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PRIDE AND PREJUDICE IN STORIES OF MEDIEVAL TRAVEL AND MIGRATION

INTRODUCTION

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The idea that the Middle Ages were inaugurated by 'barbarian invasions' (*Völkerwanderungen*)—large-scale migrations of people that in one fell swoop swept away the well-ordered world of Roman antiquity for a landscape of unorganized, Dark-Age tribalism—has lost ground in scholarship.[1] So has the idea that—after this era of explosive movement—medieval Europe was paralysed by lack of mobility,[2] with people confined to their local community and anyone who dared to travel beyond its boundaries regarded as deeply suspicious. Yet medieval society was more complex than that, as shown not least

[1] Peter J. Heather, *Empires and Barbarians: The Fall of Rome and the Birth of Europe* (Oxford, 2010); Guy Halsall, 'The Barbarian Invasions', in Paul Fouracre (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. i: *c.500–c.700* (Cambridge, 2005), 35–55; Peter Geiss and Konrad Vössing (eds.), *Die Völkerwanderung: Mythos – Forschung – Vermittlung* (Göttingen, 2021); Mischa Meier, *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung: Europa, Asien und Afrika vom 3. bis zum 8. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Munich, 2021). See also the contributions to Brill's series 'Transformation of the Roman World'.

[2] John F. Romano (ed.), *Medieval Travel and Travelers: A Reader* (Toronto, 2020), p. xi: 'The popular conception is that medieval people traveled little'. For historiographical overviews, see also Romedio Schmitz-Esser, 'Travel and Exploration in the Middle Ages', in Albrecht Classen (ed.), *Handbook of Medieval Culture: Fundamental Aspects and Conditions of the European Middle Ages*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 2015), iii. 1680–704; Albrecht Classen, 'Time, Space, and Travel in the Pre-Modern World: Theoretical and Historical Reflections. An Introduction', in id. (ed.), *Travel, Time, and Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time: Explorations of World Perceptions and Processes of Identity Formation* (Boston, 2018), 1–75; Michael Borgolte, 'Medieval Era Migration: An Overview', in *The Encyclopedia of Global Human Migration* (Chichester, 2013), at [https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444351071.wbeghm355].

(and with remarkable ease) by Arno Borst's seminal book on 'Forms of Life in the Middle Ages' (*Lebensformen im Mittelalter*), whose fiftieth publication anniversary is commemorated in this issue by Levi Roach's review in our 'Classics Reread' series.[3] The contributors to this issue, too, underline that although *any* movement away from home was arduous and often even dangerous, people in the Middle Ages exercised a degree of mobility that may still be surprising to some modern onlookers. The contributions to this volume also highlight, however, the ambiguity with which travellers and migrants of the medieval period were viewed by their contemporaries. Some of the surviving sources condemned people on the move, especially when they were perceived to be travelling without purpose or when their movements were suspected of posing a danger or inflicting harm. Other authors, by contrast, celebrated their accomplishments on the road or indeed imagined their historical roots in adventurous movements of migration.

Prejudice against Travellers and Migrants

To be sure, prejudice against and hostility towards people on the move was far from exceptional, especially when these people did not fall under the umbrella of (Catholic) Christianity, and even more so when their movement came with the spectre of violence. The campaigns of the Vikings from the eighth to the eleventh centuries and of the Mongols in the thirteenth, just like those of the Huns and the Avars in the fourth and fifth centuries, were depicted with extreme hostility in medieval literature.[4] Here, the predatory raids and military clashes that did occur and caused understandable concern were

[3] Arno Borst, *Lebensformen im Mittelalter* (Frankfurt am Main, 1987), esp. 219–37.

[4] Caitlin Ellis, 'Remembering the Vikings: Violence, Institutional Memory and the Instruments of History', *History Compass*, 19/1 (2021), at [https://doi.org/10.1111/hic3.12644]; Ann Trudy Fielding, 'The Image of the Mongols in Western European Imagination (1220–1500)' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 2005); Diederik Burgersdijk, 'Creating the Enemy: Ammianus Marcellinus' Double Digression on Huns and Alans (*Res Gestae* 31.2)', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, 59/1 (2016), 111–32.

turned into apocalyptic scenes, and their initiators into bloodthirsty monsters devoid of humanity. Such themes are found, for instance, in the historiographical accounts of the Magyars' activities before forces led by Emperor Otto I put an end to their raids in the Battle of Lechfeld, near Augsburg, in 955. Not only did the Magyars invade, loot, and torch entire cities, so that 'smoke and skies red with fire revealed where each band was', as the monk Ekkehard (b. *c*.980) claimed in his history of the monastery of St Gall,[5] but the abbot and chronicler Regino of Prüm (d. 915) branded them 'a people fiercer and more cruel than any beast':[6]

> Moreover, rumour has it, they eat meat only raw, they drink blood, and they carve up the hearts of people they take captive to devour as a remedy, unaffected by compassion and unmoved by any sentiments of piety.[7]

Worse yet, as non-Christians, they lacked the right faith—a flaw that rendered people on the move suspicious even when they were perfectly peaceful and, in fact, often already settled. This flaw was thus imputed to Jewish people, whom medieval Christians imagined as eternal migrants despite their often long-standing presence in Europe. In later medieval chronicles, such as those written in St Albans, such interpretations of the relationship between Christianity and the Jewish diaspora became personified. The figure of the 'Wandering Jew', in Ann Matter's words, 'takes on all of the characteristics of the whole Jewish community in Christian culture', in which Jews were believed to be punished for their alleged role in the death of Jesus of Nazareth. The 'Wandering Jew' is thus cursed with 'a fugitive presence' and has 'no home until the end of the world.'[8] Of course, medieval Christians

[5] Georg Heinrich Pertz (ed.), *Scriptores rerum Sangallensium: Annales, chronica et historiae aevi Carolini*, MGH SS 2 (Hanover, 1829), 105. All translations are my own, unless otherwise indicated.

[6] Friedrich Kurze, (ed.), *Reginonis abbatis Prumiensis Chronicon cum continuatione Treverensi*, MGH SS rer. Germ. 50 (Hanover, 1890), 131. [7] Ibid. 133.

[8] E. Ann Matter, 'Wandering to the End: The Medieval Christian Context of the Wandering Jew', in Franklin T. Harkins (ed.), *Transforming Relations: Essays on Jews and Christians throughout History in Honour of Michael A. Signer* (Notre Dame, 2010), 224–40, at 232; Jean-Claude Schmitt, 'La genèse médiévale de la

themselves contributed much to this perception, repeatedly robbing Jewish people of their homes and forcing them into exile, as after the expulsion of Jews from England in 1290 or from the Palatinate of the Holy Roman Empire in 1390, among numerous other instances.[9]

Yet even Christians were not safe from prejudice if their movement was perceived to pose a risk to local communities. Mercenaries who roamed the land in pursuit of employment were seen as a threat not only due to their martial profession but also because of a supposed lack of loyalty, even if their arrival did not herald war to begin with.[10] The Third Lateran Council in 1179 held that the destructiveness of their activities was, in fact, equal to 'the ways of pagans'.[11] Indeed, 'when no respectable tie bound a warrior to a cause or group', then that warrior, as Steven Isaac concludes, risked being seen as 'a

légende et de l'iconographie du Juif errant', in Juliette Braillon-Philippe and Pierre Birnbaum (eds.), *Le juif errant: Un témoin du temps* (Paris, 2001), 55–76; George K. Anderson, *The Legend of the Wandering Jew* (Providence, 1965), 16–37.

[9] Robin Mundill, 'Banishment from the Edge of the World: The Jewish Experience of Expulsion from England in 1290', in John Tolan (ed.), *Expulsion and Diaspora Formation: Religious and Ethnic Identities in Flux from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century* (Turnhout, 2015), 85–101; Nureet Dermer, 'Between Foreigners, Strangers and Jews: The Changing Perception of Parisian Jews on the Eve of the 1306 Expulsion', *Medieval Encounters*, 27/4–5 (2021), 308–34; Jonathan Ray, *After Expulsion: 1492 and the Making of Sephardic Jewry* (New York, 2013), chs. 1–2; Gerd Mentgen, 'Die Judenvertreibungen im mittelalterlichen Reich: Ein Forschungsbericht', *Aschkenas*, 16/2 (2008), 367–403. See also Benjamin Scheller, 'Vertreibung als Disambiguierung: Die Ausweisung der Juden aus England (1290), Frankreich (1394), Spanien (1492) und dem Königreich Neapel (1510) im Vergleich', in Markus Bernhardt (ed.), *Inklusive Geschichte? Kulturelle Begegnung – Soziale Ungleichheit – Inklusion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Frankfurt am Main, 2021), 120–48.

[10] Nikolas Jaspert, 'Mobility, Mediation and Transculturation in the Medieval Mediterranean: Migrating Mercenaries and the Challenges of Mixing', in Laila Abu-Er-Rub et al. (eds.), *Engaging with Transculturality: Concepts, Key Terms, Case Studies* (Abingdon, 2019), 136–52; Hunt Janin and Ursula Carlson, *Mercenaries in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Jefferson, NC, 2013); John France (ed.), *Mercenaries and Paid Men: The Mercenary Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2008).

[11] Giuseppe Alberigo et al. (eds.), *The General Councils of Latin Christendom from Constantinople IV (869/870) to Lateran V (1512–1517)*, 2 vols. (Turnhout, 2013), i. 146.

stranger not only to the land he plundered, but also to God's mandated order.'[12]

In other instances, it was fears of economic competition that created 'fierce anti-alien feeling', as migrants in London, frequently with Italian, French, Dutch, or German backgrounds, experienced throughout the later Middle Ages and well into the early modern period.[13] Whether simple weavers or skilled goldsmiths, their impact on the labour market and their cultural otherness led to abuse and violence: everyday insults that denounced migrants as 'erraunt theves and their wifes strong erraunt hores' might be a matter for the courts,[14] but charges of economic harm done to the livelihoods of London citizens sometimes had even graver consequences. A sermon that proclaimed 'alyens and strau[n]giers eate the bread from the poore fatherles chyldren, and take the liuynge from all the artificers, and . . . from all merchauntes' was the prelude to the Evil May Day of 1517, when the homes and shops of foreigners were ransacked—a comparatively mild outcome in this case, as xenophobia had also led to lethal attacks on London's immigrants in the Middle Ages.[15]

[12] Steven Wayne Isaac, 'Down upon the Fold: Mercenaries in the Twelfth Century' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Louisiana State University, 1998), 328–9.

[13] James L. Bolton, *The Alien Communities of London in the Fifteenth Century: The Subsidy Rolls of 1440 and 1483–4* (Stamford, 1998), 39–40. See also William Mark Ormrod, 'Enmity or Amity? The Status of French Immigrants to England during an Age of War, *c.*1290–*c.*1540', *History: The Journal of the Historical Association*, 105/364 (2020), 28–59; Francesco Guidi-Bruscoli and Jessica Lutkin, 'Perception, Identity, and Culture: The Italian Communities in Fifteenth-Century London and Southampton Revisited', in William Mark Ormrod, Nicola F. MacDonald, and Craig D. Taylor (eds.), *Resident Aliens in Later Medieval England* (Turnhout, 2017) 89–104; Bart Lambert and Milan Pajic, 'Immigration and the Common Profit: Native Cloth Workers, Flemish Exiles, and Royal Policy in Fourteenth-Century London', *Journal of British Studies*, 55/4 (2016), 633–57; Joseph P. Huffman, *Family, Commerce, and Religion in London and Cologne: Anglo-German Emigrants, c.1000–c.1300* (Cambridge, 2002), esp. ch. 7.

[14] The National Archives, Kew, STAC 2/21/121, cited in Joshua Thomas Ravenhill, 'The Experiences of Aliens in Later Medieval London and the Negotiation of Belonging, 1400–1540' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of York, 2019), 154.

[15] Edward Hall, *Hall's Chronicle: Containing the History of England, during the Reign of Henry the Fourth, and the Succeeding Monarchs, to the End of the Reign*

Economic concerns also applied to individuals who merely passed through towns and villages in search of a living, be they itinerant merchants or vagrant labourers. But these groups had another problem: 'because they were perceived to be mobile, their good character could not be pledged by a neighbour, nor could they be relied upon to take up arms when needed—just as other visitors to the city (even quite wealthy foreign merchants) were equally strange and untrustworthy'.[16] In a face-to-face society, transitory presence was a potential problem. This suspicion of travellers and migrants whose place of residence—or at least place of origin—was uncertain or non-existent features in Lane Baker's contribution to this special issue, which discusses the first accounts of the Romani's arrival in Central and Western Europe. The German-speaking chroniclers of the Middle Ages, Baker stresses, painted a picture that was not yet as consistently negative as the condemnations of Romani by later, early modern commentators, who have unjustly dominated the historical perception of Romani migration in medieval Europe for too long.

Vagrants, however, were quickly suspected of evil intent. In the Icelandic sagas, '[t]hey are depicted as scurrilous, mercenary, treacherous and manipulative, and rarely have social or kinship links of significance.'[17] Vagrant beggars were in a category of their own, in medieval Iceland and elsewhere, because medieval charity was focused on

of Henry the Eighth (London, 1809), 587. See also Brodie Waddell, 'The Evil May Day Riot of 1517 and the Popular Politics of Anti-Immigrant Hostility in Early Modern London', *Historical Research*, 94/266 (2021), 716–35; Len Scales, 'Bread, Cheese and Genocide: Imagining the Destruction of Peoples in Medieval Western Europe', *History: The Journal of the Historical Association*, 92/3 (2007), 284–300.

[16] Sarah Rees Jones, 'Household, Work and the Problem of Mobile Labour: The Regulation of Labour in Medieval English Towns', in James Bothwell, Peter Jeremy Piers Goldberg, and William Mark Ormrod (eds.), *The Problem of Labour in Fourteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge, 2000), 133–53, at 142. See also Vito Piergiovanni, 'The Itinerant Merchant and the Fugitive Merchant in the Middle Ages', in Laurent Mayali and Maria M. Mart (eds.), *Of Strangers and Foreigners (Late Antiquity–Middle Ages)* (Berkeley, 1993), 81–96; Stephen Moore, 'Perceptions of Vagrancy in Extant Legal Records throughout the Later Middle Ages, 1100–1400' (unpublished MA dissertation, Carleton University, 1993).

[17] Jamie Cochrane, 'Gossips, Beggars, Assassins and Tramps: Vagrants and Other Itinerants in the Sagas of Icelanders', *Saga-Book*, 36 (2012), 43–78, at 44.

helping members of the community who, often through bodily injury or deficiency, were unable to support themselves. By contrast, people suspected of being merely unwilling to work, especially outsiders, evidenced by their ability to travel from place to place, were seen as a burden on a locality's welfare resources and the so-called *bonum commune*, that is, the common good.[18] In fact, vagrancy, where interpreted as a choice of lifestyle, was so contemptible to some medieval observers that it rendered even religious men suspicious. In 1319, when the archbishop of Dublin, Alexander Bicknor, 'bitterly complained of the Mischiefs arising from the Straglers and Beggars that infested the City and Suburbs', he convinced the city's mayor to remove 'idle Person[s] within his Liberties', and importantly, 'even the begging Friers were not excused.'[19]

In their choice of poverty and reliance on alms, the mendicant orders, such as Dominicans and Franciscans, traversed Europe rather than confining themselves to solitude as hermits or enclosure in monasteries. This rejection of 'fixedness of place' (*stabilitas loci*)—a popular idea in Christian monasticism—met with criticism as early as the sixth century, when the Rules of the Master and of Saint Benedict denounced *gyrovagi*—'those who wander':

> they ask to rest their restless feet after journeying; using travel as a pretense, what they really desire is to relieve not their feet but their bellies . . . Never staying put, they are forced by traveling every day to beg, sweat and groan, instead of living and working in one place . . . they prefer to travel than stay still. Ever wandering through different lands, they have no idea where they might support their weariness, or even where they might find their burial.[20]

[18] Kellie Robertson, *The Laborer's Two Bodies: Literary and Legal Productions in Britain, 1350–1500* (New York, 2016), 184–90; Esther Cohen, 'Vagrancy', in John Block Friedman and Kristen Mossler Figg (eds.), *Trade, Travel, and Exploration in the Middle Ages: An Encyclopedia* (New York, 2000), 623–4; Miri Rubin, 'The Poor', in Rosemary Horrox (ed.), *Fifteenth-Century Attitudes: Perceptions of Society in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1994), 169–82.

[19] James Ware, *The Whole Works of Sir James Ware Concerning Ireland*, ed. Walter Harris, 2 vols. (Dublin, 1764), i. 331–2.

[20] Translated in Daniel Caner, *Wandering, Begging Monks: Spiritual Authority and the Promotion of Monasticism in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 2002), 10.

To be sure, the mendicants would have maintained that not all those who wander are lost. And they had a convincing argument on their side:[21] after all, Jesus of Nazareth had not only been poor, but also born on a journey, and had spent his life wandering before commanding his disciples to 'go into all the world and preach the gospel to all creation' (Mark 16:15).

Travellers and Travel Accounts

The ideal of *stabilitas loci* notwithstanding, evangelization was one justification for religious men to travel even before the mendicants elevated religious vagrancy to an ideal (although many of them settled eventually). The famous early medieval chronicler Bede (d. 735) described in his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* how it was 'mostly monks' who had risked the crossing from Ireland and the Continent that preached to the peoples of Britain and eventually converted them to Christianity.[22] Much more mundane reasons to be on the road sprang from the administrative needs of monasteries, chapters, and churches, which required monks, canons, and priests to travel regularly to see each other, their bishops (perhaps even the pope in Rome), and other magnates.[23]

[21] Benedikt Mertens, '"Vidi quasi vias ipsorum multitudine plenas" (1 Cel 27): Die evangelische Wanderschaft in der Praxis und Debatte der Minderbrüder im 13. Jahrhundert', *Wissenschaft und Weisheit*, 63/1 (2000), 9–60.

[22] Janneke E. Raaijmakers, 'Missions on the Northern and Eastern Frontiers, *c*.700–1100', in Alison Isdale Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West* (Cambridge, 2020), 485–501, at 485. See also Conrad Leyser and Hannah Williams (eds.), *Mission and Monasticism* (Rome, 2013); Joachim Bohlem (ed.), *Der missionarische Charakter des abendländischen Mönchtums* (Grevenbroich, 2001), p. iii.

[23] Olivier Delouis, Maria Mossakowska-Gaubert, and Annick Peters-Custot (eds.), *Les mobilités monastiques en Orient et en Occident de l'Antiquité tardive au Moyen Âge (IVe-XVe siècle)* (Rome, 2019); Peter Erhart and Jakob Kuratli Hüeblin (eds.), *Nach Rom gehen: Monastische Reisekultur von der Spätantike bis in die Neuzeit* (Vienna, 2021); Helena Vanommeslaeghe, 'Wandering Abbots: Abbatial Mobility and *stabilitas loci* in Eleventh-Century Lotharingia and Flanders', in Steven Vanderputten, Tjamke Snijders, and Jay Diehl (eds.), *Medieval Liège at the Crossroads of Europe: Monastic Society and Culture, 1000–1300* (Turnhout,

Certainly, travel was a necessity for many medieval people as a matter of occupation.[24] The administration of entire realms required even kings to remain on the move, although the notion of itinerant kingship (*Reisekönigtum*) is most famously associated with the German kings and emperors, whose permanent movement through their lands, without centralized courts or official capitals, remained the norm throughout the Middle Ages.[25] Mobility was even more essential to the duties of government agents—such as messengers, envoys, sheriffs, justices, and heralds—who ensured that rulers remained in touch with their subjects, dispersed possessions, and foreign powers.[26] From the twelfth century onwards, knights would follow the king into war or, when there was no war, join the tournament

2017), 1–28; Notker Wolf, 'Mönche auf Reisen: Ein Kontrapunkt zur "stabilitas loci"?', in Jakob Kuratli Hüeblin and Peter Erhart (eds.), *Vedi Napoli e poi muori: Grand Tour der Mönche* (St Gallen, 2014), 11–16; David Lepine, '"Loose Canons": The Mobility of the Higher Clergy in the Later Middle Ages', in Peregrine Horden (ed.), *Freedom of Movement in the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the 2003 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington, 2007), 104–22.

[24] Marianne O'Doherty and Felicitas Schmieder (eds.), *Travels and Mobilities in the Middle Ages: From the Atlantic to the Black Sea* (Turnhout, 2015); Horden (ed.), *Freedom of Movement in the Middle Ages*; Paul B. Newman, *Travel and Trade in the Middle Ages* (Jefferson, NC, 2011); Norbert Ohler, *The Medieval Traveller*, trans. Caroline Hillier (Woodbridge, 2010); Margaret Wade Labarge, *Medieval Travellers: The Rich and the Restless* (London, 1982). See also n. 1.

[25] Boris Bove, Alain Salamagne, and Caroline zum Kolk (eds.), *L'itinérance de la cour en France et en Europe: Moyen Âge–XIXe siècle* (Villeneuve-d'Ascq, 2021); Julie Elizabeth Kanter, 'Peripatetic and Sedentary Kingship: The Itineraries of the Thirteenth-Century English Kings' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, King's College London, 2011); John William Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany, c.936–1075* (Cambridge, 1993); Hans Conrad Peyer, 'Das Reisekönigtum des Mittelalters', *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 51/1 (1964), 1–21.

[26] Michael Borgolte, 'Experten der Fremde: Gesandte in interkulturellen Beziehungen des frühen und hohen Mittelalters', in Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo (ed.), *Le relazioni internazionali nell'alto medioevo* (Spoleto, 2011), 945–92; Richard Gorski, 'Justices and Injustice? England's Local Officials in the Later Middle Ages', in John C. Appleby and Paul Dalton (eds.), *Outlaws in Medieval and Early Modern England: Crime, Government and Society, c.1066–c.1600* (Abingdon, 2016), 55–74; Wim van Anrooij, 'Heralds, Knights and Travelling', in Erik S. Kooper (ed.), *Medieval Dutch Literature in its European Context* (Cambridge, 1994), 46–61.

circuit to hone their skills and pursue fame.[27] Some well-to-do offspring were sent to be educated at Europe's multiplying universities, often far away from their homes.[28] Sons of townspeople joined the student population in order to acquire the educational foundation to run their family business, while others took apprenticeships in other branches of the enterprise that often led them away from their home towns.[29] Frequently, their commercial occupations required them to travel between centres of trade, like the merchants of the Hansa, who dispatched a constant stream of goods—and countless people to transport them—all over Europe on roads, rivers, and seas.[30] Even serfs, who were otherwise 'bound to the soil' and thus had any voluntary

[27] David Crouch, *Tournament: A Chivalric Way of Life* (London, 2006); Richard W. Barber, 'Chivalry in the Tournament and *Pas d'armes*', in Robert W. Jones and Peter Coss (eds.), *A Companion to Chivalry* (Woodbridge, 2019), 119–38; Karen Watts and Alan V. Murray (eds.), *The Medieval Tournament as Spectacle: Tourneys, Jousts and Pas d'armes, 1100–1600* (Woodbridge, 2020); Stefan Krause and Matthias Pfaffenbichler (eds.), *Turnier: 1000 Jahre Ritterspiele* (Munich, 2017).

[28] Pauline Spychala, 'Omnibus qui causa studiorum peregrinantur: Mobilités sociales et géographiques des universitaires allemands, hongrois et slaves des universités françaises (1330–1500)' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Université de Paris-Est Sup, 2021); William James Courtenay, Jürgen Miethke, and David B. Priest (eds.), *Universities and Schooling in Medieval Society* (Leiden, 2000); Alan B. Cobban, *The Medieval English Universities: Oxford and Cambridge to c.1500* (London, 1988), 300–11.

[29] Beata Możejko, 'Young Burghers from Gdańsk at European Universities in the Late Middle Ages', in Martin Nodl (ed.), *Středověká univerzitní vzdělanost* (Prague, 2017), 135–68; Edelgard E. DuBruck, 'Late-Medieval Merchants: History, Education, Mentality, and Cultural Significance', *Fifteenth-Century Studies*, 28 (2003), 97–110; Klaus Wriedt, 'Schule und Universitätsbesuch in norddeutschen Städten des Spätmittelalters', in id., *Schule und Universität: Bildungsverhältnisse in norddeutschen Städten des Spätmittelalters. Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Leiden, 2005), 27–44.

[30] Chris Wickham, *The Donkey and the Boat: Reinterpreting the Mediterranean Economy, 950–1180* (Oxford, 2023); David Jacoby, 'The Migration of Merchants and Craftsmen: A Mediterranean Perspective (12th–15th Century)', in id. (ed.), *Trade, Commodities and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean* (Aldershot, 1997), 533–60; David W. Griffiths, 'Exchange, Trade, and Urbanization', in Wendy Davies (ed.), *From the Vikings to the Normans* (Oxford, 2003), 73–106; Justyna Wubs-Mrozewicz and Stuart Jenks (eds.), *The Hanse in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, 2012).

mobility curtailed, occasionally had to travel to fulfil their obligations to their lords.[31]

While travel was thus indispensable to turning the wheels of this world, ideas around pilgrimage suggested that travel to the holy sites of Christendom might even ease access to the promises of the next.[32] People from all stations of life took up the pilgrim's staff, from farmers and workers of modest means who visited nearby relics to burgesses, nobles, princes, and kings, who could afford to undertake even the costly journey to the Holy Land. Among the selection of stereotypical pilgrims in Geoffrey Chaucer's fourteenth-century *Canterbury Tales* is the fictional character of Alison, better known as the Wife of Bath. Her presence reminds us that medieval women—whether as pilgrims, as nuns taking care of their convents' affairs, as princesses sent to wed princes abroad, or as wives and maids who followed their husbands and masters on campaigns—were no strangers to travel either.[33] Perhaps the most famous example of a

[31] Paolo Tedesco and Steffen Patzold (eds.), *Beyond the Manorial Economy: Peasant Labour and Mobility in Carolingian and Post-Carolingian Europe*, special issue of *Journal of European Economic History*, 48/3 (2019); Paul Freedman and Monique Bourin (eds.), *Forms of Servitude in Northern and Central Europe: Decline, Resistance, and Expansion* (Turnhout, 2005). See also Tom Scott, 'The Survival of Serfdom in Western Europe', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Germanistische Abteilung*, 136/1 (2019), 51–75.

[32] Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage, c.700–c.1500* (Basingstoke, 2002); Jenni Kuuliala and Jussi Rantala (eds.), *Travel, Pilgrimage and Social Interaction from Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (Abingdon, 2021); Klaus Herbers and Hans Christian Lehner (eds.), *Unterwegs im Namen der Religion: Pilgern als Form von Kontingenzbewältigung und Zukunftssicherung in den Weltreligionen / On the Road in the Name of Religion: Pilgrimage as a Means of Coping with Contingency and Fixing the Future in the World's Major Religions* (Stuttgart, 2014).

[33] Leigh Ann Craig, *Wandering Women and Holy Matrons: Women as Pilgrims in the Later Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2009), esp. 39–49. See also Diana M. Webb, 'Freedom of Movement? Women Travellers in the Middle Ages', in Christine Meek and Catherine Lawless (eds.), *Pawns or Players? Studies on Medieval and Early Modern Women* (Dublin, 2004), 75–89; Bart Lambert and Joshua Ravenhill, 'Travelled Women: Female Alien Immigrants in Fifteenth- and Early-Sixteenth-Century London', in Caroline M. Barron and Martha Carlin (eds.), *Medieval Travel: Essays from the 2021 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington, 2023), 155–73; Carole Anne Maddern, 'Female Mobility in Medieval English Romance: A Study of Travel and Transgression' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis,

well-travelled woman in the later Middle Ages is Margery Kempe (*c*.1373–1438), who is known not only to have journeyed from her English home to Gdańsk to visit her daughter-in-law, but also to have undertaken multiple pilgrimages.[34] Margery covered a vast distance between different sacred sites, from Wilsnack in Brandenburg all the way to Santiago de Compostela, Rome, and even Jerusalem, as her *Book*, hailed as the first autobiography in the English language, relates in fascinating detail.[35]

Indeed, the Middle Ages were a mobile period in which people found purposeful travel—as opposed to the aimless wandering of a vagrant, it would seem—perfectly justifiable and even respectable: 'to be widely travelled was, in the Middle Ages'—in anticipation of the early modern Grand Tour as a feature of elite habitus—'generally considered a mark of distinction'.[36] As early as the twelfth century, the theologian Honorius of Autun (d. *c*.1140) admitted that rather than seeking the forgiveness of sins, some pilgrims saw the reward of their travels not only 'in having seen pleasant places and beautiful buildings' but also 'in the praise they love'.[37] To claim the symbolic capital promised by travel, travellers brought back souvenirs associated with remote places, such as pilgrim's badges.[38] To write about

King's College London, 2001); Patrik Pastrnak, *Dynasty in Motion: Wedding Journeys in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (New York, 2023).

[34] Iulia-Andreea Milică, 'Women and Medieval Travels: The Book of Margery Kempe', *Acta Iassyensia Comparationis*, 2/18 (2016), 17–25; Albrecht Classen, 'Reisende Frauen im Mittelalter: Literarische Reflexionen europaweit, historisch belegte Reisende (Margery Kempe) und Reiseberichte für Frauen (Felix Fabri)', *Mediaevistik*, 34/1 (2021), 213–36.

[35] Margery Kempe, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, trans. Anthony Bale (Oxford, 2015).

[36] Labarge, *Medieval Travellers*, 251. See also Jan van Herwaarden, 'Pilgrimages and Social Prestige: Some Reflections on a Theme', in Herwig Wolfram (ed.), *Wallfahrt und Alltag in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Vienna, 1992), 27–79; Rainer Babel and Werner Paravicini (eds.), *Grand Tour: Adeliges Reisen und europäische Kultur vom 14. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Ostfildern, 2005).

[37] Yves Lefèvre, *L'Elucidarium et les Lucidaires: Contribution, par l'histoire d'un texte, à l'histoire des croyances religieuses en France au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1954), 435.

[38] Rachel Facius, 'Pilgrim Badges and the Magical Middle Ages: Aspects of the Cult of Saints, Magical Thinking, and Religious Identity', in Sergio Escribano-Ruiz, Magdalena Ewa Naum, and Jette Linaa (eds.), *Material*

one's journeys, as Margery Kempe had done, was another means to the same end, as a host of research on the literary works of medieval travellers demonstrates. Over the course of the Middle Ages, as Shayne Aaron Legassie has convincingly argued, 'travel was increasingly understood as an ennobling, taxing form of work, at once *physical and intellectual*'.[39]

Perhaps the most famous travel account of the Middle Ages is associated with Marco Polo (d. 1324). It heaps praise on the Venetian merchant's accomplishments on his journey beyond the borders of the familiar European landscape all the way to the capital of the Mongol Khan Kublai, which lasted from 1271 to 1295:

> from the day the Lord our God moulded our first father Adam with His hands until this very hour, there has never been a man, neither Christian nor pagan, Tartar nor Indian, nor of any other race, who has explored and discovered the truth about so many disparate parts of the world and its great wonders as has this Messer Marco Polo.[40]

Exchanges in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Archaeological Perspectives (Turnhout, 2021), 143–72; Detlev Kraack, 'Chivalrous Adventures, Religious Ardour and Curiosity at the Outer Periphery of the Medieval World: Inscriptions and Graffiti of Later Medieval Travellers', in Jean-Michel Mouton (ed.), *Le Sinaï de la conquête arabe à nos jours* (Cairo, 2001); Marcus Meer, 'Seeing Proof of Townsmen on the Move: Coats of Arms, Chivalric Badges, and Travel in the Later Middle Ages', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 25/1–2 (2021), 11–38.

[39] Shayne Aaron Legassie, *The Medieval Invention of Travel* (Chicago, 2017), p. viii (emphasis original). For historiographical overviews, see Mary Baine Campbell, 'Medieval Travel Writing (1): *Peregrinatio* and Religious Travel Writing' and Sharon Kinoshita, 'Medieval Travel Writing (2): Beyond the Pilgrimage', both in Nandini Das and Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing* (Cambridge, 2019), 33–47 and 48–61. See also Kim M. Phillips, 'Travel, Writing, and the Global Middle Ages', *History Compass*, 14/3 (2016), 81–92. For a bibliography of source texts and secondary literature, see also the database *European Travel Accounts of the Late Middle Ages*, at [https://digiberichte.de/], accessed 25 May 2023.

[40] Marco Polo, *The Travels*, trans. Nigel Cliff (London, 2015), prologue. See also Teresa Shawcross, 'The World View of Marco Polo's *Devisament dou monde*: Commercial Marvels, Silk Route Nostalgia, and Global Empire in the Late Middle Ages', in Christian Raffensperger (ed.), *Authorship, Worldview, and Identity in Medieval Europe* (Abingdon, 2022), 142–70.

Even earlier, between 1253 and 1255, the Franciscan monk William of Rubruck had embarked on a similar journey to evangelize the heartlands of the Mongol Empire.[41] His letter to Louis IX of France informed the king of the customs of the Mongols and other peoples of Eastern Europe and Northern Asia, which gave William the impression that he was 'entering another world'.[42] Informative as the *Itinerarium* is, William could not help but hint at his own courage, as in the case of one encounter which left him feeling 'as if I had escaped from the clutches of demons'.[43] Despite his suspicion, he acknowledged that the Mongols, whom he calls 'Tartars', were formidable adversaries, not least borne out by their—and perhaps also his own—toughness in terms of travel:

> I tell you with confidence that if our peasants—to say nothing of kings and knights—were willing to travel in the way the Tartar princes move and to be content with a similar diet, they could conquer the whole world.[44]

William of Rubruck's journey ended in the Holy Land, where a Dominican monk by the name of Felix Fabri (d. 1502) also journeyed over two hundred years later, in 1483–4, and penned an extensive travel account, his *Evagatorium in Terræ Sanctæ*.[45] Fabri stressed that his interest in the Holy Land was sincere and far removed from that of other visitors. He derided 'noblemen motivated by vanity', who were more concerned with scratching their names and coats of arms into various places; even the walls of the Holy Sepulchre were not safe, to the dismay not only of the local Muslim population but also

[41] Shirin Khanmohamadi, 'The Look of Medieval Ethnography: William of Rubruck's Mission to Mongolia', *New Medieval Literatures*, 10 (2008), 87–114; Peter Jackson, 'William of Rubruck in the Mongol Empire: Perception and Prejudices', in Joan-Pau Rubiés (ed.), *Medieval Ethnographies: European Perceptions of the World Beyond* (Abingdon, 2009), 273–90.

[42] William of Rubruck, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255*, trans. Peter Jackson (London, 1990), 97. [43] Ibid. 98. [44] Ibid. 278.

[45] Kathryne Beebe, *Pilgrim and Preacher: The Audiences and Observant Spirituality of Friar Felix Fabri (1437/8–1502)* (Oxford, 2014); Hilda F. M. Prescott, *Friar Felix at Large: A Fifteenth-Century Pilgrimage to the Holy Land* (New Haven, 1950).

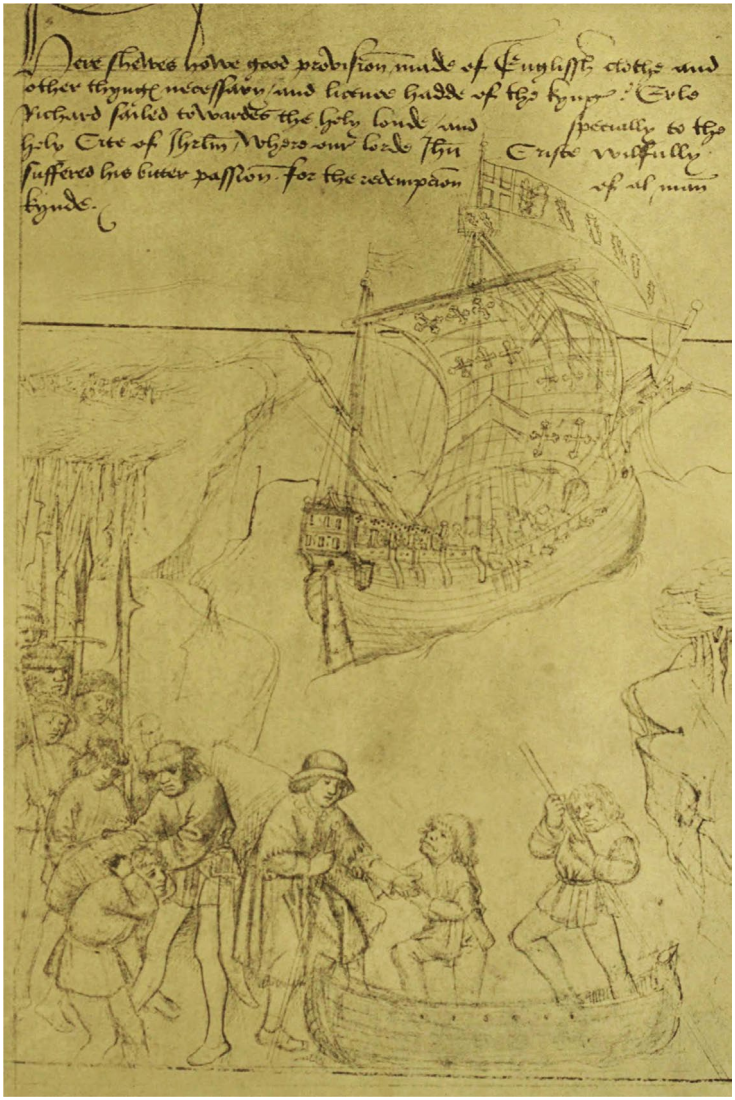

Fig. 1: Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, dressed as a pilgrim bound for the Holy Land, depicted in a manuscript from the last quarter of the fifteenth century. British Library, London, Cotton MS Julius E IV/3, fo. 5^{r}. Photoengraving printed in William St John Hope and Viscount Dillon (eds.), *Pageant of the Birth Life and Death of Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick K.G. 1389–1439* (London, 1914), 18.

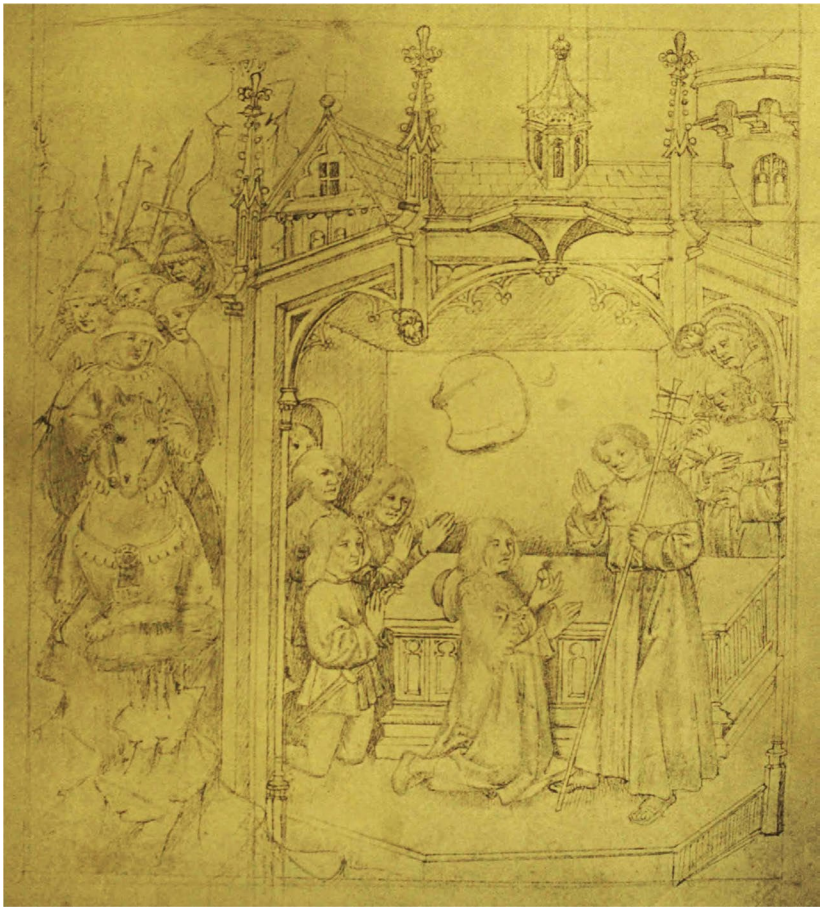

Fig. 2: Richard of Warwick kneels before the tomb in the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. British Library, London, Cotton MS Julius E IV/3, fo. 9r. Photoengraving printed in Hope and Dillon (eds.), *Pageant*, 34.

the 'devoted and sincere pilgrim'—presumably someone like himself—'who had come to this sacred place at great cost and effort and through a thousand dangers'.[46]

[46] Felix Fabri, *Evagatorium in Terræ Sanctæ, Arabiæ et Egypti peregrinationem*, ed. Konrad Dieterich Hassler, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1843), iii. 94–5. For the wider phenomenon of travellers' graffiti, see also Kraack, 'Chivalrous Adventures'.

