

REVIEW ARTICLES

BETWEEN CHICHÉN ITZÁ, BAGHDAD, AND GUANGZHOU: NEW APPROACHES TO THE GLOBAL MIDDLE AGES

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JOHANNES PREISER-KAPELLER, *Jenseits von Rom und Karl dem Großen: Aspekte der globalen Verflechtung in der langen Spätantike, 300–800 n. Chr., Expansion, Interaktion, Akkulturation: Globalhistorische Skizzen*, 32 (Vienna: Mandelbaum, 2018), 292 pp. ISBN 978 3 854 76554 7. €19.90

VALERIE HANSEN, *Das Jahr 1000: Als die Globalisierung begann*, trans. Anna Leube and Wolf Heinrich Leube (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2020), 393 pp. ISBN 978 3 406 75530 9. €28.00; first published as *The Year 1000: When Explorers Connected the World—and Globalization Began* (London: Penguin, 2020)

CATHERINE HOLMES and NAOMI STANDEN (eds.), *The Global Middle Ages, Past & Present Supplements*, 13 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), xxii + 441 pp. ISBN 978 0 198 83750 3. Open access at [https://academic.oup.com/past/issue/238/suppl_13]

JÖRG OBERSTE and SUSANNE EHRLICH (eds.), *Italien als Vorbild? Ökonomische und kulturelle Verflechtungen europäischer Metropolen am Vorabend der 'ersten Globalisierung' (1300–1600)*, Forum Mittelalter: Studien, 16 (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2019), 208 pp. ISBN 978 3 795 43449 6. €34.95

Globality is in vogue. The fact that this impression holds true not only for our modern world, but also for discourses in historiography, is attested by the multitude of publications relating in one way or another to the field of world history. While earlier discourse was pre-occupied with the question of whether such a global perspective was a

'Chimera or Necessity',¹ the debate has since turned in numerous other directions, taking in terminological aspects as well as the question of whether supposedly well-established periodizations distinguishing, from a mainly Eurocentric perspective, between 'antiquity', the 'Middle Ages', and an 'early modern age' should be reassessed.² Even though scholarly debates on such questions are still in full swing, there is an academic consensus that human interactions in the so-called 'Middle Ages' were in no way confined to local relations between kings, nobles, clerics, and other parts of primarily European societies. Rather, these groups often engaged in far-reaching and complex networks connecting not only Europe and the medieval Mediterranean, but large parts of Africa, Eurasia, and East Asia as well. These networks can only be understood properly if they are studied from a more flexible, balanced, and non-Eurocentric perspective, taking into account that the partners interacting with European protagonists themselves took part in complex systems of communication and exchange with other parts of the world, in which Europe was merely on the periphery. But what exactly can be considered 'global' in the medieval millennium, and when can it be attested at the earliest? Scholars tend to answer such questions, if at all, rather diversely. While the overall development of this field of research is far too complex to be treated in brief, this review article seeks to present and compare four recent publications that are equally ambitious in their approaches and that received considerable publicity. How do their findings contribute to our perception of the concept of the global Middle Ages?

Johannes Preiser-Kapeller's monograph *Jenseits von Rom und Karl dem Großen* was published in 2018 and has received quite a number of reviews—mostly in German, but also in Italian, English, and other languages.³ During his early career, Preiser-Kapeller focused mainly on

¹ See the call for papers for a workshop headlined 'World History Today – Chimera or Necessity', held in Leipzig on 12–14. Feb. 1998, *H-Soz-Kult*, 7 Jan. 1998, at [<http://www.hsozkult.de/event/id/event-51100>], accessed 13 Nov. 2021.

² Cf. Tillmann Lohse, 'Review Symposium zu J. Preiser-Kapeller, *Jenseits von Rom und Karl dem Großen*', *H-Soz-Kult*, 25 Mar. 2019, at [<http://www.hsozkult.de/text/id/texte-4703>], accessed 13 Nov. 2021.

³ An overview can be found at [<http://www.univie.ac.at/VSIG/site/2018/02/jenseits-von-rom-und-karl-dem-grosen>], accessed 13 Nov. 2021.

Byzantine history, but he has subsequently engaged with wider topics such as environmental and climate history, as well as global history. Pertaining mainly to the latter field, *Jenseits von Rom* concentrates on the so-called 'long late antiquity', a relatively new research concept comprising the period between around 200 and 900 CE. According to the author, these centuries have for a long time been perceived, at least from a Western European or Mediterranean perspective, mainly as a period in which the political and economic networks maintained under Roman rule fell apart almost entirely. In contrast to this view, Preiser-Kapeller aims to switch the centre of attention from Europe to the eastern Mediterranean, East Africa, the Near East, the Indian subcontinent, and Central and East Asia. In these parts of the world, the third to seventh centuries CE also witnessed the collapse of several major empires, but these were replaced by new and sometimes even larger 'imperial formations' (p. 13). In this 'Afro-Eurasian late antiquity' (p. 14), the author discerns global entanglements between political and economic centres and aims to contrast their dynamics with the so-called 'Dark Ages' in Western Europe before the European expansion.

In his short and rather anecdotal introduction, Preiser-Kapeller describes his book as a series of six 'global historical sketches' (p. 10) rather than a study as comprehensive as Michael McCormick's *Origins of the European Economy*, for example.⁴ In contrast to this understatement, these 'sketches' or chapters, roughly equal in length and based on both primary sources and research literature, open up a truly extensive panorama of countless events and developments centred on several core topics. In this context, a detailed index of names and places would have been very helpful, although ten rather plain maps provide some (at least elementary) orientation.⁵

The first chapter focuses on political developments on the macro level, which the author presents as 'rhythms of imperial formations' (p. 13). These rhythms, marked by the formation and decline of larger

⁴ Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, AD 300–900* (Cambridge, 2001).

⁵ This has also been criticized by Arnaldo Marcone, 'Review of: Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, *Jenseits von Rom und Karl dem Großen*', *Sehepunkte*, 19/2 (2019), 15 Feb. 2019, at [<http://www.sehepunkte.de/2019/02/32061.html>], accessed 13 Nov. 2021.

political entities, are traced in more or less chronological order from around 500 BCE to 900 CE. Although the sheer quantity of developments is necessarily reduced to major outlines, a number of subheadings serve as a guide through the wider trends discerned by the author, such as 'the crisis of the "old" empires' (p. 18), the rise of 'new superpowers' (p. 38), and the 'decay' of empires in the ninth century (p. 57). The second chapter delves into the complex relations between the different political entities, tracing diplomatic interactions and rivalries. Another important topic is the question of mobility and competition between elites within a single political entity, which the author presents via the examples of China, the early Islamic Caliphate, and the South Caucasus. In the third chapter, Preiser-Kapeller studies processes of exchange within the religious sphere, focusing on the spread of Buddhism, the persistence and expansion of Christianity, and their respective repercussions on political developments.

The fourth chapter then leaves the political-religious elites to examine social groups on lower levels, tracing mobility and exchange among merchants, artists, artisans, enslaved people, and others. Chapter five goes even further by focusing on the 'mobility' of animals and plants, who were involuntary participants in commercial and diplomatic exchange between different world regions and cultures. The ecological consequences of these man-made changes connect this chapter to the last thematic section, which deals with the impact of climatic conditions on political and socio-economic developments.

In a short conclusion, Preiser-Kapeller summarizes the main points of his study: the phenomenon of global entanglement in the 'long late antiquity' can be perceived as overlapping and interdependent networks 'between places, persons, and objects' (p. 251). These networks survived the disintegration of the Western Roman Empire in the fifth century and became more complex over time. In other world regions too, empires collapsed. However, these were replaced by even bigger formations such as the Islamic Caliphate in the west and the Tang Empire in the east, to name but two. Although these new powers were by no means as interdependent as the parts of the former Roman Empire, they were connected through overlapping and complex networks of which the post-Roman west was a part as well. Yet rulers like Charlemagne or the popes in Rome who claimed control

over this post-Roman west stood not at the centre of a much larger Afro-Eurasian system, but merely at its periphery – a situation which persisted until the Industrial Revolution around 1800.⁶

Although some of the countless processes and events touched upon may have deserved a more detailed and critical analysis based on the primary sources available, *Jenseits von Rom* is a remarkable synthesis which contributes to several historiographical trends because it picks up the concept of the ‘long late antiquity’ and extends it impressively to an Afro-Eurasian context, including findings from the natural sciences as well.⁷ This broad scope almost necessarily entails complex problems, like the question of the extent to which we can really apply a period like the ‘long late antiquity’ to East and South-East Asia,⁸ or whether imperial power was as crucial to the processes of entanglement as suggested.⁹ In other responses to Preiser-Kapeller’s conclusions, it has furthermore been argued that the post-Roman west might not have been as peripheral as the author suggests to his Afro-Eurasian system, which he studies from a rather eastern-oriented perspective.¹⁰ Nevertheless, Preiser-Kapeller’s study is worth reading, not only because of its impressive scope and approach, but also due to its style, through which the author makes his findings accessible to academics, students, and enthusiasts alike.

Another book not unlike Preiser-Kapeller’s has recently been published by the American scholar Valerie Hansen. Originally a sinologist, Hansen has also worked on the history of the Silk Road and

⁶ On the concept of the so-called ‘Great Divergence’, cf. e.g. Leonid Grinin and Andrey Korotayev, *Great Divergence and Great Convergence: A Global Perspective* (Cham, 2015).

⁷ Cf. the reviews by Mischa Meier, *Historische Zeitschrift*, 309/2 (2019), 470–2; by Wolfram Drews, *Das Mittelalter*, 25/2 (2020), 450–2; and by Lutz Berger in the aforementioned Review Symposium on *H-Soz-Kult*, 3 Apr. 2019, at [<http://www.hsozkult.de/publicationreview/id/reb-27510>], accessed 13 Nov. 2021.

⁸ This question has already been addressed in the negative critique by Marcus Bingenheimer in the Review Symposium on *H-Soz-Kult*, 4 Apr. 2019, at [<http://www.hsozkult.de/publicationreview/id/reb-27512>], accessed 13 Nov. 2021.

⁹ This has been pointed out in the review by Philipp Winterhager, *English Historical Review*, 134 (2019), 943–5.

¹⁰ Stefan Esders in the Review Symposium on *H-Soz-Kult*, 5 Apr. 2019, at [<http://www.hsozkult.de/publicationreview/id/reb-27511>], accessed 13 Nov. 2021.

of globalization. Her study *The Year 1000: When Explorers Connected the World—and Globalization Began* (translated into German as *Das Jahr 1000: Als die Globalisierung begann*) has likewise received mixed reviews. She takes a different approach to Preiser-Kapeller, one that is narrower in time but wider in space. Her study aims to demonstrate that the year 1000 (or rather the centuries around it) marked the beginning of globalization, originating not in Europe, but in the Americas, Africa, and Asia, which in that period began to be connected by a global system of 'pathways'.

After a prologue containing several short anecdotes that illustrate the main concerns of the book, the reader is presented with eight chapters of more or less equal length. The first of these serves as a more comprehensive introduction, providing an overview of the world in (or rather, around) the year 1000 and touching on many of the topics addressed in more detail later on. After that, Hansen delves into specific themes. In chapter two, she traces the Viking expeditions into the North Atlantic as well as their settlements in Newfoundland and possibly New England, both of which are generally dated to the eleventh century. The third chapter follows up by discussing the possibility of further Viking voyages as far south as Chichén Itzá in modern-day Mexico, essentially relying on Mayan wall paintings depicting fair-haired captives and ships resembling Viking traditions.

In the fourth chapter, Hansen leaves the Americas for North-Eastern Europe, where the empire of the Kievan Rus reached its greatest extent in the mid eleventh century and served as an intermediary between Byzantium, Central Asia, and Northern Europe. Hansen focuses mainly on religion and the economy, citing the introduction of Orthodox Christianity and of silver coinage as her main examples. Chapter five takes the reader south to the Near East and North Africa. Here too, Hansen focuses mainly on economic aspects, highlighting the significance of these regions in supplying large parts of the 'Old World' with enslaved people and gold.

In the next section, Hansen gradually moves her perspective towards the east. Chapter six deals with North and Central Asia, which are treated from different angles. Besides the importance of trade networks and their dependence on political conditions, the author stresses the significance of the religious sphere, with Buddhism and Islam

eventually dividing Central Asia into two parts. Chapter seven takes a two-pronged approach by concentrating first on the human settlement of Oceania and then on South Asia, where the main developments are once again examined from economic, religious, and political perspectives. The last chapter takes Hansen to her main field of research: thanks to her expertise in Chinese history, she is able to present this 'most globalized place in the world' (p. 261) in much more detail, drawing on a wide range of sources and broadening the chronological and thematic scope considerably. In place of a summary, Hansen concludes her book with an epilogue consisting mainly of further loosely connected anecdotes, from which she draws rather vague generalizations on alleged parallels between the processes of globalization observed in her book and the challenges of the modern world.

All in all, Hansen's study may be criticized on similar grounds to Preiser-Kapeller's. Due to her immense geographical and thematic scope, it is almost inevitable that she treats most topics in only a cursory manner, even though the number of maps and the decent index are certainly helpful for the reader. Especially when delving into topics outside her main research areas, Hansen refrains from drawing on primary sources and instead chooses to rely almost entirely on secondary literature. While this is completely understandable, it cannot be denied that certain phenomena, especially in the eventful history of the Near East and South Asia, are simply too complex to be dealt with in a few pages and without reference to at least the main scholarly debates. In a number of cases, it is obvious that Hansen drew her information from a handful of studies or sometimes just one work, some of which have been superseded by more recent contributions. In addition, many earlier works on the global Middle Ages remain virtually unmentioned. Finally, the book lacks a comprehensive bibliography, and readers have to rely instead on the information provided in the (deliberately) sparse footnotes, along with a selection of titles for further reading.

Some reviewers have also rightly questioned whether the brief Viking expeditions to the Americas can be considered to have made as much of a contribution to medieval globalization as the highly complex and resilient political, religious, diplomatic, and economic networks of the Eurasian continent, which were by no means confined to the decades around the year 1000, but predated this artificial turning

point by several centuries. Taking this into account, it is questionable whether globalization really began with the second millennium CE.¹¹ However, apart from these concerns, which might be largely confined to academic circles, *The Year 1000 / Das Jahr 1000* must be praised for opening up an immense panorama of fascinating phenomena to interested readers, who will certainly profit from the author's clear and vivid style of writing.

Besides these and other monographs, collaborative projects have also studied the global Middle Ages. Building on the research network 'Defining the Global Middle Ages' (Universities of Oxford, Birmingham, and Newcastle, 2012–15), in 2018 British scholars Catherine Holmes and Naomi Standen published a supplement to the journal *Past & Present* entitled *The Global Middle Ages*, in which they gathered contributions by historians and archaeologists specializing in the history of Africa, the Americas, and Eurasia. In contrast to the monographs by Preiser-Kapeller and Hansen, this collection takes a sophisticated approach aimed at academic readers rather than the general public, as the editors' introduction makes clear. Likewise convinced that the origins of globalization preceded the age of European voyages of discovery, the volume's contributors focus on aspects of 'behaviour and interaction on a global scale in the millennium before 1500' (p. 1). However, they explicitly refrain from establishing artificial analogies and links between the medieval period and the globalization processes of other centuries. Instead, the global Middle Ages are presented as a 'a period of dynamic change and experiment when no single part of the world achieved hegemonic status' (p. 2), and its 'distinctive characteristics' (p. 3) are brought to the fore.

