Cromohs

Cyber review of modern historiography

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'Good Things […] from Bristol and Ireland' Dietary Ambiguities in the British Caribbean (1790s-1850s)

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Introduction

As is widely renowned, food is more than the simple act of nutrition, it is also a bearer of strong social significances – identity being the most relevant – whose meanings and rituals can be politicised. Among the scholars who have treated food history according to its cultural and social dimensions, British Caribbeanist Christer Petley has examined the written accounts of nineteenth-century British colonists in order to evaluate how they depicted the food habits of the Creoles, using this as a means to understand the relationship between the emerging abolitionist movement and the changing British perception of the white planter class. Therefore, Petley's emphasis on food and identities becomes a useful tool for the representation of some of the Creole patterns of food consumption, portraying the members of the planter class from the outside, through the eyes of British travellers.[1]

For the sake of this article, Creole is taken to mean only white people with British ancestors who were born and grew up in the West Indies and were usually part of the economic and political elite even though the term also referred to all people born in the Caribbean, including individuals with African ancestors, among others. Mrs Carmichael, a Scottish gentlewoman who lived in the archipelago during the 1820s, explained who was part of the Creole population: 'As the term Creole is often in England understood to imply a Mulatto, it is best to explain that the word *Creole* means a native of a West India colony, whether he be white, black or the coloured population.'[2]

Drawing from Petley, I aim to compare and contrast the food customs and dietary ideas of Creole planters and British travellers in the colonial space of the Caribbean. I hypothesise that the various food habits and their connected diets encountered in the colonies were more than a problem of nourishment and instead

[1] CHRISTER PETLEY, 'Gluttony, Excess and the Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean,' *Atlantic Studies: Global Currents* 9, no.1 (2012).
[2] MRS CARMICHAEL, *Domestic Manners and Social Conditions of the White, Coloured and Negro Population of the West Indies* (London: Whittaker, Trearcher and Co, 1833-34), 2 vols, I, 17. For a better analysis of the concept of Creole and creolisation, see ILARIA BERTI, 'Curiosity, Appreciation and Disgust. Creolization of Colonizers' Food Patterns of Consumption in Three English Travelogues,' in *Caribbean Food Cultures. Practices and Consumption in Caribbean and Its Diaspora*, eds WIEBKE BEUHAUSEN et al. (Bielefeld: Transcript-Verlag, 2014), 115–32.

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concerned wider processes of identity construction and community-building as also defined through a common diet, a similar contempt for different food habits, and opposition to unfamiliar diets, dishes and ingredients. After all, as Sidney Mintz argued in his well-known work on sugar consumption, 'One could *become* different by *consuming* differently';[3] similarly, Warren Belasco has stressed, 'food choices establish boundaries and borders.'[4] Therefore, the ingredients and dishes described, chosen and eaten by white planters could be both valid indicators of their opinions about themselves and their views about not being born in the United Kingdom and not being British; in other words, food was used as a tool to express a sense of community and otherness. That is why I focus, firstly and mainly, on the white Creole planters' diet and their love for local food, their feelings of difference and, in some implicit aspects, the supposed inferiority when they related their food to British cuisine. Secondly, I analyse the British colonists' opinions about the unknown and alien dishes eaten by the local elite. Thus, I reconstruct how individuals perceived *their* food and the food of the *other* in order to assess how British travellers and Creole residents regarded the local diet and also how Creole planters performed the act of eating both in public and in private, when they believed the British were not observing them, in order to evaluate the role played by the consumption of local, European and British food in the invention of their Creole identity.

Sources and Methodology

I employ various sources to assess whether and to what extent British and Creole identities were modified through culinary encounters in the colonies and their ambiguities in decisions concerning diets. Among the documents produced in and on the Caribbean during the nineteenth century, I mainly use diaries, autobiographies and letters focusing on a specific socio-cultural group, that is, the British and Creole elites who left these written traces.

Even though literary scholars could develop a far-reaching discussion on the varieties and structures of these sources,[5] for the sake of this article it is of fundamental importance to remember that a memoir 'is a retrospective narrative about a portion of the writer's life,' an autobiography is a sort of long memoir that covers a good part of its author's life, while a diary is a registration in which the author notes his/her feelings, events and ideas, often on a daily basis or when he/she feels the need to note something down.[6] As shown by the representative case of Thomas Thistlewood's diary studied by Trevor Burnard, journals are precious sources for historians, not only to

[3] SIDNEY MINTZ, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Viking-Penguin, 1985), 185.
[4] WARREN BELASCO, 'Food Matters: Perspectives on an Emerging Field,' in *Food Nations: Selling Taste in Consumers Society*, eds WARREN BELASCO and PHILIP SCRANTON (New York: Routledge, 2002), 2–23, see 2.
[5] Among the vast scholarship on the autobiography, see PHILIPPE LEJEUNE, *Le pacte autobiographique* (Seuil: Paris, 1975).
[6] PETER HEEHS, *Writing the Self: Diaries, Memoirs, and the History of the Self* (New York and London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 6.

reconstruct the life of an individual, but also the context in which the individual lived his/her life. In the specific case of the diary of Thomas Thistlewood, Burnard has remembered that, along with others, it provides plenty of evidence 'about what white and black Jamaicans did within their peculiar society. They are the richest source into either white or black society. […] They offer a wealth of material about white society […] and the manner of living in the […] British tropical world.'[7]

Concerning letters, in his study on American letter manuals, Konstantin Dierks reminds that correspondence was and is usually full of apparently mundane topics because 'every aspect of quotidian life stood available to build an emotional connection between letter writer and letter reader.'[8] Some of the authors of letters used in this paper belonged to families divided by the Atlantic Ocean, for whom writing to relatives and friends in the colonies or in the metropole was the only way to communicate in order to bridge the distance.[9] In the case of Ann Brodbelt's letters to her daughter Jane, which are discussed in this article,[10] we can assume that letters were also a 'form of mothering at a distance.'[11] As a part of their role, mothers wrote about even small and trivial aspects of their banal daily life in order to recall home to their children who were typically attending school in the United Kingdom. Sarah Pearsall also confirms this aspect of communicating ordinary moments of time and space with the aim of bridging distance and building and maintaining emotional bonds. In her *Atlantic Families* she examines mothers' correspondence in order to offer a novel point of view on the social and cultural changes of the eighteenth century, while inserting them in their Atlantic and imperial context. Pearsall wrote that letters were imbued with 'subtle messages about their time and place that might elude the casual observer,' allowing their culture 'to exorcise demons of distance and dislocation.'[12]

Thus, the use of these sources gives us a sense of the atmosphere in which people – mainly Creoles – thought about and discussed food during their era. The abundance of small details that was functional to building and preserving attachment

[7] Thomas Thistlewood was a British overseer of a Jamaican sugar cane plantation. For thirty-seven years he wrote a diary that has been studied, among others, by TREVOR BURNARD in his *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire: Thomas Thistlewood and His Slaves in the Anglo-Jamaican World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 24–31.

[8] KONSTANTIN DIRKS, 'The Familiar Letter and Social Refinement in America, 1750-1800,' in *Letter Writing as a Social Practice*, eds DAVID BARTON and NIGEL HALL (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamin Publishing Company, 2000), 31–41, see 35.

[9] For a recent research on letters in the French Caribbean see ANNIKA RAAPKE, *"Dieses verfluchte Land": Europäische Körper in Brieferzählungen aus der Karibik, 1744-1826* (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2019), and Annika Raapke, 'Liebes-Sirup und Trost-Makkaroni. Essen und emotionale Zugehörigkeiten in Briefen aus der französischen Karibik des 18. Jahrhunderts,' *Historische Anthropologie*, 25, no. 1 (2017): 32–48.

[10] GERALDINE MOZLEY, *Letters to Jane from Jamaica, 1788-1796* (London: The Institute of Jamaica by The West Indian Committee, 1938).

[11] JENNY HARTLEY, 'Letters are Everything These Days,' in *Epistolary Selves. Letters and Letters-Writers, 1600-1945*, ed. REBECCA EARLE (1999; London; New York: Routledge, 2016), 138. On family letters and communication within the British Empire, see also Elizabeth Buettner, *Empire Families. Britons and Late Imperial India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 130–45.

[12] SARAH M. S. PEARSALL, *Atlantic Families: Lives and Letters in the Later Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 1, 7.

acts as an open window onto the culture of the epoch in which the letters, memoirs, diaries and autobiographies were written, thus offering a privileged point of view into the past. These documents can be especially useful when we do not concentrate on the supposed 'truth' expressed by their authors or the ways in which the writers tried to give a good impression of themselves and their families; they are especially helpful if and when we focus on the apparently ordinary topics described in these sources in order to reconstruct what Baxandall called the 'period eye.'[13] Indeed, we could question these sources in various ways: we could inquire as to what an individual of the past did on a specific day or what he/she thought of other individuals. These are issues connected with identity; with the idea of themselves that the writers wanted to transmit to their readers; or with their secret agenda, in which case we can imagine that the authors did not necessarily write the truth. However, if we ask the same person the colour of the walls of the room in which he/she spent the afternoon or what he/she had for breakfast, we can guess there was no reason to lie: neutral and evidently banal questions were the ones in which it did not make any sense for authors of a letter or a diary not to lie. Furthermore, even if the authors of the documents employed in this essay did not tell the truth, the information provided with a descriptive aim was plausible and realistic because it had to be inserted in the specific context, wherein whoever was reading could recognise any misrepresentation.

The common feature of the sources used here is that their authors shared the same social and economic background, respected the same norms and conventions, and addressed their writings to the same readers. It should also be noted that people's tastes and opinions are never separate and distinct from the geographical and historical context of their lives, but are generated by this context and can therefore be used as effective indicators of the mind of a place, society or age; this becomes particularly important when common themes emerge from the analysis of documents produced in the same period by different authors. The shortest note, however apparently unimportant, is thus connected to and influenced by its setting and by the cultural codes of the specific environment in which its author is located. Thus, the authors were fully aware of the ideas that they held in common with their contemporaries, and commented on these; but they also recorded if, when, and how they themselves or others violated the norms of their circles, and when they expressed opinions that differed from customary thinking. The use of the abovementioned documents as a historical source has also been defined as a 'mirror' to reconstruct everyday life and culture in the colonies.[14] They are of great utility to reconstruct and understand to what extent the British adapted their food habits to the new environment, but, above all – like in the case discussed in this article – they serve to illustrate how the food habits of the white planters were perceived and described in a way that could also lead to a new perception of the self and otherness. The analysis of these sources, therefore, revolves

[13] MICHAEL BAXANDALL, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).
[14] MARY PROCIDA, *Married to the Empire: Gender, Politics and Imperialism in India, 1883-1947* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 131.

around the issue of how the Creole diet was represented and whether and how the Creole and British accounts described the ambiguous and dual process of maintaining or modifying their diets.

