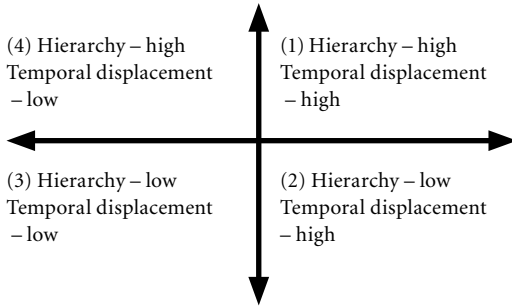
Tours took place in German and English. I interviewed visitors in the language they were most

comfortable with. Guides in the German home museums disclosed that, with the passage of time, visitors know less about who the protagonists were, and need a longer introduction. Visitors, however, do not say after the visit: "now I know what it was like to be Adenauer/Einstein/Kollwitz/Brecht/Weigel". Rather, they identify with the time and the place presented to them as parallel to a past they intimately recall: "this is how my grandmother's/aunt's kitchen looked like". Interestingly, this frequent reaction does not solicit an identification with any position – neither that of a responsible witness (such as in Holocaust remembrance tours and historical or memorial museum tours, see Feldman 2010), nor full identification with the protagonist.

Visitors did, nevertheless, claim after the visit (in interviews we conducted as well as in visitors' book entries), that they came closer to understanding the protagonists and intimate aspects of their lives. They often claimed that they were grateful for this intimate perspective as pilgrims who perform an introspective search for the right setting and mood with which to access history in this intimate space. This can also be understood as what Basu (2007) calls "roots tourism". That is, they return to a place of origin of the admired author, in which their identity is also rooted – as individuals who grew up when Germany was divided, or in the GDR. As Macdonald demonstrated in the case of the Nuremberg Nazi Rally Grounds, the tourist gaze can be directed by guides to the site being toured as well as elsewhere, inviting the visitors to perform acts of double and triple vision (2009: 155).

To better understand how such double or triple vision is performed across places and times, I introduce two thematic axes in home museums: hierarchical differentiation and temporal displacement. I then provide examples for each type and analyze what kind of messages they perform and convey. I focus on the texts the guides quote in guided tours in order to discuss how guides and visitors negotiate the meaning of historical events plotted onto domestic life from the point of view of the protagonists, as told in or about their homes. The guides' utterances around the axes can shift within and between visits.

Thematic Axes of Guides' Performance



Type 1: High hierarchical differentiation and high temporal displacement

In this type the guides position the protagonist as a greater-than-life figure, elevated, whose time of action is far and remote from our time. Guides present national narratives about great men and their achievements and examine them, such as in the following iconic story that guides tell visitors as they stand outside the pavilion where Konrad Adenauer wrote his memoirs late in life.

The story goes as follows: In 1955, the first of the approximately 10,000 soldiers and 20,000 civilians arrived at the Friedland border transit camp. The release of the Germans, who had been held in Soviet camps for ten years after the Second World War, was one of the greatest achievements of the first chancellor and was the result of intensive discussions in Moscow in September 1955. During these negotiations Adenauer received a gift from Soviet Ambassador Smirnow: this attractive walking cane. But he did not use it. Of this choice he used to say: “I would not rely on (or be supported by) the Soviet Union” (guide, May 29, 2015).

The guide takes the position of Adenauer in quoting him and this is always followed by a laugh from the visitors. After a tour with high-school students in which this story was shared, I asked them to reflect on what they generally took from the visit and a few answered: “I learned that Adenauer was a down-to-earth man” (*bodenstaendig*). This German expression, like all idiomatic expressions, is properly untranslatable: the sense that Adenauer was “down to earth” as in the English idiom is there of course, but so too is the sense that he was one who



Ill. 1: Konrad Adenauer Pavilion 2015. (Photo: Irit Dekel)

“stands his ground” as another idiom has it – this point is picked up by both guides and visitors, as in the example: “I learned that Konrad Adenauer was a strong man, he stood on his principles” (June 9, 2016). There were other stories from which visitors could infer this quality of Adenauer as a politician, such as how, as the city mayor of Cologne, he refused to hang Nazi flags on an official visit of Hitler there in February 1933, and consequently, had to leave office – this story is presented through documents in an information center that visitors tour prior to the visit of the home.