Focusing on a broad variety of examples from all over the world, the volume's ten articles address general phenomena which are more or less central to human interactions. The contribution by Mark Whittow presents possible explanations for the ratio of surviving written to non-written sources. Drawing on numerous examples from the Americas, Africa, and East Asia, he stresses that scholars must always bear in mind that their perception of the past is heavily influenced not only

¹¹ Similar criticism has been made in the reviews by Tilman Frasch, *International Quarterly for Asian Studies*, 51/3–4 (2020), 216–18; Jonathan Good, *Arthuriana*, 30/4 (2020), 70–2; and Thomas Ertl, *Historische Zeitschrift*, 313/2 (2021), 480–1.

by the quantity, but also by the types of available source material. Caroline Dodds Pennock and Amanda Power study cosmologies as manifestations of 'global' thinking, focusing mainly on Aztec culture, but taking comparable examples from other parts of the world into account as well. Cosmologies serve as a means for certain peoples or communities to make sense of their existence and its alleged purpose in time and space, and this is as true of the Middle Ages as it is of all periods of human history.

The third essay, by Jonathan Shepard, deals with networks as a basic category through which to perceive multilateral relations. Presenting silk roads overland and via sea as concrete examples of commercial networks, he concludes that these networks were not confined to certain groups, but in fact had an impact on large parts of the societies they connected. A crucial factor in analysing networks is the question of mobility, which is examined by Naomi Standen and Monica White. Focusing mostly on examples from West, Central, and East Asia, they present mobility as a structural phenomenon affecting not only merchants and pilgrims, but also the everyday life of major parts of society. The contribution by Ian Forrest and Anne Haour on the factor of trust addresses another important aspect of human relations, especially between people separated by long distances. By comparing examples from North and West Africa with ones drawn from the Near East and Europe, they present trust as a central aspect of both short- and long-distance relationships.

Simon Yarrow's article then opens up another thematic field by probing two prospects for the global Middle Ages: the loosening of the conceptual boundaries assigned to the Middle Ages by modern historiography, and the reframing of this period as a global phenomenon. In this context, Yarrow understands 'medieval globality' as 'the unfolding of collective imaginaries in tension with diffuse local and entangled modes of evaluative agency' (p. 214). The next contribution, by Conrad Leyser, Naomi Standen, and Stephanie Wynne-Jones, adopts a more practical approach by examining different settlement patterns and their contemporary perception in a comparative perspective spanning Africa, Europe, and East Asia. Next, Hilde De Weerdt, Catherine Holmes, and John Watts turn the volume's focus back to concrete human interactions. Focusing on three case studies from Song China, fifteenth-century

France, and Byzantium, they examine practices of political mediation and communication which ‘connected the actions, interests and expectations of individuals and communities in the localities to the creation, maintenance and critique of high public power’ (p. 288).

The last two contributions take up broader approaches again: Glen Dudbridge focuses on the contested paradigm of the world system, which scholars have perceived either as a single system, whether long gone or constantly evolving, or as several successive systems. Dudbridge applies this approach to the period from 600 to 900 CE, presenting the ‘East Asian circuit’ and the ‘Islamic ecumene’ as two examples whose comparison can yield new impulses. Instead of a formal conclusion, the final contribution by Alan Strathern provides a stimulating outlook on future research by linking the concept of the global Middle Ages with the adjacent and already well-established idea of a global early modernity. He emphasizes the main conceptual points of tension and the similarities between these paradigms, concluding that scholars of both periods have to be aware of each other’s findings, not least because they are connected through the much older concept of ‘pre-modernity’ (p. 344).

The Global Middle Ages is a very important contribution to scholarly debate. The greatest advantage of the volume’s methodological approach is that its contributors abstain from identifying a distinct world region or a specific period within the Middle Ages as a prime example of globalization. Rather, the phenomenological orientation of the individual chapters permits a technical but nevertheless broad and colourful view of an interconnected world in the medieval millennium and beyond. All of the contributions, many of them written jointly by various specialists, analyse their respective phenomena against an immense background of examples spanning different continents and periods, making them very valuable studies in their own right, and even more so in the context of the whole volume. Although a number of important regions like India, Japan, and the Pacific islands are rather under-represented, the extensive bibliography and detailed index bear witness to the volume’s broad perspective.¹²

¹² Cf. also the reviews by Robert Ian Moore, *Journal of Medieval Worlds*, 2/1–2 (2020), 35–9; and by Ruth Mostern, *Studies in Late Antiquity*, 3/4 (2019), 640–3.

The last book to be reviewed is another edited volume, but one that takes a very different approach to *The Global Middle Ages*. In *Italien als Vorbild?*, which is based on an eponymous conference held in 2018, Jörg Oberste and Susanne Ehrich bring together ten contributions by international scholars, all focusing on economic and cultural interdependencies between European metropolises during the period between 1300 and 1600, which the editors consider to be ‘the eve of the first globalization’ (p. 10). The famous expeditions of Christopher Columbus, Vasco da Gama, and Ferdinand Magellan, labelled here the ‘founding dates of a European-dominated global economy’ (p. 10), had been based on the immense economic power, geographical knowledge, and nautical expertise of Italian cities and trading companies. Furthermore, Italy had been an influential ‘cultural model’ (p. 11) for medieval and early modern Europe. Providing a comparative context for this Italian role model, some of the volume’s contributions focus on other political and economic capitals of Europe, which were connected to Italy through both competition and lively exchange on many levels.

After the editors’ introduction, which underlines the key points of the volume’s conceptual approach and highlights the main concerns of each chapter, the reader is presented with the first case study. Harriet Rudolph examines diplomatic practice in Venice in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Focusing not only on the relevant institutions, but also on knowledge management and ‘guiding principles’ (p. 25) as important factors in diplomatic relations, she concludes with a significant reassessment of the ‘myth’ of Venetian diplomacy (p. 21). Another view on La Serenissima is provided by Nicolai Kölmel, who deals with the perception of the city as a metropolis between around 1480 and 1560. Taking into account both written sources and paintings, he traces how this view changed over time. He also includes Amsterdam as a comparative example, for which Italian cities can be considered role models only to a certain extent. Rembert Eufe then offers a third perspective on Venetian history by examining the multi-lingual administration in Crete during the five centuries of Venetian rule. Having initially been imported from the Republic, administrative practices on the island always remained open to new impulses from the Italian mainland, but also adapted to specific local requirements.

Christoph Dartmann takes us to another important maritime republic. Taking Venice as a 'paradigmatic example' (p. 89), he focuses on late medieval Genoa as a 'Mediterranean port metropolis' (p. 91) as well as a 'northern Italian regional power' (p. 96). He concludes by addressing the main reasons for Genoa's decline in importance at the end of the Middle Ages. The following contribution by Albert Göschl takes a different approach by comparing literary works by the Florentines Filarete (c.1400–69) and Anton Francesco Doni (1513–74). These authors wrote about imagined 'ideal metropolises', to which they assigned both general and specific characteristics. Martin Raspe then presents a contribution that is only very loosely connected to the issue of globalization: he discusses the question of whether Farfa Abbey near Rome was the first medieval *Klosterhof* (a farm operated by a monastery) and thus a possible role model for later foundations.

In the next chapter, the reader's attention is once again turned towards Florence—or more specifically, the commune's merchant elite. Francesco Guidi-Bruscoli traces the diverse activities and social cohesion of this group in the great late medieval trade centres of Bruges, London, Seville, and Lisbon. Although the Florentines seem to have lacked a significant 'corporate spirit' (p. 142), their successful collaboration in financing large-scale projects can be demonstrated in various examples.

The following two essays provide the counter-examples to the Italian cities that I mentioned above. Ulf Christian Ewert focuses on the paradigm of path dependency, denoting the inability of economic systems to change their basic organizational or institutional elements. He studies this concept via the example of trading practices in the North and Baltic Sea area (the *Hanseeraum*) and, in a second step, compares his findings with the quite different situation in the more dynamic Mediterranean region. The second comparative case study by Bart Lambert deals with Bruges, which was a thriving trade centre before losing its hegemony to Antwerp in the course of the sixteenth century. By tracing this development, Lambert discerns a process of 'gradual decline' in the West Flemish city rather than a 'steep fall' (p. 176).

Much like *The Global Middle Ages*, the editors of *Italien als Vorbild* refrain from closing their volume with a formal conclusion. Instead, the

last chapter by Dennis O. Flynn opens up a much wider geographical perspective. He traces the silver trade between Europe and China, which underwent radical changes in the fifteenth century due to the depletion of Chinese silver mines. European markets quickly adapted to the new situation, in part by tapping recently discovered resources in Central and South America, while Venice relied heavily on its trade relations with the Islamic world. Nevertheless, the author denies that the flow of goods along the 'Africa-Europe-Asia corridor' (p. 192) was the starting point for the globalization of economic systems. In his view, the beginning of such processes can only be discerned towards the end of the sixteenth century at the earliest, when the three main parts of the world (the Pacific, the Americas, and Eurasia and Africa) gradually became more and more connected (pp. 192-3).

After working through the contributions of *Italien als Vorbild?*, which are rounded off not by a bibliography, but at least by a decent index (pp. 198-204), the reader might be left in some perplexity. Although each article is valuable on its own, it is difficult to see how they are connected to each other, or to the paradigm of 'globalization'. While the case studies on Venice, Genoa, and Florence give many insights into the far-flung and innovative Italian trade networks across the Mediterranean, the selection of comparative examples outside Italy seems more arbitrary than representative. Case studies from the Iberian Peninsula, North Africa, or Eurasia would have contributed substantially to a broader picture. Similarly, some contributions, such as those on Farfa Abbey and the 'ideal metropolises' (which are nevertheless excellent studies in their own right), seem only loosely connected to the volume's central approach. Although many articles touch upon developments beyond the Mediterranean at least in passing, the final chapter by Denis O. Flynn is the only contribution with a truly 'globalized' scope, as promised by the volume's title. Nevertheless, the contributors have succeeded in presenting the Italian metropolises as thriving and innovative powers within the complex trade networks connecting Europe and the Mediterranean at the transition between the medieval and early modern periods.

Comparing all four publications examined in this article is not an easy task. First and foremost, they are all worth reading, not least because each of them opens up a broad panorama featuring a plethora

of developments and processes connecting large parts of the world. Whether these phenomena are studied via relevant secondary literature or, even more laudably, via primary sources, gathering them into a single publication can be considered a remarkable achievement. This holds especially true for the monographs by Johannes Preiser-Kapeller and Valerie Hansen, who processed their immense corpora of material on their own, while the volumes edited by Catherine Holmes and Naomi Standen and by Jörg Oberste and Susanne Ehrich bring together the collaborative efforts of experts specializing in different disciplines. What is more, the studies differ in respect to their target audiences. While the two monographs seem to be aimed at a broad audience of scholars and interested lay readers alike, and thus adopt a somewhat less complicated approach in terms of both writing style and the discussion of scholarly debates (see for example Hansen, p. 9), the two edited volumes gather contributions on specialist issues and confine themselves to academic discourse in their respective fields. These structural differences are also reflected in the media response to each publication.

Perhaps the biggest contrasts can be discerned in the approaches and perspectives brought to bear on the global Middle Ages. Preiser-Kapeller locates important impulses for globalization processes within the 'long late antiquity', focusing mainly on Africa and Eurasia and placing European actors merely at the periphery of events. In contrast, Hansen takes a geographically much wider but chronologically narrower point of view by concentrating more or less on the turn of the first millennium. Perhaps the broadest perspective, both geographically and chronologically, is adopted by the different articles in *The Global Middle Ages* edited by Holmes and Standen, whose theoretically grounded approaches make significant contributions to scholarly debate without labelling particular periods or world regions as especially important. In comparison to these three volumes, the conference proceedings published by Oberste and Ehrich lag behind to some extent. In a rather Eurocentric perspective, the contributions gathered in *Italien als Vorbild?* focus on late medieval Italy. Although at least some of the essays endeavour to broaden the geographical scope, one cannot escape the impression that 'globalization' is not the editors' main concern, but that they use it as a buzzword and consider

it to be a phenomenon more or less exclusively associated with the early modern age and later periods.

Nevertheless, it would be short-sighted to favour any one publication over the others. Each of the approaches taken in these books has its strengths and weaknesses, as well as a certain degree of justification without any claim to universal validity. However, approaches focusing more or less on a single world region (Oberste and Ehrich) or on artificial turning points (Hansen) have the potential to overestimate or marginalize certain developments and influential factors and thus distort the perspective. In contrast, theory-based approaches that are broad in geographical and chronological scope, such as those applied by Holmes and Standen in *The Global Middle Ages*, may prove more stimulating to scholarly debate and establish connections with different academic disciplines. Still, this debate should not remain confined exclusively to academic circles, but should be open to the general public as well. To this end, more accessible yet sophisticated publications like those by Preiser-Kapeller and Hansen play an important role too. In that sense, all of the publications reviewed here are valuable contributions to the ongoing debate on 'globalization' in the Middle Ages and beyond.

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TRACING THE HISTORY OF FEMINISMS: METHODS, MEANINGS, AND QUESTIONS

JANE FREELAND

SARAH COLVIN and KATHARINA KARCHER (eds.), *Women, Global Protest Movements, and Political Agency: Rethinking the Legacy of 1968*, Routledge Studies in Gender and Global Politics (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), 206 pp. ISBN 978 0 815 38472 4 (hardback), £96.00; ISBN 978 0 367 47182 8 (paperback), £29.59

ZSÓFIA LÓRÁND, *The Feminist Challenge to the Socialist State in Yugoslavia*, *Genders and Sexualities in History* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018) xxii + 270 pp. ISBN 978 3 319 78222 5. £79.99 (hardback); ISBN 978 3 030 08647 3 (paperback), £54.99

TIFFANY N. FLORVIL, *Mobilizing Black Germany: Afro-German Women and the Making of a Transnational Movement*, *Black Internationalism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2020), 308 pp. ISBN 978 0 252 04351 2 (hardback), \$US 110.00; ISBN 978 0 252 08541 3 (paperback), \$26.95

LUCY DELAP, *Feminisms: A Global History* (London: Pelican Books, 2020), 416 pp. ISBN 978 0 241 39814 2 (hardback), £20.00; ISBN 978 0 141 98598 5 (paperback), £10.99

The past twenty years have seen the growth of self-described ‘histories of feminism’. An offshoot of women’s and gender history, the history of feminism explores the diverse meanings and practices of activism against gender injustice. It looks at how women—and sometimes men—have advocated for equal rights, and how issues of equality have been understood and addressed over time. It examines the relationships between activists, the state, and society, and has revealed the ways in which feminism, and the women’s movement more generally, has acted as a source of hope for change as well as division and alienation. In doing so, the history of feminism has drawn attention to the intersections of marginalization, the interconnectedness of social movements, and the ways in which theory has been put into practice.

The history of feminism has proven to be an incredibly dynamic field of study. It is strongly interdisciplinary and theoretically

engaged, and although often informed by methodologies drawn from social and cultural history, it is intensely political. Indeed, by examining feminism and feminist claims, historians are necessarily challenging what is considered 'political' and what political history is. Karen Offen has succinctly captured this:

the history of feminism is a gendered narrative of political history that goes well beyond the adding and stirring in of an occasional queen, a comment on 'new woman' fashion, or a photograph of a demonstration for the right to vote. It necessarily expands the very meaning of 'political' and of what constitutes 'politics'.¹

Taking feminism and gender inequality seriously, then, requires scholars to rethink the historical discipline. Whether it is by questioning historical periodizations, the significance of national boundaries, or even the meaning of 'political', the history of feminism necessarily expands and challenges historical categories.