To sum up, the shared methodological trait is to read between the lines of the sources in search of small, seemingly mundane details that do not add anything of relevance to the writer's identity but are of central use for this study on the seeming trivial aspect of food history. Indeed, also in the case of novels, their authors added details of plausible daily life, as well as sensations and impressions typical of the environment in which the novels were set and in which the letters and autobiographies were written too.[15] This point of adding specific aspects of likely thoughts and sensations is especially helpful because, as underlined by French historian Madeleine Ferrières, ideas, worries, opinions and representations of food can seldom be traced in official documents. In Ferrières's work on the history of food fears from medieval times to the twentieth century, she observed that, along with the taste of food, the act of feeding seemed too trivial to be worthy of note.[16] Because food was and is a silent and marginal phenomenon, there was not any need to record it in the official documents.[17] Indeed, it is natural enough that official sources did not register food impressions, opinions or tastes. However, neither the scarcity nor the ambiguity of sources on food and diet should be an insurmountable obstacle to progress in this area of research. Taking the cue from slavery studies, we should remember that the historian Marisa Fuentes says that the presence of enslaved women in the Caribbean archives is intermittent and full of gaps; nevertheless, she successfully attempts to reclaim a sense of their lives from the documentary fragments available by reading between the lines and challenging the nature of the archival record.[18] In addition, when Ken Albala was interviewed on the use of sources in food history, he observed that 'when you get [back before] the nineteenth/twentieth century, personal narratives are very interesting. What people talked about in their autobiographies or interviews or things like that.'[19] Therefore, besides reading between the lines of the sources, here we are challenging the nature of the archive by using personal narratives, that is, mainly memoirs, diaries, travellers' autobiographies, novels, and correspondence between the Creoles and colonists and their relatives, friends, acquaintances and business partners who had stayed in the

[15] On the use of the novel as a historical source, Jocelyne Kolb writes that '[w]hen social historians like Norbert Elias, Pierre Bourdieu, Jean-François Revel, Peter Gay, Stephen Mennell, Alain Corbin, or Margaret Visser consider subjects that traditionally have been excluded from scholarship, they often use literary texts as "evidence" to be read with an eye for its literal rather than its poetic function, as confirmation of their findings in nonliterary documents.' JOCELYNE KOLB, *The Ambiguity of Taste: Freedom and Food in European Romanticism* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1995), 24–25.
[16] MADELEINE FERRIÈRES, *Storia delle paure alimentari dal Medioevo all'alba del XX secolo* (Rome: Editori Riuniti, 2004), 14.
[17] However, it should be observed that *quantitative* aspects of food are usually well documented.
[18] MARISA J. FUENTES, *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence and the Archive* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2016), 1–6.
[19] KEN ALBALA, 'A Conversation with Ken Albala,' in *Food Studies: An Introduction to Research Methods*, eds JEFF MILLER and JONATHAN DEUTSCH (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2009), 91–100, see 97.

mother country, in order to discover qualitative and cultural aspects of everyday life, as is the case here of opinions and feelings about food in the colonies.

More specifically, the article mainly focuses on Trollope's *The West Indies and the Spanish Main* (1859) and *Lady Nugent Journal* (1839); on the novels *Years Ago: A Tale of West Indian Domestic Life of the Eighteenth Century* (1865) and the anonymous *Marly* (1828); and on the correspondence of *Letters to Jane from Jamaica, 1788-1796*. The common feature of these sources – whether they be letters, diaries, autobiographies or novels – is that they are documents that tell a story with its own plot.

However, because the sole examination of letters and diaries does not allow us to discover all aspects of the diet in the colonies, I also use periodical sources to see to what extent and how often the topic of food was discussed and which aspects of diet and food were examined in the West Indies colonies. The investigation was carried out on 140 different West Indian newspapers in the period from 1791 to 1857 through a keywords search.[20] I explored the occurrences of the words 'food and diet' (1,825 references), 'beef' (12,226 references), 'potato' (487 references), 'milk' (2,670 references), 'yam' (333 references), 'pepper pot' (8 references), 'soup' (2,163 references) and 'callaloo' (1 reference), which were chosen because they are the same words that constantly appear in the diaries, correspondence and novels. The year 1857 was the last for which I used periodicals as a source because, as of 1853, the West Indian newspapers showed a general tendency to maintain the same announcements on imported food commodities, with no changes over time. Also, in the second half of the century an alteration was seen in the subjects of the articles: instead of publishing local issues, the newspapers began to copy the news distributed in the international press, from all over the world, leaving the scattered pieces of Caribbean news in a more marginal position.

In the years in which the newspapers still focused on local news, they mainly wrote about different varieties of imported food, with advertisements for ingredients coming from Europe, and about the food served in various taverns and hotels, its freshness, quality and consumer trust, all subjects connected to the 'slavery, sugar, and immigration' triad.[21] Also, and still connected to Atlantic migration, according to my analysis of the newspapers stored at the British Library, another constant topic in the Caribbean papers concerned the quantity and quality of goods arriving from Europe, which was always advertised along with a significant medical and imperial debate on the food rations – of salted or fresh food – given to the British troops in the

[20] The only way to access the Caribbean digitised newspaper (1718–1876) database is from inside the British Library. A future research on digitised sources could also benefit from and be enriched by the use of OCR (Optical Character Recognition) programmes.

[21] RODERICK CAVE, 'Early Printing and the Book Trade in the West Indies,' *The Library Quarterly: Information, Community, Policy*, 48, no. 2 (1978): 163–192, see 190. On Caribbean newspapers as a source for history, see also Bridget Brereton, 'Women and Gender in Caribbean (English Speaking). Historiography: Sources and Methods,' *Caribbean Review of Gender Studies*, no. 7 (2013): 1–18.

Caribbean.[22] Another aspect that regularly arises from the analysis of newspapers is the attention paid to the origin and quality of food, starting as early as 1791. Then, besides focusing on replicating news from the international press, from the 1850s onwards there is an abrupt discontinuity in the announcements printed in all of the 140 West Indian newspapers analysed. We see a significant change in the typographical format, its dimensions, the use of simple drawings, and bold and capital letters characters all in the same announcement while beforehand they were less emphasised. The result of this modification in the printing style is that, after the 1850s it drew the readers' attention to the advertisements for food arriving from the United Kingdom. Moreover, because at least for the West Indian newspaper commercials, this change in the style of composing articles was a novelty, the readers were even more attracted by this new form of communicating news on imported food commodities.

Even though the first Caribbean newspapers were typically published weekly, some of them had been appearing twice, three times per week or even on a daily basis in the most inhabited colonies since the end of the eighteenth century. In the smaller colonies, newspapers struggled to have a weekly edition.[23]

Before the 1850s, the typical newspaper had three or four columns per page: page one usually had official advertisements and other proclamations that followed on to page two; page three had local news as well as information copied from other Caribbean newspapers; and page four contained advertisements. Even if their proprietors, editors and printers hoped that the papers would have a long life, a good number of them only had a short duration. They were quite expensive and the price increased from the 1780s to the 1820s; after that date, the price of Caribbean newspapers dropped.[24] 'The number of copies of the papers circulated is very hard to judge, as information on this is seldom to be found. The *Jamaica Despatch* […] was said to circulate 1,400 copies in 1836. Thirty years earlier, the *Barbados Mercury* had some 616 subscribers, probably much nearer the normal circulation figure for a successful paper in a prosperous and populous colony. But in the smaller islands the situation was very different.'[25] For instance, when the *Tobago Chronicle* concluded its publication in 1871, the editor communicated the news to its subscribers, who only counted 25 to 30 in a population of 17,000. In general, the number of subscribers on the smaller islands was so low that the majority of papers ceased to be printed.[26]

Because receiving news from the metropole was a slow process, the colonial newspapers also cooperated at a trans-colonial level to spread information. Subscribers asked the newspaper editors to quote overseas and European news in the local papers and 'by the middle years of the nineteenth century, the exchange of papers among the

[22] ILARIA BERTI, '"Salt Meat […] is Prejudicial to the Health of the Troops": The Battles Between Doctors and the British Empire over Army Diet in the Nineteenth-Century Caribbean,' *Culture & History Digital Journal* 9, no. 2 (2020), doi: 10.3989/chdj.2020.019.
[23] CAVE, 'Early Printing and the Book Trade,' 179.
[24] CAVE, 'Early Printing and the Book Trade,' 180.
[25] CAVE, 'Early Printing and the Book Trade,' 181.
[26] CAVE, 'Early Printing and the Book Trade,' 181.

West Indian islands had become automatic and formalized."[27] As shown in the newspapers examined for this article, it became increasingly common that a good number of them from various Caribbean islands printed exactly the same overseas news, which was often reprinted for several days or weeks.

Besides information on the numbers of subscribers for any single newspaper, the evidence on the quantity of copies circulating and read in the Caribbean is scant. Furthermore, retrieving information on the readership can be a tricky issue because the sole number of subscribers for any single paper does not provide the exact number of readers nor does it give us a thorough idea of the number of people reading any single copy of the newspaper. In fact, it is not always easy to get information on reading habits because as an activity it was (and still is) usually not registered except for books lent from libraries that kept notes on who borrowed them.[28] A stimulating essay on books, libraries, reading and readers in the small white Jamaican community between 1768 and 1777 shows how they exchanged books through the case study of Thomas Thistlewood's 700-title personal library. The analysis of his diaries gives us information on the intellectual world of the British and Creoles in Jamaica, their networks and cooperation, their interests and reading tastes, the connection between reading and status, if and to what extent they trusted each other in lending books, their identity and so on. However, Shelford's essay on Thistlewood's library only gives information on reading, lending and borrowing books and magazines but not on newspapers which, we can deduct, were not preserved, widely lent to others, or returned to their original owner.[29] Still, taking for granted that the members of the Creole elite were cultured people, able to write and read and also anxious to receive news that could be beneficial for their businesses, we can guess that they were also eager to read newspapers full of valuable information on local and global facts.

So, to sum up, I cross diaries, letters and novels with newspapers in order to give a more complete view of the complex cultural process concerning the Creole elite and British colonists' perceptions of diet, the dualism between public and private consumption, and the interactions between local and British and European food.

The Dietary Ambiguities of the In-betweener White Planters

The period subject to analysis is mainly the first half of the nineteenth century in the British colonies of the Caribbean. The islands' climate and lands were optimum to grow sugar cane, a consumer good under constantly increasing request in Europe. In fact, since the end of the eighteenth century, sugar had lost its aura of a luxury commodity to become a product consumed by the masses.[30] The colonists employed

[27] CAVE, 'Early Printing and the Book Trade,' 185–86.
[28] Among the studies on books, reading and readership see the influential GUGLIELMO CAVALLO and ROGER CHARTIER, *Historie de la lecture dans le monde occidental* (Paris: Seuil, 1995) and ROBERT DARNTON, 'What is the History of Books?' *Daedalus, Representations and Realities* 111, no. 3 (1982): 65-83.
[29] APRIL SHELFORD, 'Of Mudfish, Harpsichord and Books: Libraries and Communities in Eighteenth-Century Jamaica,' in *Before the Public Library. Reading, Community and Identity in the Atlantic World, 1650-1850*, eds MARK TOWSEY and KYLE B. ROBERTS (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2018), 73–97.
[30] MINTZ, *Sweetness and Power*.

enslaved Africans to work in the sugar cane plantations and, even though a good number of them were defined 'absentee' because they owned plantations while living in the metropole, others built their lives in the colonies, starting a family there. Here we define these people born in the colonies with British ancestors using terms such as white planters, members of the Creole elite and so on.