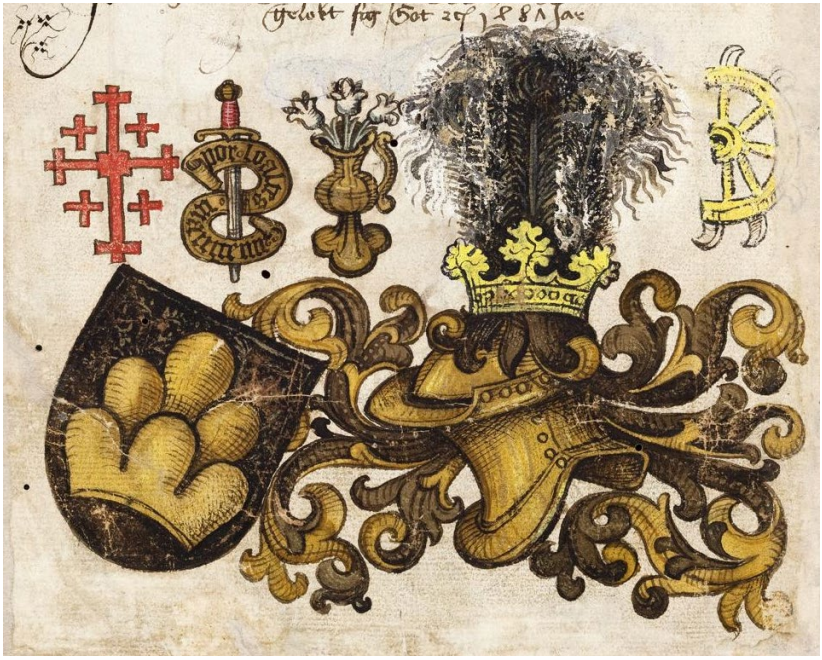

Fig. 3: Coat of arms and badges of pilgrimage sites and chivalric orders collected by Konstanz patrician Conrad Grünenberg in a copy of his travel account (*c.*1487). Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe, St. Peter pap. 32, fo. 50^{v}.

Among these perhaps more vain than pious pilgrims was the earl of Warwick, Richard Beauchamp (1382–1439), whose pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1408 was immortalized (alongside his accomplishments on the battlefield) in the *Beauchamp Pageants* (Figs. 1–2). Similarly, the Konstanz burgess Conrad Grünenberg travelled to the Holy Land in 1486 and documented his experience — in both text and image (Fig. 3) — not just for himself but also for 'his supporters and friends'.[47] While the pilgrimage offered 'full absolution from sins and punishment', it worked wonders for Grünenberg's social status as well: in Jerusalem, he was admitted to the Order of the Holy Sepulchre, whose badge he

[47] Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe, Cod. St. Peter pap. 32, fo. 1^{r}, at [https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/urn/urn:nbn:de:bsz:31-1272], accessed 25 May 2023. See also Konrad Grünemberg, *The Story of Sir Konrad Grünemberg's Pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1486*, trans. and ed. Kristiaan Aercke, A. C. J. de Vrankrijker, and Walther Fränzel (Moncalieri, 2005).

displayed in his travel account as proudly as he subsequently claimed the title of 'knight' (*Ritter*) for himself.[48]

The souvenirs sought by medieval travellers and mentioned in their accounts were not always so benign. When Leo of Rozmital, a Bohemian knight, embarked on his perambulation of Europe and reached the Iberian peninsula, he and his retinue visited not just Santiago de Compostela, but also the courts of the region's magnates.[49] After the king of Portugal invited him to choose a gift, the account by Rozmital's companion Gabriel Tetzel, from Nuremberg, states that the knight initially requested 'two Moors'.[50] A parallel report by Rozmital's squire claimed, in a more detailed reference to the cruel reality of medieval slavery and premodern forced migration,[51] that the king insisted on awarding the delegation two horses and two apes as well, since 'that which you ask [i.e. the slaves] is of no value', as 'no less than 100,000 or more Ethiopians . . . sold like cattle' were brought from his African possessions every year.[52]

[48] Folker Reichert, 'Zu Ehren Christi, zum Nutzen der Familie: Die Pilgerreise des Konrad Grünemberg', *Damals*, 48/3 (2016), 58–63; Klaus Graf, 'Adel als Leitbild: Zur Geschichte eines Grundwerts in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit', in Horst Carl and Sönke Lorenz (eds.), *Gelungene Anpassung? Adelige Antworten auf gesellschaftliche Wandlungsvorgänge vom 14. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert* (Ostfildern, 2005), 67–81, at 67.

[49] Françoise Michaud-Fréjaville, 'Le voyage du seigneur Léon de Rozmital en Occident, un apprentissage?', in Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public (ed.), *Voyages et voyageurs au Moyen Âge: XXVIe Congrès de la SHMES, Limoges-Aubazine, mai 1995* (Paris, 1996), 31–52; Denise Péricard-Méa, 'Leo von Rozmital, böhmischer Pilger und Botschafter (1465–1467) im werdenden Europa', in Daniel Doležal and Hartmut Kühne (eds.), *Wallfahrten in der europäischen Kultur / Pilgrimage in European Culture* (Frankfurt am Main, 2006), 109–20.

[50] Malcolm Letts (ed. and trans.), *The Travels of Leo of Rozmital through Germany, Flanders, England, France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, 1465–1467* (Cambridge, 1957), 120.

[51] David Eltis et al. (eds.), *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, vol. ii: *AD 500–AD 1420* (Cambridge, 2021); Youval Rotman, 'Migration and Enslavement: A Medieval Model', in Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, Lucian Reinfandt, and Yannis Stouraitis (eds.), *Migration Histories of the Medieval Afroeurasian Transition Zone: Aspects of Mobility between Africa, Asia and Europe, 300–1500 CE* (Leiden, 2020), 387–412. See also below, n. 67.

[52] Letts, *The Travels of Leo of Rozmital*, 106–7.

Stories and Realities of Migration

The promise of arduous journeys and faraway places as a source of pride proved even more attractive when combined with another source of honour in the Middle Ages—namely, descent. From late antiquity all the way to the early modern period, medieval authors were infatuated with the idea that certain peoples—usually their own—found their origins not just in a distant past, preferably with a fearsome forefather, but also in a remote place.[53] As the late Alheydis Plassmann, the most eminent scholar of these legends, observed, these so-called *origines gentium* 'never contain the claim that the *gens* always stayed in one place and that their origin is lost in the past'; on the contrary, 'a story of migration is the usual variant of choice.'[54] Inspired by Plassmann, Kiri Kolt, in her contribution to this special issue, identifies the same emphasis on movement in attempts at identity construction found in Hungarian *origines gentium*. At the end of the twelfth century, members of previously disparate groups were keen to embrace the idea of a larger Hungarian *gens* suggested by writers on Hungarian history, which accorded them their pride of place among the other Christianized peoples of Europe who already possessed remarkably similar origin stories. One popular theme of mobile continuity in these stories which influenced the Hungarian case, as Kolt shows, had classical or indeed mythical Greco-Roman

[53] Susan Reynolds, 'Medieval *origines gentium* and the Community of the Realm', *History*, 68/224 (1983); Walter Pohl, 'Narratives of Origin and Migration in Early Medieval Europe: Problems of Interpretation', *Medieval History Journal*, 21/2 (2018), 192–221; Arnold Angenendt, 'Der eine Adam und die vielen Stammväter: Idee und Wirklichkeit der *Origo gentis* im Mittelalter', in Peter Wunderli (ed.), *Herkunft und Ursprung: Historische und mythische Formen der Legitimation* (Sigmaringen, 1994), 27–52.

[54] Alheydis Plassmann, '*Origines gentium* and the Long Shadow of Rome', in Linda Brady and Patrick Wadden (eds.), *Origin Legends in Early Medieval Western Europe* (Leiden, 2022), 405–23, at 417. See also Alheydis Plassmann, 'Das Wanderungsmotiv als Gründungsmythos in den frühmittelalterlichen *Origines gentium*', in Michael Bernsen, Matthias Becher, and Elke Brüggen (eds.), *Gründungsmythen Europas im Mittelalter* (Göttingen, 2013), 61–78; Alheydis Plassmann, *Origo gentis: Identitäts- und Legitimitätsstiftung in früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Herkunftserzählungen* (Berlin, 2006).

ancestry—namely, the Roman appropriation of the Troy myth in the figure of Aeneas and his escape, odyssey, and settlement in Italy.

In Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britannie*, another Trojan warrior by the name of Brutus, 'fourth in line from Aeneas', fled Italy after accidentally killing his father and experienced an odyssey of his own, which eventually led him to a land formerly called 'Albion'.[55] Here, the new masters—having purged the land of the 'giants' who previously inhabited it—now called themselves 'Britones or, by a corruption of the name, Britanni' after Brutus, who 'buil[t] himself a city, which he name[d] New Troy after the old; . . . today it is known by the different name of London.'[56] Just as Geoffrey of Monmouth casually created a foundation story for London and its urban population, so town clerk and chronicler Robert Ricart suggested that Bristol, like other British cities, had a Trojan founder by the name of Brennius, who 'first founded and billed this worshipfull Towne of Bristut that nowe is Bristowe'.[57]

Not all *origines gentium* were entirely based in fanciful fictions; some had a more or less loose connection to historical events. When the Venerable Bede wrote his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, he named Angles, Saxons, and Jutes as the peoples who subjugated the British population and established multiple early medieval English kingdoms.[58] As new research shows, their military and migratory influx, however, might not have had as transformative an effect on early British society as Bede—and nationalists of much later centuries—tended to think.[59] Another *origo gentis* with a grain of truth at its

[55] Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, vol. v: *Gesta Regum Britannie*, trans. Neil Wright (Cambridge, 1991), 27.
[56] Ibid. 28–33. [57] Robert Ricart, *The Maire of Bristowe Is Kalendar*, ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith (London, 1872), 10. See also Peter Fleming (ed.), *The Maire of Bristowe Is Kalendar* (Bristol, 2015), 9–10.
[58] Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum; Historia abbatum; et Epistola ad Ecgberctum; cum Epistola Bonifacii ad Cudberthum*, ed. George H. Moberly (Oxford, 1881), 36.
[59] Kazutomo Karasawa, 'Historical Origins of a Mythical History: The Formation of the Myth Supporting Anglo-Saxonism Reconsidered', in Karen Louise Jolly and Britton Elliott Brooks (eds.), *Global Perspectives on Early Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2022), 171–89; Stephen J. Harris, 'An Overview of Race and Ethnicity in Pre-Norman England', *Literature Compass*, 5/4 (2008), 740–54;

centre is that narrated by the dean of St Quentin's monastery in Aisne. The chronicler of the *Historia Normannorum* (994–1015) presented the background of the dukes of Normandy as one of many adventurous journeys,[60] and of course the duchy's Norman lords were descended from seafaring Northmen who had settled (and raided) in France before the Frankish King Charles the Simple invested the Viking leader Rollo with the county of Rouen in 911.[61]

The Normans, like their Viking ancestors who settled in places as far apart as Greenland and Russia, are an excellent example of the mobility that continued to shape Europe in the medieval period. They probably had no more than a vague sense of 'Normanness', however carefully curated in their own *origines gentium* and other media. Still, various bands of aristocrats and knights of Norman heritage not only famously conquered England in 1066, but throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries also founded kingdoms and principalities in the Mediterranean, including, among other places, Sicily and the Levant.[62]

In the latter region, a band of Normans led by the infamous Bohemond (*c.*1054–1111) from the Norman possession of Taranto in southern Italy was part of the European expedition that established the Principality of Antioch, one of the so-called crusader states, in the wake of the First Crusade (1096–9). Although Pope Urban II had suggested

Erik Wade and Mary Rambaran-Olm, 'The Many Myths of the Term "Anglo-Saxon"', *Smithsonian Magazine* (2021), at [https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/many-myths-term-anglo-saxon-180978169/], accessed 29 May 2023.

[60] Alheydis Plassmann, 'Shifting Identities: The Normans and the Perception of the Norman *gens*', in Viola Skiba, Nikolas Jaspert, and Bernd Schneidmüller (eds.), *Norman Connections: Normannische Verflechtungen zwischen Skandinavien und dem Mittelmeer* (Regensburg, 2022), 248–61; Benjamin Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum: Tradition, Innovation and Memory* (Woodbridge, 2015), esp. 198–202.

[61] Pierre Bouet, 'Rollon et la fondation de la Normandie', *Études Normandes*, 7/1 (2018), 52–9; Jean-Baptiste Auzel (ed.), *La Normandie existe-t-elle? Être Normand au fil des siècles* (Saint-Lô, 2019), 48–65.

[62] Levi Roach, *Empires of the Normans: Makers of Europe, Conquerors of Asia* (London, 2022); Emily Anne Winkler and Liam Fitzgerald (eds.), *The Normans in the Mediterranean* (Turnhout, 2021); Keith J. Stringer and Andrew Jotischky (eds.), *Norman Expansion: Connections, Continuities and Contrasts* (Farnham, 2013).

to the European nobility that 'this land which you inhabit . . . is too narrow for your large population' when he called upon them to '[e]nter upon the road to the Holy Sepulchre',[63] the political units in 'Outremer' that were created as a result of the crusade were settled by few Europeans permanently and ultimately remained short-lived.[64]

Things were very different when it came to the crusades against Eastern Europe and its non-Christian populations. After the Wendish Crusade of 1147, this area experienced a significant increase in the migration of settlers from Western Europe into areas invaded and controlled by the Teutonic Order.[65] Their efforts continued a trend of violent conquest, peasant migration, and town foundation—the creation of a *Germania Slavica*[66]—that had begun under the Carolingians and Ottonians in the ninth and tenth centuries and had reached its first crescendo in the twelfth century, when chronicler and priest Helmold of Bosau (b. *c.*1120) marvelled at how 'all the country of the

[63] Edward Peters (ed.), *The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials*, 2nd edn (Philadelphia, 2011), 28.

[64] Jan Vandeburie, '"*Maugré li Polein*": European Migration to the Latin East and the Construction of an Oriental Identity in the Crusader States', in Caroline Barron, Justin Yoo, and Andrea Zerbini (eds.), *Migration and Migrant Identities in the Near East from Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (London, 2019), 244–62; Piers D. Mitchell and Andrew R. Millard, 'Approaches to the Study of Migration during the Crusades', *Crusades*, 12/1 (2013), 1–12; Edward Peters, 'There and Back Again: Crusaders in Motion, 1096–1291', *Crusades*, 5/1 (2006), 157–71.

[65] Gregory Leighton, 'The Teutonic Order and the Origins of its State as an Example of a Crusading Landscape in Fourteenth-Century Prussia', in Torben Kjersgaard Nielsen and Kurt Villads Jensen (eds.), *Legacies of the Crusades: Proceedings of the Ninth Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Odense, 27 June–1 July 2016* (Turnhout, 2021), 285–304; Marius Ščavinskas, 'On the Crusades and Coercive Missions in the Baltic Region in the Mid-12th Century and Early 13th Century: The Cases of the Wends and Livonians', *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung*, 63/4 (2014), 499–527. See also Werner Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen des europäischen Adels*, 3 vols. (Sigmaringen and Göttingen, 1989–2020).

[66] Jan M. Piskorski, 'Medieval Colonization in East Central Europe', in Charles W. Ingrao and Franz A. Szabo (eds.), *The Germans and the East* (West Lafayette, 2008), 27–36. See also Christian Lübke, 'Germany's Growth to the East: From the Polabian Marches to Germania Slavica', in Graham A. Loud and Martial Staub (eds.), *The Making of Medieval History* (Woodbridge, 2017), 167–84.

Slavs . . . was now, through the grace of God, made, as it were, one colony of the Saxons'.[67]

Similarly to how these migrations into Eastern Europe displaced and enslaved Slavic pagan populations in 'a cruel process of Christianization and Germanization, providing a religious gloss to ethnic cleansing and territorial aggrandizement',[68] Muslim populations on the Iberian peninsula suffered under the Reconquista. This development gradually brought to an end the *convivencia* that had allowed for modes of coexistence between Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Al-Andalus.[69] The sack of Granada in 1492 completed this almost eight-hundred-year-long conflict between Christian rulers from Northern Europe and Muslim rulers from North Africa, which had begun in 711 with the capture by Arab and Berber forces of the Visigothic Kingdom, one of the realms that had sprung from the 'barbarian invasions'.[70]

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As these latter examples also illustrate, the medieval period saw migration for centuries beyond the 'barbarian invasions'. Medievalists have shown that economic, social, and political contingencies and opportunities motivated or even forced people to migrate to new homes. Other travellers were on the move for a short time only in

[67] Helmold of Bosau, *The Chronicle of the Slavs*, trans. Francis Joseph Tschan (New York, 1966), 281.

[68] Christopher Tyerman, *The Crusades: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2005), 47. See also Anti Selart, 'Slavery in the Eastern Baltic in the 12th–15th Centuries', in Simonetta Cavaciocchi (ed.), *Schiavitù e servaggio nell'economia europea: Secc. XI–XVIII / Serfdom and Slavery in the European Economy: 11th–18th Centuries* (Florence, 2014), 351–64.

[69] Pamela A. Patton, 'What Did Medieval Slavery Look like? Color, Race, and Unfreedom in Later Medieval Iberia', *Speculum*, 97/3 (2022), 649–97; Pieter S. van Koningsveld, 'Muslim Slaves and Captives in Western Europe during the Late Middle Ages', *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations*, 6/1 (1995), 5–23.

[70] Jonathan Jarrett, 'Before the Reconquista: Frontier Relations in Medieval Iberia, 718 to 1031', in Manuel Delgado, Laura Lonsdale, and Javier Muñoz-Basols (eds.), *The Routledge Companion to Iberian Studies* (London, 2017), 27–40; Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia, 2003).

search of power, profit, or salvation, or perhaps out of sheer curiosity, and were able and often keen to return to their established abodes. Many were inspired to write about their experiences of travel or migration, whether as victims of violent incursions, as observers of strangers in their midst, or out of pride in their own or their ancestors' achievements as travellers.

The contributions to this special issue add further breadth to the diverse scholarship on medieval migration and travel, whose surface this introduction has only been able to scratch. In their focus on literary engagements with mobility and people on the move, the articles presented here underline the ambiguity of perceptions of mobility in the medieval period. Sometimes movement prompted derision and condemnation, while in other instances it served as a source of honour and distinction. Crucially, it appears to have been the person of the traveller or migrant that guided the judgement of their contemporaries. In this sense, the medieval experience of and engagement with mobility resembles the rather ambivalent views found in the present. Even now, attitudes which view movement—of refugees and migrants, for example—with suspicion and disdain coexist and compete with celebrations of the global mobility exercised by self-declared 'digital nomads' and cosmopolitans. The identity of the migrant or traveller, in continued relation to traits like religion, ethnicity, and the perceived benefit to local communities, remains the decisive factor in judging, permitting, and restricting human mobility, much as it was in the Middle Ages.

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GO THE DISTANCE: CONCEPTS OF MIGRATION AND ORIGIN IN THE GESTA HUNGARORUM OF THE ANONYMOUS HUNGARIAN NOTARY

KIRI KOLT

At the end of the twelfth century, an anonymous writer sat down to fulfil a promise he had made to his friend, an individual addressed only as 'the venerable N', to establish

> the genealogy of the kings of Hungary and of their noblemen: how the seven leading persons, who are called the Hetumoger, came down from the Scythian land . . . and why the people coming forth from the Scythian land are called Hungarians in the speech of foreigners but Magyars in their own.[1]

These Magyars, he furthermore claimed, had got their name from Magog, son of Japheth, the first king of Scythia, from whose line the famous King Attila was also descended.[2] In a few sentences across the first couple of chapters of this text, the *Gesta Hungarorum*, the author thus created an origin story for the Hungarians that invoked the biblical figures of Gog and Magog, classical texts by writers fascinated with the 'other' peoples of antiquity (such as the nomadic Scythians), and early medieval history, along with the first traces of Hungarian ethnogenesis. What is more, all parts of this origin narrative prominently feature implicit and explicit references to the movement of peoples. Legends of migration played a key role in the development of the identity of the Hungarians in the *Gesta* and in the many texts that followed it. So much so that the descent from Scythia remained part of the Hungarian national consciousness until well into the

[1] Anonymous (Notary of King Béla), *Gesta Hungarorum / The Deeds of the Hungarians*, ed. and trans. Martyn Rady and László Veszprémy, & Master Roger, *Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione Regni Hungarie per tartaros facta / Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars*, ed. and trans. János M. Bak and Martyn Rady (Budapest, 2010), 2–3, hereafter cited as GH.

[2] GH, 6–7.

nineteenth century.[3] How then did the concept of migration come to be such an evocative part of this elaborate origin story? This article seeks to answer this question by exploring the Hungarian origin story presented in the *Gesta* in the light of Alheydis Plassmann's model of the medieval migration motif.[4] Applying this framework to the *Gesta Hungarorum* enables a deeper understanding of the structure of the Hungarian migration myth and reveals the careful and deliberate choices the author made in order to create a story that has continued to fascinate audiences and scholars both in and outside Hungary from the medieval period through to the present day.

The Gesta Hungarorum and the Genre of Origo Gentis

The *Gesta Hungarorum* is a prime example of the centrality of movement in medieval origin stories because the whole narrative paints the outline of a complex and complete journey, from the ancestors' departure from their homeland to their arrival at their new settlement. Regrettably, this text has received less attention in English-language scholarship than the later, longer thirteenth-century chronicle of the same name by Simon of Kéza.[5] The *Gesta* written by the Anonymous Notary, however, is the oldest extant Hungarian origin narrative written in Latin, which was the most common language for these types of

[3] Alexander John Sager, 'Van Ôstrit Allenthalbin: Images of Eastern Europe in Medieval German and Hungarian Literary Culture, 1050–1300' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cornell University, 2000).

[4] Alheydis Plassmann, 'Das Wanderungsmotiv als Gründungsmythos in den frühmittelalterlichen *Origines gentium*', in Michael Bernes, Matthias Becher, and Elke Brüggen (eds.), *Gründungsmythen Europas im Mittelalter* (Göttingen, 2013), 61–77.

[5] It is significant that Simon of Kéza's text was the first to be published as a critical edition with an English translation in the Central European Medieval Texts series in 1999, whereas the CEMT edition of the *Gesta Hungarorum* only came out in 2010. See Simon of Kéza, *Gesta Hungarorum / The Deeds of the Hungarians*, ed. and trans. László Veszprémy and Frank Schaer (Budapest, 1999). For more information on Simon of Kéza and his influence on Hungarian national history writing, see Norbert Kersken, *Geschichtsschreibung im Europa der 'nationes': Nationalgeschichtliche Gesamtdarstellungen im Mittelalter* (Cologne, 1995), 662–70.

texts in the Middle Ages. Most scholars agree that the chronicle was written sometime after 1192, though it is difficult to be sure because the author only identified himself with an initial, 'P', and by mentioning that he was a notary to a king by the name of Béla, of which there were no fewer than four during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[6]

The text belongs to the genre of the so-called *origo gentis* narratives written throughout the Middle Ages. These myths of origin were, as Alexander John Sager has put it, 'narratives of diaspora and migration', meant to create a sense of community for their audience both as members of a distinct people and as part of the wider Christian world.[7] This desire to place populations within the medieval *Christianitas* is why *origo gentis* stories became particularly popular during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when newly Christianized peoples like the Hungarians started writing their own histories.[8] The intended readers of these texts were often the ruling elite, both ecclesiastical and secular, who found in the narratives validations of their claims to lands and titles. The Hungarian Notary, for example, often emphasized this by explaining that certain nobles had received their possessions from the ninth-century leader Árpád and that 'their descendants have . . . been worthy to keep these lands till now.'[9] Although often presented as authentic reports of historical events by their authors, the value of the *origines gentium* to the modern historian lies more in their imagined presentation of the past than in any factual information.

Within the narratives of *origines gentium*, a migration story could be a particularly useful topos with which to locate a *gens* in the universal historical landscape and link its history with events from biblical and classical literature. Especially if a people had not been mentioned

[6] GH, pp. xxi–xxii.

[7] Sager, 'Van Ôstrit Allenthalbin', 8.

[8] Alheydis Plassmann, *Origo Gentis: Identitäts- und Legitimitätsstiftung in früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Herkunftserzählungen* (Berlin, 2006); Magali Coumert, *Origines des peuples: Les récits du Haut Moyen Âge occidental (550–850)* (Turnhout, 2007); Susan Reynolds, 'Medieval *origines gentium* and the Community of the Realm', *History*, 68/224 (1983), 375–90; R. W. Southern, 'Presidential Address: Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society: Fifth Series*, 20–3 (1970–3).

[9] GH, 48. For more on the *causa scribendi* and the audience of the *Gesta Hungarorum*, see GH, p. xxv.

in the established historical tradition, an explanation had to be found for where they had come from and how they had ended up in their present home. A migration motif, as Plassmann called it, can be found in many *origo gentis* stories and can be broken down into three different elements: where the departure took place spatially, what the journey looked like, and how the arrival was depicted.[10]

The Place of Origin

Taking each of these elements in turn, let us return now to the text of the *Gesta Hungarorum* and its descriptions of the Scythian homeland of the Hungarians. Locations such as Scythia, Troy, and Scandinavia were attractive places of origin to medieval people because, as Walter Pohl has explained, they were located on the European periphery and were 'known above all from legends and long reputed as places of emigration.'[11] In fact, many of the traditional choices of homeland dated back to antiquity. Troy is perhaps the most famous example. The classical writer Vergil used it as the original home of the Romans, and the story was so influential that in the seventh century Fredegar, the writer of the first Frankish origin story, appropriated the city and made its exiles into the ancestors of the Franks too.[12] The Bible was also a reliable source for the origins of peoples. Claiming ancestry from Noah and his son Japheth proved especially popular in the Middle Ages, as it indicated a genealogical relationship with the chosen people, as well as a geographical descent from biblical lands in the distant past. More often than not, however, writers combined biblical, classical, and early medieval legends to create their own ancestry myths. The use of Scythia, a classical concept, in the *Gesta Hungarorum* alongside a lineage traced back to the biblical Magog and Japheth is therefore not unusual. What is worth exploring, however, is the way Scythia was described by the Anonymous Notary and the reason why it was designated as the Hungarians' homeland in the first place.

[10] Plassmann, 'Das Wanderungsmotiv', 63.

[11] Walter Pohl, 'Narratives of Origin and Migration in Early Medieval Europe: Problems of Interpretation', *Medieval History Journal*, 21/2 (2018), 192–221, at 194.

[12] Reynolds, 'Medieval *origines gentium*', 376.

It was the Anonymous Notary's main source, the ninth-century German abbot Regino of Prüm, who first described the Hungarians as a people who, 'unheard of in previous centuries, because they were not named [in the sources], emerged from the Scythian kingdoms' in 889.[13] Regino gave the Hungarians a Scythian ancestry seemingly because he could not find any information on their actual origins. Scythia, therefore, was less an actual place and more a type of literary topos—one that brought with it a variety of characteristics. The Anonymous Hungarian Notary, for example, copied Regino's assertion that the people living in Scythia had never been ruled by an emperor.[14] This independence was a crucial point in *origo gentis* legends. The Normans claimed Scandinavia as their ancestral homeland precisely because it had never been part of the Roman Empire. The Scandinavians could therefore be portrayed as a mighty people who had been able to maintain their independence against the military power of the Romans.[15]

Scythia as a topos had a similar type of history. It was Herodotus, the fifth-century BCE father of history, who first mentioned Scythia in his *Histories*, where he presented its inhabitants as a model of otherness to contrast with his main subject, the Greeks. The Scythians, who lived on the Pontic Steppe between the seventh and third centuries BCE, were a nomadic people, constantly moving from place to place. The Greeks, on the other hand, took great pride in their cities and their life-long attachment to one area.[16] In other words, the Scythians provided a counterpoint against which the Greeks could set their own identity. This is why Scythia is described in classical literature as 'a distant land . . . on the edges of the world.'[17] Though Herodotus was not read by medieval writers, his description of Scythia set a precedent

[13] Simon MacLean (trans.), *History and Politics in Late Carolingian and Ottonian Europe: The Chronicle of Regino of Prüm and Adalbert of Magdeburg* (Manchester, 2009), 202.

[14] GH, 6–7.

[15] On the Scandinavian ancestry of the Normans and the significance of independence, see Robert W. Rix, *The Barbarian North in Medieval Imagination: Ethnicity, Legend, and Literature* (New York, 2015).

[16] François Hartog, *The Mirror of Herodotus: The Representation of the Other in the Writing of History*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Berkeley, 1988), 11.

[17] Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound*, trans. David Grene (Chicago, 1956), 416–17. Cited in Hartog, *The Mirror of Herodotus*, 13.

and was mediated through a variety of authors from antiquity to the early Middle Ages. Thus we see that the *Gesta*'s idea of the Scythians as an independent people echoes Herodotus' notion of nomads without a home or a ruler.

Next to political independence, antiquity was another particularly sought-after characteristic in *origines gentium*, and this was provided to the Scythians by Marcus Junianus Justinus Frontinus, commonly known as Justin, a Roman historian from the second or third century CE. He wrote extensively about Scythia in his *Epitome*, an abridgement of the earlier writer Pompeius Trogus' *Philippic Histories*. In Justin's work, the Scythians were opposed to the Egyptians rather than the Greeks, and through a complicated set of scenarios describing the inception of the world, he argued that Scythia was older than Egypt.[18] Justin's direct influence, mediated through Regino of Prüm, can be found in the *Gesta Hungarorum*'s first chapter, where the author relates that 'the Scythians are a more ancient people.'[19] The word that stands out here is 'more', which does not make sense in the context of the *Gesta*, where there is no comparison with other peoples. It does make sense, however, as an invocation of Justin, who made this claim immediately after his discussion of the Egyptians.[20]

The classical writers had thus established the Scythians as highly desirable ancestors by emphasizing their independence and antiquity, and it was then up to medieval historians to claim them as their own. Yet by late antiquity and the early Middle Ages, the role of Scythia had to be reframed in light of the rise of Christianity. Rather than appearing as uncivilized, in contrast to the intellectual societies of antiquity, the Scythians became exemplars of innocent pagans living in ignorance until they discovered the true religion. For example, the fifth-century writer Orosius attributed Scythian origins to the Goths, thereby transferring the Christian-like characteristics of the former to the latter, which gave the Goths a kind of innate Christianity that helped them make peace with the Romans. Drawing on Judaeo-Christian tradition, he equated the Goths with the Getae—a people often seen as descendants of the biblical Gog and Magog, the sons of Japheth and grandsons

[18] Marcus Junianus Justinus, *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus*, ed. and trans. John Selby Watson (London, 1853), 2.1.

[19] GH, 6–7.

[20] See Rady's explanation in GH, 6, n. 4.

of Noah, whose base was said to be in the lands of Scythia.[21] Many subsequent medieval authors ascribed a Scythian heritage to previously pagan peoples, and so the Hungarians came to claim this ancestry too. The Anonymous Notary used this Gothic–Christian ancestry himself when he noted that the Hungarians, who were called Magyars in their own language, were named after Magog.[22] This stands in line with a wider medieval tradition in *origines gentium* of using etymology to link people to a heroic ancestor, an event, or a place. Names had specific meanings which could explain the characteristics of the *gens* or, as is the case here, could be interpreted as harbouring some type of divine purpose.[23]

Here it may be useful to pause for a moment and note that even though the Hungarian origin narrative was informed by many classical and religious works of literature, the influence of oral traditions cannot be wholly disregarded. As Pohl has rightly pointed out, it would be wrong to assume that pagan peoples like the Goths or the Hungarians 'completely forgot their indigenous traditions as soon as they entered the Roman Empire'.[24] Indeed, in the middle of the tenth century, as historians have found, the historical consciousness of the Hungarians still relied very much on an oral tradition which celebrated the conquest of the country by the previous generation. Only after their Christianization in the eleventh century did they feel the need for a wider history, following a more general tendency among recently converted peoples to create their own *origines gentium*.[25] An increased anxiety over using 'authentic' accounts of historical events

[21] A. H. Merrills, *History and Geography in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2005), 61.

[22] According to Rady, Anonymous is the only Hungarian chronicler to have made this connection. See GH, 7, n. 7.

[23] Alheydis Plassmann, 'Intentionale Deutungen von *Gentes*-Namen', in Frank Hentschel and Marie Winkelmüller (eds.), *'Nationes', 'Gentes' und die Musik im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 2014), 53–4. See also Plassmann, *Origo gentis*, 18–24 and 362–77. More broadly on the topic of etymology and peoples, see Arno Borst, *Der Turmbau von Babel: Geschichte der Meinungen über Ursprung und Vielfalt der Sprachen und Völker*, 6 vols. (Stuttgart, 1957–63).

[24] Pohl, 'Narratives of Origin and Migration', 200.

[25] János Harmatta, 'Érudition, tradition orale et réalité géographique: Le récit sur l'Exode des Hongrois chez Anonyme', *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 27 (1979), 285–303, at 289.

made people like the Anonymous Notary determined to use scriptural and classical sources to inform their narratives instead of relying on folk tales.[26] To show his earnestness in this pursuit, Anonymous asserted that he had written his text to make sure that anyone interested in learning about the Hungarian past would not need to turn to 'false stories of peasants and the gabbling song of minstrels.'[27] Despite this adamant statement, however, it is highly likely that some oral origin stories circulating among the various leading families made their way into the Anonymous Notary's narrative.[28]

What is clear is the number of cultural references he applied retrospectively to the early Hungarians. For example, he claimed that the Scythians lived in felt tents and that, when they left their homeland, they crossed the river Etil (the modern-day Volga) 'sitting on leather bags in the pagan manner.'[29] As Martyn Rady mentions, these may have been customs that Anonymous had witnessed among his countrymen as late as the twelfth century.[30] Attributing these pagan habits to the Scythians perhaps made it easier for a contemporary audience to identify themselves with these distant ancestors. The fact that Anonymous describes many of the early Hungarians' pagan behaviours in a positive light is quite unusual, especially compared to contemporaries such as Cosmas of Prague. Part of the reason might be a lack of alternatives, because there was so little information on Hungarian prehistory (that is, before the conversion) available to a writer of the twelfth century. Anonymous navigated this vacuum by claiming that the Hungarians had been led by God and the Holy Spirit from the beginning.[31] What the writer tried to do was create a continuity between the pagan past and the Christian present. Hence

[26] For more on this general trend in Europe in the twelfth century, see Paul Magdalino (ed.), *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe* (London, 1992).

[27] GH, 4–5.

[28] For a more detailed exploration of Anonymous' possible local sources, see GH, p. xxix.

[29] GH, 8–9 and 20–1.

[30] See Rady's notes, GH, 9, n. 5 and 20, n. 3.

[31] László Veszprémy, '*More paganismo*: Reflections on the Pagan and Christian Past in the *Gesta Hungarorum* of the Hungarian Anonymous Notary', in Ildar H. Garipzanov (ed.), *Historical Narratives and Christian Identity on a European Periphery: Early History Writing in Northern, East-Central, and Eastern Europe (c.1070–1200)* (Turnhout, 2011), 183–201, at 201.

every part of the Hungarian migration, from leaving Scythia to fighting with local lords and taking lands, was clothed in a veil of divine providence. This not only showed that the Hungarians had God's support in their quest for a new homeland, but also afforded them a kind of innate Christianity, making their later official conversion a logical consequence rather than a radical break with their past.[32] This became a particularly important theme when the Scythians set out on their journey for a new land.

Leaving the Homeland

Anonymous' chapter on Scythia ends with the reason why the Hungarians left this land: 'although spacious enough, it was still insufficient to sustain or hold the host of peoples begotten there.'[33] As Rady has mentioned, there are many medieval historical texts that present the problem of overpopulation as an incentive to leave a place of origin. The *Gesta*, via Regino, quotes from Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum,* which applies the same justification to the movement of the Goths, amongst others.[34] The Anonymous Notary wrote that the leaders of the Hungarians, upon making the decision to leave, agreed to 'seek for themselves the land of Pannonia that they had heard from rumor had been the land of King Attila, from whose line Prince Álmos [the leader of the Hungarians] . . . descended.'[35] Anonymous was peculiar in that, unlike other chroniclers, he did not make any clear connections between the Huns and the Hungarians. Any link between the Hun Attila and the Hungarian Álmos in the *Gesta* came from the fact that they were both descendants of the first king of the Scythians: Magog, son of Japheth, one of the three sons of Noah. Throughout the text, however, this kinship relation remains a little ambiguous and it seems, as László Veszprémy has suggested, that the author involved Attila only at certain stages of the journey and within the pagan framework when he remembered that associations with the legendary king would make more sense, but not

[32] Veszprémy, '*More paganismo*', 185–9 and 200–1.
[33] GH, 10–11.
[34] Cited in GH, 11, n. 2.
[35] GH, 16–7.

at others where divine support and Christian heritage were more important.[36]

Certainly, the theme of a people inhabiting a land previously settled by its ancestors carried biblical connotations, as it was inspired by the story of Moses and the Israelites wandering towards the land promised to them by God. God told Moses that he should lead his people out of Egypt to the land of the 'Canaanite, and Hittite, and Amorite, and Perizzite, and Hivite, and Jebusite.'[37] The Canaanites were the tribe descended from Canaan, son of Ham, another son of Noah. The land where this tribe lived had been promised to Abraham a few hundred years earlier, so there were a number of genealogical lines that connected the Israelites to those who had settled the Promised Land previously.[38] The Israelites thus travelled to a place where one of their ancestors had lived before. In the *Gesta*, the Hungarians followed this same pattern, as the author claimed that they migrated to land that had previously been conquered by Attila, the Hungarians' distant Hunnish relative. In chapter twenty, Anonymous makes the link even more explicit by casting the Hungarian Prince Álmos and his son Árpád as the sons of Israel to whom Moses had promised that '[e]very place that your foot shall tread upon shall be yours.'[39] According to the narrative, the Hungarian leaders and their companions fulfilled this prophecy because whatever territory they (and their alleged Hunnish ancestors) had conquered, they and their descendants had held until the present day. This suggested continuity could have also helped to legitimize claims to land that may have been disputed in Anonymous' time, when references to legendary ancestors became more widespread in other texts too. After 1200, for example, genealogical claims became increasingly important in the documents of many of the leading Hungarian families.[40]

[36] Veszprémy, '*More paganismo*', 194.

[37] Exod. 3:17. Bible quotations are taken from Swift Edgar and Angela M. Kinney (eds.), *The Vulgate Bible: Douay–Rheims Translation*, 6 vols. in 7 parts (Cambridge, MA, 2010).

[38] Gen. 15. [39] GH, 54–5 and Deut. 11:24. [40] GH, p. xxv.

On the Move

When it came to the actual journey of the Hungarians, Moses and the Israelites once again provided the inspiration. Like them, when the Hungarians first started their travels, they wandered through empty regions, never coming across 'the way of a city for their habitation'.[41] Here, the author invokes Psalm 106, which deals with the theme of divine salvation and describes God guiding the Israelites to the Promised Land despite their transgressions. This reference emphasized that God was also leading the Hungarians on their journey from their homeland to a new, better place. In the same section, Anonymous wrote that after wandering for many days the Hungarians swam across the river Etil in the same 'pagan way' as the Scythians, as I have mentioned above. The river is thus not just a physical feature of the landscape, but also marks the departure from the Scythian lands and cultural heritage. It was a threshold not just between land and water, but between civilized and uncivilized—Christian and non-Christian.[42] It was this transition that physically put the Hungarians on the path of Christianity, a notion which is amplified by the Anonymous Notary's efforts to cast the Hungarians as the Israelites reincarnate.

After crossing the Etil, the Hungarians came into the land of the Rus', which they decided to conquer. The princes of the Rus' were initially afraid of them, the *Gesta* insisted, because 'they had heard that Prince Álmos . . . was of the line of King Attila, to whom their forefathers had annually paid tribute.'[43] Here we can see in action what I have mentioned above, namely that Anonymous had to emphasize the Hungarians' kinship with Attila because he was aware that this was the more authentic and more impressive choice. The memory of

[41] GH, 20–1. Cf. Ps. 106:4.

[42] The notion of rivers as dividing lines can be traced back to classical literature. Vergil's *Aeneid*, for example, describes the Styx, a river in the Underworld which divided the world of the living from the world of the dead; Vergil, *Aeneid*, vi. 439. Anonymous would have taken these models not directly from Vergil or other classical sources, but rather from 'popular readings' and possibly from Dares' *Excidium Troie*; see Rady's remarks in GH, pp. xxii—xxiii and xxix.