But there are some fundamental issues facing historians of feminism. Most basically, what is feminism? At first glance, this may seem self-evident, but it soon proves illusory. The meaning of feminism has evolved over time; what was feminist in the eighteenth century may not register as such today, and vice versa. Moreover, what is 'feminist' in one geographical context may not be considered as such in a different country, region, or even locality. It is more accurate to speak of the history of feminisms, rather than to maintain the appearance of a unitary feminist practice over time and space.

We might also ask what makes someone a feminist. Is it enough to campaign for women's rights, or does there have to be a positive identification with the label? Much like the definition of feminism, the label 'feminist' assumes an imagined unity or sisterhood between women. Yet women's inequality is entangled with other forms of oppression and structures of power, including colonialism, capitalism,

¹ Karen Offen, 'The History of Feminism is Political History', *Perspectives on History*, 1 May 2011, at [<https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/may-2011/the-history-of-feminism-is-political-history>], accessed 11 Dec. 2021.

racism, homophobia, and ableism.² As postcolonial and Black feminist scholars have shown, much of feminist thought and practice has been built on supposedly universal emancipatory politics and the experiences of White, middle-class, Western women, and pressed into the service of colonial and racialized ‘civilizing’ missions. Indeed, feminism has long been deeply implicated in maintaining hegemonic power structures that have marginalized, divided, violated, and even killed. This has not only limited the power of global sisterhood but, as Lucy Delap has argued in *Feminisims*, has meant that while for some ‘feminism has proved a transformative, explosive, life changing way of seeing the world. For others, it has elicited responses of visceral repudiation, laughter, ambivalence and irony’ (pp. 8–9).

Part of the historian’s task, then, is to unpack the manifold meanings of feminisms and women’s emancipation across time and space, while also attending to the privileges, divisions, and marginalization on which feminism has been built and perpetuated. But precisely how to do this is a key challenge for the historian of feminism. Although feminisms emerged out of and in response to local and national contexts, thanks to the growth of communications technologies across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, even these local movements spoke to global and transnational developments. This task is all the more important given the ways in which older histories of feminism have centred European and North American developments at the expense of histories of feminisms from the Global South and from the geographical and social margins of European and North American society. Situating national and local histories within a global and transnational setting goes some way towards addressing these imbalances. But how exactly do we knit together local specificities in a global context, especially when the histories of women – in particular Women of Colour, working-class women, women with disabilities, lesbians, and women from colonized countries – are often not found within state or even activist archives?

This article reviews four recent contributions to the history of feminisms. The books featured examine the history of feminism from

² Kimberle Crenshaw, ‘Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color’, *Stanford Law Review*, 43/6 (1991), 1241–99.

the eighteenth century to the present, although there is a considerable emphasis on women's activism in the period from the late 1960s to the 1990s (often referred to as the 'second wave'). Each book in its own way responds to the conceptual and methodological questions at the heart of the history of feminism, and offers readers new approaches and questions in order to overcome these issues.

The volume *Women, Global Protest Movements, and Political Agency*, edited by Sarah Colvin and Katharina Karcher, centres on the watershed year of 1968. Published for the fiftieth anniversary of that revolutionary year, the book is one of a pair of volumes which re-examine the legacies and histories of 1968 through the lens of gender. The first volume—reviewed here—centres on the themes of gender and cultural memory, and the intersection of gender and violence. The second volume focuses exclusively on violence, in particular the relationship between violence and ideas of liberation and emancipation that proliferated among leftist and revolutionary protest movements in the late 1960s and 1970s. With diverse interdisciplinary approaches and a wide selection of case studies, the two volumes make a significant historical and historiographical intervention into the history of 1968.

While not centrally focused on feminism, the first volume's ten chapters broadly explore the relationships between 1968, women's activism, and the contestation of gender roles in different geographical and historical contexts. In doing so, they query the significance of the global protest movements that emerged in the late 1960s for women's rights discourses and practices. Although often described as a 'failure', 1968 has been interpreted by historians as a key turning point for liberal social and cultural change. In particular, the emergence of social movements—for example, feminism, environmentalism, gay rights—have all been linked to the transformations brought about by 1968 and are frequently presented as the productive legacy of an otherwise failed revolution.

But as this volume reveals, this is a narrative in need of revision. Across the book's various contributions, the male-dominated history of 1968 is thoroughly challenged, with several chapters highlighting the active roles women played throughout 1968 as they took part in even the most militant and violent of actions. It further questions the

very meaning of 1968 for women: not only were the transformations of gender roles often uneven or short-lived, but the volume also asks how important 1968 was for the 'emergence' of the global women's movements in the 1970s. In this way, by analysing the intersection of gender and late 1960s protest movements, the book decentres 1968 as a marker of (Western) liberal transformation, and instead explores the limits and meanings of the change it produced. As Colvin and Karcher state, 'rather than portraying the decades since 1968 as a global history of progress towards gender equality, the essays collected here consciously draw a complex, dynamic, and, at least in part, contradictory picture of women's involvement in transnational protest movements' (p. 11).

Feminism and women's movements are naturally key parts of this history of gender equality and social protest. Alongside the book's findings on gender and 1968, it also reveals several core issues facing historians of feminism. The chapters by Kristina Schulz, Andrea Hajek, Chris Reynolds, Christina Gerhardt, Zsófia Lóránd, and Clare Bielby address the history of feminism and women's activism most directly. The contributions by Schulz, Hajek, and Reynolds in particular raise important questions about the meaning of 1968 for the history (and historiography) of feminisms. This is especially clear in the chapter by Schulz, who examines the 'symbolic significance of "1968"' to the histories of women's movements in West Germany and France (p. 19). In West Germany, for example, Schulz juxtaposes two narratives: one that places the emergence of the new women's movement in 1971 as a result of the campaign to decriminalize abortion, and another that places the birth of the movement in 1968. A similar division is also to be found in the French case, where one narrative emphasizes the significance of 1968 and the other downplays its importance. In both the French and West German cases, Schulz connects these competing trajectories to key figures within feminism, namely Antoinette Fouque and Christine Delphy in France, and Alice Schwarzer and Helke Sander in West Germany.

As Schulz shows, these different histories are not mere curiosities. Instead, she argues that the debate over 1968 forms 'part of a symbolic struggle around the legitimization, aims, and means of a social movement, and thus about feminism itself' (p. 29). In other words, how

an actor views 1968 and its relationship to the women's movement shapes how they understand the very purpose and task of feminism. A similar argument is made by both Reynolds and Hajek, who ask whether 1968 was really so important after all. While Reynolds argues that 1968 provided a 'negative catalyst' for feminism in Northern Ireland, as women coalesced against the gendered hierarchies of the 1968 movement, Hajek poses a much more fundamental question about tracing the history of feminism. Indeed, for Hajek, centring 1968 as a key moment in the development of feminism means that women's activism is seen only as 'something that flowed out of the 1968 movement, rather than as a phenomenon in and of itself' (p. 33). Adopting this approach, Hajek examines the history of Italian feminism, and argues that the emergence of the women's movement in the late 1960s was largely the result of responses to earlier forms of organizing and the reluctance of these pre-existing women's associations to take issues of reproduction, sexuality, and gender oppression seriously.

Together, these chapters reveal how the history of feminism has been shaped by historicization efforts. Whether we understand 1968 as a key moment for women's rights or not, mapping a trajectory and a history for feminism is also an act of agenda-setting that frames understandings of what feminism is and how it should be practised. As Schulz's chapter suggests, this is something feminists have invested in to cement their vision of the struggle for women's rights.³ Exploring these historicization processes, then, is not only integral to understanding the different meanings and practices of feminism but, as Hajek shows, is also a part of questioning the centres and peripheries of the histories we tell.

The issue of centre and periphery – in the geographical sense – is a core theme throughout *Women, Global Protest Movements, and Political Agency*, with several chapters arguing for a global approach to 1968 that shifts attention away from (Western) European and North American experiences. While Reynolds argues for the inclusion of Northern Ireland in the history of 1968 (a country whose involvement is often overshadowed by the 'Troubles' of the 1970s), Jennifer Philippa

³ See also Lisa Tetrault, *The Myth of Seneca Falls: Memory and the Women's Suffrage Movement, 1848–1898* (Chapel Hill, 2014).

Eggert examines the situation in Lebanon, and Claudia Derichs explores Japan and South-East Asia. These chapters reveal a complex picture of feminism and women's activism across borders, one that speaks both to national contexts and global discussions of feminism and women's rights.

Zsófia Lóránd's chapter, and her monograph *The Feminist Challenge to the Socialist State in Yugoslavia*, pick up this issue as she traces the development of 'new Yugoslav feminism' from the late 1960s to 1990. Drawing on methods from intellectual history, alongside twenty oral history interviews together with archival and media sources, Lóránd presents a detailed history of the emergence and growth of feminism in Yugoslavia. In a field that is often overshadowed by the legacies and work of 'Western' feminism and Cold War binaries, Lóránd's study provides an important and welcome intervention. Her book reveals the unique expression of feminism in Yugoslavia, and in doing so helps to nuance the history of both life under state socialism and feminism itself.

In many ways, the story of new Yugoslav feminism will be familiar to readers. Disappointed at the failure of late 1960s activism to take women's voices seriously and frustrated at the inequalities they faced in daily life, women in Yugoslavia began talking. In cafés, pubs, and around kitchen tables, women in Belgrade, Ljubljana, and Zagreb read and discussed feminist texts. With time they formed groups at universities, invited speakers, developed publications, and organized major events. As Lóránd puts it, their work transitioned from grass-roots 'academic work, the arts and literature' to activism with a mass audience (p. 2). What makes this story unique, however, is the socialist context, and the way it shaped the practice and politics of feminism in Yugoslavia, and the relationship between feminists, the state, and the broader dissident movement.

In Yugoslavia, as in many socialist states, men and women were officially equal. The socialist regime encouraged women to obtain an education and pursue a career alongside motherhood. In return, women were provided with services that enabled them to combine motherhood with paid employment, and had access to abortion. The centrality of equality to socialist state-making meant that feminism was not only deemed unnecessary, as men and women were already

equal, but was considered a Western, bourgeois ideology. Ironically, it was these overstated claims of equality that led women in Yugoslavia to feminism. As Lóránd writes, 'women were puzzled by the contradiction between the promise of the regime and their own experience of their "emancipation"' (p. 3).

It was this realization that drove a small number of 'intellectual women' in the late 1960s and early 1970s to turn to feminism. Based primarily in Zagreb and Belgrade (and later Ljubljana), it was at the universities that feminism first emerged within the student population. Universities, student centres, and student associations proved to be key sites for the early formation of feminism in Yugoslavia. They provided not only for the practical needs of the growing movement—physical spaces for students and professors to meet, and access to resources—but also the intellectual space for the development of a uniquely Yugoslav feminism. From within the university young feminists had access to foreign literature and publishing channels, and they could hold guest lectures and conferences, all of which enabled them to develop their own politics.

This is one of the most important interventions made in the book: Lóránd shows how the new Yugoslav feminists developed their own feminism. This was no simple transposition of a 'Western' feminist movement. Although many of the feminists she studies had connections with Western Europe and read key feminist texts by the likes of Betty Friedan and Germaine Greer, they combined this with Marxist thought, attention to the lives and activism of women in Latin America and Asia, and even with Indian philosophy. This intellectual engagement was then used by the women to query their own lives under socialism, even leading them to reconceptualize central feminist (and socialist) terms, such as 'consciousness, women's universal experience, patriarchy, family, work' (pp. 30–1).

What also made new Yugoslav feminism unique was its relationship to dissidence and the Yugoslav state. In this, Lóránd moves the scholarship on the Communist bloc away from a binary of the state against the people. New Yugoslav feminists both criticized the state's exaggerated claims of women's equality and attempted to speak to the regime and engage it in their critique. In making this argument, Lóránd shows that dissidence in Yugoslavia—especially when it came to

feminism—had multiple meanings and expressions. She also suggests that the closeness of feminists to the regime, alongside the centrality of women's equality to state socialism, is one of the reasons why liberal and national dissident groups marginalized feminists during the transition from socialism. Although the book ends in 1990, this points to the importance of feminist legacies to the post-socialist transition in Yugoslavia and the former Communist bloc more broadly.

The Feminist Challenge to the Socialist State in Yugoslavia most fundamentally reveals how the history of feminisms requires a 'reconsideration of our categories of post-WWII history' (p. 228). Dissidence, 'Western', 'Eastern', and even feminist are all complicated by paying attention to the trajectory of Yugoslav feminism. Despite studying a very different social and historical context, Tiffany N. Florvil's *Mobilizing Black Germany* similarly shows how centring Black women's activism challenges notions of race, the nation, and belonging in late twentieth-century Germany. Indeed, the two books show remarkable similarities: both highlight the importance of knowledge transfer, mobility, and higher education to the evolution of social movements, and both reveal the importance of language production, naming, and agency to understanding women's activism.

But whereas Lóránd focuses on feminism and the Yugoslav women's movement, Florvil examines Black German women's involvement in the formation and development of the modern Black German movement. As Florvil shows, women like May Ayim and Katharina Oguntoye were pivotal in shaping the contours of the movement. Working with other Black German women and men, and often in collaboration with People of Colour and other Black communities in Germany and Europe, they participated in a transnational feminist diasporic movement. In the process of tracing this movement, Florvil's book—perhaps more than any of the others reviewed here—shows the expansiveness of feminism. She moves the study beyond issues typically associated with women's rights, such as violence, abortion, and sexuality, and instead reveals how straight and lesbian Black German women worked together to forge a movement that spanned Germany, Europe, and the Atlantic. They worked with other racialized communities, multicultural feminist groups, and human rights organizations. And most importantly, they challenged both racial and

gender inequalities and contested their erasure from the nation, and in doing so, broadened notions of belonging and Germanness.

In making this argument, Florvil makes two key interventions. First, she shows the importance of race and Women of Colour for the post-war development of Germany. Although race has featured as a central element in the history of Germany before 1945, in the study of the post-war era it has remained on the periphery of the scholarship.⁴ This is similarly the case in the study of feminism in German history, which has centred on the activism of the predominantly White 'new women's movement' of the early 1970s. Indeed, some of the activists Florvil studies were already active in the new women's movement, but found themselves alienated and their attempts to discuss race ignored by their White 'sisters'. Experiences like these, alongside everyday racism and sexism, prompted Black German women to approach racial and gender inequalities as inextricably related in their work in the Black German movement of the 1980s. By highlighting this introduction of Black feminism and intersectional feminist theory into Germany, Florvil reveals the importance of the 1980s as a pivotal moment for the rethinking of both race and feminism in Germany.

Second, Florvil intervenes in the work on Black internationalism and the Black diasporic movement. This scholarship has predominantly focused on the work of men, and has failed to consider Germany as a centre for Black internationalist thought and diasporic activism due to its short-lived colonial empire. In contrast, Florvil shows the pivotal role women played in the intellectual development of the Black German movement and the way in which their intellectual, creative, and activist work has contributed to the Black diasporic movement in Europe and globally by broadening discussions and notions of race, gender, citizenship, and belonging.