The choice of the period under investigation depends on a number of reasons: besides the author's research interest, the period from the 1790s to 1850 is dense in events and processes that caused deep social, economic and political modifications to the plantation system that was the economic centre of the Caribbean. We see the rise of the abolitionist movement in the 1780s, the abolition of the slave trade (1807) and of the institution of slavery, along with the emancipation of the enslaved people (1834–38); on the economic level, there were enormous changes such as the passage of the British Caribbean from an economic jewel in the empire's crown to its negligible value because of the declining value of sugar cane production due to competition from other sugar cane-producing lands and the parallel extraction of sucrose from beetroot, a more suitable vegetable for cultivation in European temperate climates.

In the British Caribbean colonies, whites only counted for ten percent of the population and the majority of its inhabitants were enslaved people. Due to the inclusion of British Guyana among the Empire's possessions, in 1830 the British West Indies occupied a space of 105,295 square miles and had 684,995 enslaved individuals at that date, falling to 664,970 in 1834. All in all, through the slave trade, the enslaved increased from 98,000 in 1690 to almost 700,000 by 1800, 'and it enabled slave productivity to increase by over 50 percent in the same period.'[31] Due to the impossibility of increasing the stock of slaves by acquiring others since the abolition of the trade in 1804–07, the planters began to apply a series of amelioration policies in order to aid a natural increase in the slave numbers. Nevertheless, the decline in their population continued.[32]

According to the scholarship, the British who provisionally moved to and lived in the Caribbean suffered from the hot and humid climate, seasonal hurricanes, insects and mosquitoes, disease and high mortality rates, and feared slave revolts.[33] The American, French and Saint Domingue revolutions and the Napoleonic wars also contributed to the instability of life in the Caribbean colonies.[34] Besides the British who temporarily moved to the colonies, the main part of the society examined here were the Creoles also described by the renowned Caribbeanist Trevor Burnard. As the abolitionist movement of the 1780s increased its pressure against slavery, the British began to change their opinion on the Creoles. The British abolitionist debate played a

[31] TREVOR BURNARD, *Planters, Merchants and Slaves: Plantation Societies in British America, 1650-1820* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2015), 18, 20.
[32] ILARIA BERTI, "'Feeding the Sick Upon Stewed Fish and Pork.' Slaves' Health and Food in a Jamaican Sugar Cane Plantation Hospital,' *Food & History* 14, no.1 (2016): 81–105.
[33] On the high mortality rates, see BERTI, "'Salt Meat,'" 4.
[34] KENNETH MORGAN, *Slavery and the British Empire: From Africa to America* (1993; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 47–48.

role in describing the Creole elite as a negative class because they lived on slavery, an immoral institution. More and more Creoles were perceived as cruel, corrupt, uneducated, intemperate, greedy, gluttons[35] and 'sexually lascivious deviants'[36] who preferred their 'colored mistresses'[37] to their white spouses and, therefore, did not have enough white children and failed to reproduce a white Creole society. And, as we will better see further on, some of the members of the Creole class tried to reject these ideas and wrote petitions and pamphlets to expose their views on slavery, which were strictly connected to their identity.[38]

Along with the British revulsion for the Creole attitudes came the decline of the plantation system which, between 1670 and 1820, had been the most lucrative commodity for the British Empire.[39] Its fall was connected with the Atlantic revolutions including the American Revolution (1776–83) and the Napoleonic Wars.[40] Among the Atlantic Revolutions, we cannot forget the uprising in the French colony of Saint Domingue (Haiti, 1791–1804) which led to the first republic founded by ex-slaves. This also caused a steep drop in the local sugar economy, as 'the key revolution in the fall of the plantation complex.'[41] However, the Saint Domingue revolution temporarily proved remarkably beneficial for the British West Indies, as they experienced an increase in productivity due to the lack of cultivation in Saint Domingue.[42] Even after the end of slavery, the plantation continued to be the main economic institution of the Caribbean, still managed by individuals with European roots whose main labour source came from people of African origin.[43]

Nevertheless, the topic discussed here concerns a cultural process whose beginning and end, as we know, are not as defined as political events such as wars, changes of governments, or the introduction of a new technology or ingredient, and so on. In fact, even though both the poorer locals as well as the British troops were nutritionally impacted by a more limited diet during revolutions and wars,[44] there does not seem to be an exact moment of rupture or cultural modification in the way in

35 ILARIA BERTI, 'Food and Colonists' Identity in Lady Nugent's Diary in the pre-Victorian British Caribbean,' in *Transgressive Appetites: Deviant Food Practices in Victorian Literature and Culture*, eds SILVIA ANTOSA et al. (Milan; Udine: Mimesis), forthcoming; Petley, 'Gluttony, Excess and the Fall of the Planter Class.'
36 BURNARD, *Planters, Merchants and Slaves*, 216, 224.
37 BURNARD, *Planters, Merchants and Slaves*, 268.
38 MORGAN, *Slavery and the British Empire*, 51, 52; RAPHAEL DALLEO, *Caribbean Literature and the Public Sphere: From the Plantation to the Postcolonial* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011), 21.
39 MORGAN, *Slavery and the British Empire*, 35.
40 PHILIP D. CURTIN, *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 144–45.
41 CURTIN, *The Rise and Fall*, 153–54, 58.
42 BURNARD, *Planters, Merchants and Slaves*, 222.
43 CURTIN, *The Rise and Fall*, 173. To better see how the shift from a commercial capitalism to an industrial one affected the British Caribbean and its plantation system, see FRANKLYN W. KNIGHT, 'The Disintegration of the Caribbean Slave Systems, 1772-1886,' in *General History of the Caribbean*, III - *The Slave Societies of the Caribbean*, ed. FRANKLYN W. KNIGHT (2003; New York; Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 322–45.
44 BERTI, '"Salt Meat."'

which Creoles and British colonists evaluated food and diet, resulting in a specific change in their dietary habits. As the article demonstrates, what we see are veiled and multidirectional changes in how people perceived ingredients, dishes and diet that were (and are), of course, connected to their identity.

Mrs Lynch (1812–65) described the daily life and culture of the white planters in her novel *Years Ago*. Née Theodora Elizabeth Foulks (Dale Park, Sussex, UK),[45] she was the daughter of Arthur Foulks (1776–1840) and Mary Ann MacKenzie. Her father was a Jamaican sugar planter, owner of the estate *The Lodge* in the parish of St Dorothy, Jamaica. In December 1835, Theodora married Henry Mark Lynch, son of John Lynch of Kingston, Jamaica. After her husband's death from yellow fever in 1845, Theodora moved back to England where she wrote fiction, mostly for young people. An interesting note on the cultural context is already contained in the author's pen name, Henry Lynch even though, as we have just seen, she was a woman. The author used a masculine pseudonym because, as happened in other spheres of life, in the Victorian period writing for publishing was dominated by men. Women were afraid that, if they wrote under their real female names, readers would not take them as seriously as their male counterparts. So, in order to ensure that readers would accept their texts, Victorian women often used male names.

Mrs Lynch's novels are of interest for the aim of this article because they usually had a West Indian setting.[46] We can assume that Mrs Lynch grew up in Jamaica because it is there that her father owned a plantation, there she married her husband, and her novels and poems had Jamaica and the West Indies as a backdrop. The author was, therefore, internal to the socio-economic elite both of the British and the white Creole society of the Caribbean. Therefore, following on from the historian Kathleen Wilson, we could define Mrs Lynch as an in-betweener, that is, a woman who knew, mixed and adapted her life to the worlds of both Creole and British society. Even though the term in-betweener could refer to any person living between two different cultures, in this article it is only taken to mean British and mainly Creole whites who left a written trace of their life in the Caribbean colonies and had something to say about how they mixed familiar with local habits and showed duplicity in the ways they perceived, desired, refused, described and evaluated local and British food, dishes and ingredients as well as other cultural habits.[47] Also, as explained by Pamela Scully, when historians examine

[45] See EVELYN O'CALLAGHAN, *Women Writing the West Indies, 1804-1939: 'A Hot Place Belonging to Us'* (London: Routledge, 2004), 190 where the author notes that Mrs Lynch was born in England even though Lowell Ragatz claimed that she was born in Jamaica.

[46] GEORGE CLEMENT BOASE, *Lynch, Theodora Elizabeth* (London: Smith, Elder, and Company, 1893); THOMAS W. KRISE, *Lynch, Theodora Elizabeth (1812-1865)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); CATHERINE REILLY, *Mid-Victorian Poetry, 1860-1879, An Annotated Biobibliography* (London; New York: Mansell, 2000), 285. See also 'Arthur Foulks,' *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership*, https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/18133, accessed June 26, 2020.

[47] A similar concept is developed by KATHLEEN WILSON in 'The Performance of Freedom: Maroons and the Colonial Order in Eighteenth-Century Jamaica and in the Atlantic South,' *The William and Mary Quarterly* 6, no.1 (2009): 45–86. Here Wilson notes how visitors were struck by the Creoles' mixing of habits during the first phases of the colonisation. They would drink chocolate, an American ingredient,

the life of people 'who crossed cultures' they are faced with 'many subjectivities' because 'movement across and within cultural and political systems opens up spaces for re-imaginings of self.'[48] A similar observation has also been made by Pearsall in her *Atlantic Families* in which she quotes the Scottish anthropologist Victor Turner and his idea of 'liminal entities [that] are neither here nor there, they are bewixt and between. In much the same way, Atlantic families were "neither here nor there," were both and yet neither, in between what became nation-states but also in between the most usual forms of household formation, continuity, and authority.'[49] Therefore, as the Creoles were people that experienced their lives in at least three different worlds – the local one permeated by native ingredients, African cultures and culinary techniques, and British habits – they had a sort of multiple identity and could suitably also be defined by the term in-betweeners. As we will see, their living between two different cultures aided the emergence of a new self, which I define a Creole identity, that, according to its own name, arose from the creolisation of local, African and British cultures.

Years Ago is a novel written in the form of a journal of a 15-year-old girl, Dorothy or Doss, which the author writes in the first person and whose narration begins on July 3, 1790. Doss's family of five people included her father, her mother Lucia, her 17-year-old sister Philippa, a 20-year-old young woman Lucille, and herself, the 15-year-old narrator.[50] On the cultural side, one of the subjects emerging frequently in the novel is the wish, or better, almost the need, to often underline the different identity of the Creole elite from the British one. All in all, despite their small number, white Jamaicans 'developed a rich, vibrant, and distinctive culture.'[51] For instance, according to Mrs Lynch, the British believed that the Creoles were uneducated. In fact, when Doss described her father's love for written culture and writing, some of the reviewers of his texts 'expressed their surprise that a West Indian wrote so well.'[52] Again, stressing an ambiguous Creole sense of distinction, on February 1, 1791 Doss wrote:

> We West Indian girls have such a foolish family pride instilled into us, that we begin almost from our cradles to think ourselves better than those who very often are far superior to us. Colonial life is calculated to make one narrow minded. We give more

and sangria, used African chewsticks to clean their teeth, slept on hammocks and bore their children on their hips as Africans did. Wilson defines these mixed habits as 'cultural heteroglossia,' 51. However, we should also take into account that a good number of the first immigrants in the British Caribbean were poor people trying to find a better life in the colonies. Due to their life in poverty and to their main need – survival – it is possible that they did not take care to preserve their old habits but acted according to their daily necessities.