In quoting the ironic statement about the cane while looking at it and using Adenauer’s voice in reference to his own aging body, the guide tells about West Germany’s relations with the Soviet Union in the years after the Second World War. Most interestingly, the guide retains the hierarchical distance from the leader together with the temporal displacement from his time and the time of that statement by uttering “he used to say”, and then quotes Adenauer

in a first person voice. By quoting the term “support” (“I will not be supported by the Soviet Union”), symbolized by the cane that is in front of the visitors, a time-space matrix is at work (Handler 2016): The utterance is thought of as timeless, as other persons could use it in other places and times. Likewise, the distance in time between “then” and now is condensed. The visitors can imagine today’s Russo-German relations and remember what they knew of “other” times which were related to “other” cultures and people (Fabian 2006) that this quote encapsulates. The visitors come to share a past as told (in its integrity as a present), by its author’s voice through the symbol of support of a frail body. They thus have a rare opportunity to feel the immediacy and intimacy with its hero’s voice.

As seen in the later interview, the visitors, playing their part in reflecting on the visit, chose an expression that conveys resilience and strength in describing Adenauer. This avoided the issue of age that comes up frequently in guided tours through references to Adenauer’s walking canes (four more are hanging in his bedroom). The tour guide’s cane story is a “perfect tour guide moment” that Wynn (2005) defines, one in which a guide tells a story that illustrates particularly well a historical sequence and helps visitors imagine a larger context for this historical moment, a moment in which Adenauer needed to negotiate with the Soviet Union in order to release the captive soldiers, but as a strong and sovereign head of state. A second “trick” this point uses is what Wynn (2005: 412) calls “the bridge”: when one part of a story is used to illustrate, metonymically, a larger historical process or context, as we will see in the following example.

The example is an iconic quote from Brecht. Many visitors to the Brecht-Weigel House inquire about the presence of the Bible in Brecht’s library, or find curious two Christian icons of John the Baptist and the Virgin Mary hanging on the wall in his large office. The guides typically respond with a fact followed by a quote: “He has several Bibles in his library and used to say: ‘I am an epic writer, of course I love the Bible.’” Guides, here, cater to German citizens with knowledge of the GDR or to its former citizens

who expect narrative consistency with what they know of the skeptical attitude toward religion in the GDR. They also expect consistency with what they know of Brecht, a celebrated playwright in that culture and time, who declared unapologetically that he “loves the Bible” – not on grounds of faith but rather as an epic author, for the Bible is an epic text.

The hierarchical distance from the author, Brecht, both in the way the guide positions him within the narrative (albeit embodying his ironic tone) and in the way visitors imagine him is high. The temporal displacement from the time of the quote and of Brecht’s life is noticeable, since such statements would not be required in today’s Germany by authors who have Christian icons in their office or use the Bible in their writing. Last but not least, this quote has little to do with the actual figurines that prompt its performance. Standing by them and the knowledge visitors have that these are Christian figures triggers the talk about religion and scriptures for Brecht and in the GDR, and for visitors thinking about the GDR in Brecht’s house.

Type 2: Little hierarchical differentiation coupled with a high stress on temporal displacement

Here the visitors are invited to feel close in status to the protagonist, who is not presented as hierarchically elevated, while they are nevertheless made to feel at a temporal remove from her or him. This type is not common. We can, however, see it exemplified in the case of a workshop, entitled “Unfortunately I was a girl,” held in the Kollwitz House. The quote is drawn from her writing relating to how her father supported her art studies despite her gender. This quote has often been used and reproduced – such as in a book title (Trüper 2001) – and was shared with the visitors in all the tours I participated in. For instance, in the following tour:

She came from a very open-minded parents’ home, and wrote in her diary, that although she was a girl her father recognized her artistic talent at an early age and supported it. And he indeed granted her private instructors but there was no possibility at that time for girls to attend a univer-

sity for the arts [...] that is why she went to Munich and Berlin; where there were art schools for women. (November 3, 2014)

Here we encounter the pronounced distance from the time in which Kollwitz lived together with an insistence on the *lack* of hierarchical differentiation between the home's former resident and its current visitors. In this case, Kollwitz is not elevated or positioned over the visitors in social status or achievement, but instead is quoted recognizing her misfortune in having been born a girl. Insofar as the guide adopts Kollwitz's voice from the past (Kollwitz wrote in her diary "Unfortunately, I was a girl"), the visitors are encouraged to compare it with the present.