⁴ Exceptions include: Lauren Stokes, "'An Invasion of Guest Worker Children': Welfare Reform and the Stigmatisation of Family Migration in West Germany', *Contemporary European History*, 28/3 (2019), 372–89; Jennifer A. Miller, *Turkish Guest Workers in Germany: Hidden Lives and Contested Borders, 1960s to 1980s* (Toronto, 2018); Rita Chin, Heide Fehrenbach, Geoff Eley, and Atina Grossmann, *After the Nazi Racial State: Difference and Democracy in Germany and Europe* (Ann Arbor, 2009); Maria Höhn, *GIs and Fräuleins: The German–American Encounter in 1950s West Germany* (Chapel Hill, 2002).

With these contributions, Florvil's book is a model for an expansive history of feminism. Feminism was but one part of the political and intellectual work of the women Florvil studies. Their activism cut across and sought to address overlapping forms of marginalization, which Florvil expertly details. *Mobilizing Black Germany* shows that the work of Black German women cannot be ignored if historians want to trace changing understandings of gender and racial inequality in Germany and Europe.

A similarly expansive view of feminism is presented in Lucy Delap's *Feminisms: A Global History*. The most programmatic book of this selection, Delap lays out the conceptual, methodological, and political complexities of writing a global history of feminism from the eighteenth century to the present. Indeed, the book serves as a road map for navigating the many challenges in writing such a broad history.

One issue Delap identifies is the fluid and contested meaning of feminism across time and space. Feminism has had many meanings over time, and has been a source of debate and contestation. Although women and men have worked to address gender injustice (a term Delap explicitly uses to shift discussion away from rights and equality), many have refused the label 'feminist'. Much like Lóránd, Delap underscores the importance of respecting the agency of historical actors to identify (or not) as feminists. The act of naming and identifying is a political one, and the decision to work as a feminist says much about activist self-understandings, and about how feminism was perceived and practised historically. This attentiveness, however, creates difficulty for the historian wanting to bring together a diverse range of histories and activism; as Delap argues, 'it would be a mistake to simply look at all these debates and movements in isolation; they often shared key ideas or drew inspiration from each other's struggles' (p. 10). Instead, then, Delap uses feminism as an 'entry point to understand better how campaigns over "women's rights", "new womanhood", "the awakening of women" or "women's liberation" might have shared concerns and tactics' (pp. 2-3). As Delap shows, adopting this approach to the history of feminism enables the historian to bring together a broad historical and geographical range of actors, texts, movements, objects, ideas,

and even dreams, while also acknowledging the specific contexts of different feminisms.

Periodization and the imposition of a Western 'hegemonic feminism' (to borrow from Chela Sandoval) is another challenge highlighted by Delap.⁵ The history of feminism has typically been divided into a series of 'waves', most notably the 'first wave' of the late nineteenth century, when women fought for suffrage, and the 'second wave' of the late 1960s and 1970s, when feminism turned increasingly to issues of self-determination, violence against women, and reproductive rights. However, echoing Florvil, as many postcolonial feminists and Women of Colour have remarked, such a periodization obscures the activism and intellectual work of Women of Colour. It also presupposes a universal chronology of feminism based on White European and North American experiences, and in doing so ignores the existence and emergence of feminist movements outside this 'Western' timeline.

Delap side-steps this by approaching the history of feminism thematically. Across eight chapters devoted to dreams, ideas, spaces, objects, looks, feelings, actions, and songs, she explores how people have envisioned, made, felt, and practised feminism. Her writing artfully moves from different countries, individuals, and periods to paint a picture of the plurality of feminisms. She describes this approach as 'mosaic feminism' (p. 20). In one of the most important contributions made by the book, Delap calls for historians to see feminism as 'built up from inherited fragments but offering distinctive patterns and pictures. Like mosaics, the view from afar and the close reading of feminisms may give a very different picture' (p. 20). As the book shows, such an approach not only expands the history of feminism, but also reveals the cracks, divisions, and transformations of feminism over time.

As almost all the books reviewed here argue, feminism is not finished. Despite the fears of some scholars that we have moved into a 'post-feminist' world, there is still important work to be done. Whether #MeToo, #NiUnaMenos, global women's marches, Black Lives Matter, or the rise of right-wing populist parties and anti-gender movements, it is clear that the work of challenging gender injustice

⁵ Chela Sandoval, *Methodology of the Oppressed* (Minneapolis, 2000).

must continue. But as these books all show, this is also work that must take place within our scholarship. The reliance on universalist narratives based on the experiences of a privileged few are simply not enough—neither in terms of detailing the complexity of the past, nor to address the challenges of today.

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BOOK REVIEWS

GRISCHA VERCAMER, *Hochmittelalterliche Herrschaftspraxis im Spiegel der Geschichtsschreibung: Vorstellungen von 'guter' und 'schlechter' Herrschaft in England, Polen und dem Reich im 12./13. Jahrhundert*, Deutsches Historisches Institut Warschau, 37 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2020), xii + 792 pp. ISBN 978 3 447 11354 0. €98.00

Grischa Vercamer's revised habilitation thesis offers a meticulously detailed and intellectually ambitious attempt at comparative history, exploring the representation of rulership by chroniclers in twelfth-century England, Poland, and the Holy Roman Empire. The choice of polities reflects Vercamer's own career: a German, working in Poland, who studied in Edinburgh (though Scotland's chronicles, as so often, lose out to the richer materials available further south). Poland's inclusion also reflects Vercamer's observation that too often an Iron Curtain persists in the minds of medievalists between Central and Eastern Europe. Vercamer has clearly profited from his immersion in multiple national scholarly traditions and the synthesis he offers, alongside the intriguing points of comparison, will certainly contribute to the kind of international scholarly exchange of which he is both advocate and beneficiary.

The introductory chapters take up a third of the text (excluding the appendix). The introduction sets out the topic and runs through theories of *Herrschaft* (rule), ritual, *Vorstellungsgeschichte* (history of ideals and concepts), narratology, topoi, and virtues. The second chapter lists the criteria by which Vercamer narrowed down his selection of sources, provides a useful introduction to each of the six chronicles ultimately chosen, and explains why many other (at times, seemingly more appropriate) works did not make the cut. For England, Vercamer selected William of Malmesbury's *Historia Novella* (c.1140) and Roger of Howden's *Chronica* (1191–1202); for the Empire, Otto of Freising and Rahewin's *Gesta Frederici* (1157–60) and

the *Historia Welforum* (c.1170); and for Poland, Gallus Anonymus and Wincenty Kadłubek.

The third chapter sets out the general ruling structures which prevailed in each polity. Here, Vercamer is juxtaposing three realms that have rarely been compared in any depth. In his words, he wished to compare polities with as many different ‘settings’ as possible (p. 10, author’s original term). The discussion provided here of each realm’s peculiar structural characteristics acts as an important foundation for his later analysis and is particularly helpful given that readers are unlikely to be equally versed in the history of each case study. Though allocated to the introductory section, this synthesis of English, German, and Polish scholarship is one of Vercamer’s most valuable contributions and will provide food for thought for any historian interested in a comparative approach. For England, Vercamer could have glanced at the similar list of features compiled in John Maddicott’s own impressive discussion of England and France.¹

With chapter four we reach the weighty core of Vercamer’s analysis. Representations of rulership in the chronicles are categorized according to nine fields of activity: prince as judge; as administrator; as politician or diplomat in advisory situations; as legislator; as representative of rule or staging of power; as fighter or army commander; as a pious ruler (notably the shortest section); and the *habitus* (habits and character) of the ruler. Vercamer briefly introduces the secondary literature on each area of rulership and then proceeds through each activity, chronicle by chronicle. We thus receive, for example, a discussion of the prince as legislator in William of Malmesbury’s *Historia Novella*, and then an overall conclusion comparing the prince as legislator in all six chronicles.

The fifth chapter explores the narrative strategies pursued by each chronicler, before examining the overall portrayal of rulership found in each individual chronicle and its correspondence to the deeper political structures and characteristics of each realm. This time, we proceed author by author and a list of narrative devices is identified for each: William of Malmesbury, for example, deploys verbatim

¹ John R. Maddicott, *The Origins of the English Parliament 924–1327* (Oxford, 2010), esp. 376–452.

speech, comparison, enactment, sober description, and retrospection; Roger of Howden, concise description, insertion of documents, short interjections, visions, and explicit interventions; Gallus Anonymous, staging, metaphor, exaggeration, and literal speech; and so on. In three of the most important subsections of the entire monograph (5.2.3; 5.3.3; 5.4.3), the two chronicles chosen to represent each realm are compared to identify any 'national' peculiarities. A very concise chapter six discusses the results and the advantages of the approach deployed. The conclusion is not comprehensive, however, and readers should make use of the summaries provided throughout the analytical chapters.

Vercamer's conclusions flow from a comprehensive database, compiled for the project, through which the contents of each chronicle were analysed, subdivided, and categorized. The systematic approach, combining qualitative and quantitative analysis, is novel, particularly in the context of traditional scholarship on the topic, which has tended to focus on a single chronicler, ruler, or kingdom. The appendix (which takes up 349 of the book's 792 pages) is the fruit of Vercamer's laborious efforts, an impressive compendium of 672 chronicle extracts and a valuable resource in its own right. Each passage is accompanied by a helpful summary and discussion which takes into account a considerable volume of secondary literature. Through abbreviations, Vercamer also further catalogues the passages according to whether the chroniclers made an explicit or implicit intervention; whether they did so from a first-person or neutral perspective; and whether the rulers (or their actions) are described with praise, condemnation, or indifference. Qualitative and quantitative analysis are combined here (as throughout the main text), with percentages given to show the attention paid by the chronicler to each field of activity. The resulting pie charts give a first, though perhaps fleeting, impression of each chronicler's priorities.

Vercamer ultimately found notable similarities between the 'bird's eye view' of the structural features recognized by modern historians and the 'frog's eye view' provided by the chroniclers. The English authors (Roger of Howden especially) preferred to portray the king as administrator. The overseas possessions of English kings always created the potential for conflict, and the expansion of the administrative centre (London and Westminster) is detectable in the course of the war between Stephen and Matilda. That English kings could

ruin rebellious subjects by financial and legal means is mirrored in the lack of attention paid to the prince as warrior (only 11 per cent, in Vercamer's reckoning, of either William's or Roger's passages on rulership). The spread of writing in England, and competition between chroniclers, results in a 'matter-of-fact, sober narrative style', one of Vercamer's key categorizing terms. Compared to the Empire, the nobility receives little attention.² Not all readers will find these parallels between structural features and contemporary views to be as 'truly remarkable' (p. 297) as Vercamer. As he suggests, the importance of administrative rulership and of the 'sober' descriptive style will need to be verified by comparison with other authors.

For Poland, Vercamer finds a contrast between Gallus Anonymus and Wincenty Kadłubek in the importance attached to the prince as fighter (31 versus 13 per cent) and the ruler's *habitus* (21 versus 13 per cent). The difference, he argues, is rooted in each author's respective historical context. Bolesław III was subjugating Pomerania while Gallus was writing, and the disputes over succession chronicled by Kadłubek entailed much discussion of each contender's virtues and suitability. In terms of the typically Polish elements, Kadłubek presents Casimir II as an unfinished prince with a weakness for dice and feasts. Such vices had their upsides (affability; proximity to one's subjects), but Polish princes were portrayed as undergoing a process of correction. Gruesome massacres (Bolesław I's attack on Kiev; Bolesław II's indiscriminate slaughter of pregnant women and the elderly) are not condemned, but justified by both authors. The two chroniclers also wrote in a more elaborate, metaphorical, and theatrical style than their English or German contemporaries. There are once again strong parallels with the previously identified structural features, although urban, economic, and cultural change received less attention.

² For this point and other contrasts, see Nicholas Vincent, 'Sources and Methods: Some Anglo-German Comparisons', in Thorsten Huthwelker, Jörg Peltzer, and Maximilian Wemhöner (eds.), *Princely Rank in Late Medieval Europe: Trodden Paths and Promising Avenues* (Ostfildern, 2011), 119–38; Timothy Reuter, 'The Making of England and Germany, 850–1050: Points of Comparison and Difference', in id., *Medieval Politics and Modern Mentalities*, ed. Janet Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), 284–99; and Björn Weiler, *Kingship, Rebellion and Political Culture: England and Germany, c.1215–c.1250* (Basingstoke, 2007).

For the Empire, with the *Gesta Frederici* and the *Historia Welforum*, Vercamer finds insufficient similarities in his quantitative analysis to identify a peculiarly German construct of rulership. As he recognizes, the two sources are so different that one would not expect an overlap (raising the question as to whether the *Historia* was really the best choice). That both authors criticized their respective princes less than authors in England is striking. The imperial authors' recognition of the Empire's structural features varied. The special position of the emperor, his competition with the papacy, and elective kingship all feature, though here one is surprised to read that the 'strong position of the princes is naturally downplayed by the *Gesta Frederici*' (p. 339). The sheer size of the Empire; the strong position of noble dynasties, such as the Welfs; the problem of Italy; and the place of the *ministeriales* as a counterweight to the nobility can also be detected. The Empire's backwardness, compared to England and France, and the conservative tradition of the monastic schools, do not feature.

More nuanced parallels and distinctions also emerge. Rulers were often contrasted to highlight poor governance (Stephen and Robert of Gloucester by William of Malmesbury; Mieszko II and Casimir II as well as Bolesław II and Bolesław I by Gallus). Princes appeared as warriors in Poland, but more often as strategists and commanders in England and Germany. Political pragmatism was recorded as the motive behind nearly all apparently pious deeds. Other characteristics (was it typical in England for favourably regarded rulers only to be criticized upon their death?) require further comparison. In a 'conjured [*gezaubert*]' (p. 352) aside, Vercamer suggests that some of the expectations hinted at by his analysis may have survived to our own day. Vercamer connects the trenchant criticism of English chroniclers in the twelfth century with the famous English habit of not taking oneself too seriously. With the portrayal of a restrained and rational Barbarossa acting through clear structures of authority, Vercamer perceives an incipient German trust in authority. He also ties the fact that Polish dukes were permitted to err, provided they made amends, to a greater and more flexible leniency in modern Poland towards political transgressions. Given the methodological rigour maintained by the author up to this point, readers are likely to forgive such whimsical reflections, even if they do sound a discordant note.

As is typical of a habilitation thesis, the author's methodology is justified in detail. Sociological, literary, and cultural theories are discussed in depth (Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Max Weber, Karl Marx, Michael Mann, Michel Foucault, and Hayden White all feature). The conclusions are unlikely to surprise: that *Macht* (power) and *Herrschaft* were inseparable in the Middle Ages; that images of rulership reflected an author's personal perspective as well as 'national' or regional circumstances; and that good rulership was defined in relation to the four classical cardinal virtues, their three Christian counterparts, and by a prince's willingness to submit to the clergy's moral authority. Vercamer in general has spared no effort to guide the reader through his approach, offering a clear structure with a great many introductions, conclusions, and summaries. He is upfront, both when laying out his own thought process while tackling such a daunting task and with regard to the limitations.

Inevitably, some avenues of research are left for others to pursue. Vercamer makes the case for the twelfth century as the decisive period in which to conduct his comparison. In particular, he suggests that this was a time in which ideas of order were reassessed amid the expansion of royal government, the development of Roman law, and a growing sense of individuality. Such a 'wide-ranging bundle of innovations' (p. 9), Vercamer argues, surely transformed how chroniclers judged their princes. The suggestion is not new. In one of the few specific discussions of the representation of twelfth-century kingship, Karl Leyser suggested (in a surprising absence from Vercamer's bibliography) that the Anglo-Norman realm and Norman Sicily were particularly rich sources of 'incisive business-like comment on kings' precisely because of the comparatively advanced growth of royal government.³ The latter would indeed have made for an intriguing alternative case study. Yet with little discussion or analysis of portrayals of rulership before or after the twelfth century, this is not a subject that can be pursued in Vercamer's book. John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* too is described as 'extremely important' (p. 29), as is the influence of the Investiture Contest, but neither are referred to again in any detail in the main analysis.