48 PAMELA SCULLY, 'Peripheral Visions: Heterography and Writing in the Transnational Life of Sara Baartman,' in *Transnational Lives: Biography of Global Modernity, 1700-present*, eda Desley Deacon, Penny Russell and Angela Woollacott (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 27–40, see 32, 34. That moving from one place to another contributed to the formation of a new identity is also clear in the reconstruction of the life of Elizabeth Marsh and the contexts in which she lived: see LINDA COLLEY, *The Ordeal of Elizabeth Marsh: A Woman in World History* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2007).

49 PEARSALL, *Atlantic Families*, 54.

50 See MRS HENRY LYNCH, *Years Ago: A Tale of West Indian Domestic Life of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Jarrod and Sons, 1865), 1–11.

51 BURNARD, *Mastery, Tyranny and Desire*, 245.

52 LYNCH, *Years Ago*, 1.

> weight than is due to colonial employments, colonial honours, &c.; and I have been feeling all this time […] that a West Indian planter's daughter was too noble […] to be the wife of an English merchant's son.[53]

After having emphasised the ambiguous feelings of Creole distinction, I will now evaluate if their food habits were also distinct from British ones and if the Creoles imitated the metropolitan colonists in their diet.[54] Moreover, I will also look at some of the white planters' reasons for their dietary choices and the British opinions on local food. Finally, I will examine if new and different food habits played a role in the invention of a Creole culture.

According to Mrs Lynch, the father of the family in *Years Ago* loved 'roasted plantains, […] black crabs, […] "Twice Laid", which is salt fish dressed very deliciously with egg and yam, and browned till is crisp and of good flavour.'[55] None of these foods had a British origin but they were routine in the Creole diet, a diet also shared by the African and Creole slaves.[56] However, when Doss described *The Glebe*, the sugar cane[57] plantation inherited by Hugh, the young man she will marry at the end of the novel,

> the provision store was full of good things which Hugh said came chiefly from Bristol and Ireland. Barrels of herrings and salted cod, pickled tongues and smoke-dried hams, salted beef and pork, 58 boxes of soap, hard wax candles […] then there were hogsheads of salt, and barrels of flour and peas, and large jars of groats.[59]

What is striking here is the gap between the awareness of their sense of 'superior' Creoleness, despite being despised by the British, and their fondness for Creole dishes, which clashed with the 'good things […] from Bristol and Ireland.' We should reflect on how these two opposite and contrasting attitudes about food could be inserted in a unified discourse on food and diet. It seems that the ambiguity described above was a contrast between subjectivity, namely Doss's father's fondness for local food, and objectivity, namely the 'good' food that came from Bristol and Ireland.

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[53] LYNCH, *Years Ago*, 255.
[54] On distinction see the influential PIERRE BOURDIEU, *La distinction. Critique social du jugement* (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1979).
[55] LYNCH, *Years Ago*, 13.
[56] See BERTI, *Curiosity, Appreciation and Disgust*.
[57] See LYNCH, *Years Ago*, 24, 25 where Hugh, the owner of the plantation, decided to cut down some pimento trees because they were not as profitable as the sugar cane. On a more general level, one of the main reasons for the British colonisation of the West Indies was economic because they developed a plantation economy based on sugar cane there. For a better analysis of the plantation economy see, for instance, GAD HEUMAN, *The Caribbean* (London: Hodder Arnold, 2006); MANUEL MORENO FRAGINAL, *El Ingenio. Complejo socioeconómico cubano* (La Habana: Comisión Nacional de la Unesco, 1962); MANUEL MORENO FRAGINAL, *Plantations in the Caribbean: Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); HENRY PAGET, 'The Caribbean Plantation. Its Contemporary Significance,' *Sugar, Slavery, and Society: Perspectives on the Caribbean, India, the Mascarenes, and the United States*, ed. BERNARD MOITT (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004), 157–185; TREVOR BURNARD, '"Prodigious Riches": The Wealth of Jamaica Before the American Revolution,' *Economic History Review* LIV, no. 3 (2002): 518–20; and FRANK MOYA PONS, *History of the Caribbean: Plantations, Trade, and War in the Atlantic World* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publisher, 2007).
[58] Salt food is discussed in BERTI, '"Salt Meat."'
[59] LYNCH, *Years Ago*, 33.

Marly, an anonymous anti-abolitionist novel, tells the story of George Marly, a young Scot who travelled to Jamaica in order to reclaim his grandparents' sugar cane plantation. In Jamaica he fell in love with the daughter of Simon McFathom, the attorney who seized his ancestors' possessions. Similarly to *Years Ago*, a fundamental discrepancy can be seen between the private sphere – the Creole girls eating a local stew called pepper pot in the kitchen, squatting like the slaves and poking their fingers in the soup without the aid of an instrument like a fork or a spoon – and the public one, with elegant parties where European food was also offered in a sophisticated manner.[60] As clearly shown by *Marly*, not only did the white planters who were part of the dominant local elite share the same food eaten by slaves but they also had the same style of eating. Their performances during meals when the British could not see them were connected to African customs instead of the good manners of the *civilised* British. While in their private lives the white Creoles shared the black Creoles' style of eating, in public their dinners were 'elegant being nearly the same style as an English one: the wines were superior, the porter was delicious and the attendance of the negro boys pretty good manners.'[61] In fact, during a dinner at Happy Fortune, one of the possessions stolen from his grandparents, Marly observed,

> The dinner was sumptuous and elegant, partaking more of an English one, than was common within the Tropics. All the rarity of the country, as well as of Europe, were called into requisition. Wines were of the first quality. The desserts, […] were displayed in all the different modes of fashionable taste, so much so, that it would have been considerably grand even in the old country.[62]

Again, the Creoles had a private life in which they ate what they liked best, in the way they preferred, and a public one in which they imitated both a refined British diet and manner of eating.

Other in-betweeners were the family of Jane Brodbelt. From their documents – the family letters sent to Jane during the last decade of the eighteenth century – we can retrieve valuable information relating to this continuous oscillation between two different dietary styles.[63] The author of most of the letters sent to Jane was her mother, Ann Brodbelt. She wrote letters to her daughter because, even though Jane was born in Jamaica, she was 'a little school girl […] in England.'[64] Even though we are aware that a mother writing to her pre-teenage daughter could not discuss every aspect of colonial life, their letters, written between 1788 and 1796, provide some useful hints on how the Creole elite perceived food. In publishing a review of this 'pleasant little book'[65] edited by Geraldine Mozley, *The Spectator* wrote that Jane Brodbelt's father came from an 'old Herefordshire family' who possessed various estates in Jamaica. 'Thus the Brodbelts moved in the best Jamaican society.' The author of the review

[60] ANONYMOUS, *Marly; or a Planter's Life in Jamaica* (Glasgow: Griffin and Co., 1828), 211–12.
[61] ANONYMOUS, *Marly*, 10–11.
[62] ANONYMOUS, *Marly*, 111–12.
[63] See *The Spectator*, August 18, 1938: 32.
[64] MOZLEY, *Letters to Jane*, 32.
[65] MOZLEY, *Letters to Jane*, 32.

written in 1838, the same year as its publication, declared that this correspondence 'is, as one would expect, of domestic rather than historic interest.' However, the different sensibility of twenty-first-century historians and more recent approaches to history allow researchers to use these letters as a historical source of fundamental importance in studying family life, gender, emotions and, of course, food and consumption, too. For instance, in letter XVII written during 1792, Ann, the mother, wrote to Jane:

> Tell Mr Raymond that I never have his favourite dish (a Pepper Pot) without wishing Him to be a partaker of it, but that I much doubt whether He would thank me for wishing him in a Country so greatly inferior in point of pleasures to those he enjoys in England.[66]

Here, the desire to eat a 'favourite dish,' a pepper pot, a Caribbean stew already described in *Marly* as well as in a good number of other documents, was connected with a feeling of inferiority. Compared with England, Jamaica appeared 'so greatly inferior' and even the desire to eat one's favourite food again counted nothing because it was associated with the West Indies. Even though one could find a 'favourite dish,' in Jamaica, the Caribbean was worth less 'in points of pleasure' to the dishes Mr Raymond could have in England. Then, a year later, on November 24, 1793, Jane's father, Dr Francis Rigby Brodbelt,[67] expressed his pleasure after receiving 'a fine basket of Fruit' from Mr Roche. He also wrote, 'I wish we knew how to make him some return to show we are not unmindful of his Civility but the duties etc. upon every Article from Jamaica are so great as to render sending Things almost a prohibition.'[68] This letter, too, reveals their need to underline their manners, the topic of difference and inferiority perceived by the Creoles when judged by the British or when they had to compare their food with the British diet. The fruit received was 'fine' and Mr Brodbelt does not mention the fact that he could have shown his politeness by sending back some tropical fruit; all he says is that he could not send anything back owing to the high duties imposed on West Indian commodities. So, this time, too, as well as in the case of the Creole diet and the good food from Europe described by Mrs Lynch, foodstuffs were connected with a perceived sense of otherness and inadequacy. One year later, on May 4, 1795, Jane's mother wrote a letter to Jane on the same piece of paper as a letter to her cousin who had also been sent to school in England. Jane's mother wanted to send her some money, 'half a guinea,' to buy some fruit to ship to her in Jamaica.[69] Once more, the desire to taste English fruit was present in this source. If we reflect, again, on the variety of fruit available in Jamaica, it seems irrational, to our twenty-first century eyes, to ask for fruit from England instead of enjoying the tropical varieties from Jamaica, which, in some cases, such as pineapple, was still

[66] MOZLEY, *Letters to Jane*, 32.
[67] Francis Rigby Brodbelt was described as part of a group of 'professionals from established island families who had chosen to live and, to die, in the islands.' JOAN COUTU, *Persuasion and Propaganda: Monuments and the Eighteenth-Century British Empire* (Quebec: McGill-Queens University Press, 2006), 252–53.
[68] MOZLEY, *Letters to Jane*, letter XXXII, 72.
[69] MOZLEY, *Letters to Jane,* letter XLVII, 107.

viewed as a luxury product at the end of the eighteenth century, exactly the time when Jane Brodbelt was schooling in England.[70] Moreover, many contemporaries of the Brodbelt family were completely aware that fruit was the best variety of food available in the West Indies and that it was appreciated by the great majority of British travellers.[71] However, this attitude of perceiving British food – even British fruit – as superior to what existed in the West Indies is exactly the same behaviour already described by Mrs Lynch in her novel, *Years Ago*. The Creoles were ambiguous and insecure when they had to compare their local Caribbean food with British food.