[43] GH, 22–3.

the great warrior king and his dominion over the ancestors of the Rus' was a more convincing argument for their fearful attitude and eventual submission than the Hungarians being recipients of the grace of God. Divine grace was never far away, however, and it was actually the combined fear of the Hungarians' descent from Attila and the fact that 'divine grace was in them' that later made another people, the Slavs, surrender to the Hungarians without battle.[44] Though the fear the Hungarians instilled in many people, which helped them conquer many towns and regions, derived from Attila, it remained important to the author of the *Gesta* to stress that all of these successes were only possible because God was with them.

Another notable echo of Old Testament symbolism in the *Gesta* is the first sighting—the 'in-Sicht-Nahme'[45]—of the promised land from the top of a mountain. When the Hungarians eventually arrived in Pannonia, Prince Árpád and his company rested at the castle of Ung for a couple of days. While there, he and his men, 'seeing the fertility of the land and the abundance of all beasts and the fullness of the fishes in the rivers Tisza and Bodrog, loved the land more than can be said.'[46] Again, this passage is reminiscent of biblical narratives, in this case Deuteronomy 34:1: 'Then Moses went up from the plains of Moab upon Mount Nebo, to the top of Pisgah over against Jericho, and the Lord shewed him all the land of Gilead as far as Dan.' The 'in-Sicht-Nahme' in the *Gesta* thus portrays the Hungarian leader—this time Árpád instead of his father Álmos—as resembling Moses viewing the Promised Land. The castle of Ung was furthermore significant because, according to Anonymous, it gave the Hungarians their name. It was their first resting place when they entered Pannonia after conquering the Slavs, and this was why the peoples around them started calling their leader 'the Prince of Hungary and his men Hungarians'.[47] There is a similar instance of the 'in-Sicht-Nahme' further on in the narrative, when three of the Hungarian warriors climbed a high mountain and from the top could see 'as far as . . . the human eye the land on all sides from the summit of the mountain, [and they] loved it more than can be said.'[48] Another naming took place there,

[44] GH, 72–3. [45] Kersken, *Geschichtsschreibung*, 645. [46] GH, 39.
[47] GH, 12–13. [48] GH, 44–5.

though this time it was the mountain that received the name of one of the warriors, Tarcal. This is part of a more general trend in the narrative whereby Anonymous attempted to clarify the toponomy of Hungary and the surrounding area by connecting them to fictional people and events.[49]

The attentive reader may have noticed the repeated use of the phrase 'loved it more than can be said'. Anonymous repeats it a number of times throughout the text, and it too is derived from the Bible—in this instance Genesis 27, which tells the story of how Jacob tricked his father Isaac into blessing him instead of his brother Esau. In the Vulgate, this phrase was translated as bewilderment rather than love, which would work equally well in communicating the awe the Hungarians felt in viewing their new land.[50] Maybe taking this phrase from Genesis was another way for Anonymous to create a connection between the Hungarians and the Israelites, as Isaac was famously the grandfather of the twelve tribes of Israel.

Finally, there is one more aspect to the depiction of the Hungarians' arrival in Pannonia that is worth investigating. Chapter fourteen, which describes the scene at the castle of Ung, also marks a sudden shift in the narrative that sees the leadership of the Hungarians pass from Álmos to his son Árpád. In the previous chapter, Anonymous mentions that Álmos crowned his son as his successor while he, the father, was still alive. According to Rady, this practice was not uncommon and was still happening in Hungary close to Anonymous' lifetime.[51] What is strange, however, is that in the next chapter the narrative continues with Árpád as the leader, but there is no mention of his father's death in the meantime. *The Hungarian Chronicle*, a fourteenth-century compilation of Hungarian history composed of information possibly predating the *Gesta*, reports that Álmos died in Transylvania and never entered Pannonia.[52] This may itself have carried further biblical connotations in relation to Moses dying just after seeing the Promised Land and not having the chance to enter with

[49] See Rady's explanation of the *Gesta* as a 'toponymic romance'; GH, p. xxvii.
[50] Gen. 27:33.
[51] GH, 36–7 and 37, n. 3.
[52] The relationship between the *Gesta* and this so-called *Hungarian Chronicle* is further explored in C. A. Macartney, *Studies on Early Hungarian and Pontic History*, ed. Lóránt Czigány and László Péter (Farnham, 1999), 65–560.

his fellow Israelites.[53] Though this final biblical allusion would have strengthened his narrative even further, Anonymous did not include it, so the reason behind this lack of any description of Álmos' death in the *Gesta* remains a mystery.

Conclusions

The Hungarian origin story is the culmination of more than a millennium of intellectual mixing of ethnography and historiography, incorporating elements from biblical history, Greek and Roman literature, and stories from the early medieval past. Although Anonymous was a notary at court, not a monk with direct access to a monastic library, the themes and topoi he used to underpin his narrative were varied and made the *Gesta Hungarorum* a worthy first attempt at an official history of the Hungarians. Though for a long time it was thought that the *Gesta* had been all but forgotten very soon after it was written, research from the 1970s has shown that Simon of Kéza's late thirteenth-century chronicle borrowed extensively from it. Simon's version of events was recycled in the fourteenth-century *National Chronicle* and later histories, but ironically, it was the episodes he omitted that drew renewed attention to Anonymous' *Gesta* in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The *Gesta*'s emphasis on the relationship between Álmos and his son Árpád and their nobles, for example, became what László Veszprémy has called 'symbols of a mythical medieval Hungarian constitutional system.'[54]

For modern historians, literary tools may be useful for understanding how medieval writers constructed their narratives and conceived of the past of the peoples for whom they set out to write, and, more broadly, how they operated in their societal as well as their intellectual environment. By looking at typical topoi, for example, we can see what kinds of sources were deemed worth imitating, while direct

[53] Deut. 34.

[54] László Veszprémy, 'Christian Identity versus Heathendom: Hungarian Chroniclers Facing the Pagan/Nomadic Past and the Present', in Walter Pohl, Veronika Wieser, and Francesco Borri (eds.), *Historiography and Identity V: The Emergence of New Peoples and Polities in Europe, 1000–1300* (Turnhout, 2022), 305–20, at 314.

quotations from or indirect allusions to those sources tell us something about the transmission of ideas and the circulation of documents. Although Anonymous himself does not seem to have had access to a large repository of texts, he was still able to create a narrative that conformed to the standards of the time because of the ideas he had become familiar with through his education (he mentions in the introduction that he had copied Dares Phrygius' story of Troy while in school).[55] In his work at court he probably continued to engage with literary traditions through travel and his social network. Perhaps 'N', the friend mentioned in his introduction and described as a man 'steeped in the knowledge of letters', provided the Notary with some of the popular readings that we encounter in the *Gesta*.[56]

Classical and biblical sources were of great importance to the medieval authors of *origines gentium*, who sought not only to adapt these models but also to emulate their style. At the same time, however, medieval authors shaped their work to meet their readers' expectations and understanding of their past. The most important purpose of an origin story was to resonate with its audience. Indeed, it is important to remember Plassmann's caution that the use of a particular topos was far less significant for the function of the narrative than the overall effect of the actual origins and further history of the *gens*.[57] After all, as Nancy Partner has noted in her seminal work on history writing in twelfth-century England, medieval readers of historical treatises were not looking for a dry overview of dates and facts. Instead, they wanted to be amused 'with scenes of great triumphs and failures, inside information about princes both secular and ecclesiastical, . . . scandalous gossip, tales of exotic places, and, of course, accounts of exemplary lives and evidences of God's continuing interest in human affairs.'[58]

What then was the purpose of a migration story in an *origo gentis*, and how did it contribute to a common understanding of a nation's origins? One of the most important functions was that of identity building, and this identity can be split into several different

[55] GH, 2–3.
[56] GH, 2–3 and pp. xix, xxii–iii.
[57] Plassmann, 'Das Wanderungsmotiv', 63.
[58] Nancy F. Partner, *Serious Entertainments: The Writing of History in Twelfth-Century England* (Chicago, 1977), 2.

categories. A sense of belonging to a community is perhaps the one that comes most immediately to mind. The Anonymous Notary's text was called the *Deeds of the Hungarians*, after all, and it sought to establish the Hungarians firmly as a nation. Following long-standing Christian tradition, written histories consolidated existing groups in that they described those groups as historical units. Certainly, the lack of such sources seems to have caused great anxiety. This is potently displayed by the Anonymous Notary's use of imagined people and events to make up for the absence of sources on the more remote Hungarian past. While before conversion one's historical consciousness could have pertained solely to one's own kin or clan, under the influence of Christianity a sense of being part of a wider Christian society became more prevalent. The Hungarians very much needed to locate themselves within the *Christianitas*, and this could well be seen as one of the motives for writing the *Gesta*. The migration narrative was particularly useful in this community-building project because it described the ancestors of the Hungarians as members of a biblical group: the Scythian descendants of Magog who decided to settle in Pannonia.

This biblical heritage brings us to another aspect of identity, that of religion. Although the *Gesta* only ever discusses the Hungarian pagan past, it is set in a firmly Christian framework. The Hungarians' predestination as a Christian people feeds into the migration narrative by emulating the journey of Moses and the Israelites, and is also made explicit in the biblical genealogy of the first Hungarian leader Árpád. By claiming divine support for their victories, the Anonymous Notary further softened the line between pre- and post-conversion Hungarians and confirmed that the grace of God had been with them from the very beginning. Finally, while the Scythian and biblical identifications were powerful and carved out a place for the Hungarians in universal Christian history, it was the suggested links to their desired homeland that gave them their unique Hungarian identity. These links were forged through genealogical association with the legendary Hunnish King Attila and confirmed by the names of places such as mountains. These toponymic explanations in particular would have been recognizable to a thirteenth-century reader and would have helped them claim their own place in the historical landscape.

Movement was thus a key factor in most *origines gentium*. First, it explained where and how a people originated, locating them spatially as well as historically, and making them part of a larger Christian tradition. Second, it showed the development of a given group through the encounters they had during their travels, contrasting them with other peoples and showcasing examples of their customs and achievements. Finally, the people's settlement created a link between them and the land they inhabited, reinforcing their unique identity and confirming their claims to the area. Mobility had positive connotations and was essential for nation building, especially for those peoples who could not find their ancestors in the established classical and biblical traditions. Throughout the *Gesta Hungarorum*, the people of Hungary are cast as Scythians, Magog's kin, Attila's warriors, and more. But it was their journey, from their departure from Scythia to their travels through foreign lands and their arrival in their preordained homeland, that made them true Hungarians.

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MARGINAL PEOPLE, MARGINAL HISTORY: A HISTORIOGRAPHY OF MEDIEVAL ROMANI IMMIGRATION

LANE B. BAKER

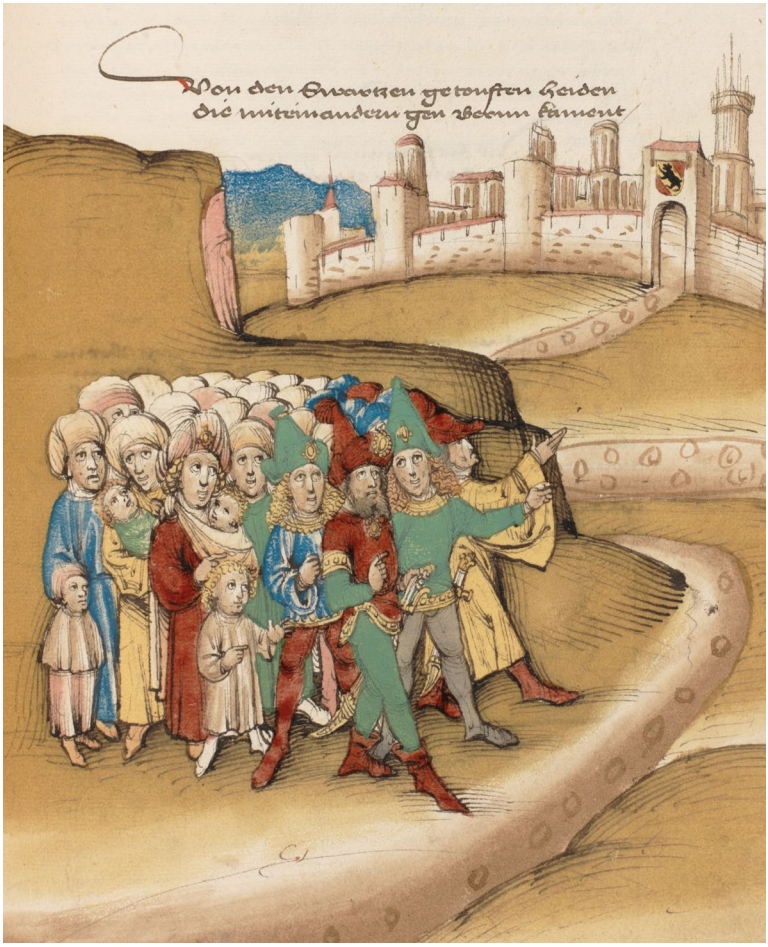

Fig. 1: 'Von den swartzen getouften heiden die miteinandern gen Bernn kament' (Of the black, baptized heathens who came together to Bern). Illustration in Diebold Schilling the Elder's *Spiezer Chronik*, Burgerbibliothek Bern, MS.h.h.I.16, fo. 749^{v} (*c.*1484–6). Licensed under CC BY-NC 4.0 [https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/].

Across the Holy Roman Empire, fifteenth-century chroniclers wrote of strange visitations. In 1417, 'Tatars' came to Magdeburg.[1] The next year, 'Egyptians' arrived in Augsburg.[2] The year after that, hundreds of 'baptized heathens' travelled through the cities of the Swiss Confederation.[3] It was much the same in other places. 'Greeks' appeared in Frankfurt (1422), 'Indians' in Bologna (1422), 'Saracens' in Paris (1427).[4] Writers throughout Western Europe chronicled these unexpected guests with a mixture of amazement and suspicion. By the end of the fifteenth century, most observers had concluded that these immigrants actually belonged to a single people, hitherto unknown in this part of the world. These late medieval texts gesture towards the immigration of the Roma, the largest voluntary population movement into Central and Western Europe since the Magyars in the tenth century.[5]

[1] *Magdeburger Schöppenchronik* (written *c.*1420–30). See Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (ed.), *Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*, vol. vii: *Die Chroniken der niedersächsichen Städte: Magdeburg. Erster Band* (Leipzig, 1869), 345–6. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are the author's own.

[2] *Anonymous Chronicle of Augsburg* (written *c.*1420–40). See Ferdinand Frensdorff (ed.), 'Chronik von 1368–1406 mit Fortsetzung bis 1447', in Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (ed.), *Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte*, vol. iv: *Die Chroniken der schwäbischen Städte: Augsburg. Erster Band* (Leipzig, 1865), 1–200, at 119.

[3] Conrad Justinger, *Berner Chronik* (written *c.*1421–30). See Gottlieb L. Studer (ed.), *Die Berner-Chronik des Conrad Justinger* (Bern, 1871), 286.

[4] For Frankfurt, see Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Frankfurt am Main, Fonds H.02.05, Extrakte aus den Rechen- und anderen Ratsbüchern 1341–1618, no. 1, fo. 59^{v}. For Bologna, see Lodovico A. Muratori (ed.), *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 25 vols. (Milan, 1723–51), xviii. 611. For Paris, see Collette Beaune (ed.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris de 1405 à 1449* (Paris, 1990), no. 468.

[5] As affirmed by the First World Romani Congress in 1971, 'Rom' (pl. 'Roma', adj. 'Romani') is the preferred ethnonym of various diasporic communities with linguistic and genetic ancestry in northern India. These words derive from a native word for 'person' and are etymologically unrelated to Rome or Romania. With some exceptions, most notably in Great Britain, Romani communities disavow 'Gypsy' and its Continental equivalents (*Zigeuner*, *Tsigane*, *Gitano*, *Zingaro*, *Cygan*, etc.) as slurs. Throughout this essay, I use 'Roma' and 'Romani' to describe the people referenced in medieval sources by various other names, even as I engage with those constructs in their historical context. See Matt T. Salo, 'The Expression of Ethnicity in Ṛom Oral Tradition', *Western Folklore* 36/1

Despite the many historical traces left by these immigrants, Geraldine Heng has recently described the Roma as 'a people whose lives and histories, unlike those of premodern Jews and Muslims, are as yet under-researched in medievalist scholarship.'[6] Even this understates the severity of the problem. The bibliography of medieval Romani immigration into Western Europe amounts to perhaps two pages of citations.[7] Not a single modern monograph exists. When detailing this period, most surveys of Romani history make do with a smattering of recycled references to sourcebooks or print editions. Despite the Roma's entanglement with many threads of late medieval history, their first decades of life in Western Europe continue to attract little attention from those who specialize in that period. For decades, scholars of minorities, mobility, and marginality in premodern Europe have noticed and lamented this silence.[8] Far fewer have explained the gap's persistence or offered constructive advice on how to fill it.

The Roma's earliest years in Western Europe remain poorly understood despite a flowering of scholarship on other periods of Romani

(1977), 33–56; Albert Thomas Sinclair, 'The Word "Rom"', *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* (hereafter *JGLS*)*: New Series*, 3/1 (1909), 33–42; and 'Gypsy' and 'Roma' in *RomArchive*, at [https://www.romarchive.eu/en/terms/], accessed 4 July 2023. See also 'RomArchive Ethical Guidelines', at [https://blog.romarchive.eu/english/romarchive-ethical-guidelines/#fn1], accessed 4 July 2023.

[6] Geraldine Heng, '"Gypsies": A Global Race in Diaspora, A Slave Race for the Centuries', in ead., *The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2018), 417–55, at 417.

[7] For introductions to the literature, see János M. Bak, 'Gypsies', in Robert E. Bjork (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 2010), ii. 758; Robert Jütte, 'Zigeuner', in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 10 vols. (Munich, 1980–99), ix. cols. 610–12; and Joseph R. Strayer, 'Gypsies', in id. (ed.), *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, 13 vols. (New York, 1982–9), vi. 40–1.

[8] Maria R. Boes, 'Unwanted Travellers: The Tightening of City Borders in Early Modern Germany', in Thomas Betteridge (ed.), *Borders and Travellers in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, 2007), 87–111, at 96–8; Bernd-Ulrich Hergemöller (ed.), *Randgruppen der spätmittelalterlichen Gesellschaft: Ein Hand- und Studienbuch*, 3rd edn (Warendorf, 2001), 8, 56, 103; Strayer, 'Gypsies', 41; Franz Irsigler and Arnold Lassotta, *Bettler und Gaukler, Dirnen und Henker: Randgruppen und Außenseiter in Köln 1300–1600* (Cologne, 1984), 167–78; František Graus, 'Die Randständigen', in Peter Moraw (ed.), *Unterwegssein im Spätmittelalter* (Berlin, 1985), 93–104, at 97, n. 25; and Werner Danckert, *Unehrliche Leute: Die verfemten Berufe* (Bern, 1963), 9, 267, 282.

history. Especially since the Roma Civil Rights Movement, scholars from a variety of backgrounds have documented six centuries of Romani survival against Western European prejudice, assimilation, and violence.[9] Historians and activists have channelled much of this energy towards a reckoning with the atrocities of the Holocaust, which claimed the lives of nearly half of all European Roma.[10] From this vantage point, scholars have increasingly examined the plight of Romani communities in earlier periods.[11] Within the German world,

[9] A helpful overview of the modern field, with special emphasis on Britain and Ireland, is Becky Taylor and Jim Hinks, 'What Field? Where? Bringing Gypsy, Roma and Traveller History into View', *Cultural and Social History*, 18/5 (2021), 629–50. Notable surveys and introductions to Romani history include Becky Taylor, *Another Darkness, Another Dawn: A History of Gypsies, Roma and Travellers* (London, 2014); Klaus-Michael Bogdal, *Europa erfindet die Zigeuner: Eine Geschichte von Faszination und Verachtung* (Berlin, 2011); Leo Lucassen and Will Willems, 'The Weakness of Well-Ordered Societies: Gypsies in Western Europe, the Ottoman Empire, and India, 1400–1914', *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)*, 26/3 (2003), 283–313; Ian Hancock, *We Are the Romani People / mes am e Rromane džene* (Hatfield, 2002); Angus Fraser, *The Gypsies* (Oxford, 1992); and Jean-Pierre Liégeois, *Les Tsiganes* (Paris, 1983). For a diverse archive of diasporic Romani history, see Dokumentations- und Kulturzentrum Deutscher Sinti und Roma e.V., *RomArchive*, at [https://www.romarchive.eu/en/], accessed 4 July 2023.

[10] See Arnold Weiss et al. (eds.), *Zwei Welten: Sinti und Roma. Schritte zur Anerkennung als NS-Verfolgte und antiziganistische Kontinuität* (Berlin, 2022); Eliyana R. Adler and Kateřina Čapkova (eds.), *Jewish and Romani Families in the Holocaust and its Aftermath* (New Brunswick, NJ, 2020); Ari Joskowicz, 'Separate Suffering, Shared Archives: Jewish and Romani Histories of Nazi Persecution', *History and Memory*, 28/1 (2016), 110–40; Anton Weiss Wendt (ed.), *The Nazi Genocide of the Roma: Reassessment and Commemoration* (New York, 2013); Gilad Margalit, *Germany and its Gypsies: A Post-Auschwitz Ordeal* (Madison, WI, 2002); id., 'The Uniqueness of the Nazi Persecution of the Gypsies', *Romani Studies*, 10/2 (2000), 185–210; Guenter Lewy, *The Nazi Persecution of the Gypsies* (Oxford, 2000); Michael Zimmerman, *Rassenutopie und Genozid: Die nationalsozialistische 'Lösung der Zigeunerfrage'* (Hamburg, 1996); Donald Kenrick and Grattan Puxton, *Gypsies under the Swastika* (Hatfield, 1995); Sybil Milton, 'Nazi Policies towards Roma and Sinti, 1933–1945', *JGLS: Series 5*, 2/1 (1992), 1–18; and Gabrielle Tyrnauer, 'Holocaust History and the Gypsies', *Shofar*, 7/2 (1989), 13–24.

[11] For broad-ranging studies of anti-Romani prejudice and exclusion, see Michael Hayes and Thomas Acton (eds.), *Travellers, Gypsies, Roma: The Demonisation of Difference* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2007); Jim MacLaughlin, 'European Gypsies and the Historical Geography of Loathing', *Review (Fernand Braudel*

the history of anti-Romani legislation goes back to at least 1497, when the Holy Roman Empire ordered the mass expulsion of all so-called *Zigeuner*.[12] The preceding eighty years, in which no state-wide policies controlled Romani life in Western Europe, have proven more difficult to integrate into the existing frameworks of Romani history. This era of energetic westward immigration, a period of Romani history that linguist and activist Ian Hancock has dubbed *O Buxljaripe* ('The Expansion'), cries out for fresh analysis.[13]

This essay will critically assess the ways in which scholars have approached the initial years of Romani immigration. What have we learned so far? What remains to be learned? How might we deepen and broaden our histories of the medieval Roma? In order for the Roma to take their rightful position in the mainstream of medieval scholarship, we must reflect upon the long-standing tendency of scholars to overlook or avoid this chapter of European and Romani history. My analysis will centre on the German-speaking world, which produced some of the earliest historical evidence for westward Romani immigration and played an instrumental role in the creation of both 'gypsiology' and modern Romani studies.[14] Even so, the diasporic

Center), 22/1 (1999), 31–59; Ian Hancock, *The Pariah Syndrome: An Account of Gypsy Slavery and Persecution* (Ann Arbor, 1987); and Rüdiger Vossen and Wolf Dietrich, *Zigeuner: Roma, Sinti, Gitanos, Gypsies zwischen Verfolgung und Romantisierung* (Frankfurt am Main, 1983).

[12] 9 Feb. 1497 (Diet of Lindau); Heinz Gollwitzer (ed.), *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*: *Mittlere Reihe*, vol. vi: *Reichstage von Lindau, Worms und Freiburg 1496–1498* (Göttingen, 1979), 344, no. 51. Reiterated on 4 Sept. 1498 (Diet of Freiburg im Breisgau); ibid. 737, no. 119. Reissued on 10 Sept. 1500 (Diet of Augsburg); Johann Jacob Schmauß and Heinrich Christian von Senckenberg (eds.), *Neue und vollständigere Sammlung der Reichs-abschiede*, 4 vols. (Frankfurt am Main, 1747), ii. 80, no. 28. For a timeline of the Roma in Germany, see Ian Hancock, 'Gypsy History in Germany and Neighboring Lands: A Chronology to the Holocaust and Beyond', *Nationalities Papers*, 19/3 (1991), 395–412.

[13] *O Buxljaripe* is the final chapter in Ian Hancock's four-part periodization of Romani migration history. It follows the departure from India (*O Teljaripe*), the journey through Western Asia (*O Nakhipe*), and the immigration into Byzantine Europe (*O Aripe*). Hancock, *We are the Romani People*, 29–33.

[14] Regarding the relationship between the Roma and Germany, see Susan Tebbutt (ed.), *Sinti and Roma: Gypsies in German-Speaking Society and Literature* (New York, 1998).

nature of Romani history demands that we transcend the national divisions that have long fragmented the study of European history. This goes doubly for the immigration period, in which Romani groups moved with relative ease between various states. Studying Romani history requires an embrace of mobility, both as a historical concept and a research practice. The long academic marginalization of the medieval Roma points to the ways in which national and disciplinary boundaries limit our knowledge of the past. This essay sounds a call for scholarly collaboration across and despite these borders.

Sources

Every study of the medieval Roma must grapple with the dearth of written sources from a Romani perspective. Indeed, Romani communities have historically relied upon oral traditions to preserve and transmit community knowledge.[15] It is only in the last fifty years that some communities have adopted alphabetic scripts for the Romani languages (*rromani ćhib*), previously attested only in transcriptions by outsiders.[16]

[15] For various approaches to Romani oral history, see Julia Blandfort, 'Moving Stories: Roma and the Oral Tradition of a Transnational People', in Medardus Brehl, Andreas Eckl, and Kristin Platt (eds.), *The Mediterranean Other – The Other Mediterranean* (Leiden, 2019), 69–77; Jake Bowers, 'Gypsies and Travellers Accessing their Own Past: The Surrey Project and Aspects of Minority Representation', in Hayes and Acton (eds.), *Travellers, Gypsies, Roma*, 17–29; Jelena Čvorović, 'Gypsy Oral History in Serbia: From Poverty to Culture', *Oral History*, 33/1 (2005), 57–67; Paloma Gay y Blasco, '"We Don't Know Our Descent": How the Gitanos of Jarana Manage the Past', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 7/4 (2001), 631–47; and Michael Stewart, *The Time of the Gypsies* (Boulder, CO, 1997). On Romani orality in other social contexts, see Jelena Čvorović, 'A Gypsy, a Butterfly, and a Gadje: Narrative as Instruction for Behaviour', *Folklore*, 119/1 (2008), 29–40; ead., 'Gypsies Drown in Shallow Water: Oral Narratives among Macva Gypsies', *Journal of Folklore Research*, 43/2 (2006), 129–48; Walter O. Weyrauch, 'Oral Legal Traditions of Gypsies and Some American Equivalents', *American Journal of Comparative Law*, 45/2 (1997), 407–42; and Béla Gunda, 'Gypsy Medical Folklore in Hungary', *Journal of American Folklore*, 75/296 (1962), 131–46.

[16] Yaron Matras, 'The Future of Romani: Toward a Policy of Linguistic Pluralism', *Roma Rights Quarterly*, 1 (2005), 31–44; id., 'Writing Romani: The

As a result, most histories of Romani life before the twentieth century rely entirely upon the testimony of texts written by non-Roma (*gadje*), which range from the literary to the administrative. The biases of such sources have prompted vigorous debates on the (im)possibility of accessing historical Romani experiences through European representations of 'Gypsies'.[17] This challenge is especially daunting for the medieval period, from which no texts have survived written by Romani authors or in a Romani language. In this respect, writing medieval Romani history differs fundamentally from the study of literate European minorities like Jewish or Muslim communities, and more closely resembles the study of non-writing communities such as peasants or enslaved people.[18] Recent scholarship has complicated

Pragmatics of Codification in a Stateless Language', *Applied Linguistics*, 20/4 (1999), 481–502; Donald Kenrick, 'Romani Literacy at the Crossroads', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 119 (1996), 109–23; id., 'The Development of a Standard Alphabet for Romani', *The Bible Translator*, 32/2 (1981), 215–19; Vania de Gila Kochanowski, 'Romani Language Standardization', *JGLS: Series 5*, 5/2 (1995), 97–107; and Siegmund A. Wolf, 'Zur Frage einer normierten Zigeunersprache (Basic Romani)', *Phonetica*, 5 (1960), 204–9.

[17] On the discursive category of the 'Gypsy' and its complex relationship to historical Romani communities, see the essays in Wulf D. Hund (ed.), *Faul, fremd und frei: Dimensionen des Zigeunerstereotyps* (Münster, 2014); Klaus-Michael Bogdal, *Europa erfindet die Zigeuner*; id., '"Dieses schwartz, ungestaltet und wildschweiffige Gesind": Symbolische Codierung und literarische Diskursivierung der "Zigeuner" vor 1800', in Michael Zimmermann (ed.), *Zwischen Erziehung und Vernichtung: Zigeunerpolitik und Zigeunerforschung im Europa des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 2007), 71–108; Wilhelm Solms, *Zigeunerbilder: Ein dunkles Kapitel der deutschen Literaturgeschichte. Von der frühen Neuzeit bis zur Romantik* (Würzburg, 2008); David Mayall, *Gypsy Identities 1500–2000: From Egipcyans and Moon-Men to the Ethnic Romany* (London, 2004), esp. 54–118; Wim Willems, *In Search of the True Gypsy: From Enlightenment to Final Solution* (London, 1997); Jacqueline Giere (ed.), *Die gesellschaftliche Konstruktion des Zigeuners: Zur Genese eines Vorurteils* (Frankfurt am Main, 1996); Judith Okely, 'Constructing Difference: Gypsies as "Other"', *Anthropological Journal on European Cultures*, 3/2 (1994), 55–73; and Kirsten Martins-Heuss, *Zur mythischen Figur des Zigeuners in der deutschen Zigeunerforschung* (Frankfurt am Main, 1983).

[18] The ever-growing scholarship on medieval unfreedom, especially the Mediterranean and Black Sea slave trade, offers many useful points of comparison. For an overview of the topic and some of its debates, see Samuel S. Sutherland, 'The Study of Slavery in the Early and Central Middle Ages: Old

this picture by suggesting that early Romani perspectives are not completely inaccessible. For instance, Kristina Richardson has challenged the assumption of medieval Romani illiteracy by noting the presence of book and block-printing traditions in a related community from Egypt, the Banū Sāsān.[19] Likewise, Andreas Zajic has explored Romani self-representation in the inscriptions of premodern tombstones.[20] Paola Toninato notes the ways Romani immigrants could make use of writing without authoring texts themselves.[21] Nonetheless, insofar as historians of the medieval Romani rely on the traditional methods of interpreting primary texts, they have no choice but to work with a corpus written by outsiders, shaped by their agendas, and coloured by their prejudices.

Late medieval chronicles supply some of the earliest and most widely cited evidence for Romani immigration.[22] As Romani families travelled

Problems and New Approaches', *History Compass*, 18/11 (2020). For a small sample of recent work, see Hannah Barker, *That Most Precious Merchandise: The Mediterranean Trade in Black Sea Slaves, 1260–1500* (Philadelphia, 2019); Alice Rio, *Slavery After Rome, 500–1100* (Oxford, 2017); Perry Craig, 'The Daily Life of Slaves and the Global Reach of Slavery in Medieval Egypt, 969–1250 CE' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Emory University, 2014); Kate Lowe, 'The Lives of African Slaves and People of African Descent in Renaissance Europe', in Joaneath Spicer (ed.), *Revealing the African Presence in Renaissance Europe* (Baltimore, 2012), 13–34; and Debra Blumenthal, *Enemies and Familiars: Slavery and Mastery in Fifteenth-Century Valencia* (Ithaca, NY, 2009).

[19] Kristina Richardson, *Roma in the Medieval Islamic World: Literacy, Culture, and Migration* (London, 2022), esp. 103–38; and ead., 'Tracing a Gypsy Mixed Language through Medieval and Early Modern Arabic and Persian Literature', *Der Islam*, 94/1 (2017), 115–57.

[20] Andreas H. Zajic, 'Alienness and (Religious) Otherness in Late Medieval Inscriptions: A Case Study on the Epigraphic Shaping of Christian Self-Representation', *medieval worlds*, 16 (2022), 229–62, at 248–54.

[21] Paola Toninato, *Romani Writing: Literacy, Literature and Identity Politics* (London, 2014), 7–24.

[22] On late medieval chronicles as a genre, especially in the German-speaking world, consult Gerhard Wolf and Norbert Ott (eds.), *Handbuch Chroniken des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 2016); Regula Schmid, *Geschichte im Dienst der Stadt: Amtliche Historie und Politik im Spätmittelalter* (Zurich, 2009); Peter Johanek, 'Weltchronik und regionale Geschichtsschreibung im Spätmittelalter', in Hans Patze (ed.), *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewußtsein im späten Mittelalter* (Sigmaringen, 1987), 287–330; and Heinrich Schmidt, *Die deutschen*

en masse through the cities of the Holy Roman Empire, Italy, France, and Iberia during the fifteenth century, dozens of European chroniclers remarked upon the newcomers.[23] Nearly all such chronicles concerned the history of particular cities, preserving highly localized traditions about the many first arrivals of the Roma. As we have already seen, these early texts never actually refer to 'Roma'. Instead, they record the unexpected appearance of 'heathens', 'Tatars', 'Egyptians', and other such exotic groups. With increasing frequency, chroniclers deployed new words derived from ἀτσίγγανοι (*atsíngani*), a Byzantine Greek term applied to the Roma perhaps as early the eleventh century.[24] From this word, hitherto unattested in Western Europe, there quickly evolved a plethora of new vernacular exonyms for the Roma: *Zigeuner*, *Tsigane*, *Zingaro*, and more. During the early modern period, these terms would come to encompass a broad range of itinerant groups. In their fifteenth-century origins, however, they still designated a particular wave of immigrants and their immediate descendants.

While a handful of the earliest chronicles qualify as contemporary texts and possibly eyewitness accounts, most of the chronicle evidence first appears in manuscripts from the mid fifteenth century, decades after the stated years of immigration. With each new manuscript of a chronicle, scribes could edit its text, renegotiate local memory, and inscribe their own socio-political agendas upon the past. As a result,

Städtechroniken als Spiegel des bürgerlichen Selbstverständnisses im Spätmittelalter (Göttingen, 1958).

[23] For an overview of the chronicle evidence and its interpretative challenges, see Reimar Gilsenbach, 'Quellen zur Geschichte der Roma und ihrer Interpretation, dargestellt an Beispielen aus dem 15. Jahrhundert', *Gießener Hefte für Tsiganologie*, 85/1 (1985), 8–16; and 85/2–3 (1985), 3–11.

[24] For the Greek etymology of this term, see Benedikt Wolf, 'Helfer des Feindes: Von der Häresie der *Athinganoi* zum "Stamm" der *Atsinganoi*', in Thomas Baumann (ed.), *Antiziganismus: Soziale und historische Dimensionen von 'Zigeuner'-Stereotypen* (Heidelberg, 2015), 18–37. Further historical context is in Karin White, 'Metal-Workers, Agriculturalists, Acrobats, Military-People and Fortune-Tellers: Roma (Gypsies) in and around the Byzantine Empire', *Golden Horn*, 7/2 (1999); Ilse Rochow and Klaus-Peter Matschke, 'Neues zu den Zigeunern im Byzantinischen Reich um die Wende vom 13. zum 14. Jahrhundert', *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 41 (1991), 241–54; and George C. Soulis, 'The Gypsies in the Byzantine Empire and the Balkans in the Late Middle Ages', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 15 (1961), 141–65.

different manuscripts of a single chronicle might retell the Romani immigration in starkly different ways.[25] Chronicles chart the ways in which many local traditions drifted toward antiziganist rhetoric. In the 1410s, chroniclers could write with benign curiosity about the appearance of 'heathen' travellers. Already by the mid century, the tenor had changed. Prominent humanist and pope-to-be Enea Silvio Piccolomini (1405–64) summarized the emerging consensus on Western Europe's newest inhabitants, who 'wander Europe with their women and children, are called the Zigari, are notorious thieves, and live amongst our people in the way of nomads.'[26] Given the fluid and propagandistic nature of these texts, fifteenth-century chronicles are perilous sources to use in the reconstruction of Romani immigration 'as it happened'. At the same time, they offer valuable glimpses into the evolution of elite mindsets and the public memory of Romani immigration.

An overwhelming historiographic emphasis on chronicles has obscured the untapped wealth of archival sources for medieval Romani history. The Roma typically appear in three archival contexts: grants of safe conduct, city council books, and municipal financial records. Corroborating the anecdotal evidence of many chronicles, surviving safe conduct letters (*Geleitbriefe*) record legal immunities granted by noblemen, emperors, and even popes to various Romani leaders and their retinues.[27] These grants, which might survive in original copies or

[25] For an example, see Lane B. Baker, 'From Little Egypt to Zürich: Chronicling Romani Immigrants with Late Medieval Manuscripts', in Johannes Junge Ruhland (ed.), *Making History with Manuscripts* (Berlin, forthcoming).

[26] Enea (Aeneas) Silvio Piccolomini (1405–1464) wrote what later editors would title *Asiae Europaeque elegantissima descriptio* sometime in the 1450s, shortly before his assumption of the papacy as Pius II in 1458. It was first printed in Venice in 1477. Quotation from Enea Silvio Piccolomini, *Asiae Europaeque elegantissima descriptio* (Paris, 1534), lib. 2, cap. 27, 62.

[27] For examples of these safe-conducts in print, see Wolfgang Wippermann (ed.), *Geschichte der Sinti und Roma in Deutschland: Darstellung und Dokumente* (Berlin, 1995), 54–5; Olav van Kappen, 'Three Dutch Safe-Conducts for "Heidens" Granted by Charles Duke of Egmont', *JGLS: Third Series*, 41/3–4 (1962), 89–100; and id., 'Four Early Safe-Conducts for Gypsies (1442–1454)', *JGLS: Third Series*, 44/3–4 (1965), 107–15. See also comments in Toninato, *Romani Writing*, 8–11; Angus Fraser, 'Juridical Autonomy among Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Gypsies', *American Journal of Comparative Law*, 45/2 (1997), 291–304; and id., *The Gypsies*, 63–76.

as transcriptions in cartularies, designated a particular Romani headman by name and title, granted temporary freedom to move within a territory, and promised legal protection from harassment and tolls. Council books (*Ratsprotokolle*) record actions that urban governments took towards the Roma, frequently pertaining to acts of expulsion and other curtailments of legal rights within their jurisdictions. Municipal financial records, especially the expenditure books (*Ausgabebücher*) kept by many German city councils, record both charitable disbursements to Romani groups and payments to officials to expel them.[28] Each of these textual genres point toward different socio-political processes at work. They do not always align in their terminology or attitudes towards the Roma. Nonetheless, they provide crucial information for on-the-ground activity and balance the more sensational testimony of chronicles.[29] So too, these sources reveal that exclusionary attitudes competed and coexisted with hospitality, charity, and legal toleration.

Late medieval manuscripts are the original repositories for chronicle and documentary evidence of Romani immigration. Despite the centrality of manuscripts in late medieval culture, scholarship on the medieval Roma has tended to approach this handwritten body of sources via print. The most frequently cited chronicle evidence is usually drawn from nineteenth- and twentieth-century critical editions, with the unfortunate consequence of eliding noteworthy manuscript variations. Many scholars have also freely mixed the claims of early modern print chronicles with those of late medieval manuscripts. These choices largely reflect the modernist bent of Roma studies, in which most scholars have not been trained to find or read medieval documents in their original form. This disengagement from manuscripts has encouraged most scholars of the Roma to rely upon two

[28] For examples in print, see Eric Otto Winstedt, 'Some Records of the Gypsies in Germany, 1407–1792', *JGLS: Third Series*, 11/3–4 (1932), 97–111, at 106–11; and Eduard Hoffmann-Krayer, 'Gypsies in Basle', *JGLS: New Series*, 2/4 (1909), 368–9.

[29] Archival documentation can both corroborate and belie chronicle testimony. For an example, see Hoffmann-Krayer, 'Gypsies in Basle': in Basel, financial records confirm the testimony of the contemporary *Rötteler Chronik* by noting a visit by Roma in the summer of 1422, but also reveal even earlier arrivals in 1414 and 1418.