³ Karl Leyser, 'Some Reflections on Twelfth-Century Kings and Kingship', in id., *Medieval Germany and its Neighbours 900–1250* (London, 1982), 241–67, at 249.

Vercamer's choice of chronicles can also be queried. To qualify, the chronicler had to focus on 'contemporary history' (the likes of Geoffrey of Monmouth, Geffrei Gaimar, the *Kaiserchronik*, and even William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum* are hence excluded) and observe the ruler as an eyewitness or through oral testimony. Authors who recycled earlier material, or information from other authors, need not apply. The author should also be well-disposed towards the ruling dynasty, but without deploying hagiographical topoi. Though the reader will sympathize with Vercamer's predicament and his need to justify what must be, by necessity, an arbitrary selection, the reasoning deployed in chapter two to exclude other authors will raise a few eyebrows. Eadmer of Canterbury is described as 'not concerned with the royal house' (p. 65), despite the growing body of scholarship on his attitude towards kingship.⁴ William of Newburgh lived too far north, was too remote from court, and apparently recorded events from too regional a perspective. Henry of Huntingdon loses out for having insufficiently close contacts to the royal court—yet as Vercamer notes elsewhere, our best evidence for William of Malmesbury's own experience is his attendance at the Council of Westminster in 1141. Comparing William, Otto of Freising, and Roger of Howden, the degree of royal familiarity clearly varied, as did the length of each work. As Vercamer reminds us, the *Historia Welforum*, the most surprising choice, takes up only seventeen pages in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* folio edition, but in principle receives the same degree of analysis as Roger of Howden's lengthy *Chronica*.

In general, Vercamer's work provides an important reminder of the difficulty of balancing breadth and depth when making historical comparisons. Marc Bloch, the most famous advocate of this approach, is rightly invoked in the book's foreword, alongside the amusing anecdote that, having been advised by Bernd Schneidmüller to 'think big' (p. ix), Vercamer initially considered comparing six polities. That we are ultimately left with six chronicles instead inevitably diminishes some of the force of Vercamer's conclusions. Though Bloch is

⁴ Mark Philpott, 'Eadmer, his Archbishops and the English State', in John R. Maddicott and David M. Palliser (eds.), *The Medieval State: Essays Presented to James Campbell* (London, 2000), 93–107; Sally Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan: The Innocence of the Dove and the Wisdom of the Serpent* (Berkeley, 1987).

again referenced to justify the selection of at least three realms as the foundation for comparison, the choice of just two, with more material, might have provided a more secure beachhead from which future comparative forays could then have been attempted. Yet to judge this volume only by the conclusions resulting from the national comparison would be to mistake Vercamer's intention. This is very much a pilot study with a uniquely systematic approach, one that does not simply engage in 'eclectically picking and choosing the most beautiful source passages' (p. 55), but assesses each chronicler in the round. This attempt to 'weigh up' the expectations of individual authors does provide a new way to distinguish the typical from the specific in the political culture of multiple realms and periods. Whether or not future scholars follow the particularities of Vercamer's approach, they will still gain much from this diligent navigation of the challenges posed by comparative history.

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JAMIE PAGE, *Prostitution and Subjectivity in Late Medieval Germany*, Studies in German History (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 176 pp. ISBN 978 0 198 86278 9. £65.00

Prostitution in the late Middle Ages has been a regular theme of historical scholarship, especially from the late 1970s onwards, with both broad overviews and a variety of local studies. Prostitution played an important role in the gender discourse of medieval society. On the one hand, the prostitute was a symbol of female sinfulness and depravity, but on the other, prostitutes provided a sexual outlet for unmarried men to prevent bigger evils – an idea borrowed loosely from St Augustine. Evidence of this ambivalent attitude towards prostitution can be seen in the institutionalization of public brothels in numerous towns in the German-language area and across Europe in the course of the fifteenth century and, in contrast, in the prosecution of so-called secret prostitutes. The date range of Jamie Page's study is from the late fourteenth century to the years shortly before 1500, although he limits his research to three microhistorical case studies in Zurich, Nördlingen, and Augsburg.

Page's research puts the focus on individual women, although sources in which prostitutes themselves openly discuss their life situation are few and far between. Personal testimony generally only comes to light in sources when these women came into contact with municipal justice. However, judicial sources are somewhat problematic. First, the statements made by prostitutes are not reproduced unfiltered, but are recorded in the words of the court clerk in an edited form. Second, sources from courts are very often biased, meaning they were written with a specific intent, for example to portray delinquents as obviously guilty. Therefore, court sources can only be considered ego-documents to a limited extent. Despite this problem, which Page discusses in detail in his introductory chapter with reference to existing historiography, the author has written an impressive study which offers a deep insight into the actions and everyday lives of late medieval prostitutes. Their living conditions were influenced by their individual situations as either unofficial or public prostitutes,

Trans. by Maxine Hart (GHIL)

and above all by circumstances inherent to their sex, like possible pregnancy. The linked themes of abortion and infanticide are also addressed in some depth. As the Nördlingen example shows, brothel-keepers must at times have wielded extreme violence in controlling the prostitutes employed in the public brothels licensed by various cities. Yet the extent to which Nördlingen may be typical of conditions in public brothels in the late Middle Ages is anyone's guess due to a lack of further contemporary sources from local authorities.

Ideally, Page would have also published his main sources in Middle High German, even if only in an appendix, as this would have offered German-speaking readers the opportunity to verify them in the original language. That said, Page often includes quotations in Middle High German within his text, after paraphrasing them in English. Yet despite this minor objection, the study offers a profound and very nuanced insight into the world of late medieval prostitution and convincingly shows the freedoms enjoyed by prostitutes, along with the constraints placed upon them, in the misogynistic world of the late Middle Ages.

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SASKIA LIMBACH, *Government Use of Print: Official Publications in the Holy Roman Empire, 1500–1600*, Studien zur europäischen Rechtsgeschichte, 326 (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann Verlag, 2021), xviii + 347 pp. ISBN 978 3 465 04425 3. €79.00

In December 1511 Ulrich, duke of Württemberg, sent out invitations to a horse race to be held near Neckarweihingen on 11 May of the following year. The duke, notorious for keeping a ruinously expensive court, promised 'kurzwyl unnd geselschafft' (entertainment and companionship) and offered the victor prize money of 32 gulden and a silver cup. And he naturally turned to the new medium of his times in order to reach the greatest possible public for this event. He commissioned the printer Thomas Anshelm to produce an invitation directed plainly and simply to everyone: electors and princes, spiritual and secular lords of the Holy Roman Empire, counts, barons, knights, officials, citizens, and commoners were all invited (pp. 24–5). We do not know how many people actually turned up in the end, but the invitation itself has been preserved as one of the thousands of broadsheets from the sixteenth century that are today held by libraries, museums, and archives.

For Saskia Limbach, this invitation is a good example of early modern official printed material commissioned by a government—something that has long been neglected in the research. Her study, based on her Ph.D. thesis submitted to the University of St Andrews in 2017, looks at official publications in the sixteenth century. It thus fits into a recent trend in research on the history of the book that attempts to take a more differentiated view of the connection between power and book printing in the early modern period. The older research was mainly interested in the emancipatory and subversive character of early modern book printing, and looked at pamphlets, illustrated leaflets, and printed material of an oppositional nature, regarding the printing press as primarily a vehicle for progress and enlightenment. For some years now, however, more interest has been taken in the productive interaction between new media technology and the expansion of power, while relations between book printers

Trans. by Angela Davies (GHIL)

and publishers and the established political and religious authorities are being examined beyond the topics of censorship and repression.¹

In her investigation, Limbach concentrates on two cleverly chosen case studies. First, she looks at the Duchy of Württemberg, which went through a period of instability at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and was at times under the overlordship of the Habsburg emperor. From 1535, the dukes Ulrich and Christoph gradually developed it into a model Protestant territory. Limbach's second case study is of the Free Imperial City of Cologne, a Hansa city whose convenient location on the Rhine allowed it to become one of the biggest trade metropolises in the German-language area. Ruled since the Middle Ages by a Council newly elected every year, it was the only large Imperial city that remained Catholic. By juxtaposing Württemberg and Cologne, Limbach contrasts not only two fundamentally different models of early modern rule – rule by territorial princes, and rule by an Imperial city council – but also two domains of differing sizes and two confessional cultures. In the context of questions about the various governments' communication strategies and the conditions under which printers worked, this experimental structure is convincing.

Limbach approaches her material from two sides. First, she is interested in how governments used media; that is, she asks what documents were printed, what criteria played a part in these decisions, and what the governments' intentions were in having their ordinances, announcements, justifications, and invitations printed. Second, she adopts the perspective of the book market and the printers who worked with governments. Here the focus is on commercial aspects. Under what circumstances was it worthwhile for a printer to accept government contracts? What advantages and disadvantages did official print jobs have for entrepreneurial printers, as well as for those who gave out the jobs? What were the print runs, what formats were preferred, what profits could be made, and what risks were involved? The structure of the work reflects this dual approach. The first two chapters are devoted to the Duchy of Württemberg, taking first the government perspective

¹ For a recent overview of the research, see Helmer Helmers, Nina Lamal, and Jamie Cumby, 'Introduction: The Printing Press as an Agent of Power', in eid. (eds.), *Print and Power in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)* (Leiden, 2021), 1–17.

and then that of the printers, while chapters three and four deal in the same way with Cologne.

In the case of the dukes of Württemberg, Limbach demonstrates the huge significance that the printing of large-format placards and smaller pamphlets had for rulers, especially at times of political crisis. In his defeat of the Poor Conrad rebellions and disputes with the Habsburgs, Duke Ulrich used broadsheets and pamphlets to justify himself and to mobilize outside powers to support him. But the dukes used the new medium of printed books especially when extending their territorial rule, developing their administrations, and communicating within their domains. The dukes had several hundred copies printed of individual decrees and ordinances, as well as of collections and publications of broader scope, such as Württemberg's ordinances (*Landesordnungen*), which were reissued five times before 1600 and expanded each time; a commentary relevant to the Duchy on the Imperial Police Ordinance; and the *Württembergische Große Kirchenordnung*, the Protestant ecclesiastical law of 1559. Copies were then distributed to officials in the ducal territories. Yet it was not always easy to find printers in Württemberg to take on the many jobs that needed to be done. Opening a print-works in Württemberg was a risky business because with the exception of the university town of Tübingen, the Duchy itself had no significant market for books, and the large printing centres such as Augsburg, Strasbourg, and Frankfurt with its book fair were not far away. Official print jobs were, as a rule, very small, and although they could be produced quickly and independently of the market, they were not lucrative enough on their own. In some cases, they had to take second place to more profitable jobs in larger and commercially successful print-works, and this sometimes resulted in long delays. It was only at the height of confessionalization that Tübingen was able to support a long-term print-works, which over several generations profitably printed official material for the dukes. They had so many jobs to commission because they printed not only decrees and police ordinances, but also church ordinances, declarations of Protestant faith, catechisms, and other reforming material (pp. 100, 106).

Things were very different in Cologne. The commercial metropolis on the Rhine was also a communications hub, and in the sixteenth century became the most important centre for Catholic printing in

the German-language area. Limbach lists more than a hundred print-works that existed there during the first 140 or so years of book printing (pp. 160–1), but only nine of them worked for Cologne’s Council. Contrary to what has been assumed so far, the Council only began to distribute its ordinances and announcements in print very late, from the 1560s. Until this time, the traditional oral channels of communication—public gatherings, town criers, and above all the *Gaffeln* (Cologne’s corporations and guilds), from whose members the Council was elected—had sufficed. A greater influx of religious refugees from the Netherlands and the threat of war in its conflict with the archbishop meant that from the middle of the century the Council increasingly had to use public notices and printed ordinances to maintain law and order. For most of Cologne’s printers, however, these jobs were much less lucrative than the flourishing business of printing religious literature and confessional polemics. Unlike in the Protestant Imperial cities and territories, in Cologne it was not the secular authorities who were responsible for this branch of business, but the ecclesiastical authorities such as the cathedral chapter, the archbishop, and the various resident religious orders. Limbach emphasizes that Protestant Imperial cities such as Augsburg and Nuremberg produced a much greater range of official government publications (pp. 162–3). By this point at the latest, however, it becomes clear that the category of ‘government publication’, at least as defined somewhat cursorily in Limbach’s introduction (p. 21), does not do full justice to the varied practice of early modern rule in the age of confessionalization. In Catholic areas, the religious bodies long continued to be authorities—some retaining their own jurisdictions—and in every case they had propagandist communication needs that did not differ substantially from those of Protestant rulers. For example, a printer who counted the Jesuit order that had moved to Cologne in 1544 among his clients could depend on business that was as profitable as that of Tübingen’s printers, who published reformers’ writings for the duke. To make a substantial profit from the Cologne Council’s publications, by contrast, a printer either had to specialize—like Jaspar von Gennep, for example, who printed illustrated coinage regulations, having invested in the appropriate woodcuts in the middle of the century (pp. 185–6)—or rise to become a member of the city’s political establishment and, like Maternus Cholinus, be elected to the Council

himself (p. 208). In both cases, however, their commercial profitability was a precondition for their successful and long-lasting co-operation with the Council, not its result.

Among the strengths of Limbach's work are its systematic structure, which ensures clarity and stringency; its close reading of the material, which also shows in the numerous illustrations; and the concise and clear presentation. Thanks to her careful archival research, the author can often reconstruct production processes in astonishing detail, based on price lists, account books, and other administrative papers. In many cases, she can provide precise information on prices, costs, and the size of print-runs. Limbach has chosen to keep information about the political context to an absolute minimum, allowing it to appear in her account only when it is necessary to explain conditions governing production and decision-making processes, but then every time. Paradoxically, this has the effect that on certain topics readers receive both too much and too little information. Thus—and especially when general statements are made—there are repetitions and redundancies, for example, when the uses governments made of printed books are discussed, or the function of the Court or Council printer, a role introduced around 1600, is explained (pp. 13, 69, 73, 216). On the other hand, the exceptionally conflict-ridden reign of Duke Ulrich—which saw revolt, exile, and the regaining of power by military means—is nowhere shown in overall context. Instead, it is discussed selectively in several places, and in each case individual and partial aspects are mentioned. The problems of this method become apparent when Limbach describes Duke Ulrich's 1543 regulation on carrying arms, which prohibited travellers from carrying firearms without exception, as a 'rather harsh restriction', and contrasts it with his son Christoph's more liberal regulation of 1551 (p. 49). But the threat resulting from the tense political situation, which prompted Duke Ulrich's strict weapons' ordinance, is only described many pages later in the context of a different issue (pp. 65–6).