How the British Perceived the Local Food and their Attitudes to the Creole Diet

Because of the Creoles' willingness to reproduce the metropolitan habits, the differences and boundaries between their own and British habits often appear blurred. Therefore, analysing the colonial diet in the Caribbean is a truly complex but fascinating process. In this section we will see how the British perceived the local diet and how their opinions are connected to the aim of this work, namely, the dietary ambivalences of the Creoles between the public and private spheres.

Anthony Trollope described the white planters' attitude of perceiving British food as superior to the local diet.[72] A keen observer of the habits of the white Creoles, Trollope was one of the most prolific and best-known novelists of the Victorian age. What is of particular interest in his writings is the description of the interaction between people and the pressure of the society in which they lived.[73] Because Trollope was usually very sensitive to but also critical of the values of his epoch,[74] his travelogue is a valid instrument to analyse in order to show Creole behaviour in many food-related aspects. The first edition of his travel account, *The West Indies and the Spanish Main*, was

[70] KAORI O'CONNOR, *Pineapple: A Global History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2013) and FRAN BEUMAN, *The Pineapple: King of Fruit* (London: Vintage Books, 2005). According to Beuman, pineapple was 'a potent status symbol in Europe and North America […], the Prada handbag of its day, […] functioned as a response to conditions that today might be deemed "status anxiety",' xi, xii. 76: 'By the mid 1720s every self-respecting aristocrat in England aspired to owing a pinery […]. Therein lay the beginning of a frenzied fashion that was to engulf the country for the next 150 years.' 95: 'It was as if this fruit from the West Indies had appeared by magic, so alien did it seem amongst the soot and stench of life in the capital.'

[71] The Brodbelt family did not seem to despise local fruit, and indeed it was also one of the few articles generally appreciated by all British travellers. See, for instance, CARMICHAEL, *Domestic Manners*, I, 9 where she, as well as other travellers, appreciated local fruit.

[72] Besides being a productive professional novelist who published 47 novels in addition to various stories of his travels, his autobiography and short novels, Trollope also worked as an officer for the British Royal Mail. In order to modernise the British postal service, he travelled extensively in a good number of colonies of the British Empire in Europe, North and Central America, the West Indies, Africa, Australia and New Zealand. He is known for his idea to create the British Royal Mail postbox, the characteristic red cylinders still visible today in the United Kingdom. See CAROLINE DEVER and LISA NILES, 'Introduction,' in *The Cambridge Companion to Anthony Trollope*, eds CAROLINE DEVER and LISA NILES (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 1–5, see 1; Mark W. Turner, 'Trollope Literary Life and Times,' in *The Cambridge Companion to Anthony Trollope*, eds DEVER and NILES, 6–16, see 13; DONALD SMALLEY, *The Critical Heritage: Anthony Trollope* (London: Routledge, 1963), 23.

[73] SMALLEY, *The Critical Heritage: Anthony Trollope* (London: Routledge, 1969), xvii, 5, 13; see also DEVER and NILES, *The Cambridge Companion*, 1.

[74] For instance, Trollope's satirical novel *The Way We Live Now* (1875) is a strong critique of British society and the collapse of its values and manners. See DEVER and NILES, *The Cambridge Companion*, 1.

published in London in 1859 and tells the story of his travels during the last months of 1858 and the beginning of 1859. One of his aims was to discover how the sugar cane plantations could survive without the work of the slaves after the abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1834.[75] When he arrived in Kingston, the capital of Jamaica, he slept at the inn of Mrs Seacole's sister.[76] There, 'this patriotic lady' told him 'beefsteaks and onions and bread and cheese and beer composed the only diet proper for an Englishman.'[77] According to the lady, all the white inhabitants of Jamaica

> are fond of English dishes and that they despise or affect to despise their own production. They will give you ox-tail when turtle would be much cheaper. Roastbeef and beefsteak are found at almost every meal. An immense deal of beer is consumed. When yams, avocado pears, the mountain cabbage, plantains and twenty other delicious vegetables may be had for the gathering, people will insist on eating bad English potatoes; and the desire for English pickles is quite a passion. This is one phase of that love for England which is so predominant a characteristic of the white inhabitants of the West Indies.[78]

It seems that a keen observer of the society of his time such as Trollope got the point: when he had the chance to observe them, the Creoles preferred English food. Despite Trollope's value judgement which claimed that the local vegetables were enjoyable while British food was bad, the Creoles seemed to love British food more than local products, at least when he could see their kind of diet with his own eyes.

An advertisement published in December 1791 in *The Daily Advertiser* wrote that the Bretton Hotel (Kingston, Jamaica) wanted to inform its public of some news about the hotel. All these modifications concerned the food served there. This announcement is of interest because it chiefly quoted British ingredients. The Bretton was improving its pastry, a dough about which Mrs Carmichael complained during her first Caribbean dinner party in St Vincent: 'experience soon taught me that it was impossible to make light flaky pastry, such as we see every day in England.'[79] The owner of the Bretton hotel also wanted to inform the ladies that he had a good range of typical English dishes for sale

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[75] James Buzard, 'Trollope and Travel,' in *The Cambridge Companion*, eds DEVER and NILES, 168–180, see 172.

[76] Even though Trollope did not provide any other information on the sister of Mrs Seacole, especially on who she was, he was referring to Mary Jane Seacole, the Jamaican woman who served as a nurse in the Crimean War and who also published her autobiography in 1857. This fact is confirmed by ANTONIA MACDONALD SMITH, 'Trading Places: Market Negotiations in The Wonderful Adventures of Mrs. Seacole in Many Lands,' in *Gendering the African Diaspora: Women, Culture and Historical Change in the Caribbean and Nigerian Hinterlands*, eds JUDITH A. BYFELD, LARAY DENZER and ANTHEA MORRISON (Bloomington; Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2010), 88–113, see 111.

[77] ANTHONY TROLLOPE, *The West Indies and the Spanish Main* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1859), 21. See also ILARIA BERTI, 'Food "Proper for an Englishman". Neophilia and Neophobia in Anthony Trollope's The West Indies and the Spanish Main,' in *Mesas luso-brasileiras: alimentação, saúde & cultura*, eds CARMEN SOARES and CILENE DA SILVA GOMES RIBEIRO (Coimbra; Curitiba: Coimbra University Press; PUCPR University Press, 2018), II, 177–94.

[78] TROLLOPE, *The West Indies*, 21.

[79] CARMICHAEL, *Domestic Manners*, I, 1, 3, 32, 34.

> that he has now in sale the best flavoured Mince for pies, and, for two weeks before Christmas and during the same, he will make Mince Pye [*sic*]. Ice Cakes, and a Temple in Pastry which will contain cakes of different sizes and prices; […] Confectionary, &c &c. – Viands dressed for families upon the shortest notice; Turtle and Gravy soup, Mutton chops and Beef Steaks every day at 12 o'clock – Collard Beef, do. Brawn, do. Eels and Calves Head rolled.[80]

According to historian Kathleen Wilson, the patterns of consumption of the white Creoles in the Caribbean were actually 'also shaped by efforts to reinvent the hierarchies and rituals of home (that is, Britain) while meeting the exigencies of a new environment.'[81]

The analysis of announcements of food imported from the United Kingdom shows that, even though the British and Creoles in the Caribbean could find British ingredients, some of them did not maintain the same taste after a long sea trip.[82] And, of course, many of these imported foods were very expensive both for British travellers and for the Creole elite. Consequently, the white planters ate and loved their customary Creole diet even though they also looked forward to having what they perceived as *superior* British food. A customary meal could resemble the one described in the letter of November 27, 1793 to Jane. The Brodbelt family was invited for a second breakfast by Captain Incleton. There they had a 'pleasant meal' comprising 'manati [*sic*], or sea cow […] in appearance and taste very much like roasted veal […]. An excellent pepper-pot […] made from Lima beans, Indian kale, and ochro [*sic*]; yams and hot plantains, with cheese, fresh from England, and fruit.'[83] The great majority of ingredients eaten during this lunch were local, to which 'cheese, fresh from England' was added, clarifying its origin. The relevance of having some English food, besides the local products, depended on their mentality. Again, Anthony Trollope's acute observational spirit helps us: 'Though they have every delicacy which the world can give them of native production, all of these are nothing, unless they also have something from England.'[84] Already in the year 1791, *The Daily Advertiser* published the announcement of Joseph Volley, owner of a tavern in Spanish Town, Jamaica. He had to leave, I guess to come back to England, 'for the benefit of his health' as he wrote.[85] So, he 'begs those indebted to him to be speedy in their payments,' concluding his announcement with the note: 'The Tavern will be kept as usual – Beef steaks and soup every day –.' [86] The food served at Mr Volley's consisted of typical British food such as steaks and

[80] *The Daily Advertiser*, Kingston, Jamaica, December 3, 1791, 1.
[81] WILSON, *The Performance of Freedom*, 52.
[82] For practical reasons I shall only remember the case quoted in Mrs Carmichael. During her first Caribbean dinner she had London porter, a traditional British dark beer that, in Mrs Carmichael's view, in the Caribbean weather 'acquires a degree of mildness and flavour far beyond that which it ever attains in Britain,' CARMICHAEL, *Domestic Manners*, I, 37.
[83] MOZLEY, *Letters to Jane*, November 27, 1793, 72.
[84] TROLLOPE, *The West Indies*, 41.
[85] *The Daily Advertiser*, Kingston, Jamaica, December 1, 1791, 4.
[86] *The Daily Advertiser*, Kingston, Jamaica, December 1, 1791, 4.

soups, the 'something from England' described by Trollope nearly 70 years later that seemed essential in taverns, too.

So, what kind of food did the white planters receive from England in the same period in which Mrs Lynch sets her novel and in the same epoch of the correspondence of Jane Brodbelt? According to the local newspapers, the West Indies of 1791 imported a good variety of ingredients usually consumed in the metropole:

> codfish […], salmon […], Herrings in barrels. Beef in ditto. Butter in firkins. Pigs head in barrels. […] Flour in barrels. Bottled clarets in puncheons and cases. […] Madeira wine. Claret. Burgundy. Old hock. Sherry & Port. Philadelphia flour. Salt fish in hogshead and tierces.[87]

The Daily Advertiser wrote that at the store of Joseph Dewdney in King Street one could find not only British but also European food

> Yorkshire hams, Dried tongues, Stilton cheese, […] Blooms raisins and currants, French and Spanish olives in quarts and pints, Squarer [*sic*] of walnuts, Ditto mango, Ditto onions, […] Capers in pints, Sallad [*sic*] oil in pints, Anchovies in […] pots, Lemon pickles in do, Quin' sauce, Ketchup in pints, Durham mustard in ½ lb bottles, Cherry and Raspberry brandy in pints, […] Black, red or currant jelly in lb pots, Raspberry jam, Port of a superior quality per punch or dozen, and, A few tons of Excellent porter in hhds [hogshead], With an assortment of good [*sic*] of former importations."[88]

Besides the advertisements for food commodities imported from the United Kingdom, it is important to note that, according to 'the sister of Mrs Seacole,' British travellers appreciated their familiar food more than the local diet and also that the white planters were aware that British food was different. Mrs Carmichael, too, wrote about this process in an excerpt that is worth quoting in full:

> Those who have been long settled, and who are accustomed to this style of living, take it very contentedly, and ask their intimate friends to come and eat fish with them; but they know this is not the style of living in England, and it is not before a considerable lapse of time that they consider you sufficiently creolized, to invite you to come and eat fish, and when they do, it is a sure sign that they consider you no longer as a ceremonious visitor.[89]

The use of the term 'accustomed,' the contrast drawn between 'this style of living' and 'they know this is not the style of living in England,' and between 'visiter [*sic*]' and 'long settled' clearly indicates that Mrs Carmichael perceived that the white planters had a different diet and that it took the British a while to get used to new food and different techniques of preparing and cooking ingredients. In her own words, Creoles never invited newcomers to have local food and waited until they got used to the Creole diet.