German sourcebooks for early Romani history, both compiled by non-historians. The theologian and sociologist Reimer Gronemeyer's *Zigeuner im Spiegel früher Chroniken und Abhandlungen: Quellen vom 15. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (1987) has been a major access point for many scholars of the Roma.[30] Gronemeyer's sourcebook compiles the texts used by the Enlightenment scholar Heinrich Grellmann (see below). While plenty of Gronemeyer's assembled sources specifically discuss Romani immigration, the bulk of his material hails from the age of print. His sourcebook includes only three sources written before 1500, all drawn from print editions. Just seven years after Gronemeyer, the journalist and environmental activist Reimar Gilsenbach published a new sourcebook for early Romani history, the first of an envisioned (but never completed) four-volume series.[31] His *Weltchronik der Zigeuner: Von den Anfängen bis 1599* (1994) contains several hundred references culled from a variety of European languages and genres. Despite its unmatched breadth, Gilsenbach's *Weltchronik* runs up against some of the same limitations as Gronemeyer's sourcebook. It relies upon critical editions for most of its medieval material and arranges its sources according to the date of the events described, thus mixing together texts generated in very different periods. A dependence on sourcebooks and other printed texts has led some Roma scholars to the faulty assumption that such resources contain the sum total of all medieval evidence.[32] On the contrary, many fifteenth-century sources on the Roma still remain unpublished in manuscript.

[30] Reimer Gronemeyer (ed.), *Zigeuner im Spiegel früher Chroniken und Abhandlungen: Quellen vom 15. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Giessen, 1987).

[31] Reimar Gilsenbach (ed.), *Weltchronik der Zigeuner*, vol. i: *Von den Anfängen bis 1599* (Frankfurt am Main, 1994). Volumes two and three were not completed. Volume four covers the Holocaust and mid twentieth century: *Von 1930 bis 1960* (Frankfurt am Main, 1998). For Gilsenbach's approach to the early historical evidence, see Gilsenbach, 'Quellen zur Geschichte der Roma'.

[32] E.g. Donald Kenrick, 'The Origins of Anti-Gypsyism: The Outsiders' View of Romanies in Western Europe in the Fifteenth Century', in Nicholas Saul and Susan Tebbutt (eds.), *The Role of the Romanies: Images and Counter-Images of 'Gypsies'/Romanies in European Cultures* (Liverpool, 2004), 79–84, at 79: 'Together with the town clerks' reports we have in total some 62 contemporary records for the period in question (1400–1450) (see De Meneses 1971, Gilsenbach 1994, *JGLS* Series 1 and 2 [passim], Van Kappen n.d. and Vaux de Foletier 1970)';

Past Historiographical Approaches

Within a century of the Roma's first appearances in Western Europe, chroniclers were already revisiting this initial wave of immigration. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century accounts reflect the hardening attitudes of the early modern period, during which Romani communities throughout Western Europe suffered from widespread violence, expulsions, and accusations of criminality.[33] Early modern writers filtered late medieval chronicles through their own antiziganist stereotypes, sometimes with incongruous results. Confronted with texts from the Middle Ages that described the Roma as humble pilgrims or exiled lords, some concluded that the early modern 'Gypsies' had stolen the identity of these medieval migrants.[34] According to one persistent theory, these 'Gypsies' were actually a band of European

and Willems, *In Search of the True Gypsy*, 13: 'Closer reading of these sources [in Gronemeyer] reveals that the written tradition concerning the earliest identification of Gypsies in western Europe rests entirely on the testimony of two witnesses from that era [Hermann Korner and Andreas von Regensburg].'

[33] Miriam Eliav-Feldon, 'Vagrants or Vermin? Attitudes towards Gypsies in Early Modern Europe', in ead., Benjamin Isaac, and Joseph Ziegler (eds.), *The Origins of Racism in the West* (Cambridge, 2009), 276–91; Stephan Steiner, 'The Enemy Within: "Gypsies" as EX/INternal Threat in the Habsburg Monarchy and in the Holy Roman Empire, 15th–18th Century', in Eberhard Crailsheim and María Dolores Elizalde (eds.), *The Representation of External Threats: From the Middle Ages to the Modern World* (Leiden, 2019), 131–54; Karl Härter, 'Kriminalisierung, Verfolgung und Überlebenspraxis der "Zigeuner" im frühneuzeitlichen Mitteleuropa', in Yaron Matras, Hans Winterberg, and Michael Zimmermann (eds.), *Sinti, Roma, Gypsies: Sprache – Geschichte – Gegenwart* (Berlin 2003), 41–81; and Stefan Arend, 'Zigeuner und Zigeunergesetzgebung in Deutschland im 16. Jahrhundert', *Tsiganologische Studien*, 2 (1990), 71–87.

[34] For examples, see Heinrich Brennwald's *Schweizerchronik* (written *c.*1508–16), in Rudolf Luginbühl (ed.), *Heinrich Brennwalds Schweizerchronik*, 2 vols. (Basel, 1908–10), ii. 495–6; Johannes Stumpf, *Gemeiner loblicher Eydgnoschafft Stetten, Landen und Voelckeren Chronick wirdiger thaaten Beschreybung* (Zurich, 1548), 425b; id., *Schwytzer Chronika* (Zurich, 1554), 199b; Heinrich Bullinger's *Tigurinerchronik* (written 1572–4), 9.18, in Hans Ulrich Bächtold (ed.), *Heinrich Bullinger Werke: Vierte Abteilung. Historische Schriften*, pt. i: *Tigurinerchronik*, 3 vols. (Zurich, 2018), ii. 741–2; Johannes Guler von Wyneck, *Raetia* (Zurich, 1616), 156b–7a; and Fortunat Sprecher von Bernegg, *Pallas Rhaetica armata et togata* (Basel, 1617), 91.

criminals who darkened their skin with oil, spoke an invented language, and play-acted as Egyptians.[35] Heinrich Brennwald (1478–1551), a Swiss historian and early proponent of this theory, claimed that the migrants of 1418 had 'upheld Christian order' and departed after seven years.

> Since then, however, a ragtag people has cobbled itself together. They travel around the country, claiming that they can't go back across the sea because of the Sultan, stealing whatever they can, and causing truly great harm to the world. None of them has ever even been to Egypt. These are the *Zigeuner*, and all of them would be worthy of hanging at the very least.[36]

Not all early modern scholars posited such a complete rupture between medieval and modern. Some scholars, like the cosmographer Sebastian Münster (1488–1552), accepted the medieval wanderers as ancestors of the 'Gypsies' of his time, but still dismissed their eastern heritage as nothing more than 'fictions [*fabellae*]'.[37] Others accepted that the 'Gypsies' were a people of their own with at least some ancestry outside Europe.[38] Even as perceptions of the Roma coalesced into

[35] On the 'replacement' theory, see John Morgan, '"Counterfeit Egyptians": The Construction and Implementation of a Criminal Identity in Early Modern England', *Romani Studies*, 26/2 (2016), 105–28; Shulamith Shahar, 'Religious Minorities, Vagabonds and Gypsies in Early Modern Europe', in Roni Stauber and Raphael Vago (eds.), *The Roma: A Minority in Europe. Historical, Political and Social Perspectives* (Budapest, 2007), 1–18; and Willems, *In Search of the True Gypsy*, 14–16.

[36] Luginbühl (ed.), *Heinrich Brennwalds Schweizerchronik*, ii. 495–6.

[37] Sebastian Münster, 'De Gentilibus Christianis, quos vulgò Züginer vocant, et latinè Errones', in id., *Cosmographia universalis*, (Basel, 1544), lib. iii. Originally published in German and subsequently in Latin (1550), French (1552), Czech (1554), and Italian (1558). For the Latin text and a reflection on Münster's depiction of the Roma, see D. M. M. Bartlett, 'Münster's *Cosmographia Universalis*', *JGLS: Third Series*, 31/3–4 (1952), 83–90. Münster borrowed much of this account wholesale from Albert Krantz, *Saxonia* (Cologne, 1520), 11.2. For similar theories, see Cyriacus Spangenberg, *Mansfeldische Chronica* (Eisleben, 1572), 1.308; and Christoph Besold and Johann Jacob Speidel, 'Zigeiner', in eid., *Thesaurus practicus* (Tübingen, 1629), 867.

[38] For examples, see *Bayerische Chronik* (s.l., 1522), 8.122; Achilles Pirmin Gasser, *Annales civitatis ac rei publicae Augsburgensis* (Augsburg, 1576), 312;

a pan-European prejudice, no single account of the medieval immigration prevailed. The first arrival of the Roma persisted for over a century as a topic for casual speculation by encyclopedists and regional historians. In 1677, the German professors Jakob Thomasius and Johann Christoph Schmidt were still debating the basics: whether the '*Zigeuner*' were an ethnic group of their own, where in the world they had originated, and how long they had lived in Europe.[39]

In the late eighteenth century, Enlightenment scholars grappled anew with the question of Romani origins. Johann Christoph Christian Rüdiger, a German humanist and political economist, mounted a major revisionist argument in 1782.[40] In contrast to much prevailing speculation of the previous two centuries, Rüdiger believed that the Roma were a nomadic South Asian people who had immigrated into Europe and fallen into poverty through systematic exclusion. Even as he judged contemporary Romani society as 'a contemptible, scattered lot of foul fortune tellers, poor beggars, and wicked rogues', Rüdiger suggested that this had not always been the case:

> According to the accounts of Aventinus and other historians, at the beginning of the fifteenth century [the Roma] came in great hordes through Syria and Anatolia up to the Danube, and then spread out further into France, Spain, and Italy. They were divided into tribes under dukes and equipped with draft cattle and money. They were an orderly but nomadic people, like present-day Bedouin Arabs or Mongolians, like the former Normans, Goths, and Saxons under their chiefs, or like the Israelites under Moses. To some extent, they were

Christian Wurstisen, *Bassler Chronick* (Basel, 1580), 4.23; Martin Crusius, *Annales Suevici* (Frankfurt am Main, 1595), 7.3; and Johannes Limnaeus, *Juris publici imperii romano-germanici*, 2nd edn (Basel, 1645), 3.9.1.

[39] Jacobus Thomasius and Johann Christoph Schmidt, *Dissertatio philosophica de Cingaris in disputationem* (Leipzig, 1677). See also Ahavaser Fritsch, *Diatribe historico-politica de Zygenorum origine, vita ac moribus* (Jena, 1680); and Job Ludolf, *Ad suam Historiam Aethiopicam antehac editam commentarius* (Frankfurt, 1691).

[40] Johann C. C. Rüdiger, 'Von der Sprache und Herkunft der Zigeuner aus Indien', in *Neuester Zuwachs der teutschen, fremden und allgemeinen Sprachkunde in eigenen Aufsätzen, Bücheranzeigen und Nachrichten*, 6 vols. (Leipzig, 1782–96), i. 37–85. On Rüdiger, see August Leskien, 'Rüdiger, Johann Christian Christoph', in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 56 vols. (Leipzig, 1875–1912), xxix. 468.

> met with friendliness—so much that (according to Aventinus) Emperor Sigismund gave them letters of safe conduct, and that (according to Crusius) their lords received respectable grave inscriptions with the title of 'duke' and 'count'. But of course, in most places this must have quickly given way to quarrels with the long-established inhabitants.[41]

Rüdiger went on to argue that private property rights, the erosion of the commons, and rigid state laws had doomed the nomadic Roma to opprobrium and criminality. In this way, he could explain their apparent transformation from tolerable medieval nomads to despised criminals without recourse to theories of replacement or fraud. It was early modern society, with its 'arbitrarily invented lordship, property, and love for fatherland', that had created the modern '*Zigeuner*'.[42]

Rüdiger's account heralds a number of shifts in the academic treatment of Romani history. His work was among the first to approach the question of Romani origins from a linguistic angle.[43] Rüdiger's primary evidence for a South Asian homeland consisted of the phonetic and lexical similarities between Romani and Hindi.[44] By arguing for the Roma as an ethnolinguistic group with their own language and premodern history, Rüdiger discredited the notion of the 'Gypsies' as a confederation of European thieves. His Rousseauian views on the clash between nomadism and private property also allowed Rüdiger to integrate modern, medieval, and ancient Romani populations into a seamless historical narrative, however different their various historical situations might first appear. Rüdiger's account also signals the shift towards linguistics and social theory as the major disciplines for understanding the Romani past. As demonstrated by his hasty citation of only two sixteenth-century

[41] Rüdiger, 'Von der Sprache und Herkunft der Zigeuner aus Indien', 37–8.

[42] Ibid. 38.

[43] See Yaron Matras, 'Johann Rüdiger and the Study of Romani in 18th-Century Germany', *JGLS: Series 5*, 9/2 (1999), 89–116; and id., 'The Role of Language in Mystifying and Demystifying Gypsy Identity', in Saul and Tebbutt (eds.), *The Role of the Romanies*, 53–78. Rüdiger was not, strictly speaking, the first European scholar to hypothesize an ethnolinguistic origin in India; cf. Christian Wilhelm Büttner, *Vergleichungs-Tafeln der Schriftarten verschiedener Völker, in denen vergangenen und gegenwärtigen Zeiten*, 2 vols. (Göttingen, 1771–9).

[44] Rüdiger, 'Von der Sprache und Herkunft der Zigeuner aus Indien', 63–77.

sources—Martin Crusius and Johannes Aventinus—Rüdiger did not directly consult a single medieval text. His historical knowledge of the fifteenth-century immigration was mediated entirely by a small corpus of sixteenth-century writings.

While Johann Rüdiger was one of the first scholars to make a systematic case for Romani origins in India, it was Heinrich Moritz Gottlieb Grellmann (1756–1804) who transmitted the idea to a wider audience.[45] One year after Rüdiger, Grellmann hypothesized that the Roma were descended from members of the Indian *sudra* caste.[46] The details of their medieval history were less certain. 'History has not precisely noted in which years and in which province of Europe the Gypsies first appeared', he admitted in his influential 1783 study.[47]

[45] On Heinrich Grellmann and his contributions to 'gypsiology', see Katrin Ufen, 'Aus Zigeunern Menschen machen: Heinrich Moritz Gottlieb Grellmann und das Zigeunerbild der Aufklärung', in Hund (ed.), *Faul, fremd und frei*, 70–90; Joachim Krauss, 'Die Festschreibung des mitteleuropäischen Zigeunerbildes: Eine Quellenkritik anhand des Werkes von Heinrich M. G. Grellmann', in Wolfgang Benz (ed.), *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung 19* (Berlin, 2010), 33–56; Claudia Breger, 'Grellmann: Der "Zigeunerforscher" der Aufklärung', in Udo Engbring-Romang and Daniel Strauss (eds.), *Aufklärung und Antiziganismus* (Seeheim, 2003), 50–6; Wim Willems, *In Search of the True Gypsy*, 22–92; id., 'Außenbilder von Sinti und Roma in der frühen Zigeunerforschung', in Giere (ed.), *Die gesellschaftliche Konstruktion des Zigeuners*, 87–108; Martin Ruch, 'Zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte der deutschsprachigen "Zigeunerforschung" von den Anfängen bis 1900' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, 1986), 94–134; Friedrich Ratzel, 'Grellmann, Heinrich Moritz Gottlieb', in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, ix. 636–7; and R. Pallmann, 'Grellmann (Heinrich Moritz Gottlieb)', in Johann Samuel Ersch and Johann Gottfried Gruber (eds.), *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste: Erste Section* (Leipzig, 1818–89), xc. 136–7.

[46] Heinrich Moritz Gottlieb Grellmann, *Die Zigeuner: Ein historischer Versuch über die Lebensart und Verfassung, Sitten und Schicksale dieses Volks in Europa, nebst ihrem Ursprunge* (Dessau, 1783), sect. 2, chs. 3–6, 176–274. Republished four years later as *Historischer Versuch über die Zigeuner: Betreffend die Lebensart und Verfassung, Sitten und Schicksale dieses Volks seit seiner Erscheinung in Europa und dessen Ursprung* (Göttingen, 1787) and in English translation as *Dissertation on the Gipsies: Being a Historical Enquiry, Concerning the Manner of Life, Œconomy, Customs and Conditions of these People in Europe, and their Origin*, trans. Matthew Raper (London, 1787).

[47] Grellmann, *Die Zigeuner*, sect. 2, ch. 1, 155.

Grellmann assumed that the answers to these questions lay in 'old annals [*alte Jahrbücher*]', but a perusal of his work reveals few medieval texts among his sources. Like Rüdiger, Grellmann built his picture of the immigration almost exclusively from early modern print histories, merely alluding to the anonymous manuscripts that had inspired those works.[48] Unlike Rüdiger, Grellmann decried the Roma as an ethnic group with intrinsic antisocial tendencies. For Grellmann, there had been no early modern transformation of Romani society: the Roma had inherited these parasitic cultural patterns from their origins in India's labouring caste and brought them to Europe in the fifteenth century.[49] In his interpretation of events, the immigrants had simply managed to trick authorities into granting them legal protection. To the extent that early chroniclers portrayed the Roma as pious or lordly, they too had been deceived. Eventually, Grellmann argued, the fraud ran its course: 'The golden age of the Gypsies lasted quite a while, but after people had been lenient toward them for over half a century, the old preconception finally gave way.' Despite Romani efforts to secure tolerance, 'people saw all too clearly that they were the dregs of humanity instead of holy pilgrims.'[50] Although subsequent scholars critiqued and refined Grellmann's particular hypotheses, his disengagement from medieval evidence, total reliance on early modern print texts, and portrayal of medieval Romani immigrants as 'thieves, frauds, and rascals' set the tone for the emergent field of 'gypsiology'.[51]

The medieval history of the Roma occupied a small corner within nineteenth-century European gypsiology. It was philologists, ethnographers, and folklorists who dominated this growing field.[52] The

[48] Ibid. chs. 1–2, 155–76. See e.g. the vague reference to a 'manuscript chronicle' used by Johannes Stumpf, which, in Grellmann's view, had misled the Swiss chronicler with its claims of 'bogus virtuousness and honour' among the medieval Roma.

[49] For a comparison of Rüdiger and Grellmann's paradigms, with an eye for their modern analogues, see Yaron Matras, 'Scholarship and the Politics of Romani Identity: Strategic and Conceptual Issues', *European Yearbook of Minority Issues*, 10 (2011), 211–47, at 212–16.

[50] Grellmann, *Die Zigeuner*, sect. 2, ch. 2, 172. [51] Ibid. 175.

[52] For overviews of nineteenth-century gypsiology and gypsylorism, see David Cressy, *Gypsies: An English History* (Oxford, 2018), 148–207; Jeremy Harte, 'Romance and the Romany', *History Today*, 66/1 (2016), 30–6; Judith Okely,

Romani languages, along with their implications for Romani origins, continued to engross linguists.[53] Many other gypsiologists, especially in Britain, directed their attention to the products of vernacular culture: Romani songs, poems, and stories. An administrative desire for surveillance merged with fetishizing exoticism in the popular books and articles of the period,[54] many of the latter appearing in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* (1887–92, 1902–present, rebranded in 2000 as *Romani Studies*).[55] Apart from questions of ethnolinguistic origins, most gypsiologists engaged with the textual particulars of Romani history only in passing. In keeping with the nostalgic conservationism of folkloristics, many instead portrayed the Roma as a people outside

'Retrospective Reading of Fieldnotes: Living on Gypsy Camps', *Behemoth: A Journal on Civilisation*, 4/1 (2011), 18–42; Michael Hayes, 'Nineteenth-Century Gipsilorism and the Exoticisation of the Roma (Gypsies)', in id. (ed.), *Road Memories: Aspects of Migrant History* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2007), 20–35; Mayall, *Gypsy Identities*, 152–87; Ken Lee, 'Orientalism and Gypsylorism', *Social Analysis*, 44/2 (2000), 129–56; and Ian Duncan, 'George Borrow's Nomadology', *Victorian Studies*, 41/3 (1998), 381–403.

[53] Key texts in the ensuing linguistic debate include Johann Erich Biester, 'Über die Zigeuner: Besonders im Königreich Preußen', *Berlinische Monatsschrift*, 21 (Feb. 1793), 108–65 and (Apr. 1793), 360–93; August Friedrich Pott, *Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien: Ethnograpisch-linguistische Untersuchung, vornehmlich ihrer Herkunft und Sprache*, 2 vols. (Halle, 1844–5; repr. Leipzig, 1964), and Franz Miklosich, *Über die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europa's*, 8 vols. (Vienna, 1872–7).

[54] For examples of typical texts from this period, see Theodor Tetzner, *Geschichte der Zigeuner: Ihre Herkunft, Natur und Art* (Weimar, 1835); George Borrow, *The Zincali: An Account of the Gypsies of Spain* (London, 1841); id., *Lavengro* (London, 1851); id., *The Romany Rye* (London, 1857); Jean-Alexandre Vaillant, *Les Romes: Histoire vraie des vrais Bohémiens* (Paris, 1857); Richard Liebich, *Die Zigeuner in ihrem Wesen und ihrer Sprache* (Leipzig, 1863); Walter and James Simson, *A History of the Gipsies: With Specimens of the Gipsy Language* (London, 1865), 302; Henry Woodcock, *The Gipsies: Being a Brief Account of their History, Origin, Capabilities, Manners and Customs, with Suggestions for the Reformation and Conversion of the English Gipsies* (London, 1865); Charles Leland, *The English Gipsies and their Language* (New York, 1873); and Francis Hindes Groome, *In Gipsy Tents* (Edinburgh, 1880).

[55] For a reflection on the journal's history and turn-of-the-century transition, see Yaron Matras, 'From *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* to *Romani Studies*: Purpose and Essence of a Modern Academic Platform', *Romani Studies*, 27/2 (2017), 113–23.

modernity and the ordinary course of historical time.[56] To the extent that scholars discussed the medieval Roma, they rehashed Grellmann's early modern sources and antiziganist interpretations.

On the topic of medieval immigration, the first serious revision to Grellmann's account came from French archivist Paul Bataillard (1816–94). Bataillard was neither a folklorist nor a gypsiologist per se, having studied under the eminent French historian Jules Michelet and trained at the prestigious École des chartes. In an article published in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* (1843–4), Bataillard nonetheless endeavoured to reconstruct a new itinerary for medieval Romani immigration.[57] Forty years later, Bataillard expanded his work, translated the article into English, and republished his hypotheses in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*.[58] Armed with newly acquired Romanian and Greek charters that predated the fifteenth century, Bataillard pushed against mainstream gypsiology by arguing that the Roma had lived in South-Eastern Europe since the early Middle Ages, perhaps even antiquity, and had contributed to the adoption of metallurgy in Europe.[59] On the subject of western immigration, Bataillard engaged in further revisionism. He interpreted the visitations of 1417–38 as stops on a single exploratory campaign led by a small handful of Romani headmen, only followed by mass migration in the middle of the century.[60] Bataillard fell into some of the same traps as gypsiologists before and after him: neglecting important manuscripts, relying upon sixteenth-century histories for fifteenth-century

[56] Katie Trumpener, 'The Time of the Gypsies: A "People without History" in the Narratives of the West', *Critical Inquiry*, 18/4 (1992), 843–84.

[57] Paul Bataillard, 'De l'apparition et de la dispersion des Bohémiens en Europe', *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, 5 (1844), 438–75, 521–39. Followed by id., 'Nouvelles recherches sur l'apparition des Bohémiens en Europe', *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, 11 (1850), 14–55; and id., 'Les débuts de l'immigration des Tsiganes en Europe occidentale', *Bulletin et mémoires de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris*, 3/12 (1889), 255–65.

[58] Paul Bataillard, 'Immigration of the Gypsies into Western Europe in the Fifteenth Century', *JGLS*, 1/4 (1889), 185–212; ibid. 1/5 (1889), 260–86; ibid. 1/6 (1889), 324–45; and ibid. 2/1 (1890), 27–53.

[59] See id., *État de la question de l'ancienneté des Tsiganes en Europe* (Paris, 1877).

[60] Paul Bataillard, 'De l'apparition', 4, 44–7; id., 'Nouvelles recherches', 36–7; id., 'Immigration' (Apr. 1889), 194–6.

events, and too often trusting the assertions of politically motivated chroniclers. While Bataillard managed to introduce some new chronicle and documentary evidence, his most enduring innovation was his harmonization of various local traditions into a single, coherent itinerary. In the decades following Bataillard's article, a handful of studies continued discussions of early Romani history and announced the discovery of hitherto unnoticed archival sources.[61] These works enriched the basic narrative without changing it: preserving ancient cultural forms, and ill-equipped for Western modernity, the Roma had entered late medieval Europe under the leadership of adventurous chieftains and maintained their obsolete lifeways ever since.[62]

In the wake of the Holocaust, a new generation of scholars and activists cast a wary eye on old paradigms.[63] At best, gypsiology seemed of

[61] Michael Jan de Goeje, 'Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der Zigeuners', *Verslagen en mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akadamie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde*, 2/5 (1875), 56–80; id., *Mémoire sur les migrations des Tsiganes à travers l'Asie* (Leiden, 1903); Adriano Colocci, *Gli Zingari: Storia d'un popolo errante* (Turin, 1889); Henry Thomas Crofton, 'Early Annals of the Gypsies in England', *JGLS*, 1/1 (1888), 5–24; id., 'Supplementary Annals of the Gypsies in England, before 1700', *JGLS: New Series*, 1/1 (1907), 31–3; Hoffmann-Krayer, 'Gypsies in Basle'; Richard Pischel, 'The Home of the Gypsies', trans. Dora E. Yates, *JGLS: New Series*, 2/4 (1909), 292–320; John Sampson, 'On the Origin and Early Migrations of the Gypsies', *JGLS: Third Series*, 2/4 (1923), 156–69; and Winstedt, 'Some Records of Gypsies in Germany'.

[62] For a survey of the field in the early twentieth century, see George F. Black, *A Gypsy Bibliography* (London, 1914).

[63] Writings from and about the Romani Civil Rights Movement are too vast to encompass here. For helpful summaries, see Jean-Pierre Liégeois, 'The Emergence of the Roma Civil Rights Movement in France', trans. Thomas Acton, *RomArchive* (2019), at [https://www.romarchive.eu/en/roma-civil-rights-movement/emergence-roma-civil-rights-movement-france/], accessed 6 July 2023; Thomas Acton, 'Beginnings and Growth of Transnational Movements of Roma to Achieve Civil Rights after the Holocaust', *RomArchive* (2018), at [https://www.romarchive.eu/en/roma-civil-rights-movement/beginnings-and-growth-transnational-movements-roma/], accessed 6 July 2023; Matras, 'Scholarship and the Politics of Romani Identity', 217–22; Margalit, *Germany and its Gypsies*; Grattan Puxon, 'The Romani Movement: Rebirth and the First World Romani Congress in Retrospect', in Thomas Acton (ed.), *Scholarship and the Gypsy Struggle: Commitment in Romani Studies* (Hatfield, 2000), 94–113; and Yaron Matras, 'The Development of the Romani Civil Rights Movement

secondary importance to the concerns of European Romani communities fighting for legal recognition in the post-war political landscape. At worst, the entire field appeared to be mired in racist constructions and implicated in fascist regimes.[64] In the context of activism, several writers revisited earlier chapters of Romani history.[65] For some, the medieval past presaged twentieth-century violence. Only a year after the end of

in Germany 1945–1996', in Susan Tebbutt (ed.), *Sinti and Roma: Gypsies in German-Speaking Society and Literature* (Oxford, 1998), 49–63.

[64] Jan Selling, 'Assessing the Historical Irresponsibility of the Gypsy Lore Society in Light of Romani Subaltern Challenges', *Critical Romani Studies*, 1/1 (2018), 44–61; Thomas Acton, 'Scientific Racism, Popular Racism and the Discourse of the Gypsy Lore Society', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 39/7 (2016), 1187–204; and Herbert Heuss, 'Wissenschaft und Völkermord', *Bundesgesundheitsblatt*, 32 (1989), 20–4. For discussions of the specific intellectual continuity between Nazism and 'Gypsy specialists', see Fritz Greußing, 'Die Kontinuität der NS-Zigeunerforschung', in Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen (ed.), *Sinti und Roma: Ein Volk auf dem Weg zu sich selbst* (Stuttgart, 1981), 385–92; Joachim S. Hohmann, *Robert Ritter und die Erben der Kriminalbiologie: 'Zigeunerforschung' im Nationalsozialismus und in Westdeutschland im Zeichen des Rassismus* (Frankfurt am Main, 1991), 351–79; id., 'Die Forschungen des "Zigeunerexperten" Hermann Arnold', *Zeitschrift für Sozialgeschichte des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts*, 10/3 (1995), 35–49; and Arnold Spitta, 'Deutsche Zigeunerforscher und die jüngste Vergangenheit', in Tilman Zülch (ed.), *In Auschwitz vergast, bis heute verfolgt: Zur Situation der Roma (Zigeuner) in Deutschland und Europa* (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1979), 183–8.

[65] On France, see François de Vaux de Foletier, *Les Tsiganes dans l'ancienne France* (Paris, 1961); id., 'Le pèlerinage romain des Tsiganes en 1422 et les lettres du Pape Martin V', *Études tsiganes*, 11/4 (1965), 13–19; id., *Mille ans d'histoire des Tsiganes* (Paris, 1970); and Jean-Pierre Liégeois, 'Bohémiens et pouvoirs publics en France du XVe au XIXe siècle', *Études tsiganes*, 24/4 (1978), 10–30. On the Netherlands, see Olav van Kappen, *Geschiedenis der Zigeuners in Nederland: De ontwikkeling van de rechtspositie der heidens of Egyptenaren in de noordelijke Nederlanden, 1420–1750* (Assen, 1965). On Spain, see Amada Lopéz de Meneses, 'La inmigración gitana en España durante el siglo XV', in Asociación Nacional de Bibliotecarios, Archiveros y Arqueólogos, *Martínez Ferrando, archivero: Miscelánea de Estudios dedicados a su memoria* (Barcelona, 1968), 239–63; and ead., 'Noves dades sobre la immigració gitana a Espanya al segle XV', *Estudis d'història medieval*, 4 (1971), 145–60. For a look at scholarship at the end of the 1970s, consult Andreas Hundsalz, *Stand der Forschung über Zigeuner und Landfahrer: Eine Literaturanalyse unter vorwiegend sozialwissenschaftlichen Gesichtspunkten* (Stuttgart, 1979).

the Second World War in Europe, the Romani author Matéo Maximoff denounced Germany by evoking the betrayals of the fifteenth century: 'Their crime goes back through the centuries. For since 1417, when the Gypsies first made their appearance in Germany, persecution of the "Zigeuner" has never ceased, despite the privileges granted to them by Emperor Sigismund.'[66] Activists could also marshal the ethos of the immigration period to support new political initiatives, as evidenced by Maximoff's calls for the reinstatement of medieval travel privileges and a voluntary emigration of Roma out of Germany.[67] For the English activist Thomas Acton, the spirit of post-war Romani politics—which led to the First World Romani Congress in 1971, the Second in 1978, and the establishment of the International Romani Union[68]—echoed efforts by medieval Romani immigrants to secure legal recognition from 'transnational and local feudal monarchs.'[69] At the same time, many scholars in the 1960s and 1970s took a newly sceptical stance towards medieval *gadje* texts. As Jean-Pierre Liégeois asserted in 1978, every history of the 'Gypsies' was built upon a bedrock of repressive documents, written by powerful outsiders, and motivated by their fears of 'troublemakers

[66] Matéo Maximoff, 'Germany and the Gypsies: From the Gypsy's Point of View', *JGLS: Third Series*, 25/3–4 (1946), 104–8, at 105. For an interesting comparative text from a few years prior, see R. A. Scott Macfie, 'Gypsy Persecutions: A Survey of a Black Chapter in European History', *JGLS: Third Series*, 22/3–4 (1943), 65–78. For context, see Gilad Margalit, 'The Representation of the Nazi Persecution of the Gypsies in German Discourse after 1945', *German History*, 17/2 (1999), 221–40.

[67] Maximoff, 'Germany and the Gypsies', 106–8.

[68] See Grattan Puxon, 'The First World Romani Congress', *Race Today*, 3/6 (1971), 192–9; Donald Kenrick, 'The World Romani Congress', *JGLS: Third Series*, 50/3–4 (1971), 101–8; Matéo Maximoff, 'Réflexions sur l'avenir de l'organisation internationale tsigane', *Études tsiganes*, 17/4 (1971), 10–11; Donald Kenrick and Grattan Puxon, *The Destiny of Europe's Gypsies* (London, 1972); Thomas Acton, *Gypsy Politics and Social Change: The Development of Ethnic Ideology and Pressure Politics among British Gypsies from Victorian Reformism to Romany Nationalism* (London, 1974); and Jean-Pierre Liégeois, *Mutation tsigane* (Brussels, 1976).

[69] Acton, 'Beginnings and Growth': 'In the pre-1600 feudal era in Europe and the Middle East, we do find examples, much mocked by the 19th century Gypsy-lorists, of Roma attempting to negotiate with transnational and local feudal monarchs. The leadership that was capable of doing this, however, vanished in the 16th century outside the heartlands of the Ottoman Empire.'

on the margins'.[70] For the first time, specialists reckoned more seriously with the shortcomings of the historical sources that previous generations had used so freely.

By the 1980s, most scholars had joined Maximoff in framing 'Gypsy' history as a long series of injustices against the Roma. This narrative found one of its clearest proponents in Romanichal linguist and activist Ian Hancock. With the publication of *The Pariah Syndrome* (1987), Hancock staged an academic and moral intervention:

> In Romani, there is the saying that *kon mangel te kerel tumendar roburen chi shocha phenela tumen o chachimos pa tumare perintonde*, 'he who wants to enslave you will never tell you the truth about your forefathers.' We cannot wait for others to document this truth; our forefathers' history must be told by ourselves.[71]

Many scholars have taken Hancock's call to heart, critiquing the long-standing dominance of *gadje* voices within Roma history and turning towards Romani perspectives.[72] The last two decades of the

[70] Liégeois, 'Bohémiens et pouvoirs publics en France', 11.

[71] Hancock, *The Pariah Syndrome*, 1.

[72] For recent reflections on positionality in Roma Studies, see Saga Weckmann, 'Researching Finnish Gypsies: Advice from a Gypsy (1983)', in Diane Tong (ed.), *Gypsies: An Interdisciplinary Reader* (New York, 1998), 3–10; Imre Vajda, 'The Gypsies–The Roma and Scientific Research: Some Thoughts about the Role of Gypsy Intelligentsia in the Wake of the "Who is a Gypsy?" Debate', in Ernő Kállai (ed.), *The Gypsies/The Roma in Hungarian Society* (Budapest, 2002), 149–56; Ken Lee, 'Belated Travelling Theory, Contemporary Wild Praxis: A Romani Perspective on the Practical Possibilities of the Open End', in Saul and Tebbutt (eds.), *The Role of the Romanies*, 31–49; Caroline Mellgren, 'The Other Way Around: The Roma Minority's View on Doing Research on Sensitive Topics', *International Journal of Social Science Studies*, 3/4 (2015), 14–24; Ethel Brooks, 'The Importance of Feminists and "Halfies" in Romani Studies: New Epistemological Possibilities', *Roma Rights*, 2 (2015), 57–61; Marett Katalin Klahn, 'Knowing Differently: On Thinking and Doing "Roma"', ibid. 63–9; Anna Mirga-Kruszelnicka, 'Challenging Anti-Gypsyism in Academia: The Role of Romani Scholars', *Critical Romani Studies*, 1/1 (2018), 8–28; and Lucie Fremlova, 'Non-Romani Researcher Positionality and Reflexivity: Queer(y)-ing One's Own Privilege', *Critical Romani Studies*, 1/2 (2018), 98–123. See also the essays in Lorely French (ed.), *Roma Voices in the German-Speaking World* (London, 2015).

twentieth century witnessed several new historical studies informed by a social justice framework, alongside the aforementioned source-books by Gronemeyer and Gilsenbach.[73] However, this renewed interest in Romani rights and culture did not necessarily lead to new interpretations of the medieval period.[74] Even in a field that had moved on from nineteenth-century gypsiology in many respects, a reliance upon shopworn citations and old scholarship has continued to plague treatments of the fifteenth-century immigration. In the process, old biases—for instance, the idea of Romani immigrants as inveterate fraudsters—have persisted into the twenty-first century.

In the last twenty years, new voices have engaged with medieval Romani history. A few of these entries have appeared within the traditional fold of Romani studies.[75] Increasingly (and belatedly), however, this period has attracted the attention of specialists in medieval

[73] Olímpio Nunes, *O povo cigano* (Porto, 1981); Liégeois, *Les Tsiganes*; Vossen and Dietrich, *Zigeuner*; Nicole Martinez, *Les Tsiganes* (Paris, 1986); Patrick Williams, *Tsiganes: Identité, évolution* (Paris, 1989); Joachim S. Hohmann, *Geschichte der Zigeunerverfolgung in Deutschland* (Frankfurt am Main, 1981); id., *Verfolgte ohne Heimat: Geschichte der Zigeuner in Deutschland* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990); Fraser, *The Gypsies*; Giorgio Viaggio, *Storia degli Zingari in Italia* (Rome, 1997); Giere (ed.), *Die gesellschaftliche Konstruktion des Zigeuners*; Thomas Fricke, *Zigeuner im Zeitalter des Absolutismus: Bilanz einer einseitigen Überlieferung* (Pfaffenweiler, 1996); and Donald Kenrick and Colin Clark, *Moving On: The Gypsies and Travellers of Britain* (Hatfield, 1999). On Romani immigration specifically, see Bronisław Geremek, 'L'arrivée des Tsiganes en Italie: De l'assistance à la répression', in Giorgio Politi, Mario Rosa, and Franco Della Peruta (eds.), *Timore e carità: I poveri nell'Italia moderna* (Cremona, 1982), 27–45; id., 'Cyganie w Europie średniowiecznej nowożytnej', *Przegląd Historyczny*, 75/3 (1984), 569–96; Angus Fraser, 'The Rom Migrations', *JGLS: Series 5*, 2/2 (1992), 131–45; and id., 'Juridical Autonomy'. For a historiographical survey written in this era, see id., 'The Present and Future of the Gypsy Past', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 13/2 (2000), 17–31.

[74] See too the broader critiques in Romani Rose, 'Die neue Generation und die alte Ideologie: Zigeunerforschung—wie gehabt?', *Tribüne: Zeitschrift zum Verständnis des Judentums*, 21/81 (1982), 88–108.

[75] E.g. Aaron C. Taylor, 'A Possible Early Reference to the Gypsies in Spain Prior to 1420: Ms. 940 of the Trivulziana Library in Milan, Italy', *Romani Studies*, 26/1 (2016), 79–86; Kenrick, 'The Origins of Anti-Gypsyism'; and Elisa Novi Chavarria, *Sulle tracce degli Zingari: Il popolo rom nel Regno di Napoli, secoli XV–XVIII* (Naples, 2007).

literature and history.[76] For these scholars—Kristina Richardson, Geraldine Heng, and David Abulafia among them—the medieval Roma have dovetailed naturally with work on marginality, race-making, and cross-cultural encounters, all themes of interest within medieval studies since the 1990s. From these perspectives, fifteenth-century rhetoric about the Roma resembles long-standing medieval prejudices against ethnic outsiders and the itinerant poor. With fresh engagement from medievalists have also come new questions and new transregional interpretations.

Taking Stock and Moving Forwards

Chroniclers wrote about the arrival of exotic 'dark' foreigners within their own neighbourhoods, directly likening the newcomers to all manner of distant, racialized others; yet the Roma feature only sparingly in the impassioned debates over medieval race-making. Crowds of 'baptized heathens' supposedly practised divination and syncretic religion in an age of heterodoxy; yet the Roma appear

[76] Richardson, *Roma in the Medieval Islamic World*, 103–38; Heng, '"Gypsies": A Global Race in Diaspora'; David Abulafia, 'The Coming of the Gypsies: Cities, Princes and Nomads', in Peter Hoppenbrouwers, Antheun Janse, and Robert Stein (eds.), *Power and Persuasion: Essays on the Art of State Building in Honour of W. P. Blockmans* (Turnhout, 2010), 325–34; Erwin Pokorny, 'The Gypsies and their Impact on Fifteenth-Century Western European Iconography', in Jaynie Anderson (ed.), *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration, and Convergence* (Melbourne, 2009), 597–601; Peter Bell and Dirk Suckow, 'Lebenslinien: Das Handlesemotiv und die Repräsentation von "Zigeunern" in der Kunst des Spätmittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit', in Iulia-Karin Patrut and Herbert Uerlings (eds.), *'Zigeuner' und Nation: Repräsentation – Inklusion – Exklusion* (Frankfurt am Main, 2008), 493–549; Ernst Schubert, 'Duldung, Diskriminierung und Verfolgung gesellschaftlicher Randgruppen im ausgehenden Mittelalter', in Sigrid Schmitt and Michael Matheus (eds.), *Kriminalität und Gesellschaft in Spätmittelalter und Neuzeit* (Stuttgart, 2005), 47–69, at 64–6; Christian Kleinert, 'Pilger, Bettler, edle Herren: Frankfurter Spuren zum Leben der Roma im 15. Jahrhundert', in Heribert Müller (ed.), *'Ihrer Bürger Freiheit': Frankfurt am Main im Mittelalter. Beitrage zur Erinnerung an die Frankfurter Mediävistin Elsbet Orth* (Frankfurt am Main, 2004), 197–229; and Baker, 'From Little Egypt to Zürich'.

almost nowhere in countless studies of medieval religious diversity. Members of a highly mobile Indic diaspora explored and established a permanent presence in Western Europe during its own 'Age of Discovery'; yet the Roma do not often crop up in the reams of literature on mobility, diaspora, and encounters on the cusp of early modernity. Within many academic subfields, some of them burned over by decades of debate, we might expect to find the Roma centre stage. In almost every case, the Roma have been relegated to the margins or ignored entirely. Existing scholarship on medieval Romani history too often relies on hastily cited surveys, old gypsiological articles, and a handful of regurgitated early modern chronicles largely unchanged since Grellmann selected his 'old annals'. How do we explain the ongoing marginalization of this chapter in Romani and European history?