Limbach's main interest, however, is not a cultural history of the political, but a history of the book. The official publications she investigates are mostly broadsheets, sometimes multi-page pamphlets, and much more rarely, as in the case of Württemberg's ordinances, thick books. They therefore overwhelmingly belong to a genre of literature which has survived only patchily and has hardly been studied. Thus

the reconstruction of a coherent and complete corpus of texts for investigation is a scholarly achievement that deserves recognition in its own right. In the course of her research, Limbach identified numerous texts that were listed neither in the *Catalog of Printed Works of the 16th Century Published in German-Speaking Countries* (VD16) of the Bavarian State Library, nor in the *Universal Short Title Catalogue* (USTC). In addition, she was able to clarify some dates and, partly as the result of painstaking work comparing woodcuts and initials, to identify for the first time which printers produced a number of known and unknown texts. She has documented the results of this basic research in an appendix numbering more than eighty pages, which lists almost 400 sixteenth-century official publications from Cologne and Württemberg, with references to all known copies and, where available, the relevant links. Limbach's work must therefore be seen as supplementing existing work on police ordinances.² It is thus very well placed in the publication series of the Max Planck Institute for Legal History and Legal Theory, and will be an indispensable reference work for future research on the book and media history of the sixteenth century.

² Achim Landwehr and Thomas Simon (eds.), *Repertorium der Policeyordnungen der Frühen Neuzeit*, vol. iv: *Baden und Württemberg* (Frankfurt am Main, 2001); Klaus Militzer (ed.), *Repertorium der Policeyordnungen der Frühen Neuzeit*, vol. vi: *Reichsstädte: Köln*, 2 pts. (Frankfurt am Main, 2005).

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NICHOLA M. V. HAYTON, HANNS HUBACH, and MARCO NEUMAIER (eds.), *Churfürstlicher Hochzeitlicher HeimführungsTriumph: Inszenierung und Wirkung der Hochzeit Kurfürst Friedrichs V. mit Elisabeth Stuart (1613)*, Mannheimer historische Schriften, 11 (Ubstadt-Weiher: verlag regionalkultur, 2020), 408 pp. ISBN 978 3 955 05142 6. €39.80

The wedding of the eldest daughter of King James VI/I, Elizabeth Stuart, and the Elector Palatine Frederick V in 1613 was one of the most important dynastic alliances in Protestant Europe forged on the eve of the Thirty Years War. It was an event of extraordinary political and cultural significance: on this alliance rested the hopes of Protestant European parties in their political struggle with Catholic forces, especially the Austrian Habsburgs. Even though these hopes turned out to be short-lived, the alliance proved pivotal for future dynastic ties between Britain and Protestant Germany: in 1714, Elizabeth Stuart's grandson George Louis, Elector of Hanover, became King George I of Great Britain and Ireland. The present collection of essays is based on an international academic conference that was held in Heidelberg on 5–7 September 2013 to commemorate the 450th anniversary of this Palatine wedding. The collection adds further perspectives to another volume of essays dedicated to the wedding, published in 2013 and based on a conference held at the University of Exeter in 2008.¹

The volume's eighteen essays engage with a variety of topics, and have a dual focus on the dynastic, political side of the Palatine wedding and on questions of cultural history and cultural transfer. They represent diverse disciplines and methodologies, and are of varying scope. Some give broad overviews, such as Marco Neumaier's introductory essay, while others address more specialized questions and findings. The volume contains essays by both German and British scholars, beautifully mirroring the international character of the subject matter. Twelve texts are in German, six in English with added German summaries; the preface also appears in both languages. For the sake of making this book equally accessible to an English-language audience (and more generally for reasons of balance and

¹ Sara Smart and Mara R. Wade (eds.), *The Palatine Wedding of 1613: Protestant Alliance and Court Festival* (Wiesbaden, 2013).

equality), it would have been helpful to provide English summaries of the German texts as well – this was, perhaps, an editorial oversight. Given the wide variety of topics represented in the volume, it would have also been useful if the articles had been organized in different sections (for example, history, politics, and festival culture), similarly to the 2013 publication on the wedding.

Marco Neumaier's contribution, which functions as an introduction to the volume and provides an overview of its thematic scope, first discusses printed and manuscript sources that allow a reconstruction of the wedding festivities and an assessment of its larger political significance – texts such as wedding poems (epithalamia), sermons, masque libretti, travel and festival descriptions (for example, the prominent *Beschreibung der Reiß*), reproductions of ephemeral architecture such as triumphal arches allowing a reading of their political symbolism, broadsheet prints, as well as hitherto overlooked archival sources. In his discussion of the wedding's political significance, Neumaier focuses particularly on the important position of the Elector Palatine within the political fabric of the Holy Roman Empire, especially as holder of the imperial vicariate, and on the political and confessional changes in the Palatinate during the Reformation. As Neumaier explains, these changes culminated in the foundation of the Protestant Union on the eve of the Thirty Years War.

Other contributions explore specific aspects of this dynastic alliance in further detail, largely through various case studies. In his substantial, insightful essay, Peter Bilhöfer discusses the political background of the dynastic connection between England and the Palatinate, which, as he convincingly shows, should be viewed in the context of other political and military alliances forged between Western European Protestants in the early 1600s. Raingard Esser succinctly analyses the position of Frederick V and Elizabeth Stuart in European princely society. She examines the couple's visit to the Dutch Republic en route to Heidelberg to shed light on the House of Orange's political and dynastic aspirations and its manifold political and cultural connections with the Palatinate. In their unique contribution, Jakob Odenwald, Simon Grüning, and Felix Wenzel discuss and demonstrate how Google Earth can be utilized for an interactive engagement with the locations and events that Frederick V and Elizabeth Stuart

encountered during their travels from London to Heidelberg. (Unfortunately, I could not open the application, even though I used the link and followed the instructions given in the article. It is to be hoped that both link and application continue to be maintained to ensure readers can engage with this innovative idea).

In her engaging exploration of the lesser-known wedding between Elizabeth Stuart's companion Lady Anne Sutton Dudley and Frederick's envoy and Palatine Chamberlain Hans Meinhard von Schönberg, Nichola Hayton illustrates the obstacles that both this wedding and that of their prominent superiors faced because of differences in status and aristocratic ranking. It is perhaps one of the major insights of Hayton's and other contributions to this volume that these problems were exacerbated by the different systems of government in England and the Holy Roman Empire, which needed to be navigated with diplomatic finesse and intercultural competence. In his thought-provoking essay, Daniel Schönplüg then compares the Palatine wedding with weddings in the House of Brandenburg-Hohenzollern from the seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries. He productively frames his comparison by taking a structural approach that considers aspects such as social distinction, state formation, foreign relations, cultural transfer, religion, law, and the history of emotions.

The remaining essays look at the cultural and artistic activities that took place in connection with the wedding on both sides of the English Channel. Three scholars engage with previously overlooked sources: a manuscript of occasional poetry commissioned by the University of Cambridge, paying homage to the newly-wed couple (Reinhard Düchting); the sermon given by Heidelberg court chaplain Abraham Scultetus at a thanksgiving service in Heidelberg (Christoph Strohm); and a previously unedited festival description dedicated to Philipp Ludwig, Count Palatine of Neuburg (Barbara Zeitelhack).

Six further essays explore court culture in England and the Palatinate. Andrew Thomas discusses the culture of the Palatine court in Heidelberg through the lens of Thomas Coryat's description of his visit to Heidelberg in 1608. Nicola Boyle traces the history of Lady Elizabeth's Men, a Jacobean theatre company under the patronage of Elizabeth Stuart, and investigates its participation in the wedding festivities. Graham Parry's and Barbara Ravelhofer's contributions

both address the court masques performed during the wedding ceremonies in London in February 1613. Parry focuses on the political themes that the masques communicated to the public, especially the vision of militant Protestantism that had been embraced by Prince Henry Frederick, who had died prematurely the year before; Parry identifies him as the main organizer of the masques. Another important theme staged in one of the masques was, as Parry shows, the colonization of Virginia. Ravelhofer, on the other hand, illustrates the practical aspects of masque production, such as machinery, surprising stage effects, costume design, and everyday challenges, such as the overwhelming noise that often made the spoken and sung masque texts unintelligible. In his captivating essay, Wolfgang Metzger explores the practical and symbolic dimensions of the triumphal fireworks staged in Heidelberg, placing this remarkable event in the context of the history of sixteenth and seventeenth-century pyrotechnic productions. Lastly, in her compelling essay comparing the Palatine wedding festivities with the dynastic alliance between France and Spain celebrated in Paris in 1612, Marie-Claude Canova-Green draws on her immense knowledge of early modern European court culture to analyse the political imagery of the spectacles and pageantry staged in Paris, London, and Heidelberg. She convincingly contrasts the message of peace and union that the Paris spectacles sought to communicate with that of military might and militant Protestantism projected in London and Heidelberg.

Two essays explore the Palatine wedding and its cultural dimensions through objects of art and architecture: Sigrid Gensichen and Silke Böttcher describe and analyse exciting recent findings of archaeological remains from the once-famous Hortus Palatinus (Garden of the Palatinate) in Heidelberg, especially art objects and technology found in a well room (*Brunnenstube*) in the grounds of the garden. Finally, Hanns Hubach builds on his impressive expertise in tapestries to reconstruct the once renowned (but now sadly lost) tapestry collection of the Heidelberg court.

Overall, the volume is beautifully produced, with ample illustrations. One of the book's many attractive traits is that it contains articles from a number of perspectives, in terms not only of methodologies, but also career stages among the authors, who range from graduate students

and senior scholars to emeritus faculty. Some notes on the contributors would have been useful in helping readers to place the essays in the authors' diverse academic backgrounds. Although admittedly time-consuming and costly to produce, an index of names and topics would also have been useful in helping readers orientate themselves in the wealth of material.

However, these are relatively minor criticisms, given the many merits of this book. The volume makes fascinating, rewarding reading for anyone interested in early modern European history, politics, and court culture. It is to be hoped that it will inspire further studies of the Palatine wedding and other early seventeenth-century celebrations of dynastic alliances, leading to productive new readings of the source material from the perspectives of postcolonial and gender studies.

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SIMON ADLER, *Political Economy in the Habsburg Monarchy 1750–1774: The Contribution of Ludwig Zinzendorf*, Palgrave Studies in the History of Finance (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), xi + 288 pp. ISBN 978 3 030 31006 6. £99.99 (hardcover)

Count Ludwig Friedrich Julius von Zinzendorf (1721–80) is known to historians of the Habsburg monarchy as a holder of prominent positions in the nation's fiscal and tax administration, and as a minister on Maria Theresa's Council of State. His role as a fiscal expert—especially as the president of the Hofrechenkammer (the monarchy's audit office, founded in 1762)—has been discussed in broad overview by Friedrich Walter, P. G. M. Dickson, Christine Lebeau, and most recently in several essays in an edited volume on the administrative history of the Habsburg monarchy during the early modern period.¹ However, his individual profile at the intersection between politics and economics has so far remained obscure. This should not come as a surprise, given that the studies listed above deal with the financial and tax policies of the Habsburg fiscal-military state primarily from the perspective of administrative history, to the exclusion of research into Zinzendorf's life and work.

This is what prompted Simon Adler to place Zinzendorf at the centre of his book (which is based on a Ph.D. thesis submitted to the University of Cambridge), and to examine the count's role as an observer of economic conditions in France and England, as a participant in economic discourse, and as a fiscal and economic policymaker. In the process, Adler goes far beyond pure intellectual history—despite

Trans. by Jozef van der Voort (GHIL)

¹ Thomas Fellner and Heinrich Kretschmayr (eds.), *Die österreichische Zentralverwaltung*, 14 vols. (Vienna, 1907–70), sect. ii, vol. i, pt. i: Friedrich Walter, *Die Geschichte der österreichischen Zentralverwaltung in der Zeit Maria Theresias (1740–1780)* (1938); P. G. M. Dickson, *Finance and Government under Maria Theresa, 1740–1780*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1987); Christine Lebeau, *Aristocrates et grands commis à la cour de Vienne (1748–1791): Le modèle français* (Paris, 1996); Michael Hochedlinger, Petr Mařa, and Thomas Winkelbauer (eds.), *Verwaltungsgeschichte der Habsburgermonarchie in der Frühen Neuzeit*, vol. i: *Hof und Dynastie, Kaiser und Reich, Zentralverwaltungen, Kriegswesen und landesfürstliches Finanzwesen* (Vienna, 2019).

claiming that his book is ‘primarily concerned with ideas’ (p. 7). He organizes his material along three thematic axes. First, he reconstructs Zinzendorf’s economic and fiscal analyses and concepts as they developed over time; second, he situates him in the context of the economic ideas advanced by French and British authors; and third, he explores the count’s role in the discourses of Vienna’s political and administrative elites.

Adler bases his study on a dense array of sources from multiple archives, including the Zinzendorf collection in the Niederösterreichisches Landesarchiv, which has been systematically analysed here for the first time. Detailed paraphrases of Zinzendorf’s own writings demand concentration on the part of the reader, but offer profound insights into the thinking of a state economist during the eighteenth century.

Adler’s goal is not to write Zinzendorf’s life story, but he nonetheless describes the count’s biography in some detail. In the introduction to the book, we learn that Zinzendorf was born to a Lower Austrian family that had partly turned to Protestantism – especially Pietism – and settled outside the Habsburg dominions during the seventeenth century. His parents and grandparents had found a new sphere of activity in Saxony, but maintained links with their region of origin. In 1739, Zinzendorf converted to Catholicism in order to inherit the estate bequeathed by the Catholic branch of the family in Lower Austria, which was held in trust. In doing so, he laid the foundations for his later career as a civil servant under Maria Theresa. On the level of family politics, it is interesting to note that Zinzendorf’s younger half-brother Karl (1739–1813) also embarked on a successful career in the Viennese court and government after converting to Catholicism. As governor of Trieste, president of the Hofrechenkammer, and above all as the author of a unique set of diaries, he was until now the better known of the two brothers.²

In 1746 Zinzendorf studied law in Leipzig, before entering the provincial government of Lower Austria the following year and becoming an assessor of the court of the Estates in 1748. Of crucial influence

² Partial edition: Grete Klingenstein, Eva Faber, and Antonio Trampus (eds.), *Europäische Aufklärung zwischen Wien und Triest: Die Tagebücher des Gouverneurs Karl Graf Zinzendorf 1776–1782*, 4 vols. (Vienna, 2009).

on his subsequent career were the links he established in 1749 with Count Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz, who was appointed ambassador to Paris in 1750. The ambitious Zinzendorf, who had a keen interest in economic matters, became a privileged member of Kaunitz's entourage—a circle of associates that was gradually expanded by the equally ambitious ambassador, who in 1753 became state chancellor and played a central role in guiding Habsburg policy for almost four decades. A clientelistic relationship developed between the two men that lasted for decades, to the benefit of both sides.

Chapter two describes how Zinzendorf's inclusion in the delegation to Paris gave him the opportunity to travel, especially through Brittany. There he gathered information about the French East India Company and the navy, which he recorded in memoranda. In another detailed memorandum he examined the links between the size of France's population, the state of its agriculture, and its trade activity in light of the country's monetary circulation, which was itself connected to state credit. Thanks to these inquiries, Zinzendorf made a name for himself among Viennese officials, and the study of interactions between different economic factors became his core interest. He also conducted research with direct practical applications, seeking to understand the origins of state power and prosperity in order to accurately rank the various European nations. To this end, he also travelled to England. Zinzendorf's studies thus form part of the historical background to the Diplomatic Revolution of 1756.