[87] *The Daily Advertiser*, Kingston, Jamaica, June 1, 1791, 4.
[88] *The Daily Advertiser*, Kingston, Jamaica, January 1, 1791.
[89] CARMICHAEL, *Domestic Manners*, I, 51-54.

Conclusion

I could summarise and conclude this essay with a brief note on Lady Nugent's stay in Jamaica. She lived there from 1801 to 1805 because her husband George was the British Governor of the island appointed by the Crown. Her whole diary is pervaded by disdain for everything Creole: especially for their food, their sense of cleanness, the ways in which they educated their children, their language, with a true disgust for the Creoles' lack of manners. However, on September 30, 1805, when she and her children were already in London, Maria Nugent wrote that they 'amuse all the family very much by their little funny talks, and Creole ideas and ways.'[90] One could, however, object that Creole manners and language were only good for children and not for adults. This critique on infantilising Creole habits and appreciating their customs only if referred to children disappears if we quote the entry of August 2, 1805 in which Maria Nugent asserted that it was 'very cold to *us Creoles*.'[91] In all four years of her diary, this is the first and only time that Lady Nugent declared with affection that she and her children were Creoles, something she had never written while she was in Jamaica. Maybe the distance from the habits of the white planters, even in their diet, contributed to this deep modification not only in her personality but also in the description and the definition of herself and her children. When back in London, Maria Nugent was a different woman compared to the person she was upon her arrival in Jamaica; this was a process of change in which food certainly played a dominant role. So, the dilemmas and ambiguities in the encounters between the Creole and British diets were part of this process of change at an individual level, not only in the Creoles' dietary habits but in the identity of British travellers in the West Indies, too.

The Creoles fought a constant battle between at least three different parts of their identity: their daily life when they thought they were not seen by the British in which they mixed local and imported ingredients; the food culture of the enslaved Africans that became prevalent through the agency of the slave cooks; and the supposedly more refined British dietary culture that also existed in the colonies.[92] As we have seen, their lives were lived between different cultures, in which geography, climate and a refined culture did not allow the Creoles to slavishly imitate either the superior British habits or follow the slaves' purportedly inferior dietary customs. They also experienced a clash between subjectivity, their personal idea about what they liked best, and objectivity, the idea that good food came from the metropole. They were aware, or they pretended to be aware, that British food was superior only if and when compared with their Creole diet. The duplicity and ambiguity with which they acted in their lives, their being in-betweeners, could also properly be defined in a different way:

[90] PHILIP WRIGHT, ed., *Lady Nugent's Journal of Her Residence in Jamaica from 1801 to 1805* (Kingston: The University of the West Indies Press, 2002), 259.
[91] WRIGHT, *Lady Nugent's Journal*, 252.
[92] On slaves' cooking agency, see ILARIA BERTI, 'In the Kitchen. Slaves, Agency and African Cuisine in the Caribbean,' in *American Globalization, 1492-1850: The Introduction, Reception and Rejection of European and Asian Commodities in the New World*, eds Bartolomé Yun Casalilla, Ilaria Berti and Omar Svriz Wucherer (Abingdon: Routledge, forthcoming).

it was a key part of their unique Creole culture and identity, which mixed, creolised and hybridised the ingredients widely available in the local tropical climate, the cooking techniques of the slaves, and the dietary and good table manners to which they aimed when they were seen by the British.

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Mobilizing Otherness/Alterity Across Time and Space

Ed. by Giacomo Orsini

INTRODUCTION
*The Social (Re)production of Diversity**

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Today as in the past, the (re)production of alterity or, put more simply, diversity, is central to the structuring of social, political, economic and cultural relations among individuals, groups and communities.[1] The mobilisation of differences and/or similarities shapes the perception and experience of encounters and clashes with a more or less distant 'other(s).'[2]

Importantly, otherness results from 'a discursive process by which a dominant in-group […] constructs one of many dominated out-groups by stigmatizing […] real or imagined differences.'[3] As such, in defining the limits of membership, the social reproduction of diversity is constituent to the construction of sameness, that is, of perceived and experienced 'in-group homogeneity.'[4]

Consequent to this mobilisation of diversity and similarity 'different subjects are formed[:] hegemonic subjects – that is, subjects in powerful social positions as well as those subjugated to these powerful conditions.'[5] This means that the act of 'othering' – as the process through which one or more groups demarcate what is different and, potentially, unacceptable against what is similar and, thus, acceptable[6] – produces

* The present thematic section of Cromohs is based upon work from COST Action CA18140 'People in Motion: Entangled Histories of Displacement across the Mediterranean' (PIMo) and the panel 'Discussing Otherness/Sameness Across the Mediterranean. (Maritime) Methodologies on the Unsettling Subject' organised for the first PIMo annual conference held at the Biblioteca Riccardiana in Florence, on February 13 and 14, 2020.

1 EMILE DURKHEIM, *The Division of Labour in Society* (New York: Free Press, 1997); FRED DERVIN, 'Cultural Identity, Representation and Othering,' in *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Intercultural Communication 2*, ed. JANE JACKSON (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), 181–94; JOHN SCOTT, *Conceptualising the Social World: Principles of Sociological Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

2 GERARD DELANTY, 'Cultural Diversity, Democracy and the Prospects of Cosmopolitanism: A Theory of Cultural Encounters,' *The British Journal of Sociology* 62, no. 4 (2011): 633–56.

3 JEAN-FRANÇOIS STASZAK, 'Other/Otherness,' in *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, eds ROB KITCHIN and NIGEL THRIFT (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2009), 43–44.

4 LAURA COSTELLOE, 'Discourses of Sameness: Expressions of Nationalism in Newspaper Discourse on French Urban Violence in 2005,' *Discourse & Society* 25, no. 3 (2014): 315–40, see 316.

5 OSCAR THOMAS-OLALDE and ASTRIDE VELHO, 'Othering and its Effects – Exploring the Concept,' in *Writing Postcolonial Histories of Intercultural Education 2*, eds HEIKE NIEDRIG and CHRISTIAN YDESEN (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2011), 27–51, see 27.

6 GAYATRI CHAKRAVORTY SPIVAK, 'The Rani of Sirmur: An Essay in Reading the Archives,' *History and Theory* 24, no. 3 (1985): 247–72.

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inclusion and exclusion as it is inscribed within the everyday (re)distribution of power in society.[7]

Across different geographical scales and depending on the contextual hierarchical relations, through history selected groups of people have come to be represented as (dangerous) 'others.' Through their portrayal and treatment as strangers to most people's everyday life, these out-groups and the cultural, economic, social and political mores ascribed to them have often been marginalised if not expelled from mainstream society.[8]

Accordingly, physical and non-physical boundaries of difference and similarity are not fixed. On the contrary, lines of exclusion and incorporation are context-dependent since they are generated and/or transformed through space and time on the basis of specific political, economic, social and cultural configurations.[9]

In ancient Greece, the derogative image of the Barbarian was employed to mark the difference between the urbanised Greek and the 'uncivilised' non-Greek world.[10] A very similar understanding of the term was later mobilised by the Romans to name those living on the other side of the expanding frontiers of the Roman Empire. Yet, with 'the consolidation of Christian kingdoms […] the "new barbarians" came to signify […] also non-Christian[s].'[11]

During colonialism, Europe's self-perception expanded to (re)define its boundaries beyond Christendom. Through exploration first, colonial exploitation and imperialism later, those views on the 'orientalised other'[12] which originated in the classical texts, the Bible or travellers' tales were supplanted and/or complemented with other and more elaborate descriptions.[13]

For instance, the systemic collection of anthropological knowledge[14] on the colonised and the consequent deployment of racism(s)[15] in the governance of the

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[7] KEN PLUMMER, '"Whose Side Are We On?" Revisited: Narrative Power, Narrative Inequality, and a Politics of Narrative Humanity', *Symbolic Interaction* 43, no. 1 (2020): 46–71.
[8] MICHAEL TAUSSIG, *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses* (Oxon: Routledge, 2017); DAMIAN BREEN and NASAR MEER, 'Securing Whiteness?: Critical Race Theory (CRT) and the Securitization of Muslims in Education,' *Identities* 26, no. 5 (2019): 595–613.
[9] GIACOMO ORSINI, ANDREW CANESSA, and LUIS MARTINEZ, 'Fixed Lines, Permanent Transitions. International Borders, Cross-Border Communities and the Transforming Experience of Otherness,' *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 34, no. 3 (2019): 361–76.
[10] FRANÇOIS HARTOG, *The Mirror of Herodotus: The Representation of the Other in the Writing of the Other in the Writing of History* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1988).
[11] LINDA KALJUNDI, 'Waiting for the Barbarians: Reconstruction of Otherness in the Saxon Missionary and Crusading Chronicles, 11th–13th Centuries,' *The Medieval Chronicle* 5 (2008): 113–27.
[12] EDWARD SAID, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978).
[13] JOHN REX, 'Racism and the Structure of Colonial Societies,' in *Racism and Colonialism. Essays on Ideology and Social Structure*, ed. ROBERT ROOS (Dordrecht: Springer, 1982), 199–218.
[14] DIANE LEWIS, 'Anthropology and Colonialism,' *Current Anthropology* 14, no. 5 (1973): 581–602; GEORGE STOCKING, *Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1968).
[15] JULIAN GO, '"Racism" and Colonialism: Meanings of Difference and Ruling Practices in America's Pacific Empire,' *Qualitative Sociology* 27, no. 1 (2004): 35–58.

colonies developed within the Enlightenment and further cemented the juxtaposition between a rational, industrious Europe – whose apical figure was embodied in the white upper-middle class English gentleman[16] – and the irrational, lazy and non-white/European 'other.'[17]

With decolonisation, new national and ethnic identities had to be forged in the newly 'liberated' territories.[18] Importantly, as the dismantling of colonial empires took place, racist public discourse(s) became increasingly marginalised and silenced, with several societies coming to be (projected as) increasingly multicultural.[19] This explains why new understandings of otherness – for example, ethnicity – came to be utilised to re-define and re-organise sameness and diversity, inclusion and exclusion.[20]

The purpose of this small selection of contributions is to diachronically focus on the transforming and somehow mobile understanding of otherness and sameness in some key European societies. The objective is to offer a multidisciplinary –historical and sociological – view on the multiple ways in which cultural, political, social and economic alterity is generated within specific institutional and societal settings.