Since the late Enlightenment, most new work on medieval Romani history has taken place within the interdisciplinary but isolated field of 'Gypsy'/Romani studies, sequestered from the mainstreams of its constituent disciplines.[77] The gypsiologists of the nineteenth century comprised an especially small and inward-looking group, within which historians were always a minority. Most historical questions fell to folklorists and linguists without the requisite technical skills to deal directly with medieval documents. The same can be said for much of the twentieth century, in which sociology emerged as the reigning paradigm. Scholars have haggled over the 'poverty' of modern Roma studies, with many defending the reinvented field's scholarly rigour against charges of sloppiness.[78] Even so, the methods

[77] On the field's interdisciplinarity, see Xavier Rothea, 'Piste pour une histographie [*sic*] des Tsiganes en France', *Études tsiganes* 39–40/3–4 (2009), 14–41.

[78] For a modern debate on the intellectual merits of modern Roma Studies, begin with the critiques of Zoltan Barany, 'The Poverty of Gypsy Studies', *NewsNet: The Newsletter of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies*, 40/3 (2000), 1–4; and id., *The East European Gypsies: Regime Change, Marginality, and Ethnopolitics* (Cambridge, 2002), 5–9. Critical responses to Barany include Colin Clark, 'What Poverty? A Response to Zoltan Barany', *NewsNet: The Newsletter of the AAASS*, 40/5 (2000), 7; and Thomas Acton, 'Response to Zoltan Barany's "The Poverty of Gypsy Studies"', ibid. 8–9. See too Zoltan Barany, 'In Defense of Disciplined Scholarship: A Response from Professor Zoltan Barany', ibid. 9–12.

of premodern history remain ancillary to the interests and disciplinary training of most Roma specialists, forcing many sincerely motivated scholars to rely upon secondary or tertiary materials when writing on this period.[79] If the gypsiologists and their activist successors have not read or written much history—much less medieval history—the converse is equally true: most historians have not engaged with the work of Romani specialists. Indeed, even Bataillard, a historically trained archivist of medieval manuscripts, published his most ambitious study in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, thereby garnering little attention from other medieval historians. This trend has continued well into the twenty-first century, with new work on early Romani history clustering in a handful of specialist journals (such as *JGLS/Romani Studies*, *Études tsiganes*, and *Gießener Hefte für Tsiganologie*).

Since the 1960s, historians beyond Romani studies have shown growing interest in the early centuries of Romani life in Western Europe. However, these conversations have centred on the twin themes of state-sanctioned violence and literary construction, drawing primarily on texts from the sixteenth century and later.[80] Medieval sources, in contrast, do not yet show evidence of wide-scale state persecution and often do not feature the concept of the 'Gypsy' at all. Donald Kenrick, pre-eminent scholar of twentieth-century Romani history, admitted of the fifteenth century that 'this is a period in which we have no poems, plays or fiction mentioning Gypsies. The literary stereotype of Gypsies had not yet evolved.'[81] In medieval material, the Roma are rarely defined with precise conceptual boundaries. Such sources have proven resistant to research methods like

[79] See Michael Schenk, 'Tsiganologie und Historische Forschung: Von den Unzulänglichkeiten einer produktiven Verbindung', in Joachim S. Hohmann, *Handbuch zur Tsiganologie* (Frankfurt am Main, 1996), 37–47.

[80] See e.g. Cressy, *Gypsies: An English History*; id., 'Marginal People in a Stressful Culture: Gypsies and "Counterfeit Egyptians" in Margaret Spufford's England', in Trevor Dean, Glyn Parry, and Edward Valance (eds.), *Faith, Place and People in Early Modern England: Essays in Honour of Margaret Spufford* (Woodbridge, 2018), 202–21; Bogdal, *Europa erfindet die Zigeuner*; Chavarria, *Sulle tracce degli Zingari*; Richard Pym, *The Gypsies of Early Modern Spain, 1425–1783* (Basingstoke, 2007); and David Mayall, *English Gypsies and State Policies* (Hatfield, 1995).

[81] Kenrick, 'The Origins of Anti-Gypsyism', 79.

digital word searching and unsuitable to many of the questions that historians of the early modern period typically pose.

The reluctance of medieval historians to write about Romani immigration may be the most surprising of all. Here too, several forces have kept the Roma at the fringes of academic discourse. The chronology of Romani immigration has one part to play. The fifteenth century has traditionally occupied historians of Europe with several major themes: the rise of humanism, maritime exploration, Ottoman expansion, and religious dissent. With the erosion of Renaissance studies as a bridge between medieval and early modern history, the fifteenth century has increasingly fallen into a no man's land within anglophone history departments. The very thematic trends that would encourage a closer look at Romani immigration have also diverted attention away from the relevant sources. Much work on medieval alterity has concentrated on literary texts, and most scholarship on the 'persecuting society' of medieval Europe has focused on the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[82] The study of Romani immigration through contemporary documents often demands specialized knowledge of regional vernaculars, which renders them uninviting to historians trained primarily in medieval Latin. Especially in North America, the number of medievalists who study fifteenth-century social history through vernacular sources—in other words, the subset of historians most equipped to investigate Romani immigration—has dwindled. In Europe, ongoing interest in local and regional history has exposed a larger swathe of scholars to the relevant sources, but questions of race-making, diaspora, and mobility have gained less traction in the Continental academy. Although the later twentieth century saw fruitful work in Europe on 'marginal groups' (German *Randgruppen*), this scholarship tended to

[82] On alterity as a research theme for medieval studies, see Paul Freedman and Gabrielle M. Spiegel, 'Medievalisms Old and New: The Rediscovery of Alterity in North American Medieval Studies', *American Historical Review*, 103/3 (1998), 677–704. For the classic study of the medieval 'persecuting society', with a focus on clerical literati of the twelfth century, see R. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Authority and Deviance in Western Europe 950–1250* (Oxford, 1987). Cf. John H. Arnold, 'Persecution and Power in Medieval Europe: *The Formation of a Persecuting Society*, by R. I. Moore', *American Historical Review*, 123/1 (2018), 165–74.

focus on socio-economic niches rather than ethnolinguistic identity groups.

The pragmatic challenges of working on the medieval Roma can also explain why so few scholars have thrown themselves into this area of research. In fifteenth-century sources, the Roma flit into view briefly, unpredictably, and under a host of different names. With no repertories apart from Gronemeyer and Gilsenbach, it remains a laborious task to locate these needles in the haphazardly indexed haystacks of archival material. The geographic scope of these references, when combined with their incredibly low frequency within any single archive, has discouraged the engagement of many otherwise qualified and interested scholars. As with other diasporic groups, the history of the Roma continues to be obscured by the overwhelming influence of national and regional borders, which affect everything from language training to research grant allocation.

The Roma—a relatively late, scarce, far-flung, and conceptually slippery group within medieval sources—have proven difficult to integrate into many research programmes. How, then, might we heed the call of so many scholars to expand our knowledge of their immigration? I would like to offer five suggestions for this work:

Focus on medieval evidence: Since the eighteenth century, scholars have fallen back on the more accessible and sensational testimonies of chronicles from the age of print. This practice distorts our understanding of the immigration by importing early modern prejudices into a period that had not yet invented them.

Focus on manuscripts: Scholars relying on sourcebooks or print editions have failed to observe the sometimes drastic variations between different manuscripts of single chronicles. Instead of treating these sources as monolithic, authoritative 'texts', a manuscript-centred approach would highlight the ways in which medieval scribes developed their image of the Roma in a piecemeal, heterogeneous fashion.

Engage with archival material: Despite the difficulties enumerated above, historians must recognize archives as wellsprings of

unpublished, hitherto unstudied evidence for Romani immigration. Administrative sources do not promise 'objective' truth, but they can balance the more literary perspective of chronicles with evidence for on-the-ground social and legal developments.

Engage transnationally: Despite the international nature of modern Romani political activism, much new scholarship continues to focus on the communities that reside within particular states. This approach does not square well with the medieval reality, in which a variety of political forms existed on multiple scales, borders had not coalesced into modern nation states, and the Roma moved with speed and ease across these borders.

Root out antiziganist assumptions: Historians must continue to examine the inherited antiziganist biases in their own scholarship. Here, the authority of Romani communities and scholars plays a vitally important role in unlearning pernicious habits of thought. The assumption of Romani criminality and asociality should not inform our scholarship. So too, we must guard against more insidious forms of Romani erasure. Studies on the literary and administrative construction of the 'Gypsy' have at times unintentionally denied the presence of the Roma as an actual ethnolinguistic group.[83] Likewise, condemnations of antiziganist violence can overshadow the active resilience of Romani communities amidst those conditions. As a corrective to such trends, thoughtful scholarship must always recognize Romani presence and agency in their own history.

In the late Middle Ages, Romani communities immigrated into Western Europe. They charted their own courses in a strange land and survived in the ways they deemed best. As historians, we will often encounter them in the records much as medieval Europeans saw them: briefly, incompletely, and with many questions that will go unanswered. Even so, their presence in the annals of European history should not be ignored. The challenges that come with the

[83] See Matras, 'Scholarship and the Politics of Romani Identity', 212–16.

study of medieval Romani history should be a cause for excitement, not surrender.

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CLASSICS REREAD

BRINGING THE MIDDLE AGES TO LIFE

LEVI ROACH

Arno Borst, *Lebensformen im Mittelalter* (Berlin: Ullstein, 1997; 1st pub. Frankfurt am Main: Propyläen, 1973), 796 pp. ISBN 978 3 548 26513 1. € 14.99

Arno Borst (1925–2007) was one of the most active and influential German historians of the post-war era. He cut his teeth studying under Percy Ernst Schramm in Göttingen, where he completed his Ph.D. in 1951. But whereas Schramm and much of the German scholarly establishment remained wedded to political history, even when branching out into questions of symbolism and the history of ideas (as did Schramm), it was above all social history and the history of mentalities that drew the young Borst. This can already be seen in the topic of his Ph.D. thesis: the Cathars, a choice that prioritized the study of belief and local society over that of monarchs, lords, and government. The Cathars also took Borst away from traditional 'German' historiography, opening him up to important currents within French intellectual culture—above all, the fruits of the *Annales* school and its focus on *mentalités*. The resulting book put Borst on the map for Francophone scholars, earning a French translation in 1974.[1]

These interests would stay with Borst throughout his subsequent career. When the time came to do a habilitation in the mid to late 1950s, he chose to focus on the figure of the Tower of Babel and ideas about the origins of language in the Middle Ages. This work was completed at the University of Münster under Herbert Grundmann, the

[1] Arno Borst, *Die Katharer* (Stuttgart, 1953). Published in French as *Les cathares*, trans. C. Roy (Paris, 1974).

leading scholar of heresy and religious movements in the Germanophone world at the time, and went on to be published as an imposing four-volume work, spanning some 2,300 pages of printed text.[2] However, the book under review here—marking the fiftieth anniversary of its publication—is that which would earn Borst wider acclaim: his *Lebensformen im Mittelalter* ('Forms of Life in the Middle Ages', or perhaps better simply 'Living in the Middle Ages'). As a work, it combines Borst's early commitment to the history of belief and mentalities with a new-found desire to speak to a wider audience—a desire which would accompany Borst for the rest of his career, finding its final expression in a posthumously published memoir.[3] It also first demonstrated the full breadth of Borst's knowledge. While his habilitation had already spanned the entire Middle Ages, here Borst sought to encompass the lived experience of a millennium within the confines of a single volume. The result was an immediate bestseller, which remains in print to this day. What attracted readers—and continues to do so—was in no small part the originality of Borst's proposition. Whereas many earlier works of popular non-fiction had tackled the politics of what Wilhelm von Giesebrecht famously called the 'German imperial era [*deutsche Kaiserzeit*]',[4] few if any had sought to shed light on the lived existence of much of humanity in these years. It was this human element of the Middle Ages that Borst sought to capture, as he emphasizes in his programmatic introduction—the thoughts, feelings, and experiences of people from across social classes throughout the period.

Of course, it would be impossible to encompass the lived experience of an entire society in any single volume, even one as long as this one (which boasts an impressive 700 pages of text and another ninety-six of appendices and index). Borst's response to the challenge of this material was both pragmatic and enlightening. He eschewed linear narrative history, electing to approach the subject by means of a series of carefully chosen snapshots derived largely from some

[2] Arno Borst, *Der Turmbau von Babel: Geschichte der Meinungen über Ursprung und Vielfalt der Sprachen und Völker*, 4 vols. (Stuttgart, 1957–63).

[3] Arno Borst, *Meine Geschichte*, ed. G. Seibt (Lengwil, 2009).

[4] Wilhelm von Giesebrecht, *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, 6 vols. (Braunschweig and Leipzig, 1855–95).

hundred or so primary source extracts. These vary enormously in tone, length, and nature, from the Venerable Bede's vivid account of the conversion of the Northumbrian court through to the bloody pages of the Latin epic *Waltharius*. Most sections start with a source, which is offered in an elegant modern German translation (in almost all cases by Borst himself) and then contextualized in light of the relevant specialist literature. Those wishing to know more can then turn to the appendices at the back, where Borst lists a selection of the most relevant literature at the time of publication (1973). The sources themselves are drawn from across the Middle Ages, and while Borst is alive throughout to variation and change, the attempt is not to be comprehensive, but to offer a feel for the period—a sense of how certain moments in life were experienced and what sorts of beliefs were shared. This is the key to the book's success. Rather than building on or simply summarizing the scholarly consensus of his day, Borst went back to the sources, letting them speak directly to his readers, before offering an interpretation.

This close focus on sources is also the feature which has saved Borst's volume from the fate of so much popular non-fiction: that of dating quickly, in line with received wisdom. For with occasional exceptions, Borst's conclusions rest not on wider theories of medieval society, economy, or politics, but on what sources from the period themselves say. Of course, Borst is not immune to changes in scholarly opinion, and it is no coincidence that those sections in greatest need of revision are the ones which do not derive from a direct consideration of the sources. Thus under the heading 'lordship [*Herrschaft*]', Borst is happy to speak of 'the established gestures and forms of feudalism' (p. 465)—words few modern scholars would utter without multiple caveats.[5] Still, what

[5] The essential work is Susan Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford, 1994). Initial responses to Reynolds' revisionism in the Germanophone world were quite hostile, but more recently the gist of her criticisms has been accepted: Jürgen Dendorfer and Roman Deutinger (eds.), *Das Lehnswesen im Hochmittelalter: Forschungskonstrukte – Quellenbefunde – Deutungsrelevanz* (Ostfildern, 2010); Steffen Patzold, *Das Lehnswesen* (Munich, 2012); Karl-Heinz Spieß (ed.), *Ausbildung und Verbreitung des Lehnswesens im Reich und in Italien im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert* (Ostfildern, 2013); Jürgen Dendorfer and Steffen Patzold (eds.), *Tenere et habere: Leihen als soziale Praxis im frühen und hohen Mittelalter* (Ostfildern, 2023). For historiographical

is surprising is not so much that a few sections creak half a century on as that it is only a few that do. Indeed, were the volume ever to be published in updated form, it is largely the appendices that would need revising to incorporate important recent work.

Borst's choice to focus on sources and themes also makes this a book one can happily dip in and out of. Some readers, not least reviewers such as myself, will wish to read it cover to cover. But many more will enjoy treating it as a coffee-table book—the kind of work one can read in small snippets, depending on one's mood and interests at any moment. The only downside of this is that there is not a strong overarching narrative thread; what the various sections have in common is simply Borst's fascination with life in Middle Ages. Yet this, too, is a strength in disguise, for any thesis-driven book from 1973 would now be sorely out of date, whereas Borst's volume remains one of the best introductions to daily life in the period available in any language.

In the end, it is the sheer humanity of Borst's work that stands out. This is a book written by someone passionate about people and mentalities of a bygone age. Marc Bloch, another great social historian of the Middle Ages (and not coincidentally, one of Borst's own inspirations), once evocatively compared the historian to a fairy-tale ogre (or giant) stalking the scent of human flesh.[6] Here, Borst shows himself to have an unusually fine nose for his prey. Be it in the pages of Bede, the food renders of Carolingian polyptyques, or the poetry of Dante Alighieri, he time and again finds ways of bringing the Middle Ages to life. Fifty years on, this volume remains an inspiration. It throws down the gauntlet to a new generation of historians to see if they can come any closer to this most evasive of quarries. Let us hope that they, now more attuned to the complexities of gender and identity, will rise to the challenge. I, for one, look forward to seeing them try. In the meantime, they would do well to start with Borst.

orientation: Susan Reynolds, 'The History of the Idea of *Lehnswesen*', *German Historical Institute London Bulletin*, 39/2 (2017), 3–20.

[6] Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft*, trans. Peter Putnam (Manchester, 1992), 22.

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BOOK REVIEWS

SARAH GREER, *Commemorating Power in Early Medieval Saxony: Writing and Rewriting the Past at Gandersheim and Quedlinburg*, Studies in German History (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), xiii + 206 pp. ISBN 978 0 198 85013 7. £75.00

Sarah Greer's study is not the first time that the 'fascination type'[1] of canoness houses in Saxony in the Early and High Middle Ages has formed the subject of a book. But Greer's Ph.D. thesis, supervised by Simon MacLean at the University of St Andrews, is the first work on the phenomenon of female monasteries in this area to cover the commemoration strategies of the Liudolfing family and the Ottonian dynasty from 852 to 1024. On the one hand, Greer raises the question of why and how this noble and royal family (including individual members) used religious institutions to gain political power and solve conflicts and crises. On the other, she asks how those institutions profited from the actions of their noble and royal relatives in the secular world. Although Greer does not say so herself, her book constructs an entangled history of religious and secular institutions during the period in question.

In her first chapter, Greer traces the rise of female monastic houses in Saxony from the ninth to the early eleventh centuries on the basis of traditional scholarship. She counts nineteen female convents founded between 800 and 900, and thirty-one between 900 and 1024 (pp. 17–18). She then considers Karl Leyser's, Michel Parisse's, and Gerd Althoff's hypotheses concerning demography, the accumulation of property by women (nuns and widows), and prayer as a form of *memoria* as reasons for the extraordinary and unparalleled number of female

[1] Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, 'Faszinationstyp Hagiographie: Ein historisches Experiment zur Gattungstheorie', in Christoph Cormeau (ed.), *Deutsche Literatur im Mittelalter: Kontakte und Perspektiven. Hugo Kuhn zum Gedenken* (Stuttgart, 1979), 37–84.

monasteries in that period, particularly in Saxony.[2] But because she is not satisfied with these explanations, she tries to find an alternative model. In Greer's opinion, the rise and success of the Saxon female spiritual houses is due to the rather late Christianization of the eastern borders of the Frankish realm, the high percentage of canoness houses compared to Benedictine monasteries, and the inclusion of religious women in historiography and hagiography as both authors and subjects (pp. 24–6, 29).

Greer explores this hypothesis in a comparative study of Gandersheim (chs. 2–3) and Quedlinburg (chs. 3–4). Her investigation of each house's commemorative tradition and involvement in Ottonian politics is based mainly on charters and historiographical and hagiographical narratives rather than on liturgical sources, since few of these survive from Gandersheim and Quedlinburg. Greer distinguishes two phases of constructing the past: the founding phase (Gandersheim: *c.*852; Quedlinburg: 936), and the mid tenth- to early eleventh-century phase in which the past was rewritten.

Based on her analysis, Greer posits that the Liudolfings and Ottonians were not a collective group that consistently followed a planned and coherent strategy of power and memory in Saxony. According to Greer, each convent reacted individually to the challenges of unforeseen biological and demographic events (such as sudden deaths or the birth of several daughters); of conflicts between the Saxon and Bavarian Ottonian lineages; of conflicts between rulers; and of rebellions by disadvantaged brothers and sons (such as Liudolf and Henry the Quarrelsome). Finally, Greer argues, discourses on elitist hierarchies—the 'Gandersheim controversy', for instance—led to crisis. In her understanding, the Liudolfings' and Ottonians' government was characterized by fluctuation, discontinuity, and contingency. This can be seen, for example, in the continually changing locations of memorial

[2] Karl Leyser, *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society: Ottonian Saxony* (London, 1979); Michel Parisse, 'Die Frauenstifte und Frauenklöster in Sachsen vom 10. bis zur Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts', in Stefan Weinfurter and Frank Martin Siefarth (eds.), *Die Salier und das Reich*, vol. ii: *Die Reichskirche in der Salierzeit* (Sigmaringen, 1991), 465–502; Gerd Althoff, *Adels- und Königsfamilien im Spiegel ihrer Memorialüberlieferung: Studien zum Totengedenken der Billunger und Ottonen* (Munich, 1984).

spaces: each ruler chose his own burial place, and there was no single site for the whole dynasty like that of the later Salians in Speyer. Greer makes it clear that political representatives and monastic institutions (along with their abbesses) used different media and commemoration strategies. It was not only the lay elite who asked relatives in religious institutions to support their propaganda by praising the dynasty in written narratives. In fact, these institutions also instrumentalized their commemorative function in order to intervene in political affairs and gain economic support from the lay elites. But the more the convents intervened in politics, the more they risked becoming embroiled in political conflicts. Greer's investigation clearly demonstrates that commemoration strategies were developed first and foremost during phases of internal family conflict, and not so much in struggles with external groups.

Greer's general hypothesis on the fluidity, discontinuity, and contingency of the dynasty and its commemoration practices is striking. Particularly innovative is Greer's view of the Gandersheim controversy. While in German historiography this long-lasting conflict is judged to have been a disruptive factor in secular and ecclesiastical politics, Greer demonstrates how the Ottonian abbess Sophia profited from the controversy, bringing her institution back to the main stage of power and politics after a period on the sidelines.

Some details in Greer's work need to be annotated, criticized, and corrected, however. Greer has not solved the enigma of Henry I's lack of interest in Gandersheim after he was elected king. As monarch, he neglected the residence of his ancestors in Brunshausen and ignored the competence of the canonesses in constructing memory (pp. 16, 80). In a recently published article,[3] I argue that Henry supported Corvey and other houses in Westphalia much more than the eastern parts of Saxony as he sought to expand west into territory that had not been under his ancestors' control. He acquired power in this region only through his wife's inheritance and not from his own family. As for his disregard for Gandersheim's production of commemoration lists, I argue that Henry thought the monks in Reichenau (and not only St

[3] Hedwig Röckelein, 'Heinrichs I. Verhältnis zu Kirchen und Klöstern', in Gabriele Köster and Stephan Freund (eds.), *919 – Plötzlich König: Heinrich I. und Quedlinburg* (Regensburg, 2019), 87–103.

Gall!) were much more accomplished and efficient than the Gandersheim canonesses and canons. By studying his itinerary, we can see that he generally relied much more on the secular palaces and lay elites in Saxony than on religious institutions.

Greer laments the lack of liturgical evidence in Gandersheim and Quedlinburg. It is true that less liturgical and memorial evidence has been preserved from these two convents than from other male or female institutions of the period. But some sources are still slumbering in the archives, and it would have been worth tracing the originals, not only the published versions. The most important of these unpublished texts is the *Younger Necrology* of Gandersheim. It survives only in a sixteenth-century copy, but preserves a significant number of memorial notes from the High Middle Ages. Christian Popp and Thorsten Henke are in the final stages of editing this list for publication. A minor, but nonetheless important source is the *Registrum chori ecclesie maioris Gandersemensis*, a *liber ordinarius* from late fifteenth-century Gandersheim.[4] Christian Popp has tracked down and interpreted the manifold texts and fragments on commemoration from Quedlinburg.[5] His argument strongly contradicts Greer's assessment of the Merseburg list (p. 13).

Although we cannot be sure which religious houses followed the *Regula Benedicti* in the Carolingian and Ottonian period and which adhered to the rule for the *sanctimoniales*, Greer is right to differentiate between these two forms of female religious institution (pp. 27–30). But Greer's assertion that the canoness houses in Saxony were 'overlooked in scholarship' (p. 26) in the past is absolutely incorrect. Greer ignores the intense research on Saxon canoness houses in Germany undertaken over the last few decades, following the pioneering studies of Leyser, Parisse, and Althoff. I could also draw her attention to the annual meetings of the Essener Arbeitskreis zur Erforschung der

[4] Christian Popp, 'Liturgie im Frauenstift Gandersheim: Zur Überlieferungs- und Textgeschichte sowie zum Quellenwert des *Registrum chori ecclesie maioris Gandersemensis*', in Klaus Gereon Beuckers (ed.), *Liturgie in mittelalterlichen Frauenstiften: Forschungen zum Liber ordinarius* (Essen, 2012), 113–30.

[5] Christian Popp, 'For the Living and the Dead: Memorial Prayers of the Quedlinburg Canonesses in the High Middle Ages', in Karen Blough (ed.), *A Companion to the Abbey of Quedlinburg in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2023), 122–41.

Frauenstifte, an interdisciplinary working group whose detailed and in-depth studies of female religious institutions have been published in the fifteen-volume series 'Essener Forschungen zum Frauenstift' between 2002 and 2018.[6] Likewise, in her discussion of the preponderance of female religious houses in Saxony, I missed the arguments made in two articles by Caspar Ehlers and myself.[7]

On page 51, Greer comes back to the historiographic discourse on Fulda's influence on the early Gandersheim convent. Although she accepts Klaus Naß's refutation of the notion that monks from Fulda founded Brunshausen,[8] she tries to defend the argument that Fulda influenced the convent during the ninth century with reference to the insular script on the *Salvatortüchlein*, an early textile relic. As I argue in a recently published article,[9] Fulda is one option for the provenance of the inscription; the other, more likely one is the Lateran Basilica in Rome. Since Greer tries to play down Corvey's influence on Gandersheim, she ignores the fact that St Stephen was patron of the early church in Brunshausen, and further overlooks the

[6] On Gandersheim, see vol. 4: Martin Hoernes and Hedwig Röckelein (eds.), *Gandersheim und Essen: Vergleichende Untersuchungen zu sächsischen Frauenstiften* (Essen, 2006); on Quedlinburg, vol. 14: Stephan Freund and Thomas Labusiak (eds.), *Das dritte Stift: Forschungen zum Quedlinburger Frauenstift* (Essen, 2017); on *memoria*, vol. 6: Thomas Schilp (ed.), *Pro remedio et salute anime peragemus: Totengedenken am Frauenstift Essen im Mittelalter* (Essen, 2008); and on liturgy, vol. 10: Klaus Gereon Beuckers (ed.), *Liturgie in mittelalterlichen Frauenstiften: Forschungen zum Liber ordinarius* (Essen, 2012).

[7] Caspar Ehlers, 'Franken und Sachsen gründen Klöster: Beobachtungen zu Integrationsprozessen des 8.–10. Jahrhunderts am Beispiel von Essen, Gandersheim und Quedlinburg', in Hoernes und Röckelein (eds.), *Gandersheim und Essen*, 11–31; Hedwig Röckelein, 'Bairische, sächsische und mainfränkische Klostergründungen im Vergleich (8. Jahrhundert bis 1100)', in Eva Schlotheuber, Helmut Flachenecker, and Ingrid Gardill (eds.), *Nonnen, Kanonissen und Mystikerinnen: Religiöse Frauengemeinschaften in Süddeutschland. Beiträge zur interdisziplinären Tagung vom 21. bis 23. September 2005 in Frauenchiemsee* (Göttingen, 2008), 23–55.

[8] Klaus Naß, 'Fulda und Brunshausen: Zur Problematik der Missionsklöster in Sachsen', *Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte*, 59 (1987), 1–62.

[9] Hedwig Röckelein, 'Reliquienauthentiken des Frühmittelalters aus dem Frauenstift Gandersheim (Niedersachsen)', in Kirsten Wallenwein and Tino Licht (eds.), *Reliquienauthentiken: Kulturdenkmäler des Frühmittelalters* (Regensburg, 2021), 225–53.

inscription on the late ninth- or early tenth-century wooden box used as a reliquary in Gandersheim. The relics of some of the (rare) saints identified by an ink inscription on the exterior of this box were also kept in a monstrance in Corvey, as I demonstrate in my article.[10]

On pages 35 and 87, Greer mentions a monastery in Seesen that was founded by the canoness house of Gandersheim. This is obviously an error—one that possibly goes back to Parisse. The monastery meant here, which was founded by Wendelgard and Gerberga II, is the Benedictine house of St Mary's in Gandersheim, not in Seesen. Eberhard's chronicle on Gandersheim is also constantly cited as the '*Reimschronik*'; the genitive 's' is unnecessary. In the bibliography, I missed Theo Kölzer's 2016 MGH edition of Louis the Pious' charters.[11] A lot of the page numbers given in the index are incorrect, presumably because the index was completed before the final proofs. Finally, Walbeck and Kalbe are also inaccurately located on the map on page 31. They are both in the Harz, not west of the Rhine and south of the Elbe, as Greer's map suggests.

[10] Ibid. 234–41.

[11] Theo Kölzer (ed.), *Die Urkunden der Karolinger*, pt. ii: *Die Urkunden Ludwigs des Frommen*, 3 vols. (Wiesbaden, 2016).

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JASON T. ROCHE, *The Crusade of King Conrad III of Germany: Warfare and Diplomacy in Byzantium, Anatolia and Outremer, 1146–1148* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), 365 pp. ISBN 978 2 503 53038 3. €94.00

The starting point for Jason T. Roche's study is the brief but consequential assessment of the German King Conrad III (1093/4–1152) in the historiographical discourse of the nineteenth century. The negative view of the first Hohenstaufen king held by German historians stemmed from the anachronistic categories by which they measured medieval monarchs against contemporary political hopes and desires. Nineteenth-century historians cast medieval rulers as heroes or failures in a story of progress and modernization that culminated in the modern nation state. Their verdicts were based on how much those rulers contributed to the centralization of monarchical power in the Middle Ages, a process they saw as essential to the rise of the nation state. Conrad III did not measure up well in this respect; not only was he accused of being unable to settle his conflict with the Guelphs to the advantage of the kingdom, but he was also held responsible for the disaster of the Second Crusade (1147–9). Nineteenth-century accounts of his reign revolved around the *idée fixe* of a 'decisive battle' against the Guelphs and the Seljuks, the lack of which seemed to demonstrate Conrad's personal incompetence and weakness as a leader. In this way, historians established the notion that the king had 'failed', in part due to his supposedly spontaneous decision to join the crusade in Speyer in 1147 under the influence of the monk, scholar, and preacher Bernard of Clairvaux (*c.*1090–1153).

This picture is only now beginning to change in modern German historiography. And British and American historians in particular have been reassessing the image of Conrad's crusade in recent years, in line with the greater interest traditionally shown in the crusades by English-speaking researchers.[1] Roche takes this trend to a new high

Trans. by Jozef van der Voort (GHIL).

[1] E.g. Jonathan Phillips and Martin Hoch (eds.), *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences* (Manchester, 2001); Jonathan Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven, 2007); Jason T. Roche and

point and a provisional conclusion. His book—which is well worth reading—is a reinterpretation of the historical accounts written by the French monk Odo of Deuil and the Byzantine imperial secretary John Kinnamos (*c.*1143–85), the two main sources for the history of the Second Crusade. His close examination of the intentions of these two authors allows him to develop a new understanding of their narratives. By modelling the challenges involved in supplying both the German and French armies and by adopting a range of interdisciplinary approaches, he manages to produce an overall picture with many persuasive new interpretations that also take into account contemporary ideas of rank and honour.

The introduction situates the topic in the wider research literature, offers a brief guide to the contents, and summarizes the book's ten chapters (pp. 28–31). The first chapter is then devoted to the sources. Roche departs from older research in asserting that the early hints at national difference that have often been noted in Odo of Deuil's history are primarily a product of the author's desire to ascribe the crusade's failure to Greek treachery and a lack of discipline among the Germans, thereby holding his own admired and pious king above reproach. Instead of finding more reasonable explanations, Odo decided to present the Greeks and Germans as malicious scapegoats, thereby subscribing fully to the negative ethnic stereotype of *furor teutonicus*, or Teutonic fury, established by Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis in Paris (*c.*1081–1151) in his *Gesta Ludovici Grossi*—a work of which Odo's own account was intended as a continuation. This was his solution to the unenviable task of explaining the failure of his godly king's venture in the Holy Land.[2]

The history by John Kinnamos, by contrast, emerges here as a kind of prose encomium. Drawing on his deep familiarity with the tradition of panegyric speeches at the Byzantine imperial court, and against the background of tensions between Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa (*c.*1122–90) and the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I

Janus Møller Jensen (eds.), *The Second Crusade: Holy War on the Periphery of Latin Christendom* (Turnhout, 2015).

[2] On Odo of Deuil, see also Michael Kister, 'Die Bewältigung des Zweiten Kreuzzugs: Odo von Deuil und der schuldlose König', *Portal Militärgeschichte*, 20 Feb. 2023, at [https://doi.org/10.15500/akm.20.02.2023].

Komnenos (1118–80), Kinnamos' account, which was written around 1176, tells the story of the Second Crusade with the same rhetorical, cultural, and historical self-understanding that had shaped and informed the Ancient Greek view of foreigners as 'barbarians'. The barbarian crusaders' arrogance, cowardice, and inability to master their emotions are contrasted with Manuel's imperial virtues, which lend themselves to victory. In this way, Kinnamos perpetuates the rhetorical strategies deployed by the anonymous author known as Manganeios Prodromos in numerous verse encomia written to legitimize Manuel's unexpected accession to the imperial throne in 1143. The Byzantine official and historian Niketas Choniates (*c.*1155–1217) drew on Kinnamos' narrative in his own work, but did so with very different intentions and in light of the sack of Constantinople in 1204—a disaster he ascribed to the sinfulness of the Komnenian emperors, as reflected in their response to the crusaders' godly enterprise. For different reasons, but in consistent ways, the three main sources thus obscure the historical events and therefore need to be read very critically. This calls the standard account of Conrad's crusade into question, given that it rests largely on straightforward retellings of these three texts.

The rest of the book runs chronologically from Conrad's departure on crusade to his return from the Holy Land. The second chapter discusses how the ground was prepared for the crusade politically. Roche follows recent scholarship in viewing Conrad III's decision to join the crusade in Speyer not as a spontaneous act, but as a carefully prepared decision that was dependent on Bernard of Clairvaux's success as a peace broker. He rightly describes the securing of peace and a line of succession in the empire 'as a major success for Conrad III' (p. 78). Yet when he claims, echoing Eleni Tounta,[3] that Conrad sought to emulate the Byzantine example and free his imperial sovereignty from papal influence (see especially pp. 65 and 75), Roche underestimates the influence of the tradition, dating back to the reign of Otto I (912–73), that the East Frankish and German king should be crowned emperor by the Pope.

[3] Eleni Tounta, 'Thessaloniki (1148)–Besançon (1157): Die staufischen-byzantinischen Beziehungen und die "Heiligkeit" des Staufischen Reiches', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 131 (2011), 167–214, at 177.

Drawing on the *Database of Crusaders to the Holy Land*,[4] chapter three highlights thirty-one nobles—some from the Hohenstaufen–Babenberg kinship group surrounding Conrad III and others from the competing Guelph group around Welf VI (1115–91)—alongside a further fifty-five participants in the crusade. By comparing information on the 1184 Diet of Mainz provided by the French cleric and chronicler Gislebert of Mons (*c.*1150–1225) with Frederick Barbarossa's account of his first expedition to Italy, Roche estimates the total number of participants in Conrad's crusade to have been 9,000 combatants and 3,000 non-combatants. Models of the logistical challenges show that when this army camped outside a small town (*kastron*) for just five days, it would have consumed enough provisions to feed the town for a month (p. 100). As such, the crusaders' hope of being able to purchase supplies overwhelmed the networks between small towns and their rural surroundings, especially in western Anatolia. The advancing crusaders must have made logistical arrangements along the *Via militaris* to Constantinople that were similar to those known to have been used by the Byzantine emperor to supply his own troops, although these are not explicitly mentioned in the sources. Yet Emperor Manuel's additional gifts of food could not defuse the potential for conflict caused by poor exchange rates and increased food prices.

Chapter four is devoted to the march to Constantinople. Specific incidents, such as in Philippopolis and Adrianople, and Conrad's arrival in the palace and park complex known as the Philopation, illustrate the extent to which the chroniclers' narratives were distorted by their failure to understand the logistical strain the crusaders were under. This also underpins Odo's depiction of the unreliable Greeks and the greed and *furor* of the German crusaders, who marched on ahead of the French army.

The fifth chapter, on the German crusaders' encampment outside Constantinople, contains several astute new interpretations. Based on his essentially convincing argument that the armed clashes between the crusaders and Byzantine troops during the former's advance were not due to enmity between Conrad III and Manuel I, but a product of logistical difficulties (p. 141), Roche rejects the typical assumption,

[4] J. S. C. Riley-Smith et al. (eds.), *A Database of Crusaders to the Holy Land: 1095–1149*, at [https://www.dhi.ac.uk/crusaders/], accessed 22 Feb. 2023.

derived from Odo of Deuil and John Kinnamos, that the two rulers did not meet in person. Instead, he suggests that a 'clandestine meeting' took place (p. 153; see also p. 156) and argues that the version of events put forward by the chronicler Arnold of Lübeck (*c.*1150–1211/14), who claimed that the two monarchs met outside the city on horseback, is historically accurate because 'it was in their mutual interests to meet' (p. 141; see also p. 330). Roche's suggestion that the earlier meeting between Emperor Alexios Komnenos (1057–1118) and the leaders of the First Crusade may have served as a model for Manuel's meeting with King Louis VII of France (1120–80) is just as worthy of consideration as his highly plausible assertion that Manuel Komnenos and Conrad worked together closely. All in all, the idea that the two emperors met is by no means far-fetched.

Yet Roche's arguments in support of his case are unconvincing in multiple respects. First and foremost, his discussion of the sources on this point is unsatisfactory. Although he explains away the version of events presented by Odo of Deuil and John Kinnamos by suggesting that their Byzantine informers were simply unaware that a meeting between Manuel and Conrad III had taken place, we are supposed to believe that eyewitness accounts nonetheless reached Arnold of Lübeck and other Latin authors. This is circular reasoning, which takes as a given what has yet to be proved. Furthermore, a review of the texts that Roche only cursorily summarizes in his footnotes and does not discuss in depth (p. 142, n. 10 and p. 154, n. 53) shows that—contrary to his assertions—some of them do not mention a personal meeting at all. This is true of the *Historia Welforum Weingartensis* (*c.*1170), Helmold of Bosau's *Chronica Slavorum* (1163–72), Gerhoch of Reichersberg's *De investigatione Antichristi* (1160–2), and the *Notae Pisanae* of 1128, 1148, and 1154. A few texts do state that Conrad and his entire army(!) were ceremonially received by the *rex Grecorum* (the *Annales Palidenses* of *c.*1164–1421, the *Chronicle of Petershausen*, and the *Annales Magdeburgenses* of 1176–88); yet this would not have involved a personal meeting and refers only to the activities of Manuel's envoys, who acted in his name. For the same reason, Roche's interpretation of Conrad's message to Abbot Wibald of Corvey is also unconvincing (p. 153, n. 52).[5] As

[5] Friedrich Hausmann (ed.), *Die Urkunden Konrads III.* (Hanover, 1969), no. 194.

for the few sources that do mention a meeting between the two emperors (the *Annales Herbipolenses*, the *Chronicon* of Romuald of Salerno around 1180, and Arnold of Lübeck), it is important to keep the narrative function of this claim in mind. After all, the portrayal of a personal relationship between Manuel and Conrad makes for a highly effective contrast with the Byzantines' subsequent treachery. Indeed, Arnold of Lübeck goes so far as to cite Conrad's refusal to visit Manuel as a motive for the Greek betrayal. Is this an accurate reflection of historical events, or merely a narrative pattern that contrasts friendship with treachery? A more in-depth analysis is required here. Second, Roche is undoubtedly correct to argue that the crossing of the Bosporus must have been negotiated in advance and that the crusaders' supply shortages forced their hand. Yet a personal meeting would not have been necessary for this—or indeed for the presentation of gifts. Third, Roche underestimates the ceremonial barriers to what would have been the first ever meeting between a Western and an Eastern Roman emperor. Would a secret meeting before the walls of Constantinople, attended by just a few high-ranking witnesses (p. 153), really have been compatible with the strict ceremonial protocols of the Byzantine court, which Roche rightly emphasizes (pp. 144–6)?[6] The later meeting between the two emperors after Conrad's return to Constantinople from Ephesus was no doubt facilitated by the relative privacy of his arrival by boat.