In chapters three and four, Adler shows that Zinzendorf's memoranda of the 1750s and 1760s should be situated in a disciplinary field inhabited by countless authors. Zinzendorf had detailed knowledge of economic debates in France through the writings of figures such as Jean-François Melon, who was in turn influenced by British writers. Jacques Vincent de Gournay, an intendant in the French Bureau of Commerce, conducted studies with a broad empirical basis that set out the economic conditions in France and the Habsburg domain, and emphasized the importance of the circulation of money through the economy. De Gournay applied the same methods as Zinzendorf and produced similar findings, and both authors made use of a Europe-wide network of informants and suppliers of data. Zinzendorf's translations of writings on fiscal and trade policy should also be considered in this context. Of

these texts, which Zinzendorf began working on while he was still a student, the most important was his translation of John Law's influential 1705 treatise *Money and Trade Considered*, which was published in 1758 under the title *Gedanken vom Gelde und von der Handlung*. Adler demonstrates in detail that Zinzendorf extended Law's thoughts on paper money and banks by adding intertextual references to other authors, inserting additional text, and so on. Here once again, the significance of the circulation of knowledge is revealed through textual analysis.

By engaging with French and British authors and by adopting best practices from other countries, Zinzendorf raised the bar for economic discussions between experts in Vienna, as we see in chapter five. It is therefore only natural that he looked to the Bank of England when his thoughts turned to the establishment of an effective state bank—one that would regulate the flow of money and above all act as a lender in order to support all sectors of the economy and increase prosperity. At times of war, it became important for the public finances to be administered on a basis of trust and transparency in order to keep the state budget adequately supplied with money.

In the sixth and most wide-ranging chapter, Adler assesses Zinzendorf's position in contemporary political and economic discourse and in the apparatus of government in Vienna. Zinzendorf was an empirical economist focused on solving practical problems, and he developed his ideas through conversation, correspondence, reading widely, and undertaking research trips. As a government official, however, he also had informal access to Maria Theresa and her husband Francis I, to whom he was a close adviser. The latter in particular was very interested in economic questions. Zinzendorf was convinced that tried-and-tested concepts drawn mainly from England and France should be applied to the Habsburg monarchy. He played an especially important role during war time, standing at the centre of a diverse array of projects and proposals for fiscal and economic reform that were drawn up by both officials and private citizens. He discussed economic problems in circles consisting mainly of noble functionaries occupying prominent posts in the apparatus of state, many of whom had clientelistic relations with the state chancellor Kaunitz.

When it came to the reform of fiscal institutions, Zinzendorf had a decisive influence on the chancellor. His goal was to establish public

bodies in Vienna that would have detailed knowledge of financial flows and would be able to exert regulatory control, and Zinzendorf came closer to achieving it as president of the Hofrechenkammer. The idea was for these bodies to monitor the central fiscal administration, supervise the accounts of the provincial Estates, and play a primary role in overseeing the national budget. However, at a time when the apparatus of state was undergoing constant reform, the Hofrechenkammer proved short-lived—partly because of its overextended remit, but also due to conflicts over its area of authority and disputes between individual officials. In 1773 it was placed under the control of the Hofkammer (the Habsburg treasury), and Zinzendorf was dismissed from his role as president and excluded from political life.

Adler demonstrates that Zinzendorf's political and economic thought was primarily focused on the state. It therefore stands to reason that his economic ideas circulated in the domain of government, or in other words, among the administrative elites. There was no critical public sphere to speak of in the Habsburg monarchy beyond the discourse between state officials. At the same time, Zinzendorf underscored the importance of economic factors in political decision-making. He not only sought to solve urgent financial problems, but also believed that a strong economy with a healthy credit and banking system was the basis of state power. Zinzendorf's economic analyses and ideas led him to deeper insights than had been achieved by Heinrich Gottlob von Justi or Joseph von Sonnenfels. Although Justi's and Sonnenfels's cameralist doctrines were taught to future civil servants at universities, the ideas circulating within the government itself stemmed from Zinzendorf.

Simon Adler's rigorously structured book (including an index) expands our knowledge of the eighteenth century considerably. Zinzendorf clearly emerges as an economic thinker operating between theory and practice, as a networker and active follower of European discourse, and as part of the administrative elite under Maria Theresa. Adler does not deal in generalizations or abstract concepts; his preferred method is to describe events with close reference to the sources, and to categorize and interpret strictly on the basis of empirical findings. As a result, his study produces substantial insights that are relevant to a number of different fields—not just economic history,

but also intellectual and administrative history, as well as the history of the fiscal-military state. Adler's book therefore deserves a wider readership than just historians of the Habsburg monarchy.

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ELISABETH-MARIE RICHTER, *England und der Index der verbotenen Bücher im 19. Jahrhundert*, Römische Inquisition und Indexkongregation, 21 (Leiden: Brill/Ferdinand Schöningh, 2021), x + 638 pp. ISBN 978 3 506 70474 0. €120.56 / \$US 147.00

At the outset of his ascent from struggling writer and lapsed ordinand to second English pope, George Arthur Rose, the hero of Frederick Rolfe's 1904 novel of semi-autobiographical fantasy, *Hadrian the Seventh*, confesses a long litany of sins to a bishop. 'In regard to literature', he admits, 'I have read prohibited books and magazines—the *Nineteenth Century*, and books ancient and modern which are of a certain kind . . . my motive always has been to inform myself.'¹ Among its other discoveries, Elisabeth-Marie Richter's impressive new book on the relationship between England and the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* during the nineteenth century makes clear that the conflict which Rolfe's half-fictional creation experienced between the allure of modern knowledge and the duty of obedience was far from unusual among English Catholics of Rolfe's generation.

Focusing in the first instance on the juridical processes by which English books came to be placed on the *Index*, and second on the views which English Catholics themselves took of the institution, *England und der Index* has a significance which extends beyond its central concern with the history of ecclesiastical censorship. For that history also opens new windows into the history of nineteenth-century English Catholicism, and the European impact of British intellectual and religious life.

Richter's book is the twenty-first volume to appear in Brill's invaluable series *Römische Inquisition und Indexkongregation*, under the general editorship of Hubert Wolf. In common with the rest of the series, *England und der Index* is one of the fruits of the 1998 opening of the archives of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, a vault still replete with treasure for the ecclesiastical, intellectual, or book historian. Known from its foundation in 1542 until 1965 under the more fearsome title of the Congregation of the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition, or Holy Office, it shared responsibility for book censorship with the smaller Sacred Congregation of the Index. As Richter explains,

¹ Frederick Rolfe (Baron Corvo), *Hadrian the Seventh* (New York, 2001), 50.

this 'little sister' (p. 47) of the Inquisition kept the *Index* up to date, ruled upon questions of interpretation, and granted selective permissions to read its forbidden contents, prior to its full integration with the Holy Office in 1917. The *Index* continued to grow until it condemned its last book in 1961. Paul VI abolished it five years later. Codified into something like a formal procedure under the quasi-Enlightenment pope Benedict XIV, the *Index's* stately workings could not keep pace with the huge expansion of the modern book trade, but the authorities lost none of their premodern vigour in prohibiting works injurious to the faith during the nineteenth century. Prominent among these were works of English provenance. Expertly navigating both the inquisitorial archives in Rome and the Westminster Diocesan Archives in London, Richter presents the English encounter with the *Index* from both the curial and the English points of view. Using sources in German, English, French, Italian, and Latin, she integrates the archival trail with close comparison of different editions of texts brought within the *Index's* compass in order to analyse why, exactly, one edition of the same work earned censure rather than another. Following scholarship of this high order is one of the rewards which the book brings to the reader who possesses the opportunity to read its 551 pages of main text.

In a way that will be helpful for readers coming to the subject for the first time, the book begins with recapitulations of the history of post-Reformation English Catholicism and of the Roman apparatus of censorship. The obligatory discussion of the current state of research follows, before Richter's target comes into arresting focus with a fascinating table (pp. 74–81) of the English books which went before the Holy Office or the Congregation of the Index between 1815 and 1899. Of these a number were forbidden, whilst others were scrutinized but ultimately not included in the *Index*. To the Victorianist on the Clapham omnibus, the list of works which the Curia decided to censor could appear eclectic, even slapdash. Books were censored, but so were sermons and even individual journal articles, including a series of essays by St George Jackson Mivart on 'Happiness in Hell' in the *Nineteenth Century* (p. 81) – perhaps the inspiration for Rose's confession in *Hadrian the Seventh*. Hugh Trevor-Roper's mischievous description of the *Index* – 'that incomparable roll of genius' – could only be applied at a stretch to such proscribed texts as George Combe's

System of Phrenology or William Stroud's *Treatise on the Physical Cause of the Death of Christ* (pp. 78, 81).² Although the *Index* condemned a number of what posterity would regard as nineteenth-century classics, such as John Stuart Mill's *Principles of Political Economy* (p. 79), many great Victorian works are passed over in silence: neither Leslie Stephen nor Charles Darwin earned a mention.

This table of prohibited works will be of great interest to scholars of nineteenth-century British intellectual culture. It also suggests certain difficulties with Richter's justifiable, but inescapably thorny decision to focus solely on 'English' books, in the sense of 'England's literary production' (p. 5). The quotation marks around 'English' are necessary, because the author decides to include Scottish works, marked with an asterisk, in the table alongside books originating in England. Richter argues that this is a fair inclusion in a book about England, because despite Scotland's separate ecclesiastical polity, Rome perceived it, together with England, as a heretical Protestant country. Ireland, by contrast, was a different case, being an overwhelmingly Catholic nation, and so Irish books are not mentioned. Richter's principles of selection are, at one level, quite reasonable. But British historians may have found it helpful had she taken the opportunity to include Irish books in the ledger, for there was substantial interpenetration between English and Irish Catholic intellectual culture in the period. On the Protestant side, close links existed between Anglo-Irish Protestants and England's Anglican elites, whilst Presbyterians in Ulster and Scotland moved freely across the North Channel. Indeed, as Richter goes on to note, two of the authors whom she discusses at greater length in the book—Laurence Sterne and Lady Sydney Morgan—themselves had Anglo-Irish backgrounds. A composite table, including all English, Scottish, Irish, and (perhaps implausibly) Welsh works that came before the censorial gaze, might have better reflected the porous nature of the boundaries between the literary, religious, and intellectual cultures of the United Kingdom's four nations.

This quibble is, however, a minor one, for it does not impede the reader's appreciation of the heart of Richter's book. Rather than focus

² Quoted in Richard Davenport-Hines, 'Introduction', in id. (ed.), *Letters from Oxford: Hugh Trevor-Roper to Bernard Berenson* (London, 2006), p. xxxv.

on all the fifty-four listed works, an embarrassment of riches which could have produced a relatively superficial treatment of her subject, she instead identifies four case studies. Leaving to future historians the philosophical, historical, theological, and political-economic works which attracted the attention of the censors, she instead attends to four case studies of the Congregation of the Index's response to 'literature in the narrower sense' (p. 84). The first is the eighteenth-century Anglican cleric Laurence Sterne's 1768 *A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy*, a novel relating the mainly amorous touring experiences of the author's alter ego, Reverend Mr Yorick, and placed on the *Index* in 1819. The second is the rationalistic Anglo-Irish author Lady Sydney Morgan's 1821 travelogue *Italy*, banned the next year. The third is Mary Martha Sherwood's evangelical Anglican work of children's fiction *The History of Little Henry and his Bearer*, published in 1814 and indexed in 1827. The fourth and final work singled out for attention is Percy Bysshe Shelley's posthumously published 1839 *Poetical Works*, the only one of the selection ultimately not prohibited in this way, in a decision of 1852.

Richter examines the English background and reception, Continental translation or dissemination, and censorial consideration of each of these works in a way that makes her book both a fascinating example of comparative reception history and a forensically argued study of the variegated complexities of papal censorship. Her findings are important, and often surprising. Throughout her account, Richter is concerned to reconstruct the intellectual personalities and mental world-views of the consultors appointed by the Congregation to report on suspicious books. They emerge as generalists, with little specific background in English affairs; hence their judgements were often rather light on the texts' contexts, or derivative of others' opinions. Intriguingly, censors' moral objections to problematic works often resembled those of conservative English Protestants, despite their doctrinal differences. Thus the curial consultor echoed earlier English readers in faulting Sterne for making light of religion and scripture. Where censors did not explicitly recommend proscription, this did not necessarily imply toleration, still less approval. Shelley's poems escaped the *Index* not because they were doctrinally harmless, but because the Congregation decided they were already prohibited according to the Tridentine 'second Index rule' (p. 427), according to

which works of heretics that treated religious questions stood under a general ban on perusal by the faithful.

Whilst the censors' awareness of English works was notably patchy, Richter winkles out the patterns which account for why certain works came to be of interest and others passed out of view. In most cases, little is known of the precise route through which individual works were denounced to the censors. But the Curia showed especial vigilance in defending the reputation of Italy and the Papal State against the calumnies of heretical authors. Hence it was no accident that Sterne, Morgan, and Shelley all deprecated the religious condition of Italy. An English work generally also had to appear in French or Italian translation before it attracted critical notice. This reflected both the censors' limited intelligence on the world beyond Rome and their more immediate concern to safeguard Catholic peoples rather than to police Protestant ones. The nature of the translation could also prove significant. Sterne's translator, Ugo Foscolo, made his prose more intolerably erotic than the English original, whilst one of the censor's main objections to Sherwood's *Little Henry* was that the Italian translation came from a Protestant Bible society. The fact that works were treated in translation helps to account for the often striking delay between a work's original publication and its consideration for the *Index*. It was not the sole explanation, however, for why English works came in for critical attention at moments of heightened anxiety. Shelley, unusually read in the English original, faced the censors shortly after the restoration of the English Roman Catholic hierarchy in 1850.

How far did Catholics heed the *Index*'s admonitions in practice? In the penultimate chapter before her conclusion, Richter poses this question in relation to the English Catholic hierarchy at the close of the nineteenth century. She argues that knowledge of the *Index* was notably slight among the English Catholic community at large. The most senior clergy—here especially Cardinal Herbert Vaughan, archbishop of Westminster from 1892 to 1903—regarded it as both impractical to enforce and counterproductive to evangelism. Unsuccessfully lobbying Rome to release the English church from the authority of the *Index*, Vaughan considered that English Catholics had to meet non-Catholics in free debate, unencumbered by the allegations of obscurantism which the *Index* invited. Richter convincingly argues that this difference of

opinion points to the limits of Romanization within English Catholicism after 1850. Where curial censors habitually thought in terms of the protection of Catholic nations from unbelief, English Catholics, more used to a free press and a religiously plural society, hoped for a less constipated response to modernity. Ultimately, this would be the approach that won out during the period of the Second Vatican Council.

Richter's imaginative, scrupulous, and authoritative work on the history of Catholic censorship is a model of its kind, presenting meticulous scholarship in engaging prose. A weighty contribution to a distinguished and vigorous series, it also opens up several new areas of inquiry for future research in nineteenth-century British and European intellectual and religious history. Richter herself urges the more thorough consideration of the reception which the *Index* obtained among English Catholics beyond the episcopate, among the parochial clergy, laity, and in Catholic educational institutions. It would be exciting to extend our understanding of the censorial process beyond the literary works upon which Richter concentrates, to integrate the works of history, theology, philosophy, and political economy which also came within its purview. Whether the ultimate omission of a dubious work from the *Index* did indeed always leave it under the general ban of the second rule, or whether a more accommodating response to certain non-Catholic English authors can be detected in some cases, may be a question worth pursuing. The book deserves to find a wide readership with Anglophone historians, among whom knowledge of German is regrettably no longer as widespread as it once was. Perhaps some way can be found of including English-language summaries in future volumes in the *Römische Inquisition und Indexkongregation* series, so that contemporary scholarship does not fall victim to modern forms of the intellectual parochialism which Richter historicizes so instructively.