The first essay, by Dana Caciur, deals with the sixteenth-century borderland of Venetian Dalmatia, separating (but also connecting) the Serenissima and the Ottoman Empire. By focusing on the middle of the century and, more precisely, on the period between 1549 and 1570, the author provides an in-depth view on two trans-border and very mobile out-groups of the time: the Uskoks and the Morlachs.

By discussing the records on these populations present in the state archives of Venice and Zadar, the article offers us a detailed view of how these two minorities were defined – and thus constructed – by the Venetian authorities. In so doing, Caciur offers us the external description of the ethnicity of the Morlachs and the Uskoks attributed to them by the most powerful actors in society, the Venetian officials.[21]

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16 ANNE MCCLINTOCK, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (Oxon: Routledge, 2013).

17 STUART HALL, 'The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power,' in *Formations of Modernity*, eds STUART HALL and BRAM GIEBEN (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), 275–331; GIACOMO ORSINI et al., 'Institutional Racism Within the Securitization of Migration: The Case of Family Reunification in Belgium,' *Ethnic and Racial Studies* (2021): 1–20.

18 PARTHA CHATTERJEE, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); DAVID SCOTT, 'Colonial Governmentality,' in *Anthropologies of Modernity: Foucault, Governmentality, and Life Politics*, ed. JONATHAN XAVIER INDA (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 23–49.

19 GAIL LEWIS, 'Unsafe Travel: Experiencing Intersectionality and Feminist Displacements,' *Signs* 38, no. 4 (2013): 869–92; EMILIA ROIG, 'Uttering "Race" in Colorblind France and Post-racial Germany,' in *Rassismuskritik und Widerstandsformen*, eds KARIM FEREIDOONI and MERAL EL (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2016), 613–27.

20 PETER KIVISTO, 'We Really Are All Multiculturalists Now,' *The Sociological Quarterly* 53, no. 1 (2012): 1–24.

21 VIVIAN IBRAHIM, 'Ethnicity,' in *The Routledge Companion to Race and Ethnicity*, eds STEPHEN M. CALIENDO and CHARLTON D. MCILWAIN (London: Routledge, 2020), 12–21.

Importantly, by combining different sources, the author is also able to bring to the surface the extent to which both 'out-groups' of unsettled subjects[22] strategically deployed this exogenous cultural/ethnic identity. Indeed, this ascribed membership was pivotal to allowing the Morlachs access to the rights and opportunities made available by the Venetian masters.

Similar to contemporary multicultural settings where ethnicity is utilised by minority groups to advance claims in society,[23] for example, for the recognition of specific cultural and/or religious rights, the Morlachs were granted a special status within the Serenissima and protection from the Uskoks. Yet, the Morlachs did not hesitate to join the Uskoks in their territories to escape the Venetian justice system, and/or to share the loot of cross-border criminal activities, hence unveiling the Morlachs' – but also the Uskoks' – instrumental use of their attributed ethnicity.[24]

With the following essay by David Do Paço the focus moves to the eighteenth century. Through the analysis of 31 German cookbooks of the time, the author critically engages with the use and conceptualisation of 'foreignness' in social history. In particular, he follows Cerrutti's approach to move away from understandings of foreignness linked to territoriality and/or nationality and favour a line which concentrates on practices of exclusion/inclusion in early modern societies.

For contemporary food culture, recipes have come to be associated with local territories and communities, so specific dishes often come to be treated as key markers of local, regional or national identities[25] regardless of, for instance, the geographical provenience of the ingredients and the cooking techniques utilised to prepare them.[26] As for the German-written cookbooks circulating in the Holy Roman Empire which are considered by Do Paço, the mention of food, cooking techniques and manners as foreign – and thus, somehow diverse – was not fixed. On the contrary, the different accounts of what was considered to be local food reveal the extent to which foreignness was situational rather than ubiquitous.[27]

Due to changes in the publishing industry, over the first half of the century popular cumulative collections were replaced by volumes which linked dishes to specific social practices and norms, such as the order of serving. Through this process,

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[22] PATRICIA FUMERTON, *Unsettled: The Culture of Mobility and the Working Poor in Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).
[23] WILL KYMLICKA, 'The Three Lives of Multiculturalism,' in *Revisiting Multiculturalism in Canada*, eds SHIBAO GUO and LLOYD WONG (Rotterdam: Brill Sense, 2015), 15–35.
[24] FREDRIK BARTH, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organisation of Cultural Difference* (London: Waveland Press, 1969); ABNER COHEN, *Custom and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns* (London: Routledge, 1969).
[25] JOANA A. PELLERANO and VIVIANE RIEGEL, 'Food and Cultural Omnivorism: A Reflexive Discussion on Otherness, Interculturality and Cosmopolitanism,' *International Review of Social Research* 7, no. 1 (2017): 13–21.
[26] SIMONA STANO, 'Lost in Translation: Food, Identity and Otherness,' *Semiotica* 2016, no. 211 (2016): 81–104.
[27] JONATAN KURZWELLY, 'Being German, Paraguayan and Germanino: Exploring the Relation Between Social and Personal Identity,' *Identity* 19, no. 2 (2019): 144–56.

the definition of foreign food and recipes within the Holy Empire transformed, to differ not only between regions, but also based on very practical considerations. For instance, locality/nativeness came to overlap with the availability of a given product, rather than the actual place where that specific food was produced.[28]

The definition of what was to be included in local cuisine was thus marked by a process of incorporation or assimilation which originated in the very practicalities necessary to put together a specific dish and recipe. Here, foreignness had little to do with territorial origin and/or authenticity: the inclusion of dishes in the local, regional or national cuisine depended on the political economy of their production and consumption.[29]

Finally, the last contribution of this thematic issue concentrates on the twentieth-century process of the formation of a national identity in a former European colony: Gibraltar. Based on about 400 oral history interviews collected from people of a very wide age range living on both sides of the frontier, the authors disentangle the locals' experiences of the transforming local cross-border relations.

Giacomo Orsini, Andrew Canessa, and Luis Martinez concentrate on the border as a key experienced and perceived barrier which allows Gibraltarians to instrumentally project themselves as a distinct national community. In practice, the authors offer us a microhistorical perspective[30] on major geopolitical transformations – the partial decolonisation of the enclave and the closure of the local land border with Spain – and their impact on the everyday cross-border social, cultural, political and economic life in the area. The overarching goal is to cast light on how these changes came to transform the locals' self-perception both in continuity and in contrast with their neighbours from across the frontier.

The case of the tiny British colony – today, formally, a British Overseas Territory – is extremely emblematic for analyses of the construction of national/ethnic identities in (post)colonial settings.[31] As colonial subjects, over the centuries the Gibraltarians – a civilian population made up of people of Genoese, Spanish, Maltese, Portuguese, Sindhi, Sephardic, British and Moroccan descent[32] – had been very much aware of their subaltern position in the colonial society of the time. Accordingly, also due to the porosity of the local border, the Gibraltarians – many of whom had a Spanish parent

[28] ROBERT FEAGAN, 'The Place of Food: Mapping Out the "Local" in Local Food Systems', *Progress in Human Geography* 31, no. 1 (2007): 23–42.
[29] BEN FINE, 'Towards a Political Economy of Food,' *Review of International Political Economy* 1, no. 3 (1994): 519–45.
[30] GEERTJE BOSCHMA et al., 'Oral History Research,' in *Capturing Nursing History: A Guide to Historical Methods in Research*, eds SANDRA B. LEWENSON and ELEANOR KROHON HERRMANN (New York: Springer, 2008), 79–98.
[31] JOHN HUTCHINSON, 'Ethnicity and Modern Nations,' *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 23, no. 4 (2000), 651–69.
[32] LUIS MARTINEZ DEL CAMPO, ANDREW CANESSA and GIACOMO ORSINI, 'A New British Subject: The Creation of a Common Ethnicity in Gibraltar,' in *Bordering on Britishness: National Identity in Gibraltar from the Spanish Civil War to Brexit*, ed. ANDREW CANESSA (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 121–41.

– tended to identify themselves with the Spanish culture, and Spanish was by far the most widely spoken language in the enclave. Yet, following Franco's closure of the land border, the inhabitants of Gibraltar came to progressively reject anything Spanish. Now their identification with the colonisers is such that they often claim to be 'more British than the British.'[33]

As is evident in the three cases approached in this issue, the mobilisation of tangible and intangible boundaries of difference is central to demarcating 'the parameters within which identities are conceived, perceived, perpetuated and reshaped.'[34] Importantly, these boundaries are never fixed as they instead move and/or appear and disappear within or without any given society depending on the contextual power relations between individuals, groups and communities.

The cases of the Morlachs and the Uskoks of Venetian Dalmatia, the eighteenth-century German cookbooks of the Holy Empire, and border relations in the Gibraltar area expose the arbitrariness of otherness and sameness.[35] Alterity, foreignness and diversity do not necessarily originate from actual, predetermined or somehow ancestral cultural differences.

On the contrary, otherness is fictional as it responds to an instrumental/strategic 'social process of exclusion and incorporation'[36] to (re)distribute and/or preserve privilege and disadvantage in society.

Interestingly, therefore, the study of cultural/ethnic difference does not tell us much about actual cultural/ethnic diversity or similarity. Yet, investigating how otherness originates and operates in society can reveal hegemonic practices and groups, as well as the strategies that subaltern individuals, groups and communities can undertake to resist them.[37]

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[33] ANDREW CANESSA, *Bordering on Britishness. National Identity in Gibraltar from the Spanish Civil War to Brexit* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 1.

[34] DAVID NEWMAN, 'On Borders and Power: A Theoretical Framework,' *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 18, no. 1 (2003): 15.

[35] LINDA COLLEY, 'Britishness and Otherness: An Argument,' *The Journal of British Studies* 31, no. 4 (1992): 309–29.

[36] FREDRIK BARTH, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organisation of Cultural Difference* (London: Waveland Press, 1969), 9–10.

[37] MUSTAPHA KAMAL PASHA, 'Islam, "Soft" Orientalism and Hegemony: A Gramscian Rereading,' *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 8, no. 4 (2005): 543–58; VLAD-PETRE GLĂVEANU, 'What Differences make a Difference? A Discussion of Hegemony, Resistance and Representation,' *Papers on Social Representations* 18, no. 2 (2009): 1–22.

Researching the Morlachs and the Uskoks
The Challenges of Writing about Marginal People from the Border Region of Dalmatia (Sixteenth Century)

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In the narrow strip of Venetian Dalmatia, the official peace that characterised the middle of the sixteenth century[1] paved the way for encounters between people, ideas and interests.[2] The agents[3] of the Christian and Islamic powers that shared the mountainous border of the province also developed ways and means to benefit from the new political status of the area and, more importantly, to assure their survival. The term 'agents' used in the context of sixteenth-century Dalmatia refers to those individuals spurred into action by the diplomacy required by the shifting border[4] shared between the Republic of Venice and the Ottoman Empire, and, unrelated to political decisions, by the daily activities of the coexisting subjects.[5] When researching

[1] The peace concluded in October 1540 marked the end of the Venetian-Ottoman war of 1537–40. This war caused the loss of two important strongholds (Nadin and Vrana) in the hinterland of Dalmatia and introduced the area to instability, depopulation and the constant threat of Ottoman offensives.