However, these objections do not detract from Roche's persuasive suggestion that Conrad III crossed the Bosporus before Louis VII's arrival simply because the already difficult logistical situation would not have permitted two large armies to be supplied simultaneously. Roche also rightly casts doubt on Kinnamos' account of Conrad's defeat at the hands of Byzantine troops at his camp in Pikridion (modern-day Hasköy).

The sixth chapter, which is structured thematically rather than chronologically, is devoted to the topographical and geopolitical conditions in western Asia Minor, as well as its settlement history. Supplying an army on the largely depopulated and infertile Anatolian plateau, which had been settled by Turkish nomads, would have

[6] See Martin Vučetić, *Zusammenkünfte byzantinischer Kaiser mit fremden Herrschern (395-1204): Vorbereitung, Gestaltung, Funktionen*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 2021).

involved almost insurmountable logistical challenges. In his reconstruction of Conrad's march to Nicaea, his failed advance to Iconium, and his subsequent return to Constantinople in the seventh, eighth, and ninth chapters, Roche identifies the difficulty, not to say impossibility, of supplying the troops as a common theme and the Achilles' heel of the entire expedition. By placing these logistical challenges centre stage and exploring them in great detail, he convincingly and permanently disproves the standard historiographical speculations over Conrad's personal shortcomings as a leader, the lack of discipline among the German crusaders, and Byzantine–Seljuk alliances as reasons for the disastrous course of the crusade. Instead, the operation was doomed by a combination of supply shortages, physical exhaustion, and the unfamiliar fighting style of the Turks. Odo presumably learned that Conrad and his council of princes had discussed these factors, and that the decision to retreat had been accompanied by the usual reflections over questions of honour and disgrace, not from some survivor of the failed campaign (pp. 262 and 265), but from Barbarossa, whom Conrad later sent as an envoy to Louis VII's camp in order to inform the French king of what had happened.

In chapter ten Roche offers a political explanation of Conrad and Louis' attack on Damascus in July 1148—a move that historians have always seen as problematic—claiming that it was motivated by a desire to avert the threat of an alliance between Aleppo and Jerusalem. In order to explain the subsequent failure of the expedition, he once again stresses reports of logistical difficulties that have long been ignored or misunderstood. Evidently, the Christians, who had set out at short notice and without adequate supplies, planned to feed themselves from the gardens outside Damascus during what they hoped would be a short siege. When the Damascenes managed to thwart these plans, the crusaders still hoped to storm the walls after improvising a new encampment in a different location. Yet here too they encountered water and supply shortages, forcing them to abandon the siege. This account can be verified with reference to the sources—something that cannot be said for the usual speculation that the crusaders withdrew for fear of encountering an approaching Muslim relief force.

Roche's book impresses with its broad research base, as well as its author's historiographical sensitivity and comprehensive knowledge

of the sources. Above all, he avoids many of the errors committed in older research by convincingly analysing the intentions behind the three main historiographical sources and exposing their skewed and biased perspectives. (A similarly cautious reading of the *Annales Herbipolenses*, written by an anonymous crusader, could deliver further insights.) Roche's detailed discussion of the logistical and supply problems that dogged Conrad's crusade are also of fundamental importance for research on military history and the crusades in general. The only flaw at the end of this smart, exciting, and inspiring book is that it lacks an index of people and place names.

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WILLIAM D. GODSEY and PETR MAŤA (eds.), *The Habsburg Monarchy as a Fiscal–Military State: Contours and Perspectives 1648–1815*, Proceedings of the British Academy, 247 (Oxford, 2022), 390 pp. ISBN 978 0 197 26734 9. £95.00

Around thirty-five years ago, when John Brewer coined the term 'fiscal–military state' to describe 'the sinews of power' in eighteenth-century Britain,[1] its success and lasting influence on historical scholarship were hardly foreseeable. Yet it was clear from the beginning that Brewer's 'heuristic device'[2] would engender debate, as it offered a provocative reinterpretation of British state formation. In a nutshell, Brewer argued that in the war-torn long eighteenth century, England, like the Continental European monarchies, faced rising military costs. If the English crown wanted to compete in the great power contests of the time, it had to extract financial resources from its subjects through taxation and credit. To pay for war, England, not unlike Prussia,[3] built up a powerful state apparatus. Brewer thus debunked several myths: that of the peaceful, polite eighteenth century in opposition to the iron age of religious warfare which preceded it; that of less oppressive taxation and lighter government in Britain than in 'absolute' monarchies; and the grand narrative opposing British commercial and naval interests to brute Continental army power. His book also invited further investigation of fiscal and military mechanisms across early modern Europe—and beyond. Critical voices have been raised against efforts to extend the concept globally and across epochs, which threaten

[1] See the first edition of Brewer's classic *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688–1783* (London, 1989).

[2] See Brewer's recent recapitulation of his original intentions and his engagement with the extensions and critical adaptations of his concept in past research: John Brewer, 'Revisiting *The Sinews of Power*', in Aaron Graham and Patrick Walsh (eds.), *The British Fiscal–Military States, 1660–c.1783* (London, 2016), 27–34, quotation at 27.

[3] A connection between military expenditure and fiscal–administrative development was drawn as early as 1910 by Otto Hintze for the rising Continental power of the Hohenzollern state; see 'Der Commissarius und seine Bedeutung in der allgemeinen Verwaltungsgeschichte', in id., *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, vol. i: *Staat und Verfassung*, ed. Gerhard Oestreich, ext. 2nd edn (Göttingen, 1962), 242–74.

to render it too vague for precise analysis. Yet its application to the Habsburg Empire, as in the volume under review here, certainly works well.

In a way, the book, edited by Vienna-based historians William Godsey and Petr Maťa, returns to the origins of the debate. Brewer's influential book built on the work of, among others, P. G. M. Dickson on the financial revolution in England and on Austrian finance and government under Maria Theresia.[4] His concept thus implied a comparative view of fiscal–military arrangements in the Habsburg monarchy from the beginning. Yet, as Godsey and Maťa point out, the 'Habsburg Myth'[5] of a weak, fragmented state and a non-bellicose foreign policy based on dynastic marriage by *felix Austria* has long prevented further research in this direction. Traditionally contrasted with its rival Prussia, the Habsburg monarchy appeared as a rather weak, perhaps peaceable actor in the emerging international system. Recently, however, some important German-language research has connected Habsburg fiscality to the monarchy's considerable military efforts. Godsey and Maťa's volume aims to introduce this regional expertise into English-language research on the fiscal–military state. It presents a convincing summary of the international debates and successfully connects them to historical area studies of the Habsburg monarchy both as a whole and in its component parts.

Godsey and Maťa structure the volume with two basic propositions. First, they regard the Habsburg dominions as a composite monarchy. Although this peculiar polity might have possessed some of the characteristics implied by alternative concepts such as dynastic agglomerate, polycentric monarchy, or empire, it was, the editors argue, primarily a monarchical state centred on the Habsburg court, with regional and local representative bodies intimately involved in shared yet contended processes of fiscal and military state formation.

[4] P. G. M. Dickson, *The Financial Revolution in England: A Study in the Development of Public Credit, 1688–1756* (London, 1967); id., *Finance and Government under Maria Theresia 1740–1780*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1987).

[5] Michael Hochedlinger, 'The Habsburg Monarchy: From "Military–Fiscal State" to "Militarization"', in Christopher Storrs (ed.), *The Fiscal–Military State in Eighteenth-Century Europe: Essays in Honour of P. G. M. Dickson* (London, 2009), 55–94, at 58.

Second, Godsey and Maťa propose an overarching early modern chronology for these processes, marked by four systemic shifts in fiscal–military arrangements. After a basis for central fiscal and military institutions had been created with the *Hofkammer* (Aulic Chamber) in 1527 and the *Hofkriegsrat* (Aulic War Council) in 1556, the mid sixteenth-century war against the Ottoman Empire caused the first important shift, initiating efforts by the central state to establish a permanent border defence. The Thirty Years War, during which the *Generalkriegskommissariat* (General War Commissariat) was established, brought more central control of the armed forces, especially after the elimination of Albrecht von Wallenstein in 1634. Godsey and Maťa identify a third shift in the wars of the 1680s, when Emperor Leopold I faced simultaneous threats from the east and west. These conflicts brought wider recruitment, institutionalized in the *Landrekrutenstellung* (provincial recruitment system), and they turned the *Contribution*, originally exacted for troop upkeep during warfare, into a permanent tax. A last set of shifts occurred from the 1740s, when new wars required men and money on an unprecedented scale, bringing the established system to its limits and beyond. Credit and the monetization of regalian rights (especially tolls) were gaining importance. Moreover, recruitment was reorganized with the *Werbbezirkssystem* in 1781, which introduced conscription by regiment in fixed recruitment districts.

This framework informs the selection and organization of the essays in the volume. The first three, by Hamish Scott, Guy Rowlands, and Peter H. Wilson, offer reflections by distinguished experts on the general debate. Scott recapitulates the genesis and development of the concept, reminding us of the fundamental distinction between fiscal states, which exacted taxes for military spending, and fiscal–military states, which mobilized more resources through credit and borrowing. Comparing the paradigmatic British model and other early modern European fiscal–military states with the Habsburg monarchy, Scott draws out the latter's specifics—for example, the importance of Jewish financiers. Yet there were also structural similarities, such as the extension of governmental reach and resource extraction across a composite monarchy in the British Isles and the Habsburg case. For both, the integration of local elites

and regional representative bodies should not be taken as evidence of weak statehood.

Rowlands likewise stresses that comparing fundamental characteristics offers a remedy against conceptual over-extension. He focuses on individual states' internal 'fiscal–military constitution' in order to determine their 'fiscal–military advantage' (p. 61). In this regard, France developed an impressive system very early, gaining a considerable advantage over its rivals. Yet during the heyday of its international power around 1700 under Louis XIV, serious problems emerged in matching the exploding costs of warfare to the amount of revenue raised. Over the course of the eighteenth century, the French monarchy lost its prominent position and suffered the financial problems which would ultimately lead to the revolution. Wilson proposes an alternative to Rowlands' internalist approach. Considering the importance of early modern contractor states and powerful coalition armies, he suggests taking a holistic look at a European 'fiscal–military system' from 1530 to 1870. Within this framework, 'which extended to a whole variety of semi-sovereign and non-state actors' (p. 86), the Habsburg monarchy appears as a crucial player, drawing on the commercial and financial resources of the Viennese hub, but also of the Holy Roman Empire and beyond.

The following chapters turn to the specifics of the Habsburg monarchy. István Kenyeres and Géza Pálffy demonstrate that the need to defend the Hungarian border against Ottoman expansion required efforts to institutionalize standing armed forces as early as the sixteenth century. Thomas Winkelbauer sketches the long-neglected yet crucial role of the General War Commissariat in military finances and logistics from its origins in the Thirty Years War to the mid eighteenth century.

The next four chapters jointly depict the functioning of the monarchy's fully formed fiscal–military structures after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. They expose differences between the reliable 'fiscal–military core' (much of the Austrian hereditary lands and the Bohemian crown's territories; p. 27) and other parts of the Habsburg dominions. Petr Maťa finds that the supposedly fixed tax quotas of the Austrian and Bohemian provinces were continually renegotiated between the central government and the provincial Estates after the

mid seventeenth century. The ensuing discussions did not weaken the Habsburg fiscal–military constitution, but actually stabilized it, as demonstrated for Moravia by Jiří David. The great lords dominating the territorial Estates were willing to grant tax payments because their role as collectors and administrators of royal funds strengthened their traditional authority within their lands. In contrast, Hungary did not meet the increase in standing forces after 1648 with similar willingness. András Oross demonstrates that the resistance of the Hungarian Estates through repeated uprisings and protests was nonetheless countered by the individual army contracting activities of Hungarian magnates. More lasting arrangements were eventually found in the eighteenth century. Peter Rauscher, finally, notes the opposite trend in relations between the Habsburgs and the Holy Roman Empire, where the reliability of grants by the imperial estates was declining over time. While the emperor could still draw on resources from specific imperial allies after 1600, Rauscher confirms the classic interpretation of an 'advancing disintegration of the Reich', paralleled by 'the consolidation of the Habsburg Monarchy' (p. 216).

The following two chapters shift perspective, regarding fiscal–military arrangements not from the point of view of the central state, but from that of noble actors within the complex constitutional settings. While Horst Carl traces the changing social function of regimental proprietorship for the Swabian barons of Neipperg from the mid sixteenth to late eighteenth centuries, Veronika Hyden-Hanscho delineates the pivotal role played in the early eighteenth century by Léopold Philippe, duke of Arenberg, who mediated Habsburg relations with the Estates of the Southern Netherlands and facilitated access to the wider financial world of Western Europe. The last chapter by Orsolya Szakály takes up this actor-centred approach once more by analysing the saltpetre monopoly exercised by Baron Miklós Vay, demonstrating the importance of military contracting as a commercial opportunity for Hungarian aristocrats in the Napoleonic era.

The three chapters preceding Szakály's shed light on changes to the Habsburg monarchy's fiscal–military constitution in the eighteenth century. William D. Godsey traces the successful employment of medium- and long-term borrowing from around 1700, when the

newly established City Bank of Vienna, foreign financial markets, and the provincial Estates were tapped for credit. Direct public borrowing by the *Universal-Staats-Schulden-Cassa* (Universal State Debt Treasury) from the 1770s complemented this system until its breakdown with the Napoleonic Wars and the paper currency inflation of the infamous *Banco-Zettel*. On the military side, Ilya Berkovich traces the personnel composition of the Austrian regiments from the era of the *Landrekrutenstellung* to the introduction of the *Werbbezirkssystem*. Consecutively, these systems—despite differences in detail—amounted to wide military conscription long before the French revolutionary *levée en masse*. To pay for their huge armies, the Habsburgs relied on taxation and credit, as well as on subsidies by other powers. Patrick Swoboda sheds light on the practical problems of transferring subsidy money during the Habsburgs' western wars in the eighteenth century, pointing out that the sums which Austria variously received from its British, Dutch, and French allies never covered more than 15 per cent of its war expenses. On the whole, subsidies were an investment by financially stronger partners into joint troop strength.

Links across this rich volume are created by the introduction, with its helpful maps, and by the index, which includes thematic entries that allow for quick cross-referencing. It would, however, have been interesting to see the individual essays engage with the overarching chronological and conceptual framework more explicitly. Does it hold up against the fine-grained studies in this book, which approach the topic from such diverse perspectives? How do the essays connect to the suggested conceptual variations on the fiscal–military state—namely, the internal fiscal–military constitution and the European fiscal–military system? How do fiscal–military developments relate to other fields of change, such as commerce, labour, and the exploitation of humans, as well as nature, ideas, or diplomacy? The volume succeeds in tying in a wealth of existing research on the Habsburg monarchy with the influential concept of the fiscal–military state, and it raises important wider questions about the linkages between warfare and money. Ideally, the volume will also achieve its third goal of creating a basis for new discussions of an ageing concept. After all, the comparative approach raises important further questions that also

touch on other polities in early modern Europe. In any case, it will certainly become an important point of reference for future teaching and research on Austria and its fiscal–military constitution.

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SIMON HUEMER, *Die europäische Wahrnehmung des Königreichs Dänemark nach der Einführung der Lex Regia: Die Rezeption von und Debatte über Robert Molesworths Account of Denmark als Diskurs über die absolute Monarchie anhand seiner Deutung der danske Enevælde von 1694 bis ca. 1770* (Kiel: Solivagus, 2022), 617 pp. ISBN 978 3 943 02562 0. €48.00

The centrepiece of Simon Huemer's Ph.D. thesis is Robert Molesworth's (1656–1725) pamphlet *An Account of Denmark*, published in 1694, two years after he was recalled as the British Crown's envoy to the Danish court—a position he had held for three years. Denmark was an ally of the new British King, William III of Orange, and remained so in the years that followed. Molesworth's publication, on the other hand, presented Denmark to the British public as a cautionary example of a formerly free country that had enjoyed individual liberties since the time of the Goths, but which had abandoned those liberties as a result of complacency, corruption, and degeneracy. The Danish had instead officially conceded that their king could rule Denmark as an absolute monarch or, in Molesworth's terms, as a tyrant over slaves. In his study, Huemer first traces the genesis of the *Lex Regia*, which marked Denmark's transition to absolute kingship, before situating Robert Molesworth in the context of the debates at the time of the Glorious Revolution (1688–9). He then summarizes the contents of Molesworth's *Account of Denmark*, and finally looks at the intense debate over the treatise in Britain and subsequently in Denmark. Huemer's work focuses in particular on the central ideas and concepts, rhetorical strategies, and legitimation narratives of these debates, and he refers to the Cambridge School of political thought in his approach. In particular, Quentin Skinner and John Pocock are extensively used as authorities.

Molesworth saw the disunity of the Estates as the main reason for the Danish king's authorization of tyrannical rule via the *Lex Regia*. Danish subjects wanted to free themselves from the slavery that the nobility had imposed on them, and so the king appeared to them as an ally. Courtly nobles also participated in the plot because of their service relationship with the king. Furthermore, Molesworth argued, the desire for absolute power did not come from the reigning King Frederick III himself, but from his wife, Sophie Amalie. The clergy likewise supported the *Lex Regia* because they hoped that the new constitution

would give them greater authority and strengthen their own leadership position in the church.

Molesworth portrayed the events surrounding the *Lex Regia* in such a way that they could be understood as a warning against the dangers of popish tyranny. In this context, the hostile image of popery could easily be expanded to include the claim of Protestant clergymen to a leadership position in the church. He further concluded that Denmark had given away all rights and freedoms and submitted to government by the king in the 'Turkish manner' (p. 197). From then on, Molesworth claimed, the king's main goal was to use the new constitution to build a standing army, and ultimately to create a monster: a head without a body; a state with soldiers, but no subjects.

Molesworth's terrifying portrayal of royal rule in Denmark gave rise to a wide-ranging debate in Europe. Huemer addresses this controversy by first examining in more detail three counter-arguments made by a Hamburg physician, two English authors from the Tory camp, and certain Huguenots in Danish service. In particular, these figures criticized Molesworth's antagonistic juxtaposition of kingship and liberty, arguing that wise and virtuous kings were the best guarantors of liberty. They also attacked the sweeping equation of health and liberty, arguing that unrestrained freedom led to disorder and thus to disease in the body politic. The two Tory authors also emphasized the *ius divinum* with regard to the English church hierarchy and the need for subjects to obey their monarchs. Molesworth was, in their eyes, a republican agitator and a proponent of the Commonwealth, or in other words, the kingless period in England.

In the final chapter, Huemer then addresses Danish contributions to this debate, which can largely be classified as belonging to the genre of 'country descriptions' (*Landesbeschreibungen*) and which set out Denmark's history and contemporary political conditions for Danish as well as European readers. In these texts, the *Lex Regia* was defended with a variety of arguments by authors who were in one way or another connected to the Danish royal house through patronage relations.

Huemer's book provides an overview of the debate on the *Lex Regia* in Denmark by discussing in detail the main responses to Molesworth's *Account of Denmark*. His analysis, however, is not always convincing.

For example, the comparative authors used to outline the context of the political debate in England at the time of the Glorious Revolution are not coherently chosen. Molesworth's account is set in relation to texts from the 1650s by Marchamont Nedham and James Harrington, presumably because both authors were used by Quentin Skinner as key witnesses to his concept of English republicanism (Skinner called them neo-Roman authors). A much more logical choice would have been John Locke and his *Two Treatises of Government*, written during the Exclusion Crisis and published immediately after the Glorious Revolution, and containing numerous parallels to Molesworth's discussion of the right to resist a ruler who disregards the will of the people. Locke, however, is not mentioned at all in Huemer's presentation of the context surrounding the debate over the English monarchy.

The contextualization of Molesworth in the network of political groups and actors at the time is also not entirely convincing. Huemer takes terms such as 'Whig Junto', 'Old Whig', and 'court and country' from the research debate and uses them uncritically, as if they were clearly defined groups of people. There is no detailed discussion of what these party terms could mean, the extent to which they were actually associated with clearly distinguishable groups, how far they could be assigned to different world views, or whether they were in fact primarily pejorative, polemical terms used to mark out opponents in the controversies of the 1690s, which were characterized by rapid changes in the political loyalties of many participants.

Above all, however, reading Huemer's work is extremely arduous, as one has to slog through lengthy summaries of texts that teem with redundancies. The length of the study could have been reduced by half without loss of substance. It would also have done the book good if Huemer had been less inclined to load his analysis with technical terms from the sociology of knowledge, even where these are neither necessary nor useful. There is talk of discourses (*Diskurse*) where debates are meant. When foreign lands are presented in 'country descriptions', this has little to do with the concept of the 'life-world' (*Lebenswelt*; p. 152), which has its place as a technical term in studies of phenomenology. To point out that Molesworth perceives the *Lex Regia* from a specifically English perspective—one that was strongly shaped by the events and conflicts surrounding the Glorious Revolution—does not

require terms such as 'knowledge constitution' (*Wissenskonstitution*; p. 191). At the end of the book, after 574 pages, the final conclusion is that Molesworth's opponents 'defended the monarchy per se through the semantic–conceptual and historical–argumentative mechanisms of the early modern metastructure' (p. 574). With these interpretations, Huemer overambitiously presents his study as a contribution to the sociology of knowledge, instead of offering concrete answers to concrete questions.

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TOM TÖLLE, *Heirs of Flesh and Paper: A European History of Dynastic Knowledge around 1700*, Cultures and Practices of Knowledge in History, 11 (Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2022), xv + 322 pp. ISBN 978 3 110 74452 1. £63.50

This Ph.D. thesis, completed at Princeton University, aims to answer two major questions: 'How did political embodiment work in practice and how did early modern subjects deal with unpredictable princely illness in an age of planning?' (p. 235). The study focuses on the years 1699 to 1716, a period rife with dynastic crises in Europe due to serious succession problems within the great Houses of Habsburg, Stuart, and Bourbon—problems that were of far-reaching consequence and closely interwoven with the outbreak and course of the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–13/14). Tölle has chosen this relatively brief period because, in his view, it represents an 'extreme manifestation' (p. 5) of what he calls the 'old regime of princely corporeality' (p. 4), with the term 'corporeality' construed here as 'a concept defined by social practices, albeit with biological limitations' (p. 3).

Sickness, physical weakness, frailty, a lack of heirs, and (premature) death were unquestionably among those features of the early modern dynastic political system that had considerable potential—precisely because of their unpredictability—to create destabilization and precipitate war. Researchers are in agreement on this point. Tölle's aim, however, is to find new perspectives on this. He consciously moves away from the narratives and research objectives of older historiography and its oft-described fixation on the protagonists of events as actors within the power state (*Machtstaat*). His central research question is that of how early modern subjects dealt with a fundamental political uncertainty: the generally unpredictable physical health of rulers and their families. First, as he emphasizes in the introduction, he turns to the everyday practices of contemporaries. Second, he focuses on the media aspects of this topic, specifically, and with good reason, in the context of the rapid shift in the European media landscape around 1700. Third and last, he emphasizes that the aim of his study is to bring together questions and approaches from the history of knowledge 'regarding

Trans. by Marielle Sutherland (GHIL).

political planning, temporality and probability' (p. 13) on the one hand, and (traditional) political history on the other.

The study is structured as follows: each of the five large chapters, which are based on in-depth case studies, foregrounds one particular practice: 'seeing, healing, writing, interacting, feeling' (p. 16). More precisely, the chapters focus on the observation of court life and politics (ch. 1), medical aspects (ch. 2), attempts to resolve dynastic crises through different forms of writing and court interaction (chs. 3 and 4), and how subjects dealt emotionally with existential questions such as birth, sickness, frailty, and death (ch. 5). This well thought out and clear structure does not, however, mean that the topics are presented as strictly distinct from one another. Rather, the various overlaps between the different practices and case studies are very apparent, and, taken together, they offer a more comprehensive panorama.

The study cites a satisfyingly broad range of qualitative and quantitative sources. This encompasses many different source types, including numerous print sources and unpublished archive material from five countries (Germany, the UK, France, Austria, and the USA). The bibliography meets the requirements of a Ph.D. thesis, despite the author not having incorporated a number of standard works one would expect to find here.[1]

In any event, the structure, weighting, sources, and chosen case studies are certainly impressive. The thesis is a significant contribution to European history around 1700. Its particular merit is that, through the integrative combination of several historical subdisciplines, it finds new angles on a period which is already very well explored in terms of diplomatic and political history, and it enriches the existing research with new questions and fresh perspectives. The book focuses on discourses about the last Habsburg ruler on the Spanish throne, the physically and intellectually disabled Charles II (ch. 1); the succession problem in the House of Stuart under Queen Anne (ch. 2); the 1701 Act of Settlement (ch. 3); the epidemic-driven succession crisis in France in the late reign of Louis XIV (ch. 4); and the short life of Leopold Johann of Austria, the oldest child and only son of Emperor Charles VI, who

[1] No reference is made, for example, to Christopher Storrs' *The Resilience of the Spanish Monarchy 1665–1700* (Oxford, 2006), which is about the rule of Charles II of Spain.

died before his first birthday (ch. 5). In the process, all these far from unfamiliar themes are newly inflected as the author probes the interfaces between political history, the history of knowledge, the history of the body, the history of emotions, and the history of communication.

On the whole, Tölle sets out persuasively, and based closely on the sources, the serious problems experienced by the European powers around 1700 as a result of the unpredictable dynastic breakdowns he describes (namely lack of heirs, illnesses, premature deaths, and so on); how these events were perceived by contemporaries; and the impact of the practices under focus on political decision-making. However, his exposition and theories are not always convincing. For example, his argument, drawing on the history of emotions, that the Holy Roman Empire was a 'community of feeling' (p. 232) is too narrow; additional aspects should be taken into account, such as imperial patriotism and the impetus towards integration, which was the result of external threats.[2] The conclusion, too, leaves some questions unanswered: 'The dynastic body was not . . . an appendix of the modern state; superfluous and only noticeable when in crisis. It was itself one of the most important sites for changing the political' (p. 253). A more detailed explanation is needed here of what 'changing the political' means in concrete terms. In my opinion, Tölle's argumentation on this point is somewhat vague.

It is also regrettable that he does not include, by way of comparison, a few prominent early modern rulers whose lives and impact have already been analysed by researchers interested in similar questions. Possibilities here include Emperor Rudolf II (1552–1612), whose state of health was the subject of intense contemporary debate, or Dukes Wilhelm V (1516–92) and Johann Wilhelm of Jülich-Kleve-Berg (1562–1609), who have only recently returned as the focus of more in-depth studies on, for example, early modern medical teaching and the physical and mental health of rulers.[3] Another criticism is that

[2] See in particular Martin Wrede, *Das Reich und seine Feinde: Politische Feindbilder in der reichspatriotischen Publizistik zwischen Westfälischem Frieden und Siebenjährigem Krieg* (Mainz, 2004).

[3] See the contributions in the anthology Guido von Büren, Ralf-Peter Fuchs, and Georg Mölich (eds.), *Herrschaft, Hof und Humanismus: Wilhelm V. von Jülich-Kleve-Berg und seine Zeit* (Bielefeld, 2018).

there are some oversights in terms of form and content. One example of this is that Prussia only became a kingdom in 1701, so in 1700 there was as yet no 'king in Prussia' (see the footnotes on pp. 66, 84, 90, and 234). The study's inclusion of an index, in addition to a few useful appendices, is very welcome; however, spot checking has shown that the page numbers recorded in the index are often incorrect by exactly one page, which makes it somewhat difficult to use.

It should be noted, however, that none of these points of criticism are of a fundamental nature, and that Tom Tölle's study is therefore worth a read. It raises some interesting questions, provides food for thought, and ultimately demonstrates the potential of an integrative model that brings together different theoretical, methodological, and disciplinary approaches. At all events, the angle set out programmatically in the title of the introduction, 'Rethinking the Body Politic', proves to be a productive approach to a phase in European history in which the 'société des princes'[4] was repeatedly shaken up by the uncertainties of human life and experience.

[4] Lucien Bély, *La société des princes XVI^e–XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1999).

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MICHAEL KLÄGER, *Zivilisieren durch Strafen: Britisch-Indiens Gefängnisse in der globalen Wissenszirkulation über die strafende Haft, 1820–1889*, Beiträge zur Europäischen Überseegeschichte, 113 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2022), 377 pp. ISBN 978 3 515 13217 6 (hardcover), €69.00; ISBN 978 3 515 13221 3 (open access e-book)[1]

Michael Kläger's first monograph is a nuanced study of the development of the penal system in nineteenth-century British India, with a focus on Madras, the North-Western Provinces, and Punjab. It contributes to a body of literature on crime, punishment, and penology in colonial South Asia that has grown significantly in the past two decades. For instance, Taylor Sherman's call to consider penal institutions as part of a wider 'coercive network' of the colonial state has helped to broaden the conceptual framework and connect the histories of prisons and of colonial violence.[2] Kläger does not dispute the fact that prisons were part of a patchy but powerful system of coercion and violence, but neither does he adopt this framework in his study. He concentrates exclusively on the prison as an institution that was introduced and reformed during the colonial period in India. What appears to be a conceptual limitation, however, must be read in light of the book's main purpose: to write a history of knowledge on the prison in colonial India from a global perspective. *Zivilisieren durch Strafen* joins a generation of histories of knowledge that, in contrast to earlier works, give greater attention to the vectors of knowledge transfer and the agency of people previously considered merely passive receivers.[3] The effects of these new studies on this dynamic field of historical research are its liberation from national and imperial

[1] Can be downloaded at [https://www.steiner-verlag.de/Zivilisieren-durch-Strafen/9783515132213].

[2] Taylor C. Sherman, 'Tensions of Colonial Punishment: Perspectives on Recent Developments in the Study of Coercive Networks in Asia, Africa and the Caribbean', *History Compass*, 7/3 (2009), 659–77; ead., *State Violence and Punishment in India* (London, 2010).

[3] To give just two examples: Rebekka Habermas and Alexandra Przyrembel (eds.), *Von Käfern, Märkten und Menschen: Kolonialismus und Wissen in der Moderne* (Göttingen, 2013); Katharina Kreuder-Sonnen, *Wie man Mikroben auf Reisen schickt: Zirkulierendes bakteriologisches Wissen und die polnische Medizin 1885–1939* (Tübingen, 2018).

frames of analysis on the one hand, and the decentring of Europe as a site of knowledge production on the other.

It is in this context that Kläger traces the emergence and dissemination of knowledge about prisons in British India, as well as the impact of external stimuli on the development of the Indian penal system and, lastly, the influence of knowledge generated in India on penal practice throughout and beyond the British Empire. Readers expecting to learn about the enduring legacy of the British Indian penal system on the management of prisons and the punishment of convicts outside India will, however, be disappointed, as will those wanting to read about the gradual modernization of prisons in India under the influence of British colonialism. As Kläger convincingly argues, the dissemination of knowledge did not inevitably bring about a change in practice. Building on previous historians' admission that identifying connections and entanglements is merely the first step in writing global histories, Kläger seeks out the parallel forces of integration (*Verflechtung*) and disintegration (*Entflechtung*). He does so in order to discuss in detail the extent to which the British Indian penal system evolved in conversation with (mostly) European and North American debates and practices of prison management and institutional punishment—a conversation that did not result in greater conformity, however. Colonial officers explained the difficulty of applying European standards to Indian prisons by pointing to the particularities of a colony which ostensibly defied modernization and hence required a penal system that met Indian needs (as defined by the colonizer).

The study is organized chronologically into nine chapters (including the introduction and conclusion) that link the early history of prisons in colonial South Asia to the post-1857 period, demonstrating the continuity of penal practice across this divide. Chapter two deals with the early history of colonial prisons in Madras from the 1800s to the 1830s. It demonstrates that the reform of the prison system in this period of company rule did not result in a fundamental overhaul of penal practice. Although the colonizers sought to buttress their legitimacy early on by promising to modernize the penal system in Madras, it was only from the 1820s onwards that a gradual institutionalization of penal practice indicated actual reform. Prison reform in Madras was already inspired by new ideas on punishment emanating from Europe

and North America at this time, but the inability to reconcile the needs of the administration in Madras with changing notions of corrective punishment prevented a transfer of practices. As Kläger reveals, the introduction of treadmills—touted as a modern means of instilling discipline through labour in Britain and across Europe—largely failed in Madras. Prisons instead adopted the 'road gang system' from Bengal, which pressed hundreds of prisoners into groups who built roads and camped near labour sites under the supervision of engineers from the Military Board. The author therefore concludes that ideas developed or tested in India itself had a greater influence on prison reform than those popular in Europe at the time.

Kläger examines the report by the colonial Committee on Prison Discipline (1836–8) in chapter three, identifying the concepts and bodies of knowledge that informed its work and findings. In congruence with dominant colonial appraisals of the allegedly 'oriental' nature of Indians and their supposed resistance to modernization, and due to opposition to rising investments, the committee's reform recommendations were rejected by the East India Company directors. Kläger acknowledges the limited impact of the Committee on Prison Discipline on the penal system in India, as attested by earlier historians; but he also demonstrates how later sporadic experiments in prison reform were informed by the committee's findings and designed to assess the applicability of its recommendations. These experiments come into focus in the fourth chapter of the book.

The building of modern prisons based on the model of Pentonville in London and the introduction of new dietary regimes were two recommendations tested in India. Both were subsequently deemed unsuitable for wider application. The building of new institutions was never taken beyond the planning stage in northern India and was severely delayed in Madras, where it fell far short of the committee's recommendations. The introduction of messing, which substituted the previous practice of financial allowances for prisoners with the provision of cooked meals, resulted in more deaths and revolts and ultimately led to a reassessment of the practice. Prison reform in India, as noted in chapter five, took off in the 1840s and 1850s with the creation of the new position of the prison inspector and the appointment of William Woodcock in the North-Western Provinces in particular.

Woodcock oversaw the expansion of administrative structures and the exchange of information on prison management between Indian institutions. The introduction of central prisons in Madras, the North-Western Provinces, and Punjab, as well as the emergence of a group of colonial prison experts, are reasons why Kläger dates the professionalization and institutionalization of penal knowledge in colonial India to the 1840s and 1850s. Previously siloed Indian prisons were now integrated into a British Indian penal system—a process helped by the circulation of institutional reports, which allowed for practices tested and approved in one particular prison to be applied in another.

From the 1860s onwards, strict control and physical labour were the main modes of discipline and punishment employed in exerting colonial rule over the convicts' bodies in Indian penal institutions. But as Kläger notes in chapter six, colonial expectations of prisons and the actual conditions inside them differed considerably. Reports on Indian prisons led to a public outcry in Britain in 1864 and, according to Kläger, sparked an interest in Indian prison administration that had been conspicuously absent in Britain in earlier decades. Against this background, the seventh chapter explores the role of the penal system in India within global debates on penal institutions in the 1860s and 1870s. Despite growing interest in Indian prisons outside the subcontinent, no increased transfer of knowledge to and from India was discernible. The opposite was the case: the emphasis on India's otherness and distinctiveness resonated with earlier statements on the particularities of the colonial environment that supposedly prevented the transfer of models and technologies. Indian prisons were primarily cited to denote difference in this process.

In keeping with the chronology of the book, the last chapter (prior to the conclusion) zooms in on the 1870s and 1880s. The drive for reform and experimentation waned after the establishment of a particular colonial penal system in India. Modernization was now focused on the inner life of individual institutions, which became increasingly repressive. The density of information generated on prisons in colonial India continued to grow in these decades. The introduction of European-style penal institutions was still considered impracticable, as was the transfer to other countries of knowledge acquired about prisons in India.

Despite the length of the book, Kläger skilfully maintains the thread and summarizes intermediate findings at the end of each chapter. Occasional excursions, for example into the organization of prisoners' daily lives, the responses of inmates, or the career paths of prison inspectors, bring a welcome change of pace and perspective. *Zivilisieren durch Strafen* is written in German (and in the format of a Swiss-German dissertation), which is likely to limit the book's appeal and accessibility. However, specialist readers will find the detailed analysis, including a compilation of primary materials in the appendix, particularly useful. The monograph caters to a wide audience, including historians of South Asia and the British Empire, as well as scholars interested in the global history of prisons. Because of its perceptive methodological considerations, the book will also find favour with historians of knowledge.

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ISABELLA LÖHR, *Globale Bildungsmobilität 1850–1930: Von der Bekehrung der Welt zur globalen studentischen Gemeinschaft*, Moderne europäische Geschichte, 21 (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2021), 413 pp. ISBN 978 3 835 35020 5. €42.00

In May 2023, the UK government announced that it would limit the right of foreign students to bring dependents into the country. In debates on 'net migration', university students had begun to attract scrutiny because of their inclusion in official immigration statistics. Pronouncements by Home Secretary Suella Braverman exemplified this conception of mobile students as migrants: addressing parliament, she attacked 'unscrupulous education agents who may be supporting inappropriate applications to sell immigration not education.'[1] However, such language is only one element of the present-day discourse on student mobility. After all, both the Department for Education and university leaders regularly cast the large number of UK-based international students in more positive terms, viewing it as evidence for the appeal and competitiveness of the country's higher education system. This is not just a matter of prestige, as income from international student fees is increasingly central to the financial survival of British universities. Moreover, some groups of mobile students have become the focus of very different efforts: in the wake of the Russian invasion of 2022, several organizations and institutions established schemes for Ukrainian refugee students, in some instances building on earlier 'sanctuary scholarship' programmes.

These contemporary examples highlight the multilayered nature of student mobility—a phenomenon that involves actions and responses by politicians, officials, educational institutions, civil society, and students themselves. Unsurprisingly, then, historical investigations of this subject easily reach beyond the history of higher education. Isabella Löhr's empirically rich and analytically thorough study *Globale Bildungsmobilität* is an excellent case in point. Rather than concentrating on the responses of governments and university leaders or analysing the everyday experiences of students, her book examines

[1] Suella Braverman, 'Immigration Update: Statement Made on 23 May 2023', at [https://questions-statements.parliament.uk/written-statements/detail/2023-05-23/hcws800], accessed 23 June 2023.

how mobile students attracted the attention of Christian activists in the period from the 1890s to the 1920s. Through the prism of the World Student Christian Federation (WSCF)—an international organization founded in 1895—she explores educational migration, cross-cultural encounters, varieties of Christian lay activism, and changing practices of humanitarian aid.

The main body of Löhr's monograph comprises three parts that make for a broadly chronological approach. Löhr first considers the WSCF's history in the context of changing patterns of student migration before 1914. A second section then traces the challenges for Protestant student activism during the First World War. The final part focuses on humanitarian ventures that originated with the WSCF and soon transcended its institutional frameworks. Taken together, these chapters make for a sophisticated study: Löhr adroitly shifts between different levels of investigation and theatres of action.

At one level, one can read this book as a story centred on the WSCF. Prior to 1914, the missionary impulses of its members led to an engagement with mobility in two major ways. On the one hand, WSCF representatives—especially from the United States and Britain, the two countries that played a central role within the federation—travelled abroad to spread their Christian message. On the other hand, the WSCF saw mobile students as a target audience and launched various welfare initiatives on their behalf, for instance by running halls of residence for Chinese students in both Japan and the United States. As was the case for other international organizations, the First World War drastically affected the WSCF, with 'war patriotism and national partisanship' posing an 'existential challenge' (p. 173) to its work. However, rather than halting its activities, the conflict led to a broadening of its field of action: national WSCF branches set up periodicals and mobile libraries for the troops, while the international organization launched educational endeavours among different groups, such as interned 'enemy aliens' and prisoners of war. The extension of WSCF activities reached new levels and dimensions after the war: in 1920, WSCF members launched a humanitarian venture, European Student Relief (ESR). ESR initially supported students suffering hardship in Central Europe, then undertook wide-ranging work in Russia and Ukraine, and ultimately adopted a global remit.