In a later off-scene conversation with the museum director, who was also the guide on this tour, I asked her about the workshop "Unfortunately I was a girl" which she designed. She replied:

Many are not aware of how hard it was for Kollwitz to take this particular path, always being the only girl or woman in a circle of men. Today it is a relevant question for women [...] Women who are artists in Germany are actually the most drastic about it and claim: "today it is just as bad as it used to be at her time".

The director criticized the fact that Kollwitz then and today is presented as a subordinate "other", a woman, and that her success is measured primarily against this fact, rather than based on her art itself. However, by choosing a quote which illustrates this criticism, the director, in her capacity as a guide who reports on visitors' reactions, demonstrates that this very position which Kollwitz found herself in still exists for female artists today. In this type of low hierarchical distance from the protagonist combined with pronounced distance from her time, the guide solicits identification and solidarity from the visitors.

According to Katriel (1997b), the ways that women are presented in museums reflect both present social constructions and former ideologies. This is true in the case of GDR memories of Kollwitz as

well, which, I suggest, are the main frame for understanding "her" home museum. Katriel reveals that women in the Israeli pioneer museum discourse are presented as necessary yet problematic elements in the enactment of pioneering ideals of labor and equality (1997b: 676). Women are portrayed as service workers rather than essential figures embodying the ethos of productivity and equality the museums are meant to project. Kollwitz is no service worker and her art stands at the center of her "own" home museum; it is framed in terms of work and creativity, not least when guides state that Kollwitz actually did not "work" in this home, since she was sick and fleeing war and destruction.

The director's critical presentation of the condition of women as unequal in the workforce in Germany today joins the mode of reflecting on ideologies and social conditions of visitors in contemporary museums. The manner of portraying even powerful women as subordinate figures explains the guides' use of the voice of women in those homes, as hierarchically close to the visitors today and at the same time as belonging to time past. In this example, of type 2, visitors share less of the chronology of the protagonist, a woman, and although she is presented as closer to them in hierarchy, she is nevertheless also an "other", or embedded in a temporality distant from the present, as Fabian's analysis (2006) made clear. This type is also used in the case of criticizing ideological positions the protagonist was disillusioned about, a sentiment often shared by visitors, as in an oft-quoted text in guided tours in Brecht's part of the house, as well as in the museum brochure. The quote is taken from a letter Brecht wrote in March 1954 to his publisher Suhrkamp: "It is really advisable to live in houses and with furniture that are at least 120 years old and were in earlier capitalist settings until you have them later in a socialistic one."³

Here the reference is to two past times that the author criticizes from "the present" (i.e., the early days of the GDR). This example can be used to show that guides may use one or more types in a guided tour and that type 2 often conveys criticism that the protagonist had toward present and past conventions they were affected by.

Type 3: Low hierarchical differentiation and low temporal displacement

In this type, the hierarchy between the “larger-than-life” persona and the tourist is flattened by making them more human, a process that takes place also in type (1). Here, we encounter alleged quoted utterances about routines, preferences and habits in which the great person becomes intelligible and at times ironically flawed, and in which the guides repeat earlier presentations and representations of myths about the protagonist, often debunking them. Here, the body of the protagonist and his habits are paramount – Einstein is presented as though he did not have predictable work habits and used to roam around (largely) naked. An iconic story the guides tell almost every tour is as follows:

On a hot summer day, Einstein was walking around the summer house without a shirt and bare-foot. As the couple was waiting for guests, his wife, Elsa Einstein, suggested that he put on a shirt and his reply is then quoted by the guide: “if they want to see me, I am here. If they want to see my clothes, take them to my wardrobe.” The crowd then laughs in appreciation of Einstein’s wit, which is often presented in contrast to his annoying wife who, according to the guides, interfered with his work. Of course, she had enough wit to supposedly report on this interaction, but this is not part of the fable. It is, however, important to add that the museum describes the summer house in its publications and tours as a paradise for the short while Einstein spent time there between 1929 and 1931, for he subsequently decided not to return to Germany after the Nazis’ rise to power. The iconic story of him roaming naked is repeated in all of the tours. It supports this narrative and helps tourists to imagine him in his home, a home figured as a leisurely paradise, a refuge lost when the Nazis forced him and many others (who could still leave) out. This “works” for the visitors because the protagonist is Einstein. The unpredictable, earthy genius character would not be as amusing for visitors if the story was about an undistinguished man, or on the other hand, about another great man, like Adenauer, whose orderliness is central in narratives about him.⁴

Another example of this most common type is a story about Helene Weigel. She is described in three home areas: upon entering the apartment in Brecht’s section – regarding the couple’s loud breakup before Brecht’s renting the apartment and her return thereafter – and at length in her bedroom and in the kitchen in the lower section of the house which were “hers”. All tours describe her love for cooking and gardening, that she directed the Berliner Ensemble from bed (since she had “smokers’ legs”) and that, in search for roots after her long exile, she collected porcelain dishes. A few tours also mention her Jewish roots and her family’s fate, while none remark on her library which contains, among many other topics, books on the history of Jews in Germany and Austria.

An anecdote that often uses her voice in first person and is told in the kitchen is that she would often hang a note in the theatre inviting colleagues to come for dinner, stating “At my place there is goulash today.” Here, the motherly qualities and the quote of her voice in the present tense exemplify the lack of hierarchy she allegedly established with co-workers, now extended to the visitors in the present tense. Weigel’s legendary Viennese cooking is central to the restaurant under the house that in the present day serves “her dishes”. It is a memory that students take with them and resonates after their visit, such as in a website of a Berlin gymnasium which summarizes a visit to the house: “In her bedroom stood a large bed. In it, as we were told, she liked to work. Across the hall was a small kitchen in which she enjoyed cooking marmalade and goulash. Her recipes are highly respected today.”⁵ The students take Weigel’s legacy to be that of cooking, a legacy perfectly adapted to the museum’s narrative. This “bundle package” enables an extension of the intimate atmosphere allegedly shared at the museum, to resemble or mimic the intimacy and trust which the visitors are told took place upstairs, between Brecht, Weigel and their colleagues, and among artists in the early days of the GDR, an intimacy visitors can enjoy today in reunited Germany.

The reason why, in studying guided tours, one finds types 1 (high hierarchical distance with high

temporal displacement) and 3 (low hierarchical distance and low temporal displacement) more often than their chiasmic counterparts is that in a home museum, the condensation of time (low temporal displacement) around specific home areas correlates with the oft-heard expectation from guides and directors of home museums that visitors will leave thinking: “they [the great men/women whose homes we visit] are like us”. The mix of voices creates a more complicated terrain for the mapping of conventional narratives, as we saw in type 2 and we will encounter in discussing type 4 just below. The complication derives chiefly from the perhaps obvious fact that it is hard to preserve displacement along one axis while eliminating such displacement along the crossing axis. In analyzing type 2, we saw the complexity of the guide’s (more or less planned) choice to maintain temporal displacement from the protagonist’s time while minimizing the hierarchical distance from the protagonist. In type 4 below, we will see the challenges guides face in trying to maintain hierarchical distance between the visitors and the protagonist while minimizing the temporal displacement.

Type 4: High hierarchical distance and low temporal displacement

One strategy that guides employ in order to meet the challenge of maintaining hierarchical distance while minimizing temporal displacement is intertextuality, which can be deployed by the technique of quoting the protagonist when she or he is quoting another work. We can see this, for instance, in a quote from Brecht that was presented by a guide during a tour of the Brecht-Weigel House on March 18, 2015: “This is Brecht’s small office, [...] On the wall hang three Japanese masks,” to which the guide points, quoting the poem [The Masks of Evil] from memory:

On my wall hangs a Japanese carving,
 The mask of an evil demon, decorated with gold lacquer.
 Sympathetically I observe
 The swollen veins of the forehead, indicating
 What a strain it is to be evil.