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JANNE LAHTI (ed.), *German and United States Colonialism in a Connected World: Entangled Empires*, Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), 319 pp. ISBN 978 3 030 53205 5. £89.99

'Europeans increasingly tended to see in America an idealized or distorted image of their own countries, onto which they could project their own aspirations and fears, their self-confidence and . . . guilty despair.'¹ This quotation from historian Hugh Honour captures the gist of this edited volume that brings together an impressive list of international scholars of colonialism and empire. At a moment when the legacies and memories of German colonialism are being discussed with great urgency and controversy, this is a timely publication. It takes a step back and explores the various ideas and concepts Germans had about their nation's imperial expansion. The basic assumptions of Janne Lahti's edited volume are that the United States have served as a main reference point for German imperialism, and that comparison should be a central category of analysis in the study of imperialism. According to Andrew Zimmerman, this is pertinent since

the United States has been, arguably, the most successful white supremacist society in human history, a slaveholding settler colony that generated enormous power and prosperity and moral self-validation for a white ruling class. No wonder so many imperial and colonial thinkers have looked to the country as a model state and empire (p. 302).

Indeed, many Germans have looked to the United States for clues concerning discourses on and practices of settler colonialism.

The introduction by Janne Lahti is followed by twelve chapters, whose key themes are framed by two concluding comments by Andrew Zimmerman and Sebastian Conrad. To do justice to each of the highly insightful and carefully argued contributions would exceed the confines of this review, so highlights from individual chapters will need to suffice. In 'The Fantasy of Open Space on the Frontier', Robert L.

¹ Hugh Honour, *The New Golden Land: European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time* (London, 1976), 3.

Nelson engages with agricultural economist Max Sering, who travelled to the American western frontier in the 1880s intending to apply the practices of colonial expansion he observed there to German plans for Eastern Europe. He recognized the importance of canal and railway infrastructure for colonial settlement, but also anticipated resistance from the local population to the arrival of German settlers. Closely observing US policies of removal and assimilation towards Native Americans, Sering favoured the assimilation of Slavic peoples. However, he was also concerned about the preservation of German language and identity, and about German nationalism in a non-German environment. Eventually, this advocate of 'inner colonization' came to embrace more direct, violent measures – namely, the 'Indian removal' of the Poles in order to create space for Germans east of Prussia.

Labour is a central category of analysis in a number of essays. In her chapter 'Ruling Classes and Serving Races', for instance, Dörte Lerp focuses on the impact of global migration flows on questions of labour and land. She analyses how Germans were granted privileged access to land that was inhabited by Poles and Africans respectively, and how colonial labour was organized along racial and ethnic lines, resulting in the creation of a white German 'ruling class' on the one hand, and a population of 'serving races' on the other (p. 131).² This was modelled on the US system of race-based slavery, as were practices of land appropriation that were similar to policies of removal and genocide towards Native Americans during the westward expansion. Lerp's discussion aptly demonstrates the transimperial circulation of ideas and practices relating to the (controlled) mobility of enslaved African Americans, Native Americans, Africans, and Poles, and that the empires found sometimes similar, sometimes different 'solutions' for the 'challenges' they faced.

Janne Lahti and Michelle Moyd offer an expert comparative analysis of Apaches and askaris as colonial soldiers in their chapter 'In Service of Empires'. Their contribution is an important intervention

² I have chosen to depart from the editorial policy of the *Bulletin* and keep the word 'white' uncapslized in this review, since unlike 'Black', it does not refer to a shared historical experience and is not an emancipatory act of self-naming. However, I want to stress that 'Black', 'white', and other racial categories are socially constructed and that race is a biological fiction.

in a volume in which few chapters engage with the perspectives and motives of colonized subjects. By insightfully discussing the many similarities and differences between Apaches in the US west in the 1870s and African soldiers in German East Africa in the late 1880s and 1890s, they demonstrate that working as colonial soldiers offered these men ‘unintended opportunities . . . to pursue their own goals and empowerment’ (p. 235). Recruitment into colonial armies offered access to masculinity through a readiness for combat and violence, enabled them to provide for their (extended) families, and endowed them with privileges, even if these came at the price of losing their larger communities and being regarded as traitors to their people. Lahti and Moyd’s discussion highlights the agency of these soldiers, who were ‘practitioners of colonial rule’ (p. 265). Their motives for joining the colonial forces were sometimes in direct opposition to what Euro-American and German colonial settlers intended, and the colonizers eventually realized that the recruitment of Apache soldiers fighting alongside white soldiers, and the deployment of askaris in their confrontation with white German settlers, had been a ‘terrible mistake’ (p. 268). The analysis highlights the understanding to be gained from comparative perspectives on imperial practices, and by including the voices and perspectives of the colonized, it demonstrates that they also exerted agency (albeit of a limited kind) and were complicit in colonial violence.

Andrew Zimmermann’s afterword emphasizes that the majority of the chapters in the book engage with imperialist thinkers and their writings and practices. These sources convey a distorted image of the colonized, whose basic humanity is often questioned. Yet, in line with Edward Said’s foundational, but controversial, approach of Orientalism, all the contributors engage with their protagonists critically. In a similar vein, Sebastian Conrad notes that interactions and entanglements between empires were largely one-sided affairs, since many German imperial protagonists looked across the Atlantic for inspiration, but this gaze was rarely reciprocated. The main point of interest for Germans was the westward expansion, along with its railway infrastructure and its accompanying ideology of manifest destiny. This served as a pretext for Germany’s own expansionist fantasies towards Eastern Europe and in African colonial settlements—both

intended to bring German emigration to the United States to a halt. One crucial point that connects all the contributions in this volume, Conrad emphasizes, is that empire is first and foremost a political strategy. Empires thrived thanks to the mobility of cheap labour and a deeply racialized colonial workforce, but also because of the movement of ideas, concepts, and practices across the Atlantic.

This is a fine volume that promises to create productive discussions among historians and in the classroom. It clearly demonstrates the global, transnational nature of imperialism and empire by offering comparative analyses of labour recruitment practices, colonial settlements, removal and assimilation policies towards indigenous peoples, and the agents of colonial policies.

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JUDITH HESS, *Europäisierung des Gedenkens? Der Erste Weltkrieg in deutschen und britischen Ausstellungen*, Public History – Angewandte Geschichte, 8 (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2021), 358 pp. ISBN 978 3 837 65619 0. €60.00

Looking back at the First World War centenary, Daniel Todman labelled the vast range of public activities staged in 2014 a ‘swirling cultural blizzard’. These events, he wrote, allowed ‘the already fascinated to confirm their existing beliefs’, provided others with ‘a superficial moment’ of engagement, and passed many more people ‘completely by’.¹ At the start of the centenary, however, there had been a brief period of hope, when it seemed that new approaches to the conflict that escaped national boundaries might take hold. Judith Heß’s book concentrates on the opening salvos in this period, concluding her observations long before the optimism of August 2014 was lost in the ‘blizzard’ of centenary fatigue. Her focus is on the numerous First World War exhibitions that sprang up in both Britain and Germany, all seeking to offer the public a framework through which to understand the complexities of the conflict’s many histories. Across eleven detailed chapters, Heß explores whether these exhibitions managed to achieve a ‘Europeanization of remembrance’, thereby cementing new approaches to the war in the public imagination.

Where Heß’s book differs from other recent studies of the centenary is in its comparative approach. This focus allows Heß to move beyond the centenary moment itself and to delve more deeply into the British–German relationship through the prism of the two countries’ memory cultures. Scholarly writing on this subject has long emphasized a stark difference in the ways that the British and German publics have looked back on the First World War. George Mosse’s seminal work on the ‘cult of the fallen soldier’ identified revanchist memories in inter-war Germany that were never replicated to the same degree in Britain.² After 1945 this difference persisted, with the

¹ Daniel Todman, ‘“Something about Who We Are as a People”: Government, Media, Heritage and the Construction of the Centenary’, *Twentieth Century British History*, 27/4, (2016), 518–23, at 523.

² George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (New York, 1990).

more recent experience of Hitler's genocidal war overshadowing the earlier conflict in divided Germany.³ For the British, meanwhile, as David Reynolds has noted, the First World War still retained a hold over the public imagination as a symbol of apparent futility.⁴

Following the pattern of these studies and others, Heß's starting point is the same perceived gulf between British and German memory cultures. 'In German historical consciousness', she asserts, 'it is above all National Socialism and the Second World War that are present.' In Britain, by contrast, memory of the First World War is 'kept alive' by the annual Remembrance Day commemorations (p. 15). However, given the significant role that memories of the Second World War also play in British politics and society – something that has been a theme in the work of Lucy Noakes and Mark Connelly – perhaps this rigid dichotomy between a British focus on the First World War and a German fixation on the later conflict is slightly wide of the mark.⁵ Instead, it appears far more apposite to start not from a point of division, but rather by looking at how the Second World War shaped and has continued to reshape memories of the 1914–18 conflict in both countries.

There have of course been a variety of different political and cultural impulses feeding into the way both British and German societies have understood the First World War. Films and novels through to memoirs and mementos have all played a role. For Heß, though, it is solely the exhibitions that are important to her discussion, although she is very careful to situate these more broadly, considering them within the wider cultural landscape in which they were produced. Each chapter of the book then sees Heß ask different questions of the centenary exhibitions to determine which aspects of the war each exhibition chose to prioritize. The thematic chapters run chronologically, starting with familiar questions about war guilt, moving through to violence, death, and suffering on the home front, before

³ Annika Mombauer, 'The German Centenary of the First World War', *War & Society*, 36/4 (2017), 276–88, at 279.

⁴ David Reynolds, *The Long Shadow: The Great War and the Twentieth Century* (London, 2013).

⁵ Lucy Noakes, *Dying for the Nation: Death, Grief and Bereavement in Second World War Britain* (Manchester, 2020); Mark Connelly, *We Can Take It! Britain and the Memory of the Second World War* (Harlow, 2004).

finally turning to consider how politicians chose to discuss the centenary exhibitions.

With such broad themes and overarching research questions, it was clearly always going to be a tricky task to select case studies that fully aligned with them. Heß's approach, therefore, is to focus on regional and national exhibitions that had the potential for good visitor numbers (p. 29). From a German perspective, special exhibitions held in the Deutsches Historisches Museum in Berlin, the Militärhistorisches Museum der Bundeswehr in Dresden, Stuttgart's Haus der Geschichte Baden-Württemberg, and the Historisches Museum der Pfalz in Speyer all feature. The British comparison comes from the new First World War Galleries in the Imperial War Museum in London, the Firing Line: Cardiff Castle Museum of the Welsh Soldier, and the Imperial War Museum North in Manchester. As the case studies all cover exhibitions housed in significant regional or national museums, it is clear that each would touch on Heß's main themes concerning the broad course of the war. Yet at the same time, the reliance on such prominent exhibitions is something of a missed opportunity. While the Deutsches Historisches Museum's centenary exhibition repeated some of the themes covered ten years earlier in its 'Der Weltkrieg 1914–1918: Ereignis und Erinnerung' anniversary presentation, smaller local exhibitions offered more exciting approaches.⁶ The Staatliche Bibliothek in Regensburg, which approached the war through the history of French prisoners of war, and Stockport Museum's exploration of the experience of minority voices offer good examples of local innovations.⁷

There may well have been plenty of local exhibitions offering a slightly different perspective on the war experience, but the book's seven case studies provide a good snapshot of broader museal trends that came to the fore during the centenary. With the case studies

⁶ René Schlott (ed.), *Der Weltkrieg 1914–1918 – Ereignis und Erinnerung – Eine Ausstellung im Deutschen Historischen Museum Berlin* (Berlin, 2004).

⁷ 'Mitten im Krieg: Das Regensburger Kriegsgefangenenlager während des Ersten Weltkriegs', Staatliche Bibliothek Regensburg, 2016, at [<https://www.staatliche-bibliothek-regensburg.de/article/mitten-im-krieg-das-regensburger-kriegsgefangenenlager-waehrend-des-ersten-weltkriegs/>] accessed 17 Jan. 2022; Stockport Museum, 'Keep the Home Fires Burning: Stories from World War I', 2014.

settled and the key historical themes selected, the purpose of the eight main chapters is to determine which image of the war each exhibition displayed, focusing in particular on differences between the British and German presentations. Each chapter works towards this goal in a systematic, albeit rather rigid, fashion. In the first section of each chapter, Heß provides a synthesis of the existing historiographical debates relevant to the particular topic. After this outline, the discussion then turns to see if each exhibition has followed the historiographical consensus or whether 'differences between research and the exhibitions' can be determined (p. 139).

This hunt for some form of historical truth begins in chapters three and four, which follow on from two lengthy introductory sections. Their focus is on the outbreak of the conflict and the well-trodden war guilt debate. Perhaps due to the complexity of this history, which does not lend itself particularly well to the museum setting, Heß finds that the exhibitions mainly skirt around the subject of guilt. Where the issue is touched upon, however, she notes that the German exhibitions were more likely to 'sketch out a picture of shared responsibility amongst the belligerent powers' (p. 138), while in comparison the British tended to depict the war's outbreak as a clash between a 'German aggressor' and a passive British state (p. 165). Chapters five and six focus on the memory of the war, exploring how the conflict has been understood in politics and society. Again, Heß identifies a dividing line between the two countries' approaches. The German exhibitions viewed European integration as a 'successful outcome of the learning process' that the two world wars started (p. 175). Unsurprisingly, in Brexit Britain, the exhibitions avoided framing the war in European terms, but still managed to imbue it with meaning. Leaving behind older narratives of futility and a lost generation, they viewed the war as a justified defence of civilized values for which contemporaries were willing to fight (p. 201).

The next set of chapters, seven and eight, deal with the history of wartime suffering at home and on the (Western) Front, covering everything from trenches and shelling through to forced labour and propaganda. In an engaging section on gas warfare, Heß explores how the exhibitions all chose to deploy original artefacts and images of gas masks in action as a means of visualizing the horrors of frontline warfare. What makes this discussion so successful is that it breaks away

from a fairly strict comparison of the historiography vis-à-vis the exhibition displays. Instead, Heß demonstrates a more transnational approach, as both the British and German curators used a similar set of objects to create immersive displays (pp. 212–16). Finally, the book's concluding chapters, nine and ten, explore politicians' contributions to the centenary period. Unlike in the earlier chapters, the exhibitions are more at the margins of the discussion, making an appearance only when politicians turned up to declare them open. This was a role that both David Cameron and Angela Merkel performed in 2014, opening the main centenary exhibitions in London and Berlin (pp. 276, 283).

Heß concludes her narrative lamenting that the centenary exhibitions failed to 'present a Europeanization of the history of the First World War'. The reason for this shortcoming, she contends, is that 'national narratives and national historical perspectives were not integrated into a transnational European history of the First World War' (p. 309). None of this should come as a great surprise, as these exhibitions had to speak to national audiences, funders, and political beneficiaries. Yet despite Heß's pessimism, British and German representations of the conflict, whether in museums, literature, or on screen, do offer more than a parallel history of wartime suffering. To uncover these other aspects of a complex memory culture would require an exploration of a broader range of exhibitions, beyond the more familiar national or large regional interpretations. It would also mean picking up shared cultural responses, such as the history of the gas mask, or exploring points of contact and exchange where British and German experiences overlapped. Histories of humanitarianism, diplomacy, prisoners of war, enemy aliens, and care parcels—which did make an appearance in some of the exhibitions—all offer important starting points for highlighting interactions rather than just divisions. A shared history of British–German memory of the war may still be awaiting its author, but for now Heß's study gives readers plenty to ponder.

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