Löhr shows how in the early 1920s, a secular emphasis on students in need overshadowed the religious dimensions of the WSCF's work. In 1925, ESR turned into an entirely separate actor, International Student Service—and by this point the WSCF had begun to reconsider its own role in a changing world.

Löhr's study is more than an institutional account; it makes significant contributions to wider research debates in four major ways. The first concerns the nature and practice of internationalism. Historians such as Akira Iriye, Glenda Sluga, Patricia Clavin, Jessica Reinisch, and David Brydan have shown that internationalism involved a variety of activities and actors, which meant that efforts to forge international cooperation were highly variegated in terms of their substance, orientation, and direction.[2] In 2012, a pioneering volume edited by Abigail Green and Vincent Viaene traced different varieties of religious internationalism, and Löhr offers fresh insights into this phenomenon.[3] Her book highlights the scale of Christian lay activism in the international realm, with the WSCF representing 200,000 students from forty national branches by 1919 (p. 72). The federation concentrated on a relatively select constituency—university students—yet it valued this target audience for its potential to shape future society. Crucially, the WSCF maintained a symbiotic relationship with two larger youth organizations, the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA). From this angle, Löhr shows how a particular form of Protestant internationalism evolved over time. During the 1920s, the WSCF interacted with the growing ecumenical movement, yet it also began to reflect more critically on the global dimensions of Christian activism, especially regarding its role in different cultural and colonial contexts.

The second research contribution of this monograph concerns the complex transition from war to peace. Löhr's work resonates with

[2] Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Baltimore, 1997); Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin (eds.), *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History* (Cambridge, 2017); Glenda Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism* (Philadelphia, 2013); David Brydan and Jessica Reinisch (eds.), *Internationalists in European History: Rethinking the Twentieth Century* (London, 2021).

[3] Abigail Green and Vincent Viaene (eds.), *Religious Internationals in the Modern World: Globalization and Faith Communities since 1750* (Basingstoke, 2012).

established research perspectives on the 'long' First World War, and she traces the impact of the myriad conflicts that continued or arose after the Armistice of November 1918.[4] The Russian Civil War features prominently in Löhr's book, yet her account reaches further. Reflecting her emphasis on student mobility, she considers students among the millions of people who were displaced by the conflicts and border redrawings after 1918. The book offers new material on this subject, for instance by considering ESR's role in providing aid to refugee students. Moreover, the study shows how after the emergencies of the early 1920s, the transition to peace was reflected in a growing emphasis on a different form of student mobility—one that involved the promotion of exchanges, study trips, and scholarship programmes. To many activists, such undertakings were central to building a more peaceful future. As Löhr notes, 'educational mobility increasingly became a cipher for international understanding' in this period (p. 349).

Third, Löhr's book makes a fresh contribution to the burgeoning research on humanitarianism. A vibrant scholarly literature treats the First World War and its aftermath as a transformative moment in the history of humanitarianism.[5] Löhr's analysis of ESR draws attention to a specific humanitarian actor that, apart from shorter accounts by Georgina Brewis and Benjamin Hartley, has barely been touched on by scholars.[6] Löhr notes that between 1920 and 1925, ESR supported around 105,000 students from seventeen countries, reaching

[4] See e.g. Robert Gerwarth, *The Vanquished: Why the First World War Failed to End* (New York, 2016).

[5] See e.g. Julia Irwin, *Making the World Safe: The American Red Cross and a Nation's Humanitarian Awakening* (New York, 2013); Friederike Kind-Kovács, *Budapest's Children: Humanitarian Relief in the Aftermath of the Great War* (Bloomington, IN, 2022); Bruno Cabanes, *The Great War and the Origins of Humanitarianism, 1918–1924* (Cambridge, 2014); Davide Rodogno, *Night on Earth: A History of International Humanitarianism in the Near East, 1918–1930* (Cambridge, 2022).

[6] Georgina Brewis, *A Social History of Student Volunteering: Britain and Beyond, 1890–1980* (New York, 2014), 41–66; Benjamin L. Hartley, 'Saving Students: European Student Relief in the Aftermath of World War I', *International Bulletin of Mission Research*, 42/4 (2018), 295–315. See also my attempt to situate ESR alongside other currents of student-based internationalism: Daniel Laqua, 'Student Activists and International Cooperation in a Changing World, 1919–60', in Brydan and Reinisch (eds.), *Internationalists in European History*, 161–81.

an estimated fifth of the students in East-Central Europe (p. 213). By considering a particular case of humanitarian action, the book establishes students as a distinct category of aid recipients—a group whose members faced hunger and in some instances homelessness, being deprived of some of their usual livelihoods, at a time when universities themselves were experiencing ongoing turmoil. Given the scale of the problem, Löhr notes the 'everyday overburdening' (p. 211) of ESR employees and volunteers. Cooperation with larger organizations was central to ESR's modus operandi. Accordingly, this monograph offers a broader perspective on humanitarian actors in the 1920s, tracing ESR's relationships with, inter alia, the International Committee of the Red Cross, the American Relief Administration, and Britain's Imperial War Relief Fund.

Löhr's account highlights potential tensions between ESR's internationalism and the national visions that characterized various British and US relief efforts. Moreover, Löhr unpicks some of the contradictions and unintended consequences of ESR's humanitarianism. For instance, in determining which Russian students to prioritize in its aid provision, ESR 'reproduced the state division of students into different categories' (p. 247). Interactions with the Soviet authorities and ESR's work in the contested border regions of Central and Eastern Europe both demonstrated that impartiality was far easier in organizational rhetoric than in humanitarian practice: on various occasions, ESR implicitly took sides, even if unconsciously. Moreover, with regard to ESR's underpinning rationales, Löhr notes a duality or 'false bottom' (p. 298): the relief venture foregrounded secular concerns yet maintained close ties with the world of Protestant internationalism. While ESR did not emphasize Christian motivations, its humanitarian efforts provided Christian activists with a particular opportunity—namely, a growing presence in parts of Europe where Roman Catholic or Orthodox denominations were predominant.

The latter observation takes me to the fourth major aspect of this book, namely its qualities as a work of transnational history. Notwithstanding the decisive role of British and US activists (and funding) within the WSCF and ESR, the existence of branches and partners in different places rendered transnational cooperation intrinsic to these undertakings, as did the activists' concern for those who had

crossed borders out of necessity or in search of opportunity. Löhr's subject matter means that activities in Central and Eastern Europe figure particularly prominently, but in ways that connect them to developments elsewhere. Moreover, the book clearly situates Europe and the United States within a global context. For instance, the study shows how the development of 'foyers' (p. 147)—as meeting spaces and dormitories—was an important feature of the WSCF's, YMCA's, and YWCA's repertoire in Asia, which helped to influence similar provision in Europe. Löhr also notes that in 1919, China's May Fourth Movement—in which students protested against imperialism—shaped debates within the WSCF, with its 1922 conference in Beijing addressing the theme of 'Christianity and International and Inter-racial Problems' (p. 345).

As my comments indicate, Löhr's book is a work of great substance, both in terms of its material and the insights that it offers. The research effort underpinning this monograph is formidable. Drawing on a rarely used source base, the author critically interrogates the accounts produced by the WSCF, ESR, and their interlocutors. Admittedly, the study is not always an easy read—at least when compared to academic history publishing in English. In this respect, the length, style, and composition arguably reflect the book's origins in a German habilitation thesis, and it therefore takes some time to work through the different points, observations, and angles that are provided here. Yet whoever dedicates their attention to this impressive study will be richly rewarded, as they will benefit from work that is well-grounded in the current research literature and, at the same time, highly original in its approach. In the conclusion to her monograph, Löhr acknowledges that she has adopted a 'bird's eye view' (p. 365). As a result, there is the potential to consider personal stories, making more room for individual experiences of, and resistance to, aspects of Christian internationalism. Adopting such an approach would make for a different kind of book—but one that could build on Löhr's pioneering work. Clearly, then, expeditions that start on 'the path to a global student community' (p. 261) can lead us on to new research avenues.

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SVEN FRITZ, *Houston Stewart Chamberlain: Rassenwahn und Welterlösung. Biographie* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2022), xvi + 873 pp. ISBN 978 3 506 76067 8. €49.90

The question of the origins and continuities of modern antisemitic thought in Central Europe, from the second half of the nineteenth century to National Socialism and the Holocaust in the 1930s and 1940s, has been raised time and again for decades, not least in the hope of identifying ideological and political precursors of the Hitler regime and explaining how the fringe National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP) was able to seize power in Germany just over ten years after it was founded in post-First World War Munich. While it is generally accepted that pioneers of racial thinking like Arthur de Gobineau and populist politicians like Karl Lueger, the antisemitic mayor of Vienna, contributed to a new political style that fused authoritarianism with racism and antisemitism and thus challenged the liberal standards of the time, things become more controversial when these thinkers and politicians are not discussed in isolation but seen as representatives of a particular and influential wing of the educated middle classes—in the German lands, the nationally minded *Bildungsbürgertum*.

Born in Britain, educated in France and Switzerland, and later Germanized, Houston Stewart Chamberlain (1855–1927) was one of those nationalist thinkers who became very popular in German-speaking Central Europe at the turn of the twentieth century, but whose writings are nowadays only read by specialists in intellectual and cultural history. The historian Sven Fritz has now published a comprehensive political and intellectual biography of the man, which is based on his Ph.D. thesis and comprises almost 900 pages. At first, one might wonder about the necessity of such an elaborate undertaking, not least because Fritz is by no means Chamberlain's first biographer. Only a few years ago, in 2015, the renowned German political scientist Udo Bermbach published a comprehensive biography, and in the English-speaking world Geoffrey G. Field's seminal 1981 study *Evangelist of Race* remains relevant.[1] While these and other earlier

[1] Udo Bermbach, *Houston Stewart Chamberlain: Wagners Schwiegersohn – Hitlers Vordenker* (Stuttgart, 2015); Geoffrey G. Field, *Evangelist of Race: The Germanic Vision of Houston Stewart Chamberlain* (New York, 1981).

studies have already provided meticulous analyses of the intellectual world of Chamberlain and his entourage, this new book attempts to put the political activist and ultranationalist himself centre stage. In doing so, Fritz refutes all attempts to categorically separate the highly cultured best-selling author from the sordid world of populist and nationalist politics. Unlike others before him who lamented that Chamberlain was unjustly appropriated by the National Socialists after his death, Fritz aims to show that his protagonist was not only an ideological mastermind but also a political leader of the German *völkisch* right who—together with Richard Wagner's widow Cosima, who from 1883 onwards successfully managed the Wagner Festival in Bayreuth—spread antisemitic hatred in Europe, paving the way for worse to come.

At the beginning of the book, the author takes his readers on a tour of Chamberlain's former house in Bayreuth. The city administration has turned it into a museum—not for its controversial former resident, however, but for the novelist Jean Paul, who lived in the city from 1804 until his death in 1825. While the museum occupies the ground floor of Wahnfriedstraße 1, Chamberlain dominates the floor above, where—inaccessible to the public—his personal papers as well as his extensive private library of about 12,000 books are stowed away. These personal papers were first organized in the 1950s by retired psychiatrist Wilhelm Einsle, who, as director of the Erlangen sanatorium and nursing home, had been implicated in the murder of disabled people during the Nazi period. (But that is another, if not entirely unrelated story.) The extensive collection of Chamberlain's papers provides the core archival material for Fritz's study, allowing him to reconstruct in detail not only Chamberlain's networks, but also his journalistic and political initiatives.

The introduction is followed by seven chronologically structured chapters. The first of these informs readers about the biography of the young Chamberlain, the son of Royal Navy Rear Admiral William Chamberlain and his wife, the Scottish aristocrat Elizabeth Jane Hall. As his mother died before his first birthday, Chamberlain, a sickly and introverted child, was educated mostly on the Continent. In his autobiography, he stated that England remained a distant and foreign country to him. It was the discovery of Richard Wagner's music

and thought that led the young man in his early twenties to identify with what he regarded as the cultural heritage of Germanness and its alleged civilizing mission. 'The decisive turn in my life was to become German', Chamberlain wrote once he was established (p. 65), and while this was certainly a self-stylization, it is equally true that from the 1880s onwards his thinking and political actions were shaped by Wagner's agenda, which the eager student quickly embraced. Antisemitism was an essential part of this programme.

How the radicalization of the young Chamberlain took place is shown in an impressively detailed third chapter, which also introduces the reader to the strategic thinking and concrete business activities of Cosima Wagner as the new head of the Bayreuth Festival. Their acquaintance turned out to be a win–win situation: Cosima, who was then working tirelessly to elevate the festival and her husband's oeuvre to a national asset, quickly came to appreciate the loyal and like-minded Chamberlain and used him to help her enterprise achieve wider popularity and international recognition. For Chamberlain, whose initial academic ambitions had failed, his work for the festival and his personal friendship with Wagner's widow provided a meaningful purpose and a sense of belonging that he had long missed.

After several years promoting Wagner's music and philosophy in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna, where Chamberlain had begun to make a modest name for himself as a writer and cultural critic, he finally decided to move to Bayreuth and quickly became an indispensable member of his new surrogate family. Fritz takes great pains to show that the Wagnerian world in the Franconian province was marked not only by the cult of genius around Richard, but also by obsessive antisemitism. The many examples he provides are as impressive as they are shocking. Musicians of Jewish descent were systematically not cast and often atrociously defamed in order to keep the Wagner temple on the Green Hill free of any 'Israelite admixture' (p. 107) and to set an example to the rest of the country that it was possible to exclude Jews from public life as a means of achieving 'Germanic regeneration' (p. 110). Chamberlain shared and propagated such beliefs. As early as 1888, he noted that 'every intelligent and upright German' would know that the country was at risk of 'complete moral, intellectual,

and material ruin' thanks to the 'Jewish supremacy' and their alleged parasitic existence at the expense of all other peoples (p. 132).

It was only logical that Chamberlain's breakthrough as a writer came with an extensive (and cleverly marketed) book on the life, works, and philosophy of Richard Wagner. This was first published in German in 1895, with an English translation available in 1900. The fourth chapter gives us a detailed reading of Chamberlain's interpretation of Wagner, which closely follows what he had discussed with Cosima and other self-styled Wagner exegetes in the previous decade. Despite (or perhaps because of) its racial undertones, Chamberlain's book was well received, even beyond the inner circle of Wagnerites. Its success opened the door to societal recognition and further book contracts. In 1899, Chamberlain published his most commercially successful book, the highly influential *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, a racial history of human civilization from its beginnings to 1800, in which he advanced the idea that the 'Aryan race' was at the core of all human progress and that its contemporary embodiment was the Germanic peoples.

The content and the reception of this book are the focus of the fifth chapter, which argues that both publications—the book on Wagner and *Foundations*—should be seen as complementary. Through them, Chamberlain provided an explanation of the world that not only promised to make the latest scholarship accessible to a wider educated readership, but was also directly political. He built on ideas also propagated by other writers of his time, such as Julius Langbehn with his extremely successful, culturally pessimistic novel *Rembrandt als Erzieher* ('Rembrandt as Teacher'), but radicalized them in light of contemporary fears of degeneration. Chamberlain advocated a flexible concept of race, in the sense that he regarded every human being as the product of a racial mixture. This enabled him to claim that the national purity he desired could be achieved through racial 'cleanliness' and racially informed reproduction. He was, however, less a scientifically driven eugenicist than a racist cultural philosopher with a biopolitical agenda. At the heart of the problems of modern civilization, he believed, was the 'Jewish menace'. The Germans were called to deal with the Jews in a way that would not only 'purify' and thus liberate the German nation, but also set an example for the world.

The success of this message was immediate and long-lasting. The first 2,500 copies of *Foundations* sold out on the day of publication; by 1917, the book's total circulation exceeded 100,000 copies.

The last three chapters trace Chamberlain's career as a controversial commentator on political and current affairs after 1900 in over 400 pages. By the turn of the century, Chamberlain's antisemitic and racist world view was fully formed, with *Foundations* providing a kind of intellectual cornerstone for his thinking. Consequently, Fritz from now on focuses less on his subject's intellectual development and more on his contributions in the political sphere, which were made behind the scenes via personal letters to influential people and publicly through shorter essays and newspaper articles. In doing so, Fritz takes his book beyond a typical biography to offer a broad panorama of nationalist and antisemitic ideology in Germany at the beginning of the twentieth century. In the sixth chapter, he shows how such racial thinking increasingly reached important figures, including Kaiser Wilhelm II. Chamberlain's influence is difficult to measure, however, at least until 1914. During the First World War, which is dealt with in chapter seven, Chamberlain became further radicalized, but his concrete influence probably diminished—due to the general radicalization of German nationalism, but also because his writings increasingly exhausted themselves in repetition. Nevertheless, according to Fritz, he managed to become 'one of the most prominent war propagandists' (p. 578), fully sympathizing with the far-reaching war aims of the pan-German movement and writing in the most chauvinistic terms about Germany's opponents, especially his native Britain. Chamberlain also claimed that the war would serve as a source of heroism and genius for Germany by the million, which would fundamentally transform the nation. Countless letters he received from soldiers testify to the impact his writings had at the time.

From 1917 onwards, Chamberlain's health deteriorated sharply. Devastated by the German defeat and the end of the Hohenzollern monarchy, he spread the stab-in-the-back myth and began to search for a new leader of a future *völkisch* coalition movement. It did not take long before his attention was drawn to an up-and-coming politician and brutal antisemite named Adolf Hitler. On 30 September 1923, Hitler visited Chamberlain in Bayreuth, who a few days later wrote

a personal letter to his guest thanking him for giving him new hope for the future of Germany. Chamberlain subscribed to the NSDAP newspaper *Völkischer Beobachter* and followed the party's development closely until his death in early 1927, being kept regularly informed by Winifred Wagner, Cosima Wagner's daughter-in-law and a close friend of Hitler. He also became a member of the NSDAP in January 1926, shortly after the party ban was lifted.

Fritz highlights the many parallels between Chamberlain's political writings and the programme of the Nazi party and thus sees him as part of the direct vanguard of National Socialism. This assessment is not entirely new, but is based on the most comprehensive and careful analysis to date of Chamberlain's political interventions, his writings, and their public reception from the 1880s onwards. Sven Fritz has written an important book. His biography of Chamberlain is a powerful reminder not only that intellectuals can be seduced by political power, but that they sometimes even lead the way by shaping world views and formulating political concepts whose impact only unfolds over time.

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ITAY LOTEM, *The Memory of Colonialism in Britain and France: The Sins of Silence*, Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), x + 428 pp. ISBN 978 3 030 63718 7. £99.99

Over the past two decades, Western European publics have engaged in major debates about their respective states' colonial pasts and involvement in slavery and the transatlantic slave trade. During these years, the history of colonialism has transformed from a sideshow into a primary arena in which heads of states, parliaments, societal groups, migrant communities, activists of all political stripes, academics, courts, journalists, and diplomats negotiate not only the terms of remembrance, but also the contours, values, hierarchies, and inner workings of their societies. While the strong scholarly interest in (collective) memory has already produced a number of fine case studies on particular events and countries, transnational and comparative perspectives are still surprisingly rare. Itay Lotem's rich and conceptually informed study of the ways in which colonialism and slavery have been remembered publicly in France and Great Britain is an important contribution to a better understanding of the general patterns and particularities of the surge in colonial memories across Europe.

In centring his study on France and Great Britain, Lotem uses a classic comparative framework which has often been dominated by contrasting depictions of French and British colonial policies and the end of their respective colonial empires. However, the picture of a 'pragmatic' and, as a result, more peaceful exit from empire by Great Britain—in contrast to French die-hard intransigence—has in recent years been shattered by a number of studies that highlight the enormous ('emergency'-style) violence of British decolonization. In a way, Lotem applies this critical gaze to the period after (formal) decolonization by showing that Great Britain is not exempt from post-colonial memory conflicts. As he tends to read the British case through the prism of developments in France, Lotem's readers may even see a certain deficiency in the British memory debates. This is largely due to the book's conceptual underpinnings and its main thrust. Lotem is interested in how colonialism became the focus of a particular 'politicised memory vocabulary' (p. 19) derived from the German concept of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, or of 'introspective memory' (p. 16), that is, a

challenging yet healing societal confrontation with a difficult past. This memory vocabulary, which began to reach French mainstream media and high-level political discourse in the early 2000s, makes the colonial past a necessary prism through which to understand present-day societal issues, in particular as they relate to racism and race relations. Lotem's concluding remarks seem to reject the idea that this particular framework of remembrance is a necessary end point of coming to terms with the colonial past; throughout most of the preceding account, however, it does serve as a kind of *telos* against which other uses of the colonial past are measured.

The book's analysis is based on a variety of sources, in particular print and online news media, and secondary literature. Lotem also interviewed a considerable number of notable memory activists and scholars, both in France and Great Britain. From the references given, these interviews appear to largely confirm and illustrate knowledge available in other sources, rather than yielding completely new insights into the inner workings of memory politics. In the case of French memory debates in particular, the book also builds on a considerable body of scholarly publications, and, at times, Lotem could have related his scholarship more clearly to the existing historiography. Quite a number of crucial publications, many of which converge with Lotem's findings and arguments, are not referenced, including Frank Renken's important study of the memory politics of the Algerian War of Independence in France, Dietmar Rothermund's collection *Memories of Post-Imperial Nations*, and Michel-Rolph Trouillot's seminal *Silencing the Past*, the latter taken up by Gert Oostindie in the debates about Dutch post-colonial memories. Or they get short shrift, such as in Elizabeth Buettner's groundbreaking study *Europe after Empire* (with an entire part devoted to memories) or Romain Bertrand's *Mémoires d'empire*.[1]

[1] Frank Renken, *Frankreich im Schatten des Algerienkrieges: Die Fünfte Republik und die Erinnerung an den letzten großen Kolonialkonflikt* (Göttingen, 2006); Dietmar Rothermund (ed.), *Memories of Post-Imperial Nations: The Aftermath of Decolonization, 1945–2013* (Cambridge, 2015); Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston, 1995); Elizabeth Buettner, *Europe after Empire: Decolonization, Society, and Culture* (Cambridge, 2016); Romain Bertrand, *Mémoires d'empire: La controverse autour du 'fait colonial'* (Bellecombe-en-Bauge, 2006); Gert Oostindie, *Postcolonial Netherlands: Sixty-Five Years of Forgetting, Commemorating, Silencing* (Amsterdam, 2011).

Lotem's book is divided into two largely parallel accounts of the memory debates in France (part I) and Great Britain (part II), from the 1960s through to the late 2010s. In each part, his analysis remains largely within a national framework. The richness and complexity of the material collected and examined by Lotem certainly justify this methodological choice. Yet, as so often when a national framework is applied to supranational issues—of which colonial rule and slavery, as much as the memory conflicts about them, are without doubt prime examples—there is a risk of jumping to conclusions. This may be relatively insignificant when Lotem names French historian Benjamin Stora—and not Algerian freedom fighters—as the coiner of the term 'Algerian Revolution' (*al-thawra al-jaza'iriya*; p. 61). It weighs more significantly, however, when the international arena and bilateral relations—and the role of the past in 'soft' North–South diplomacy, restitution claims, and so on—are omitted in an attempt to explain the political and public prominence of the memory of colonialism and its dynamics over the past two decades.

The two parts of the book, although roughly equal in length, differ in scope and in structure. The part about France follows largely well-trodden paths and pursues a clear sequence of arguments; its chronological scope is centred on memory activism and debates around the year 2005, often regarded as a pivotal moment in French colonial memories, and thus has a clear narrative arc. The part about Great Britain, by contrast, is slightly less structured, more meandering and complex, more of an open-ended investigation of unfolding events than a synthesis of a (supposedly) closed chapter in history; chronologically, it moves much closer to the present day, with a strong emphasis on the years around the Brexit campaign in 2016. This difference is not just due to the time gap between events in France and in Great Britain; it is also reflective of the different dynamics of the debate in the two countries. As Lotem convincingly shows, thanks to the involvement of the historical profession, the French memory debates early on bore a strong tendency towards self-reflection and self-historicization, including the production of well-established narratives and a chronology (for example, 2005 as a watershed year). In the British case, such prefabricated narratives are lacking, which makes part II a more difficult, but also very exciting and rewarding read.

Chapter one of part I shows how the French state, seeking to move away from the divisive issue of the Algerian War of Independence, colluded with political activists in a 'de-prioritisation of colonial history' (pp. 32, 59) and did not even change course when immigration and racism became political flashpoints in the 1970s and 1980s. Chapter two retraces the debates surrounding the remembrance of the Algerian War of Independence, with a focus on the war veterans as an important memory lobby. Chapter three then hones in on how the French state, parliament, and minority groups began to apply the 'duty to remember' to the histories of slavery and colonial repression, leading to commemorative and legislative action, and shows how the discourse of victimhood and historical justice was also appropriated by the repatriate *pied-noir* community in pushing for the infamous law of 23 February 2005, which stipulated, among other things, that French school curricula should put a positive spin on French colonialism in North Africa. While most of what Lotem presents in these chapters will be known to people familiar with the existing literature, he brings in new aspects, for instance by highlighting the role of historian and public intellectual Benjamin Stora in putting forth a conceptual framework of political memory in which debates about the remembrance of the Algerian independence struggle, and later the entire colonial past, would unfold.

Chapter four shows how the conflicts about France's colonial past transformed into a broader debate about the French Republic and its colonial legacies in the present. Here, Lotem puts emphasis on newly emerging memory activists (the Indigènes de la République and the Conseil représentatif des associations noirs) who used historical references to colonialism and slavery in their attempts to stimulate discussions about racism, Islamophobia, and the ways to undo them (reparations, and so on). Chapter five examines how these debates became a vehicle in French party politics. While Lotem is relatively detailed on how the political camps, especially the Right led by Nicolas Sarkozy, responded to the debate about the 2005 law by mounting an anti-'repentance' discourse, he fast-forwards through the post-Jacques Chirac presidencies under Sarkozy (2007–12), François Hollande (2012–17), and Emmanuel Macron (since 2017). It would have been interesting to explore the ways in which these presidents,

and the entire political system, continued to struggle with the ongoing memory controversies, and to what extent their responses were marked by changes and continuities.

Against the backdrop of the French memorial landscape, part II turns to the British case. Chapter six shows that, despite the Commonwealth and the rise of immigration as a controversial issue in British politics, no coherent remembrance of the British Empire and its legacies emerged; for Lotem, 'short flares of imperial sentiment' (p. 209), such as during the Falklands War and the Hong Kong handover, and (mostly critical) references to 'imperial nostalgia' (p. 195) in the wake of the Brexit vote, did not really establish a broader memorial framework. Chapter seven, taking a similarly long-term perspective, argues that British debates about race and multiculturalism, although rooted in colonial vocabulary, did not initiate a broader societal reflection about racism's colonial history; the few explicitly anti-colonial voices, such as those of Black British activists in the 1960s and 1970s, were increasingly muted by what Lotem describes as a future-oriented 'multicultural silence' (p. 260). Chapter eight shows how, since the early 2000s, British involvement in the slave trade and slavery has become an important arena of remembrance, in which official state commemoration (for example, the 2007 bicentenary of the abolition of the slave trade) and demands for reparatory justice by minority groups clashed, leading to still ongoing legal and political struggles about compensation. Lotem also points to the beginnings of the public remembrance of slavery and the slave trade in the very different local settings of Bristol and Liverpool in the 1990s.

Chapter nine moves closer to the present day by arguing that in the 2010s, anti-racist activism in Great Britain began to (re)include references to the colonial past, as illustrated by controversies about art installations and colonial statues (the Rhodes Must Fall movement) as well as the emergence of a new generation of writers and public intellectuals discussing race and Blackness in Great Britain (for example, Reni Eddo-Lodge, Afua Hirsch, and David Olusoga). Chapter ten discusses 'the balance-sheet approach', a public strategy of dealing with the legacies of the British Empire that highlights its positive (that is, modernizing) effects against its wrongdoings, or vice versa. Originally employed by conservative and right-wing academics and

commentators (for example, Niall Ferguson) to rehabilitate British colonial rule against an alleged left-wing mainstream, it also became popular among their critics who sought to counter the rehabilitation of empire by putting emphasis on its victims and crimes. The tragic hero in Lotem's account is British historian David Anderson, who sought, in vain, to steer the debate about British violence during the 'Mau Mau War' in Kenya (1952–60), and later state efforts to cover it up, away from the good empire/bad empire binary and initiate a more complex debate about the colonial abuses of the British justice system.

Throughout the book, Lotem is well aware of the pitfalls of writing the history of the present. In most cases, historians rely on the benefit of hindsight—in contrast to the historical actors themselves, historians usually know how the historical processes they study ended. The historicization of the present cannot be based on this (sometimes deceptive) certainty of hindsight, and its results may be even more tentative than historians' accounts generally are. It may be due to this cautiousness that Lotem's Franco-British comparison does not end in the generalized models or theories that comparative historical scholarship often claims. While presenting a host of lucid vignettes and well-constructed case studies, the part about the British case, in particular, ends in the somewhat anticlimactic discovery that the British debates (as yet) lack a French-style framework of political memory. In the book's concluding remarks, this approach, however, takes an interesting turn, when Lotem states that despite the widespread use of a politicized memory vocabulary, the ever-increasing presence of the colonial past in the public space has not brought about the healing of historical (and social) justice and the overcoming of racism that was expected—bringing the French case closer once again to the British one, despite all the differences between their approaches to a difficult past. By the sheer wealth of information and insights he provides, Lotem proves himself to be an invaluable guide through the fast-moving debates about the memory of colonialism that will continue to demand the attention of societies and states in Europe and beyond.

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CONFERENCE REPORTS

Things on the Move: Materiality of Objects in Global and Imperial Trajectories, 1700–1900. Conference organized by the German Historical Institute London in collaboration with the Prize Papers Project and held at the GHIL, 8–10 September 2022. Conveners: Indra Sengupta (GHIL), Felix Brahm (Bielefeld University), and Lucas Haasis (University of Oldenburg).

Alongside European imperialism and colonialism, the early modern and modern periods were characterized by extensive globalization processes which fuelled the emergence of global trade and markets and amplified the movement of people—both voluntary and involuntary. As a result of the interweaving of these complex processes, the movement of objects around the globe increased substantially over this period. These 'things on the move' were crucial points of contact, as they were situated at the centre of global interaction.[1] At the same time, they were often produced locally. Their production and circulation at the intersection of processes of imperialism, colonialism, and globalization meant that they played a key role in global as well as local material history. They connected these two levels, often in uncertain and unpredictable ways.[2] A major aim of the conference was to better understand the complex and ambivalent relationship between processes of globalization and colonialism/imperialism through a focus on material and object flows and by

[1] Eve Rosenhaft and Felix Brahm (eds.), *Slavery Hinterland: Transatlantic Slavery and Continental Europe, 1680–1850* (Woodbridge, 2016); Judith Becker (ed.), *European Missions in Contact Zones: Transformation through Interaction in a (Post-)Colonial World* (Göttingen, 2015); Felicia Gottmann, 'Mixed Company in the Contact Zone: The "Glocal" Diplomatic Efforts of a Prussian East Indiaman in 1750s Cape Verde', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 23/5 (2019), 423–41.
[2] Roland Robertson, 'Glocalization: Time–Space and Homogeneity–Heterogeneity', in id., Mike Featherstone, and Scott Lash (eds.), *Global Modernities* (London, 1995), 25–44.

analysing the significance of those objects' mobility in this period of great transformation.

As objects are bearers of meaning, it is crucial to consider how and why things moved from one place to another. Were they, for instance, traded, given as presents, inherited, or stolen? In their introductions, the organizers Felix Brahm, Lucas Haasis, and Indra Sengupta outlined the framework for the conference. They highlighted its central objective, which was to analyse objects and their trajectories from different perspectives, such as global history, global microhistory, and colonial history, focusing particularly on where these perspectives intersect. The papers engaged with the following key questions: what everyday practices shaped the material global worlds of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries? How do we define the role and agency of objects in global, imperial, and colonial contexts? And how did objects produce, carry, and change meanings and functions in colonial and global trajectories?

The keynote lecture by Anne Gerritsen (University of Warwick) shed light on the complexity of the conference's topics and the opportunities offered by them. Gerritsen offered an intriguing insight into the global material world of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century China on the basis of a 'shopping list' taken from a handbook owned by a Chinese merchant trading locally in the city of Canton. While research usually focuses on the goods exported from China to Europe, this source lists goods which were imported to China through the port of Canton and afterwards distributed inland. The handbook is a rather special source, as it was not public, but semi-private. In addition to the list of goods, it preserved information about key trading routes and useful business tips that were supposed to stay within the merchant's family. Gerritsen thus highlighted an everyday practice that shaped the global as well as the local material world.

Proving how significant and fruitful her approach can be, Gerritsen proposed four crucial measures for further research in this field: first, expanding the source base by using private and semi-private material, such as documents from local archives, instead of relying only on central, imperial sources; second, expanding the time period by looking across and challenging established boundaries in order to understand trading patterns and the complex process of globalization; third,

expanding the geographical scope of research by shifting the focus from coastal regions to the hinterland and considering the agency of both with respect to the movement of objects; and fourth, expanding the current focus on actors and groups by looking beyond merchants based in ports and including, for instance, local merchants in small towns who were connected to domestic trade. Gerritsen's keynote lecture was part of the first panel of the conference, which explored commodities and consumption within global and imperial trajectories. However, these four measures were key issues that shaped the discussion throughout the conference.

The subsequent papers picked up on the themes that Gerritsen introduced. Hilde Neus (Anton de Kom Universiteit van Suriname) offered insights into a social practice by free women of colour in eighteenth-century Suriname known as 'Missys' that enabled them to exercise agency through the use of luxury objects. Because of their status as free women, they were allowed to own property and improve their social status within the colonial setting. Through a kind of public dance party (*doe*), the Missys displayed their social status by dressing themselves and their slaves in luxurious clothing and jewellery, mostly imported from the Netherlands. Neus discussed how these objects held cultural importance because of their meaning and function in this specific colonial context.

Emma Forsberg (Lund University) examined the practice of gift-giving by early modern Swedish diplomats, asking what role they played in global consumption, and what expectations were put upon them within their individual spheres. Objects were gifted to people in high political positions and clearly had a specific symbolism and meaning, as they were supposed to display Sweden's wealth and power within a global context. However, the intended and received meanings could differ. The practice of gift-giving thus created and shaped early modern international connections and interactions.

Artemis Yagou (Deutsches Museum, Munich) completed the panel by analysing the consumption of commodities through an object-based research discourse. She demonstrated the correlation between science, technology, and society with reference to the invention of portable watches in the eighteenth century. Watches gained tremendous popularity, as they not only enabled timekeeping while on the move, but also

functioned as a fashionable symbol of innovation and distinction. In addition, watches were an important point of contact between different parts and societies of the world; for instance, there was a high demand for European-made watches in Ottoman markets.

The second panel moved from commodities and consumption to the social practice of colonial collecting and the importance of colonial knowledge in Western knowledge production. Caroline Drieënhuizen (Open University of the Netherlands) criticized the widespread Eurocentric attitude towards Western collectors in this particular field of research and pointed out that the agency of locals (such as former owners or informants) is often neglected. According to Drieënhuizen, this perspective does not do justice to the complexity of the collecting process within colonial structures. With the help of a case study, she demonstrated how a group of local people in the nineteenth-century Dutch colony of Indonesia managed to exercise agency by determining which objects Europeans were able to collect. She thus showed how important and influential the role of locals was for colonial collecting and knowledge formation.

Sarah Longair (University of Lincoln) showed how objects sometimes had the power to resist processes of global commodification. She used the example of the Seychelles to demonstrate how islands were places of self-sufficiency on the one hand, and of mobility and global connections on the other. The object at the centre of her paper was the coco de mer, an enormous double-lobed species of coconut growing exclusively on the Seychelles. Objects made from these unique fruits were produced and traded as curiosities around the globe. However, the palm trees on which they grew resisted European-controlled mass production, as they can only be cultivated on their island of origin, a fact that fundamentally shaped the conditions and processes of exchange and material culture.

Meenakshi A (Yale University) focused on the making of cement as a construction material in colonial India and, in general, the British Empire in the nineteenth century. Her paper examined the production of knowledge about and the circulation of cement across a range of sites characterized by differing soil and climatic conditions. She pointed out that the very materiality of cement produced construction results that differed from site to site. This variation meant that the

technical and engineering knowledge that was generated on the production and use of cement was far from stable or uniform throughout the British Empire. The specific materiality of cement thus created what the speaker described as 'new kinds of mobilities and circulations within the British Empire'.

The third panel shifted the focus to institutions and the afterlives of colonial collections. The question of how institutions handle their past while also considering current debates about the restitution of looted objects was particularly important for the papers in this panel. Emile De Bruijn (National Trust) presented a project to catalogue a National Trust collection which involved reviewing object records that had been previously described as 'oriental'. De Bruijn offered a proposal for reinterpreting problematic and offensive object descriptions: namely, to provide context for critical engagement with the objects in question by adding extra information such as their place of production, object groups, materials, and an accurate expert identification. The goal of the cataloguing project was to challenge the use of imprecise Eurocentric terms by identifying new ways of assessing relations across objects and groups.

Mobeen Hussain (Trinity College Dublin) focused on universities as institutions which have been actively involved in acquiring colonial collections in the past. She chose Trinity College Dublin as an example to demonstrate how collectors have gathered wide-ranging natural history collections in the service of science through brutal exploitation. Her focus was on how universities and similar institutions today are engaging with their history of collusion with colonial collecting practices.

The paper by Katherine Arnold (London School of Economics and Political Science) pursed this theme further in the following panel, which was dedicated to objects in global and imperial connections. She presented two entirely different types of collected object—a rare African parasitic plant and human remains—in the world of nineteenth-century natural history collecting. These objects, which seem impossible to compare, can nonetheless be brought into the same analytical frame, offering innovative methods for exploring the field as a space, fieldwork as a practice, and the ways in which collectors constructed and interacted with the world around them. Arnold

also highlighted the depth and complexity of collections that were, and still are, held in colonial storehouses such as botanic gardens, herbaria, and museums around the world.

Oliver Finnegan and Lucia Pereira Pardo (UK National Archives) and Andrew Little (Prize Papers Project) dedicated their joint presentation with Lucas Haasis to objects and their materiality in the Prize Papers Project. The project's goal is to digitize the legal records of over 35,000 British ship captures, which are held by the National Archives. The collection also contains an enormous amount of undelivered mail as well as various objects, such as pieces of fabric, jewellery, and samples of seeds and beans that were captured on their way across the ocean. The project coordinators consider it crucial to preserve the original material condition of these objects during digitization, as these artefacts have not been touched for centuries and are thus valuable time capsules. Special attention is paid to the material features of the objects, such as shape, size, colour, smell, or physical state, as even the smallest such features can be significant for understanding certain aspects and practices of the early modern global world.

Christian Stenz (Heidelberg University) opened the last panel with a striking example of how the meaning of objects can change entirely as a consequence of being removed from their original setting. His paper focused on wooden lintels from the Maya city of Tikal that were extracted from a temple wall. In the process, they had to be literally cut out of their material context. As a result, not only did their physical state change drastically, but also their original, intended meaning and function.

Yu Ying Lee (Yuan Ze University) concluded the conference by discussing the question of how Chinese antiques became desirable in the West. Her paper focused on Liulichang, a historic trading area in Beijing. During the Second Opium War, British and French troops looted the city's Summer Palace and brought a variety of objects to Europe. One consequence of this was that Western demands for Chinese antiques grew enormously, resulting in the emergence of Liulichang as a central trading point for collectors. The looting of the palace thus increased the global circulation and trade in Chinese antiquities.

To sum up, the conference discussed a variety of topics and areas of research. Although the papers offered very different approaches

and focused on a range of specific objects in various contexts, they also highlighted meaningful similarities. The conference clearly demonstrated the potential of material history on a local and global scale in an epoch marked by the criss-crossing forces of globalization, imperial expansion, and the growth in colonial structures.

LENA POTSCHKA (University of Oldenburg)

Infrastructures for Social Data in Contemporary History: Proposals for a Better Future. Conference organized by the working group Social Data in Contemporary History in cooperation with the German Historical Institute London and held at the Werner Reimers Foundation, Bad Homburg, Germany, 21 November 2022. Conveners: Christina von Hodenberg (GHIL), Lutz Raphael (Trier University), and Albrecht von Kalnein (Werner Reimers Foundation).