The guide embodies the position of facing the masks which Brecht looked at when inspired to write the poem in his small office where the visitors now stand. Usually, after the last line of the poems, visitors and guide reflect on how Brecht observed historical complexity and how inspired he was by Asian art in his work.

In Kollwitz House we encounter another example of a guide quoting the protagonist, who is herself quoting someone else. Here we find Kollwitz quoting a text by Goethe, which the guide cites while standing by a lithograph (drawn by Kollwitz in 1941) of a mother protecting children, entitled “Seed-bearing fruit should not be crushed”.⁶ The guide tells that Kollwitz reflected on and worked with this theme ever since she lost her son Peter in the First World War. The students are asked to describe the lithograph. They typically say that it is a mother protecting her children from getting hurt. The guide then directs their attention to the quote which is the title of the art work, positioning the students together with Kollwitz in citing Goethe.

As in type 1, the hierarchical distance is high both from Goethe and from Kollwitz, who is presented as knowing Goethe’s work intimately. Unlike this “master type”, however, here in type 4 the temporal displacement is low, as the quote is also an imperative that can be read literally in the present. In this part of the guided tour, the guide often quotes Kollwitz in a letter to her remaining son Hans (from February 15, 1915) in which she wrote that she reflects on the death, a few months earlier, of her son Peter: “I am not a seed. I had only the task to grow the seed that was placed in me until it was developed” (Schulte 1998: 126). The work of intertextuality, in the guide’s quotation of Kollwitz’s authorial voice, which itself is a quotation of the voice of the “national poet” Goethe, positions the protagonist in a higher hierarchical position, but close to the visitors in the present time – Kollwitz, together with the guide, is with us in “looking back” to Goethe.

Experiencing and Understanding the Space of Encounter

The guides in home museums build their narratives around the mundane and choose ordinary elements



Ill. 2: "Seed-bearing fruit should not be crushed". Kollwitz lithography in Kollwitz House. (Photo: Irit Dekel, May 2015)

of home life from a large number of objects and an infinite number of possible biographical and historical stories in order to tell tales about the protagonist's life and times. They condense time in specific areas in the home in order to create and maintain a certain atmosphere, but do not pretend to portray this time as taking place "here and now" (Dekel & Vinitzky-Seroussi 2017). The sensory experience of walking in a museum that was once a home and is now empty both of inhabitants and of most basic elements of home life, affects the visitors' decoding of the message communicated by the guides.

The construction and maintenance of a certain domestic atmosphere is a crucial mechanism by which the appropriate degree of temporal displacement is created. When it is useful for the purposes of the museum that the protagonist be perceived

as distant in time, the ties that bind that historical figure to the past are made explicit. When, however, a sense of temporal intimacy and immediacy is desired, guides pronounce and indulge in the uncanny character of certain objects or places/positions in the home museum in order to create the sense that somehow the past is present, and the linear sequence of events within a continuum of temporal displacement is disrupted.

The positions taken by the guides change between groups, and they are certainly different in the four home museums discussed here. Guides in the Einstein home report that he became a model for their everyday life. The three male guides at the time of the study often found themselves imitating him by showing off their comprehension of theoretical physics from which most visitors glean that they

themselves are geniuses and can explain and understand Einstein's theories (the two female guides at the time of the study did not make visitors feel unable to comprehend theory). In personal interviews, the director of Kollwitz House conveyed that she has been inspired by Kollwitz's respect for her sons and learned from her independence as a female artist.

Importantly, as cultural mediators (Salazar 2012), the tour guides in the studied home museums are also all quite local: they capitalize on visitors' love of the landscape and often declare that they are very close to the protagonist. This adds to the homeliness of the visit and the guides' credibility as mimetically authentic. Noy (2009) describes tourism authenticity as a semiotic resource that gives sites, people and objects a sense of worthiness.

Visitors, however open they are to seeing the home as authentic, are not naïve about the narratives told and the home scenery. They are open to the work of curation of the home museum and accept that there are secrets behind what appears to be authentic in the sense of unchanged original. They ask, for instance, what will happen if they make a call from the red phone in Adenauer's house – whether the current Chancellor will be on the other side. In this (apparently very popular) question, they respond to the condensed time between Adenauer's death and their own visit that could grant them access to authority as well as to the rhetoric of authenticity, since it is clear that the phone is not used now to communicate with the Chancellor and thus the performance of acting like Adenauer in his home is bound to fail. On the other hand, there are no narrative failures during the tours in which a visitor questions either the story's accuracy or the genuine character of the protagonist and his or her moral position. They come to like the protagonists, as well as the stories about them and their homes (Forchtner & Kølvråa 2015).

Concluding Remarks: Guiding through Time

I intend to have an effect on these times, in which human beings are so at a loss and so helpless. (Käthe Kollwitz' diary entry December 4, 1922, in Bohnke Kollwitz & Kollwitz 2012: 14)

This quote is central to all tours in the Kollwitz House and frames the ways visitors talk about her displayed works that are thereby presented as an assessment of her life. The quote also makes the visitor wonder what this means today in thinking about arts, politics and helplessness. The guide, on her part, offers a reading of this quote beyond the GDR cult of genius that elevated Kollwitz's standing as a socialist artist. By using this quote, the guide directs attention to all three historical periods within a home museum: the time the Kollwitz lived in, the time the museum opened and that of the visit.

As Handler claims, there are endless possibilities in mining the time-space matrix of national history, “[b]ut at any given present moment, not every person or institution can muster an equal claim to a particular event in the past” (2016: 72). The story of Kollwitz, in the contact zone that the home museum offers, is full of such impasses. Guides select certain stories about her everyday life and elide others, because that past was encoded in ways that cannot be shared today: the way the house was used in the GDR, the director's resisting her veneration in the GDR, and the story of her fleeing Berlin after her house was burned, her death alone in this house – all would view her life through the lens of German suffering in war; these were deemed an inappropriate platform for the museum. These factors materialize in the guide's technique of stretching and condensing time in stories about Kollwitz, and elevate her or make her “down to earth”. The Kollwitz House thus constructs “alternative traditionalities” (Macdonald 2013: 56), narratives which elide the ways memory work was performed in the GDR, and the story of her life.

Our exploration of the interplay of temporal and hierarchical displacement with the peculiar “domestic politics” involved in turning a private home into a public museum has shown that, with varying degrees of consciousness, tour guides and directors engage visitors in performing historical awareness together with other people in non-tourist settings. Visitors and guides share social worlds that interact explicitly or implicitly, with social regulations and power relations (Edensor 2000: 323). This becomes

particularly visible in the intimate encounter with a historic public person in the space usually most marked as private: the home.

As we saw, sometimes guides yoke visitors closer to historical personages by minimizing either temporal and/or hierarchical displacement; sometimes they emphasize either or both forms. The closer we are to the focus of the displacement in either time or hierarchical social status the more we approach an uncanny realm, and the more we are unsure of our position vis-à-vis the protagonist and her or his ghosts, as well as about possible position to their story (Arnold de-Simine 2018). For those ghosts are indeed very present at the moment of encounter between the space, objects, story, guides and visitors.

The model described here has explanatory power beyond these four home museums. It can be applied in historical and memorial museums as well as in heritage sites. It helps understand the phenomenology of distance from times past as an assemblage of different junctions in space and time, together with the positions taken by guides and visitors, marked by present memories and expectations enunciated within the intimate encounter at the museum. The model also helps see the dramaturgical potential of citation, where guides employ quotations from texts that visitors can recognize, and their relation to heritage tourism as pilgrimage, where visitors venerate the protagonist(s) in home, and other heritage, museums.

So too, with this model, the analysis of distance and proximity to stories and the ways they are shared calls for further research on how visitors acquire a perspective on the past, taking into account their ideological and partisan political positions within the contact zone they partake in constructing, where multiple pasts and presents can be explored. The study of the over-saturation of temporalities can be a tool for understanding the impact museum objects have when visitors and guides discuss them in certain museum settings. Finally, this article developed the understanding of how the performance of double and triple vision (Macdonald 2009) about the past is performed and what visitors experience in the encounter with guides quoting a protagonist. This

understanding can be extended to the study of the experience of anchor objects in historical museums and how they are used to contextualize discussions of politics and history today.