Data from social science research and official statistics from past decades are becoming increasingly important as sources for research in history. The project 'Social Data as Sources of Contemporary History', funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG), has investigated what support contemporary historians need in order to productively use social data, whether qualitative (mainly transcripts and audio and video recordings) or quantitative (mainly surveys and statistics of various origins). The project began by publishing a needs assessment outlining how research in this area might be enabled.[1] In parallel, workshops were held to explore how working with social data could lead to new insights for contemporary history.[2] Finally, the project has published a position paper outlining measures for improving research infrastuctures.[3]

The aim of the meeting in Bad Homburg was to discuss this position paper with representatives of the research community and NFDI4Memory, the nascent consortium for the historical sciences in the German National Research Data Infrastructure (NFDI).[4] Since the

[1] Kathrin Zöller, Clemens Villinger, Pascal Siegers, Sabine Reh, Lutz Raphael, Christina von Hodenberg, and Kerstin Brückweh, 'Sozialwissenschaftliche Forschungsdaten als historische Quellen: Welche Infrastrukturbedarfe hat die zeitgeschichtliche Forschung?', *RatSWD Working Paper Series*, 277 (2022), at [https://doi.org/10.17620/02671.66].

[2] See e.g. the special issue on historical social data published in *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 48/1 (2022).

[3] Kerstin Brückweh, Christina von Hodenberg, Lutz Raphael, Sabine Reh, Pascal Siegers, Clemens Villinger, and Kathrin Zöller, 'Positionspapier zu Infrastrukturen für historische Sozialdaten in der Zeitgeschichte', *Zenodo* (2023), at [https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.7781159].

[4] An overview of NFDI4Memory's activities is available at [https://4memory.de/], accessed 26 Apr. 2023.

application for the DFG project was submitted on 1 August 2018, the environment for research data infrastructures has changed fundamentally. The establishment of the NFDI in October 2020 created a new framework for the development and integration of research data infrastructures in Germany. Further proposals for a data infrastructure for research in contemporary history must therefore at least refer to the new NFDI structures in the humanities and social sciences, or ideally be fully integrated with them.

After a warm welcome by Lutz Raphael (for the working group on Social Data and Contemporary History) and Albrecht von Kalnein (for the Werner Reimers Foundation), the conference began with a brief presentation of the project group's position paper by Christina von Hodenberg and Pascal Siegers (GESIS—Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences). From its analysis, the project group has identified three pillars on which a supporting structure should rest. In the paper, this proposed structure is flanked by a discussion of existing policies for handling social data—specifically, the future preservation of social data by requiring researchers to offer their data to public archives.

The project's needs analysis clearly showed that a lack of skills in dealing with social data greatly increases the effort required to use it.[5] Yet history curricula rarely teach practical skills in data management and analysis. New forms of knowledge and skills transfer are therefore needed that focus on the forms of social data analysis specific to historical research. It follows that the first pillar should be a teaching and training centre that would develop and offer courses on the secondary analysis of qualitative or quantitative social data in the historical sciences.

The second pillar would be an information portal on historical social data, with the aim of supporting contemporary historians in their search for suitable data by bringing together and preparing information from the fragmented social science research data infrastructure. This would include information on the conditions governing data access, such as the need to comply with data protection

[5] Zöller et al., 'Sozialwissenschaftliche Forschungsdaten als historische Quellen'.

regulations. The information provided would be complemented by a forum for sharing innovative evaluation methods and discussing the challenges of using historical social data.

Finally, a third pillar—a forum on ethics and law in contemporary history—would address precisely these aspects of the present-day use of data collected long before current legal regulations were in place. The needs analysis showed that researchers currently have no point of contact within the historical sciences to turn to with their legal and ethical questions. Unlike other disciplines, history lacks research ethics guidelines for handling data and sources. This third pillar therefore aims to support the formation of standards, for example, by developing a code of conduct for working with historical social data.

One problem with using historical research data is that much of it is not preserved for the long term. Despite a growing awareness of its value, there is still no obligation in Germany to store and publish data in a repository or archive. The DFG's rules of good scientific practice only require data to be kept for ten years. At present, however, no account is taken of the fact that data from research projects at universities, universities of applied sciences, and non-university research institutes in Germany is subject to federal and state archive legislation. Under these rules, the archival value of such data is derived, among other things, from its significance for 'research into and understanding of history and the present'. Social science data is an important means of self-observation in society and therefore its archival value must be examined on a case-by-case basis. This should result in an obligation to offer social science and other research data to archives or research data repositories, which in turn can ensure its long-term preservation and usability.

Finally, von Hodenberg and Siegers emphasized the need to link new infrastructures for contemporary history with existing structures in the social sciences and to integrate them into the emerging NFDI4Memory. Infrastructures for using social data as sources can be conceived of and eventually implemented as a bridge between the social and historical sciences.

The presentation of the position paper was followed by a short introduction of the NFDI4Memory consortium by its leaders,

Johannes Paulmann and John Wood (Leibniz Institute of European History). They explained that NFDI4Memory works to promote the development of a data culture in the historical sciences, to strengthen data literacy (in the sense of basic skills in dealing with data), and to develop standards for data management and documentation. Legal and ethical issues are also part of the planned work programme. The NFDI4Memory consortium sees itself as a 'network infrastructure' linking actors from all periods of historical research. However, the available funds are insufficient to provide large-scale technical services for indexing, processing, and storing data. A significant part of the budget is flexible, allowing incubator projects to be integrated into the NFDI4Memory work programme from 2024 onwards through a competitive process. A major difference to consortia in the social and linguistic sciences becomes apparent here: because no (research) data centres have been established in the historical sciences that are comparable with the German Data Forum (RatSWD) or CLARIN-D, the structures for processing and curating data in historical institutes have yet to be established or permanently funded. Although the German Council for Scientific Information Infrastructures (RfII) recommended the establishment of the NFDI primarily with the aim of developing more stable funding instruments for data infrastructures, funding for all NFDI consortia will end in 2028. Complementary initiatives are therefore needed.

An important aspect of the discussion was the obvious question of what points of connection there are between the proposals of the DFG project and the 4Memory consortium. Overlaps were particularly evident in the areas of law and ethics, as well as skill building. Teaching formats developed for the evaluation of social data as historical sources fit well into the overall concept of the NFDI consortium. At the same time, there was a call for increased dialogue with representatives and committees of state archives and memory institutions, which face similar challenges to historical research in the course of digitization. Archives in particular have an important role to play in ensuring that data produced today can be made available to historians in the future. This task goes far beyond obliging researchers to make social science data available, as archives need to adapt their work to new technologies and digital object types. In this context,

critical voices were raised about the working group's position paper because it does not sufficiently address how to enable the future use of data in the context of digital humanities. Digital sources open up new possibilities for linking, extraction, and aggregation, which are not among the clearly stated goals of the social data infrastructure.

The central issue in all discussions about improved research data infrastructures is the availability of stable funding, as initiatives need a certain longevity to be effective. As the NFDI is not permanent, at least in its first phase, its prospects remain limited. The only long-term funding instrument available for infrastructure in Germany is the Strategic Special Fund (*Strategischer Sondertatbestand*), which the institutes of the Leibniz Association can apply for in a competitive process. The prerequisite for success is a close strategic fit with the goals of the institutes and their willingness to make a substantial financial contribution of their own. This path requires medium-term preparation in order to continue and extend initiatives from university research. Therefore, implementing the pillars of a research infrastructure for historical social data proposed in the position paper will not be possible without start-up funding in the form of projects. Under the current conditions, this path of piecemeal projects seems to be the only funding option.

Participants agreed that each of the pillars can be implemented independently. The proposed actions relating to capacity building and knowledge transfer are particularly important to enable researchers to properly use social data as a source in the historical sciences. The current situation is that the needs for social data in contemporary history research have been formulated, but the major projects (first and foremost NFDI4Memory) still need to be developed. In the meantime, those responsible for the DFG project do not intend to remain inactive; instead, as in previous years, they are relying on community building by organizing conferences within the framework of the 'Social Data in Contemporary History' working group based at the Reimers Foundation. This means that in the coming years the importance of analysing social data as historical sources for research in contemporary history will become clear. The first of these conferences, on social inequality, will be held in the autumn of 2023, when representatives of various institutions and disciplines will meet in the established format to

discuss the potential of social data and its analysis and to place it on the most secure possible footing.

KERSTIN BRÜCKWEH (Berliner Hochschule für Technik) and PASCAL SIEGERS (GESIS – Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences)

Trans-Regnal Kingship in the Thirteenth Century. Conference funded by the British Academy Global Professorship programme and hosted by the German Historical Institute London, 23–5 March 2023. Conveners: Jörg Peltzer (Heidelberg University/University of East Anglia) and Nicholas Vincent (University of East Anglia)

The conference 'Trans-Regnal Kingship in the Thirteenth Century' focused on the question of how changing ideas and practices of kingship in the thirteenth century (such as the redefinition of the feudal tie between two rulers, the king as emperor in his kingdom, and the emergence of the *communitas regni*—the 'community of the kingdom') impacted on the long-established practice of trans-regnal rule, and the extent to which personnel-related, organizational and material findings showed the development of ties between kingdoms. 'Trans-regnal kingship' was defined in broad terms here, referring to kings ruling over at least two kingdoms, but also to kings ruling over a kingdom and other geographically more distant territories. The organizers emphasized that their intention was not to use this term as a substitute for established terms, such as unions, composite monarchies, or empires, but to draw attention to the changing characteristics of kingship in the thirteenth century. The geographical focus was on the Angevin Empire, the lands of Charles of Anjou, France, the Holy Roman Empire, and the Papacy. Thirteen researchers from Europe and the USA explored these questions from different perspectives.

The topic of trans-regnal kingship is barely touched upon in the contemporary theoretical treatises examined by Frédérique Lachaud (Sorbonne University). The 'monarchical' character of kingship may have been a significant argumentative hurdle here; yet sovereignty over multiple realms was not seen in an entirely positive light either. After all, one could recognize a tyrant by his zealous attempts to subjugate other territories. As William Chester Jordan (Princeton University) argued in his evening lecture, scepticism also prevailed in the theological understanding of trans-regnal kingship at the court of the French King Louis IX. According to Jordan, this may have been one

Trans. by Marielle Sutherland (GHIL). This conference report is translated from the German version published in *H-Soz-Kult*, 20 June 2023, at [https://www.hsozkult.de/conferencereport/id/fdkn-136956], accessed 24 July 2023.

reason why Louis himself refused to wear another crown. New lines of thought were also emerging at the papal court. Here, according to Barbara Bombi (University of Kent), emphasis was placed on the one hand—and with reference to pertinent sections in the Gospels of St Mark and St John—on the pope's sovereignty over worldly rulers, and on the other, after the publication of the decretal letter *Novit ille* by Innocent III in April/May 1204, on the pope's right to act as an arbitrator in disputes between two rulers. This created a concrete tool for legitimizing the pope's active intervention in the conflict between the Angevin and Capetian rulers.

Len Scales (Durham University) and Björn Weiler (Aberystwyth University) examined the topic of trans-regnal kingship in chronicles focusing on the Holy Roman Empire. Looking at the evidence from the Empire, Scales showed that although there was an awareness that sovereignty over several kingdoms was a distinctive feature of the realm, this awareness varied considerably by region. This meant rulers enacted imperial rule in a broad variety of ways. Weiler's examination of the English perspective on the phenomenon of empire—based primarily on the prolific writings of the St Albans monk Matthew Paris—revealed a complex, at times unclear picture. Contemporary concepts of empire were informed by more or less accurate knowledge about both the Roman Empire of antiquity and the Holy Roman Empire, but the question of trans-regnal kingship was not discussed in any detail. Was it too self-evident in this context to warrant specific focus on it?

Ruling practice in the Holy Roman Empire was the subject of papers by Martin Kaufhold (University of Augsburg) and Lioba Geis (University of Cologne). Kaufhold began by referring to a qualitative shift in the wielding of power from the twelfth to the late thirteenth century. Whereas active rule—with all its associated problems—was part of the Staufen emperors' self-understanding and practices on both sides of the Alps, it was different with the kings of the 'Interregnum'. At this time, active rule was concentrated on the lands north of the Alps, and if rulers were absent for long periods, this led to the development of new structures, in particular arbitration. Under these conditions, interlinking the territories north and south of the Alps in terms of people and administration would have been inconceivable.

According to Geis, Sicily was not integrated with the Holy Roman Empire even under the Staufen rulers; in fact, unlike his father, Frederick II emphasized the kingdom's independence from the Empire. Sicily was connected with the Empire but was not a long-standing part of it. The Sicilian administration was also run by natives, although Frederick's provisions for the rigorous separation of Sicily were toned down before the end of his reign. There was even an exchange of personnel with northern Italy. New dynamics emerged when the crown passed to Charles of Anjou, whose remarkable accumulation of titles and claims in the Mediterranean was the subject of the paper by David Abulafia (University of Cambridge). In Sicily, Charles' reign led to a succession of French administrators in the kingdom. Furthermore, as shown by Paola Vitolo (University of Naples Federico II), the new rulers clearly left their mark in architectural terms in both the style and intensity of their building activity—possibly even more so than Frederick II. But there is little evidence of a strategy focused on closer integration across his territories. Charles' trans-regnal rule manifested primarily in his person.

Charles of Anjou is perhaps the most prominent case of a French ruler who tried to acquire multiple territories in the Mediterranean, but he was not the only one. Gregory Lippiatt (University of Exeter) discussed the reigns of the Lusignans, Briennes, and Montforts, which were the result of crusader campaigns. Whereas the Lusignans kept their relatives in Poitou at a distance, so that there was little question of trans-regnal rule, the Briennes remained very much anchored in the Champagne region, a finding which is perhaps evidence of their varying strength in the kingdoms of Cyprus (Lusignan) and Jerusalem (Brienne). The Montforts' approach of keeping all options open on both sides falls between these two extremes.

Daniel Power's (Swansea University) contribution analysed another *locus classicus* of trans-regnal rule: the Angevin Empire after 1204–6, that is, after the loss of Normandy and Greater Anjou to Capetian France. Overall, little attempt was made to strengthen ties with the remaining Continental possessions by sending out administrators from England or by creating cross-Channel lordships. Nonetheless, Henry III increasingly had his eye on Gascony, and in 1252 he declared the duchy to be permanently and irrevocably part of the

English Crown and the royal demesne. His motive here was to create an appanage for his son Edward. Consequently, the seneschals usually came from England, although the lower-ranking administrative roles were still held by locals. Administrative rule was also the focus of the paper by Frédéric Boutoulle (Bordeaux Montaigne University) on the practice of inquests in Gascony. There is evidence of the practice in individual cases from the end of King John's reign onwards; it increased under Edward from the 1250s, but it was nowhere near as frequent as in England. However, inquests were widespread, including in Capetian France, so it is not clear how far we can speak of a specifically Angevin ruling practice here. Lindy Grant (University of Reading) also addressed this ambiguity in her paper on architecture—primarily church buildings—in the Angevins' (former) Continental lands. While there has never been any doubt about the political significance of Charles of Anjou's decision to rebuild the magnificent castle in Angers, the situation is much more complex with regard to church buildings. Although it is certainly the case that, from the 1240s, regional motifs were replaced with the Rayonnant style associated with the Capetians, this could hardly have been a clear political statement, for it happened not only in conquered domains but also in places where the bishops were close to the Angevin kings. Here, trans-regnal kingship interfaced with aesthetic ideas and the competition between bishops within the Church. David Carpenter (King's College London) offered conference participants a direct experience of architecture from the period by taking them on a tour of Westminster Abbey, built by the Angevin king Henry III. With its complex use of architectural forms and the tombs of Eleanor of Castile (wife of Edward I and daughter of Joan, countess of Ponthieu) and Aymer de Valence (the son of William de Valence, a Lusignan half-brother of Henry III), it impressively demonstrated some of the aspects of trans-regnal kingship in the thirteenth century addressed by the contributors. A concluding discussion rounded off the conference, and the papers will be published.

JÖRG PELTZER (Heidelberg University)

Beyond the Progressive Story: Reframing Resistance to European Integration. Conference organized by the Hamburg Institute for Social Research (HIS) in cooperation with the German Historical Institutes in Rome, London, and Warsaw, held at the HIS, 29–31 March 2023. Conveners: Philipp Müller (HIS), Wolfgang Knöbl (HIS), Martin Baumeister (GHI Rome), Christina von Hodenberg (GHI London), and Miloš Řeznik (GHI Warsaw).

The conference took an alternative approach to the history of European integration by focusing on sceptics, critics, and alternative paths and visions. Part of a project on the history of Euroscepticism funded by the German Federal Ministry for Education and Research, it brought together Ph.D. researchers, postdocs, mid-career academics, and senior professors from a range of countries, including Greece, Germany, Italy, Poland, and the United Kingdom. It addressed the history of European integration from numerous perspectives, including economic, political, social, international, and institutional, as well as drawing in comments and contributions from colleagues in history, sociology, and the social sciences. In terms of chronology, the conference included papers and discussions on the interwar and post-war periods, as well as up to the 1990s and early 2000s. In his opening comments, Philipp Müller observed that it is essential to analyse and understand the changes and continuities in European integration over time, and to account not just for successes but also failures and alternatives. We have to move beyond the 'progressive story', in which integration has often been portrayed as only heading in one direction, as positive and progressive, and which risks taking the form of a teleological representation of a highly complex past. A core aim of this conference was therefore to move beyond such an approach by focusing on scepticism, criticism, and alternative versions of European integration history, with the aim of casting light on underappreciated actors, groups, voices, and themes.

After an introduction by the discussant and chair Philipp Müller, the keynote lecture by Kiran Klaus Patel (LMU Munich), titled 'Putting

For the original version of this conference report, see Katharina Troll and Alexander Hobe, 'Beyond the Progressive Story: Reframing Resistance to European Integration', *H-Soz-Kult*, 11 July 2023, at [https://www.hsozkult.de/conferencereport/id/fdkn-137414], accessed 19 July 2023.

the Permissive Consensus to Rest', addressed a multifaceted and layered history before an in-person and online audience. He tackled the 'permissive consensus', proposed a moratorium on the controversial term 'Eurosceptic', and observed that there never has been a 'golden age' in European integration history—it has always been contested. He also exposed his audience to an image of Winston Churchill's underpants. Thankfully, he provided an immediate explanation: he was not talking about clothing but the affectionate nickname for the flag of the European federalist movement, which features a large green E on the left interlocked with a smaller, reversed white C on the right. The colloquial reference, though, alludes to the commitment of the former British prime minister and his son-in-law, Duncan Sandys, to European cooperation and federalism. In 1950, Patel went on, Churchill's underpants were waved in the face of Paul-Henri Spaak. Held aloft as a symbol of the federalist movement, the flag was clearly present when Spaak spoke on European cooperation in front of a large crowd. However, he was not being cheered by the federalists, as one might expect considering his reputation as a founding father and 'saint' of European integration.[1] Rather, he was booed by the crowd.

As Patel showed, a considerable part of the European Community institutions' self-portrayal was based on making resistance to integration processes invisible. This is evidenced, for example, in the vague style of questioning in the Eurobarometer poll. The surveys consistently found a high level of support for 'the idea of European unification', even while respondents were unable to name a single concrete effect of the European Communities (EC). The pollsters took this as evidence of 'support for Europe', concealing the fragile factual basis of this claim. The conference as a whole was characterized by many similarly surprising subversions of expectations. It attempted to find a new framework for histories of European integration beyond the unbroken, conflict-free history of progress that dominates the self-portrayal of the European institutions. The assumption that Spaak and the federalists would have been on the same side demonstrates the considerable success of this story, as well as the need for new historical approaches.

[1] Alan Milward, *The European Rescue of the Nation State* (London, 1999).

Obscuring resistance certainly was part of the institutions' political modus operandi, and it featured in the paper by Philip Bajon (Max Planck Institute for Legal History and Legal Theory). He explained how the 1966 Luxembourg Compromise served as one such mechanism: this 'gentlemen's agreement' between European Economic Community (EEC) member states guaranteed them the option to block decision-making on national 'vital interests'. However, the agreement lacked clarity, and it never set out what might constitute such a vital interest. This lack of clarity continued in the subsequent EC and European Union (EU). Disagreement was concealed behind the compromise, which facilitated the rise of consensus building ('silent voting', in Bajon's words) as a mode of decision-making. Victor Jaeschke (University of Potsdam) presented a similar case. In championing 'subsidiarity' as a potential 'cure for the Europe-weary', the European Commission and the member states introduced yet another vague and ill-defined concept in the hope of reducing contestation by delegating to lower levels. It was never clear how and which regional levels should have the right to their own sphere of decision-making, and different actors, such as the British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and the French President François Mitterrand, interpreted the principle in very different ways. This disagreement only became visible when actors, predominantly national governments, attempted to influence the way in which the concept would be defined legally, but was obscured by the ambiguous phrasing of the treaty of Maastricht. Jaeschke and Bajon provided accounts of two different strategies for containing resistance to integration and thereby moved beyond the progressive story.

Furthermore, moments of enlargement could also offer similar examples of conflict. After all, the EC and EU were and are projects of ordering space. When a given space is reordered, or when another spatial arrangement comes into interaction with it, one can expect some degree of contestation. Philipp Müller's contribution discussed one such example: in the late 1960s, the EC developed new foreign policy guidelines (European Political Cooperation) which were challenged by disagreements between member states over how to deal with Portugal and the Portuguese Empire. The dissatisfaction of West German and French business representatives, as well as foreign policy officials, with

the EC institutional approach to this question produced an alternative form of Europeanization through bilateral forums, whose spatial ordering actively bypassed the EC and stood in conflict with it, yet was no less European.

However, questions of enlargement not only produced alternative processes of Europeanization but also led to the promotion of new visions of Europe. In the case of Greece, Eleni Kouki (University of Athens) demonstrated how strongly Europe was connected to Greek national identity as a historical concept. When the military junta came to power in 1967, the EC decided to freeze Greece's entry negotiations and to block its association privileges. This led the junta to change its rhetoric on European integration and to construct a new vision of Europe that was more in line with its convictions: only a free Europe of nations with strong connections to the United States and NATO would guarantee the continent's freedom and save it from Communism. In both Müller's and Kouki's cases, accession, or the prospect of accession, provides a window into the contestation of the EC's spatial arrangements.

Antonio Carbone (GHI Rome) told a story of conflict between different territorial scales. He analysed the reactions of Italian and French farmers to the EC's southern enlargement plans (to admit Greece, Portugal, and Spain) during the 1970s and 1980s. Carbone demonstrated how the conflict of agricultural interests between Northern and Southern Europe, which divided not only Italy and France but also their respective national farmers' associations, structured the farmers' response to the EC's Common Agricultural Policy. This became visible in a Europeanization of protest practices. Here, again, different scales for ordering space intersected, leading to tension and contestation. As Olga Gontarska (GHI Warsaw) subsequently showed, pre-accession Poland also witnessed contestation around international cooperation in the 1990s. The journal *Arka* was a forum of transnational exchange based on certain networks formed by Polish historians during the Cold War. Through it, American neoconservative voices were introduced into the debate on European cooperation, and their networks with Polish historians produced their own vision of transnational cooperation which was at odds with Polish membership of the EU.

Larissa Kraft (University of Glasgow) explored how French policymakers created and promoted narratives in response to the rearrangement of space during the first British application to join the EEC in 1961–3. They emphasized the Franco-German relationship over the Franco-British one, portraying it as more European. As noted in the discussion, this was all the more remarkable given the background of Second World War alliances. In this sense, Kraft's contribution was a further reminder of the contested nature of the different visions of 'Europe'.

Not only were the spaces of the EC/EU rearranged, but there were also changes to the nature of other European organizations, as well as questions over which institution would become the dominant forum. Certain actors felt or anticipated this and reacted accordingly. Here, David Lawton (GHI London) offered an example by focusing on a group of British lawyers who won the right to a judicial review of the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty in 1993. Lawyers, Lawton argued, were uniquely qualified to remake British Euroscepticism during the Maastricht period. Their expertise afforded them an awareness of the opportunity provided by treaty reform. However, their reliance on arguments of British legal exceptionalism was founded on a certain ambiguity, underwritten as it was by their contact with other constitutional challengers of the EC/EU, for instance in Denmark and Germany.

Katharina Troll (HIS) used the example of the Council of European Industrial Federations—founded in 1949 to represent European industrial interests and to advise the Organization for European Economic Cooperation—to demonstrate how economic actors responded to European integration and, as a consequence, Europeanized in the 1950s and early 1960s. The work of the council was characterized by conflicts over the correct path of integration and by the articulation of alternatives to supranational integration, mainly within the framework of the OEEC. It was a contested area, with competing institutions.

Here, there is a clear dialogue with the work of Alexander Hobe (HIS), who showed how the plans for the European Defence Community (EDC) in the 1950s incentivized Wehrmacht veterans to form a European umbrella association. However, their Europeanization developed its own dynamics, which were not purely reactive, and

after the EDC failed, their organization set out on a separate path. In all three of the cases presented by Lawton, Troll, and Hobe, plans for reordering European institutions created the conditions for their contestation. This followed different trajectories: a head-on challenge of treaty reform, as in Lawton's case, a tactical weighing of alternatives, as in Troll's, or the abandonment of a seemingly dead-end path, as in Hobe's. The variable relationship between the 'official' European framework and its 'challengers' was further underlined by insights from Johannes Großmann (University of Tübingen). He showed that while the 'Conservative International'—consisting of several elite circles and including the European Documentation and Information Centre think tank—produced alternative visions of integration, the post-war decades also saw these groups adapt to the hegemonic framework as an unintended consequence of their interactions.

During the lively three-day conference, all of these examples of contestation over the extent and form of European integration and cooperation revealed a remarkably conflicted history. Whether exploring conflicts over attempts to render resistance invisible, spatial elements, or alternative forms of cooperation and integration, the conference was rich with accounts and papers that went beyond the progressive story. Actors, groups, governments, organizations, and themes all revealed the contested past of European integration, and, as Kiran Klaus Patel argued, there was no 'golden age' to be found. What is clear, though, is that when it comes to moving beyond the progressive story, much remains to be explored and accounted for.

Katharina Troll (HIS), Alexander Hobe (HIS), and William King (GHIL)

Behind the Wire: Internment during the First World War. The Global German Experience. Exhibition funded by the German History Society and the Arts and Humanities Research Council, with a launch event at the German Historical Institute London, 26 April 2023. Conveners: Stefan Manz (Aston University) and Matthew Stibbe (Sheffield Hallam University).

The German Historical Institute London unveiled its latest exhibition, 'Behind the Wire', on 26 April 2023. With the subtitle 'Internment during the First World War: The Global German Experience', the exhibition aims to shed light on the lesser-known history of German civilians who were interned as 'enemy aliens' in various locations across the British Empire during the First World War. Comprising eighteen panels, the exhibition also provided visitors with an immersive experience through a virtual reality depiction of Fort Napier camp in South Africa. This addition allowed viewers to gain a deeper understanding of the conditions faced by German internees during the war.

The opening symposium commenced with an introduction by GHIL Director Christina von Hodenberg. Panikos Panayi (De Montfort University) then discussed the global dimensions of internment in the British Empire during the First World War. He highlighted the significance of considering the dispersed community of German internees as part of the 'imperial turn' in internment studies. Panayi emphasized that the global aspect becomes particularly evident when examining the internment network across the British Empire, such as in Canada, West and South Africa, India, Australia, New Zealand, and Ahmednagar in India. The main internment camp was located in Knockaloe on the Isle of Man, housing an astonishing 22,000 prisoners. It is worth noting that retaliatory measures led to the internment of British citizens, both White and non-White, in Ruhleben camp near Berlin, bringing the global experience of internment back to the German home front.

One significant consequence of internment experienced by civilian internees worldwide was the deterioration of their mental health, often referred to as the 'barbed wire disease'. Matthew Stibbe emphasized this aspect during his presentation, using the case of Ruhleben to illustrate the impact on internees. The camp, situated at a German

racecourse, held 5,500 individuals, including Germans with British nationality. Stibbe drew attention to the fact that some individuals had acquired British citizenship to avoid conscription but found themselves labelled enemy aliens in their own country after the outbreak of war. The camp's occupants represented a diverse range of backgrounds, including sailors, academics, Shakespeare experts, scientists, football coaches, criminals, journalists, and colonial subjects.

Michelle Kiessling (Sheffield Hallam University) presented a separate research project focusing on the intriguing story of David and Anna Russell. David, a lower-class British–Jamaican man, had married his German girlfriend, Anna, in Leipzig. Anna had lost her German citizenship upon marriage and subsequently acquired British citizenship. Kiessling movingly described the challenges faced by this family resulting from the differential treatment of the family members by different states. David's life as a Black British man in Germany was already difficult enough, and then during the First World War he was interned with one hundred other people of colour at Ruhleben camp in Germany, which resulted in further physical and psychological suffering. He tried to contact relatives in Jamaica via the US embassy in Berlin. Meanwhile, Anna, as the wife of a British man, was forced to leave Germany for Hull, where she lived in a workhouse and faced harsh working conditions and an enforced separation from their children. A surviving letter penned by Anna in German to the British colonial authorities requesting that David be allowed to return to Jamaica showed their efforts to improve the family's situation, but also revealed the differences in their status, as David was likely illiterate. Eventually, David was allowed to return to Jamaica, but the rest of his family were not, and he passed away there in 1946. Anna died in Nottingham in 1965.

Returning to the discussion of mental health, Matthew Stibbe explored the concept of 'barbed wire disease' that emerged from the internment experience. He referred to Adolf Vischer, who spent considerable time in two internment camps studying life behind bars, and also to a lesser-known study titled 'On the Psychology of Transitional Periods' (1919).[1] Drawing parallels with contemporary discussions

[1] Adolf Vischer, *Zur Psychologie der Übergangszeit* (Basel, 1919).

around long Covid as an emotional assault, Stibbe highlighted the similarities in terms of the amorphous temporality experienced in both situations.

Susan Barton's (De Monfort University) presentation focused on internment in Switzerland, where individuals experienced a peculiar blend of luxury and deprivation. Barton is usually interested in tourism and winter sports, but she delved into this topic after learning that around 68,000 people went through the internment experience in Switzerland during the First World War. While this may sound like a small number given the nine million or so POWs interned worldwide, Barton emphasized how the international character of the internee population in Switzerland not only makes this group a valuable case study in global history, but also highlights questions of continuity and change vis-à-vis peacetime social history in areas such as tourism.

The symposium concluded with discussions on the multimedia aspect of the exhibition. Paul Long, the director of MBD, the company responsible for producing the accompanying film, and Stefan Manz, the academic director, discussed the technical features and challenges encountered during the project. Long mentioned being inspired by the Internment Research Centre in Harwick, Scotland, which motivated his deeper involvement in internment research. This exhibition originally launched in Scotland and subsequently travelled to Canada, South Africa, and Barbados.

The exhibition 'Behind the Wire' and the virtual reality experience was on display at the German Historical Institute London until the end of September 2023. It provided visitors with a fresh perspective and innovative formats for presenting the history of wartime internment, with a particular focus on the global dimensions of this often-overlooked aspect of the First World War.

Dina Gusejnova (London School of Economics and Political Science)

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Scholarships Awarded by the German Historical Institute London

Each year the GHIL awards a number of research scholarships to German postgraduate and postdoctoral researchers to enable them to carry out research in Britain. The scholarships are generally awarded for a period of up to six months depending on the requirements of the research project. Scholarships are advertised on [www.hsozkult.de] and the GHIL's website. Applications should include a CV, educational background, list of publications (where appropriate), and an outline of the project, along with a supervisor's reference confirming the relevance of the proposed archival research. Please address applications to Dr Stephan Bruhn and send them by email to stipendium@ghil.ac.uk. **Please note that due to the United Kingdom leaving the EU, new regulations for research stays apply. Please check the scholarship guidelines for further information.** If you have any questions, please contact Dr Stephan Bruhn. German scholars present their projects and the initial results of their research at the GHIL Colloquium during their stay in Britain.

In the second round of allocations for 2023 the following scholarships were awarded:

Lisa Bork (University of Bremen): Henry Purcells Kirchenmusik: Die Entwicklung seines Kompositionsstils im Rahmen der englischen Geistesgeschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts
Victoria Fischer (University of Bonn): Deutsche und britische Ausstellungen als Medium transnationaler feministischer Zusammenarbeit im 19. Jahrhundert
Catharina Hänsel (University of Göttingen): 'The Ahmedabad Experiment': Technological Change and the Emergence of Scientific Wage Categories

Elisa Heuser (University of Tübingen): 'Wundersame' fastende Frauen des 19. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland, Großbritannien und den USA: Performance und Politiken des Wunders
Riley Linebaugh (HU Berlin): 'Caesar's Wives': Female Secretaries and Spies in the British Empire
Janis Meder (HU Berlin): Business verändert die Welt: Das verantwortungsbewusste Unternehmen der 1970er und 1980er Jahre
Chandni Rampersad (University of Duisburg-Essen): Ladies of the Gentleman's Magazine
Damiana Salm (University of Freiburg): Energiearmut und die Krise der Wohlfahrt in Großbritannien der 1970er und 1980er Jahre
Kay Schmücking (Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg): Sterben und Tod als mediales Ereignis: Eine Mediengeschichte des heroischen Opfertodes, 1930–50
Pappal Suneja (Bauhaus-Universität Weimar): The Modern Architecture Discourse of Design (1957–88) through a Postcolonial Lens
Leonie Wolters (ZZF Potsdam): Decolonization and its (Dis)Content: Alternative News Agencies Making the Third and First Worlds, 1960s–1990s

Visiting Scholars at the German Historical Institute London

The GHIL is delighted to welcome three new visiting scholars this summer and autumn.

Professor Stefanie Schüler-Springorum, the Director of the Centre for Research on Antisemitism at the Technische Universität Berlin, was appointed the Gerda Henkel Visiting Professor for the academic year 2023–4. She is the fifteenth incumbent since the inception of the visiting professorship, a joint project of the Department of International History at the London School of Economics and Political Science, the Gerda Henkel Foundation, and the GHIL. During her time in London she will teach at the LSE and also work on a major book project on the *longue durée* history of hostility towards the Jews.

On 1 October *Dr Yorim Spoelder* (Freie Universität Berlin) started his six-month Visiting Postdoctoral Research Fellowship, which is awarded by the GHIL in cooperation with the Institute of Advanced Studies at University College London. Each academic year the fellowship offers one outstanding early-career scholar from a German university the opportunity to pursue independent research in the stimulating intellectual environment of the two host institutions. Dr Spoelder will devote his time to research for his new project 'Eurasians and Colonial Urban Culture East of the Cape, *c.*1800–1940s'.

Back in August, *Dr Felix Lüttge* (University of Basel) joined the GHIL until autumn 2024 on a Feodor Lynen Fellowship awarded by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation. A historian of science and information, he will write a book about paper technologies in British archaeology in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

New Library Catalogue

The GHIL library's new online catalogue [https://library.ghil.ac.uk] was made available to the public in the summer. It offers advanced options to search for items and filter results, and will hopefully help many readers find the research materials that they require.

Feedback on the new catalogue is welcomed by the librarians at library@ghil.ac.uk.

Ph.D. Conference 2024

The GHIL's twenty-eighth Postgraduate Research Students' Conference will take place on Thursday 11 and Friday 12 January 2024. The conference is intended for postgraduate research scholars working on German history from the Middle Ages to the present at a UK or Irish university, and aims to give them the opportunity to present their work in progress and to discuss their research with other students working in the same field. Ph.D. students at all stages are encouraged to apply. All participants will be expected to briefly present their

research projects, but if capacity is limited, preference will be given to second- and third-year students. A course on German palaeography is planned for the first day of the conference.

Should you wish to take part, please indicate your interest in your application. Please note that places will be assigned on a first-come, first-served basis.

Application Details

If you are interested in attending, please send an email to PGconference@ghil.ac.uk by Wednesday 15 November 2023 and include the following:

- full contact details: name, address, email address, and telephone number
- the exact title of your Ph.D. project
- the date you started your Ph.D. project (and whether you are enrolled part- or full-time)
- the name, address, email address, and phone number of your university and supervisor
- an indication of whether you have undertaken research in Germany
- an indication of whether you wish to participate in the palaeography course scheduled for the morning of 11 January 2024

The GHIL will arrange accommodation for participants from outside the Greater London Area and offer a lump sum towards the cost of travel to London.

Forthcoming Workshops and Conferences

(De)Constructing Europe. Workshop to be held at the German Historical Institute Warsaw, 18–20 October 2023. Organized by the research group EU-Scepticism in European Integration.

Sozialdaten der Ungleichheit in historischer Perspektive. Workshop to be held at the Werner Reimers Foundation, Bad Homburg, 6–7 November

2023. Conveners: Dr Albrecht Graf von Kalnein (Werner Reimers Foundation), Professor Lutz Raphael (Trier University), and Professor Christina von Hodenberg (GHIL).

Other Histories, Other Pasts. Conference to be held at ICAS:MP, New Delhi on 4–6 December 2023. Conveners: Indra Sengupta (GHIL) and Neeladri Bhattacharya (Ashoka University).

The conference will focus on the world of popular histories that circulate in the public sphere, outside the domain of academic history, and will seek to examine the ways in which they constitute people's historical consciousness of people. Our premise is that the common sense of the general public is far less influenced by what academic historians write than by conceptions of the past that such 'popular' histories help produce. The historical consciousness constituted in this way then defines how people act, how they think about themselves and others, their social vision, and their political being. The objective of the conference is to explore how such narratives work, and the way they are mediated by and constitute the political. The conference will bring together scholars from India, Germany, the UK, and other countries to discuss the topic in a transnational perspective.

History as a Political Category. Workshop to be held at ICAS:MP, New Delhi on 7–8 December 2023. Conveners: Indra Sengupta (GHIL), Shail Mayaram, and Ravikant (both CSDS, New Delhi).

Over the so called 'long twentieth century', politics and power have fundamentally mediated history writing, and the politics of historical interpretation has been entangled in larger political conflicts. This final workshop of Thematic Module 1 of ICAS:MP—'History as a Political Category'—will bring together all project partners from India, Germany, and elsewhere to reflect, debate, and discuss from their own research the module's intellectual agenda: to understand the mutually constitutive and ever-changing relationship between historiographical practices and the political, and how the rethinking and rewriting

of histories has contributed to the reconstitution of the political in the course of the long twentieth century. The following themes will be explored: history and the politics of identity and recognition; the 'popular' as a political category and the writing of history; transformations of democracy and the writing of history; metamorphoses of the political and the politics of archives and memorialization; and the politics of the production, circulation, and reception of history.

Gender Regimes in History. Workshop to be held on 18–19 December 2023 in London. Please note that this workshop will take place at an external venue due to renovation works (venue TBA).

Euroscepticism. Workshop to be held at the German Historical Institute Rome, 19–22 March 2024. Organized by the research group EU-Scepticism in European Integration.

Workshop on Medieval Germany. Organized by the GHIL in cooperation with the German Historical Institute Washington DC and the German History Society, to be held at the GHIL, 12 April 2024. Conveners: Len Scales (Durham University) and Marcus Meer (GHIL).

This one-day workshop will provide an opportunity for researchers from the UK, Continental Europe, Canada, and the USA working on topics broadly related to medieval Germany to meet in a relaxed and friendly setting.

Public Lectures

Gerda Henkel Foundation Visiting Professorship Lecture 2023. Lecture to be given by Professor Stefanie Schüler-Springorum (TU Berlin) on 28 November 2023, 6:00 p.m., at the London School of Economics.

The Royal Historical Society Lecture at the German Historical Institute London. Lecture to be given by Professor Clare Anderson (University of Leicester) on 23 January 2024. Please note that this lecture will take place at an external venue due to renovation works (venue and time TBA).

After Colonial Forms of Knowledge and Post-Colonial Technoscience: Revisiting the Historiography of Techniques and Technology. The fourth Thyssen Lecture, to be given by Professor Dhruv Raina (Jawaharlal Nehru University) on 13 May 2024 at the GHIL and on 14 May 2024 at the University of Warwick. Organized by the GHIL in cooperation with the Fritz Thyssen Foundation.

Dhruv Raina is a leading philosopher and historian of science and technology in India. He is currently Professor at the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, where he teaches the history and philosophy of science. He studied physics at the Indian Institute of Technology, Mumbai, and received his Ph.D. in the philosophy of science from the University of Gothenburg. His research has focused upon the politics and cultures of scientific knowledge in South Asia both in historical and contemporary contexts, as well as the history and historiography of mathematics. Important publications include *Needham's Indian Network* (2015); co-edited with S. Irfan Habib, *Domesticating Modern Science* (2004) and *Social History of Sciences in Colonial India* (2007); and co-edited with Feza Gunnergun, *Science between Europe and Asia* (2010). His most recent publication is co-edited with Hans Harder, *Disciplines and Movements: Conversations between India and the German-Speaking World* (2022).

Please consult our website [www.ghil.ac.uk/events/lectures] for the regular GHIL Lecture Series, which takes place in three series of five lectures per year.

To consult the GHIL Library catalogue, visit:

https://library.ghil.ac.uk

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www.ghil.ac.uk/publications