Notes

- 1 The research was carried out in cooperation with Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, Professor of Sociology at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and financed by the German Israeli Foundation for Research and Development. I am grateful to Ms. Lotte Thaa who assisted in conducting the research in the home museums located in Germany.
- 2 Einstein's house in Caputh was abused by the Hitler youth upon his departure; in Kollwitz's case, she briefly lived in two of the rooms. After her death in 1945 and until 1995 the house was populated by families.
- 3 "Es ist wirklich ratsam, in Häusern und mit Möbeln zu wohnen, die zumindest 120 Jahre alt sind, also in früherer kapitalistischer Umgebung, bis man eine späterer sozialistische haben wird."
- 4 I thank Jackie Feldman for pointing this out.
- 5 <http://www.goethe-gymnasium-berlin.cidsnet.de/musik-lehrer/83-deutsch/deutsch-exkursionen/383-brecht-weigel>, accessed May 29, 2017.
- 6 "Saatfrüchte sollen nicht vermahlen werden."

References

- Arnold de-Simine, Silke 2018: The Stories We Tell: Uncanny Encounters in Mr. Straw House. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*. DOI: 10.1080/13527258.2018.1424645 1–17.
- Basu, Paul 2007: *Highland Homecomings: Genealogy and Heritage Tourism in the Scottish Diaspora*. New York: Routledge.
- Beranek, Christa 2011: Founding Narratives: Revolutionary Stories at Historic Houses. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 17:2, March 2011, 102–115.
- Bohnke Kollwitz, Jutta & Kaethe Kollwitz 2012: *Kaethe Kollwitz, die Tagebücher*. Munich: Random House.
- Bourdieu, Pierre 1984: *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. Translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard UP.
- Brin, Eldad & Chaim Noy 2010: The Said and Unsaid: Performative Guiding in a Jerusalem Neighborhood. *Tourist Studies* 10:1, 19–33.
- Chronis, Athinodoros 2015: Moving Bodies and the Staging of the Tourist Experience. *Annals of Tourism Research* 55, 124–140.
- Dekel, Irit & Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi 2017: A Living Place: On the Sociology of Atmosphere in Home Museums. *European Journal of Cultural and Political Sociology* 4:3, 336–362.

- Douglas, Mary 1991: The Idea of Home: A Kind of Space. *Social Research* 58:1, 287–307.
- Edensor, Tom 2000: Staging Tourism: Tourists as Performers. *Annals of Tourism Research* 27:2, 322–344.
- Fabian, Johannes 2006: The Other Revisited: Critical Afterthoughts. *Anthropological Theory* 6:2, 139–152.
- Feldman, Jackie 2007: Constructing and Shared Bible Land: Jewish Israeli Guiding Performances for Protestant Pilgrims. *American Ethnologist* 34:2, 351–374.
- Feldman, Jackie 2010: *Above the Death Pits, Beneath the Flag: Youth Voyages to Poland and the Performance of Israeli National Identity*. New York: Berghahn.
- Fine Elizabeth & Lean Haskell Speer 1985: Tour Guide Performance as Sight Sacralization. *Annals of Tourism Research* 12, 73–95.
- Forchtner, Bernhard & Christoffer Kølvrå 2015: Imagining Europe in the Founding Fathers' House Museums. In: A. Reading & T. Katriel (eds.), *Cultural Memories of Nonviolent Struggle: Powerful Times*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 128–146.
- Fyfe, Gordon & Max Ross 1996: Decoding the Visitor's Gaze: Rethinking Museum Visiting. In: S. Macdonald & G. Fyfe (eds.), *Theorizing Museums*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, pp. 127–152.
- Gable, Eric 2011: *Anthropology and Egalitarianism: Ethnographic Encounters from Monticello to Guinea-Bissau*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Gable, Eric & Richard Handler 2006: Persons of Stature and the Passing Parade: Egalitarian Dilemmas at Monticello and Colonial Williamsburg. *Museum Anthropology* 29:1, 5–19.
- Handler, Richard 2016: Mining the Time-Space Matrix Commemorative Postage Stamps and US World's Fairs, 1893–1915. *Hau: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 6:1, 69–91.
- <http://www.goethe-gymnasium-berlin.cidsnet.de/musik-lehrer/83-deutsch/deutsch-exkursionen/383-brecht-weigel>. Accessed May 29, 2017.
- Johnson, Nuala C. 1999: Framing the Past: Time, Space and the Politics of Heritage Tourism in Ireland. *Political Geography* 18, 187–207.
- Katriel, Tamar 1997a: Performing the Past: A Study of Israeli Settlement Museums. London: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Katriel, Tamar 1997b: Pioneering Women Revisited: Representations of Gender in Some Israeli Settlement Museums. In: Amy K. Levin (ed.), *Gender, Sexuality and Museums*. London: Routledge, pp. 115–128.
- Macdonald, Sharon 2009: *Difficult Heritage: Negotiating the Nazi Past in Nuremberg and Beyond*. London: Routledge.
- Macdonald, Sharon 2013: *Memorylands: Heritage and Identity in Europe*. New York: Routledge.
- Mallett, Shelly 2004: Understanding Home: A Critical Review of the Literature. *The Sociological Review* 2004, 62–89.
- Noy, Chaim 2009: Embodying Ideologies in Tourism: A Commemorative Visitors' Book in Jerusalem as a Site of Authenticity. In: P. Vannini & J. P. Williams (eds.), *Authenticity in Culture, Self, and Society*. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 219–240.
- Pabel, Anja & Phillip L. Pierce 2016: Tourists' Responses to Humour. *Annals of Tourism Research* 57, 190–205.
- Rojek, Chris 1997: Indexing, Dragging and the Social Construction of Tourist Sights. In: Chris Rojek & John Urry (eds.), *Touring Cultures: Transformation of Travel and Theory*. London: Routledge, pp. 52–74.
- Salazar, Noel 2012: Tourism Imaginaries: A Conceptual Approach. *Annals of Tourism Research* 39:2, 863–882.
- Salazar, Noel & Nelson H.H. Graburn 2014: *Tourism Imaginaries: Anthropological Approaches*. New York: Berghahn.
- Schorsch, Philipp 2013: Contact Zones, Third Spaces, and the Act of Interpretation. *Museum and Society* 11:1, 68–81.
- Schulte, Regine 1998: *Die Verkehrte Welt des Krieges: Studien zu Geschlecht, Religion und Tod*. Frankfurt a.M.: Campus.
- Skinner Jonathan & Dimitrios Theodossopoulos (eds.) 2011: Introduction: The Play of Expectations in Tourism. *Great Expectations: Imagination and Anticipation in Tourism*. New York & Oxford: Berghahn, pp. 1–26.
- Steinberg, Prina 2002: Contact-Zone En-Route: Nationalism and Ethnicity on a Voyage to Israel. Ph.D. Dissertation. Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Tel Aviv University.
- Trüper, Ursula 2001: *Leider war ich ein Mädchen: Über Käthe Kollwitz*. Edition Nautilus.
- Urry, John 1990: *The Tourist Gaze*. London: Sage.
- Woodward, Ian 2001: Domestic Objects and the Taste of Epiphany: A Resource for Consumption Methodology. *Journal of Material Culture* 6:2, 115–136.
- Woodward, Ian 2003: Divergent Narratives in the Imagining of the Home amongst Middle-Class Consumers: Aesthetics, Comfort and the Symbolic Boundaries of Self and Home. *Journal of Sociology* 39:4, 391–412.
- Wynn, Jonathan R. 2005: Guiding Practices: Storytelling Tricks for Reproducing the Urban Landscape. *Qualitative Sociology* 28:4, 399–417.
- Young, Linda 2015: Literature, Museums, and National Identity: Or, why are there so many Writers' House Museums in Britain? *Museum History Journal* 8:2, 229–246.
- Irit Dekel is a research associate at Friedrich Schiller University Jena, History Department, and at Humboldt-University Berlin, Department of Diversity and Social Conflict. She studies the relations between memory, migration and representation in museums and memorial sites in Germany. Among her publications is *Mediation at the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin* (Palgrave Macmillan Memory Studies Series, 2013).
(iritdekel@gmail.com)