[2] These encounters, however unavoidable, with which Venice was already familiar given its experience in other provinces of the *Stato da Mar*, are summed up by the sources under the phrase *per vicinar bene*. This idea of a good neighbourhood, friendship and collaborations between the people of Venice and those of the Ottoman Empire was officially stipulated in the texts of the peace agreements beginning with that of 1479, published in English in DIANA GILLILAND WRIGHT and PIERREA. MACKAY, 'When the Serenissima and the Gran Turco Made Love: The Peace Treaty of 1478,' *Studi Veneziani* 53 (2008): 261–77. The policy of neighbourliness underlined the reciprocal help in protecting those subjects who crossed the shared border areas, the protection of local trade and traders, and the restitution of fugitives and redeemed slaves.

[3] For more about this concept see NOEL MALCOLM, *Agents of Empire: Knights, Corsairs, Jesuits and Spies in the Sixteenth-Century Mediterranean World* (London: Allen Lane-Penguin Random House, 2015), XVII. The 'full spectrum of interactions between Christians and Ottomans' can also involve entire social groups that could carry goods, information, cultural features, ideas or customs from one side to the other, or whose activities could influence the socio-political and economic life of an area of intersection. The Morlachs and Uskoks present in the border area of Venetian Dalmatia acted as smaller agents who were nevertheless equally important for the functioning of relations between the great powers.

[4] The concept of border was understood as a larger area and not as a clearly defined frontier line; see MARIA PIA PEDANI, *The Ottoman-Venetian Border (15th–18th Centuries)* (Venice: Edizioni Ca' Foscari Digital Publishing, 2017).

[5] NORA BEREND, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and 'Pagans' in Medieval Hungary, c.1000–c.1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 3: '*coexistence* is not an attempt to refer to some golden age of harmonious tolerant interaction […] It subsumes both peaceful and hostile relations, until the eradication of the minorities, either by assimilation or expulsion.'

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the idea of transimperial[6] cross-border agency, one might feel tempted to focus firstly on the political/administrative figures who were in charge of maintaining the good relations established through peace agreements or other treaties (on commerce, ransoms, passages, etc.). However, similarly to many other border areas,[7] the rural hinterland of Dalmatia became a space where different types of agents assured exchanges across groups.[8] The resulting mixture[9] convinced eighteenth-century Western travellers to describe the province as the gate towards the *wild Europe*.[10] As immigrants, refugees, merchants, shepherds, criminals or soldiers, *these others* challenged locals and authorities to find solutions for their inclusion or removal, in order to avoid territorial losses and any complications to everyday life in the over-sea province of Venice.[11]

Of the agents of coexistence in Dalmatia, the Morlachs and Uskoks were considered by far the most 'exotic' and curious. The chosen descriptive words (exotic and curious) are appropriate if we take into consideration that neither the large bibliography dedicated to them, nor the immense quantity of documents mentioning

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[6] E. NATALIE ROTHMAN, *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects Between Venice and Istanbul* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 2012), 10–11. The explanation of 'trans-imperial subjects' offered by the author also applies to the case of the Morlachs and the Uskoks. Both these populations entered the Venetian space, became aware of the rules and functioning of the state, but only respected them insofar as they fulfilled their personal interests.

[7] Relevant examples can be found in GÁBOR KÁRMÁN and LOVRO KUNČEVIĆ, eds, *The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013); GÁBOR KÁRMÁN, ed., *Tributaries and Peripheries of the Ottoman Empire* (Leiden: Brill, 2020); LIVIU PILAT and OVIDIU CRISTEA, eds, *The Ottoman Threat and Crusading on the Eastern Border of Christendom during the 15th Century* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017).

[8] PEDANI, *The Ottoman-Venetian Border*, 50: 'if marking peace sometimes employed a temporary cessation of the hostilities, marking a border by mutual consent meant corroborating an agreement that had to last for a very long period, without taking into consideration what theories and religions asserted.'

[9] PEDANI, *The Ottoman-Venetian Border*, 33: 'customary stereotypes of a society of the frontier,' which also apply to the characters in my research: 'It is usually a male environment […]; the living conditions are violent; killings and heinous crimes are committed in the name of religion (or profit or the necessity to appropriate someone else's space). Also heroic and savagely romantic characters, however, belong to this category of men: spurred by an ideal drive, they fight against the enemy – the hostile nature or a people different as for religion, culture and origin.'

[10] ANDREI PIPPIDI, 'Naissance, renaissances et mort du *Bon Sauvage*. Àpropos de Morlaques et de Valaques,' *Cahiers roumains d'études littéraires* 2 (1979): 55–75; LARRY WOLFF, *Venice and the Slavs: The Discovery of Dalmatia in the Age of Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001); GILBERTO PIZZAMIGLIO, 'La Dalmazia tra viaggio e romanzo: da Alberto Fortis a Giustiniana Wynne,' in *Questioni Odeoporiche. Modelli e momenti del viaggio adriatico*, eds GIOVANNA SCIANATICO and RAFFAELE RUGGIERO (Bari: Palomar, 2007), 353–69; BOŽIDAR JEZERNIK, *Europa selvaggia. I Balcani nello sguardo dei viaggiatori occidental* (Turin: EDI, 2010), 6–8.

[11] DANIEL GOFFMAN, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 10–11: 'Societies promptly accommodated whichever state ruled over them, warriors crept back and forth across a divide that proved remarkably porous, and, surprisingly, that great segregator religion itself slipped into a latitudinarianism that facilitated borderland communication and even sometimes blurred the distinction between Christianity and Islam'; 18–19: 'rather than the government assuming the lead, Ottoman subjects and foreigners residing in Mediterranean port cities and along Balkan borderlands intensified their dialogues and carved out commercial and social enclaves along the Ottoman frontiers.'

their names can answer the question of who they were. The present paper aims to emphasise some of the working hypotheses built up while researching sixteenth-century Venetian documents. The analysis will highlight the diversity of sources and contexts which mention the Morlachs and Uskoks, discussed in relation to the Morlachs.

Traditional Definitions

The Morlachs of Dalmatia, as referred to in Venetian documents from the fifteenth century onwards, are usually defined as a heterogeneous and extremely mobile population of Vlach origin. Concerning the origin of their name, two theories are discussed. The first one is based on the explanations offered by Johannes Lucius[12] and the text of *Presbiter Diocleatus*[13] which he published and promoted. According to Lucius's text the name Morlach has its origins in Byzantium, in the Greek word *Maurovlachus* meaning 'the Black Latins.' The use of this name was explained as a choice made by the Venetians in order to differentiate them from the *White Latins*, who were thought to be inhabitants of the former Roman cities situated on the Adriatic coast. This theory is commonly used by scholars who understand the Morlachs as remnants of the Latinised/Romanised people from all over the Balkans. This theory has also had a strong echo in Romanian[14] historiography since it suggested the fact that the Byzantine term *Maurovlachus* was used to identify Vlachs akin to those living in historic Moldavia.[15] However popular and convenient this

[12] JOHANNES LUCIUS, *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae, libri sex, editio nova atque emendate* (Vienna: Trattner, 1758).

[13] The edition republished by JOHANNES GEORGIUS SCHWANDTNER, *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum, Dalmaticarum, Croaticarum et Sclavonicarum, veteres ac genuine*, tome III (Vienna: Kraus, 1748), 476–508.

[14] ADOLF ARMBRUSTER, *Romanitatea românilor. Istoria unei idei* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1993); ANCA TANAȘOCA and NICOLAE-ȘERBAN TANAȘOCA, *Unitate Romanică și diversitate balcanică* (Bucharest: Editura Fundației Pro, 2004); GHEORGHE ZBUCHEA, *Românitatea sud-dunăreană* (Bucharest: Editura Fundației PRO, 2014); DIMITRIE GĂZDARU, 'Numele etnice ale istro-românilor,' in *Buletinul Institutului de Filologie Română,* 1 (1934), 33–62; BOGDAN PETRICEICU HAȘDEU, *Istoria critică a românilor, pământul Țării Românești*, I (Bucharest: Tipografia Curții, 1874); T. HAGI-GOGU, *Romanus și Vlachus sau ce este romanus, roman, român, aromân, valah și vlah* (Bucharest: Tiparul Universitar, 1939); PETRE Ș. NĂSTUREL, 'Vlaho-Balcanica,' in *Petre Ș. Năsturel. Études d'histoire byzantine et post-byzantine*, eds EMANUEL CONSTANTIN ANTOCHE, LIDIA COTOVANU, IONU-ALEXANDRU TUDORIE (Brăila: Istros – Muzeul Brăilei 'Carol I', 2019) 147–72; SILVIU DRAGOMIR, *Vlahii din Nordul Peninsulei Balcanice în Evul Mediu*, (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 1959); SILVIU DRAGOMIR, *Vlahii și Morlacii. Studiu din istoria românismului balcanic* (Cluj: Imprimeria Bornemisa, 1924); SILVIU DRAGOMIR, 'Originea coloniilor române din Istria,' in *Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice* 3, no. 2 (1924): 201–31; SILVIU DRAGOMIR, 'Vlahii din Serbia în sec. XII-XV,' in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională din Cluj* 1 (1921-1922), 279–99.

[15] The fragment of interest can be found in LUCIUS, *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae*, 284: ... *posteriorbus autem temporibus eiusdem Valachiae trans istriana e partem majorem (nunc Moldaviam dictam) Maurovlahiam dixere Graeci ut Codinus testator.* [in those times Wallachia beyond Danube and the upper parts (named Moldavia) were named by the Greeks Maurovlahiam, as Codinus testifies].

theory is, it should be questioned since new research has contested the authenticity of the text written by *Presbiter Diocleatus*.[16]

The other theory regarding the origin of the Morlachs' name is a more regional one. According to it, the term 'Morlach' designated the Vlachs near the sea, as it resulted from joining the Serbo-Croatian words *more* (sea) and *vlach*. This theory can be suggested by the Croatian historiography of the previous centuries, supporting the argument that all the Romanic Vlachs had disappeared and all the remaining Vlachs were Slavic speakers.[17]

The discussion of the historiography of the Morlach name could be a life-long research topic on its own, given the number of published studies and the passions it usually provokes. However, my intention is not to embark on such an endeavour, but to focus on new archival material limited to a short period of time (the middle of the sixteenth century, between the war of 1537–1540 and the War of Cyprus of 1570–1573) in order to understand what lay behind the activities developed by the Morlachs.[18]

In the case of the Uskoks, the situation is a little clearer. Their name originates in the Serbo-Croatian word *uskok* meaning 'fugitive' ('the one who jumped in'; as well as the Croatian verb *uskočiti*, 'to jump from one side to another,' with the Latin equivalent *scoco*).[19] It is usually connected with their transfer, after the Ottoman conquest of Bosnia, from Ottoman lands towards Klis/Clissa, and later, in 1537, from Klis to Senj/Segnain in the North of Dalmatia. Over time, according to their activities, the name also came to be associated with words like: pirate, deserter, run-

[16] SOLANGE BUJAN, 'La Chronique du prêtre de Dioclée. Un faux document historique,' *Revue des études byzantines* 66 (2008): 5–38; STEFAN TRAJKOVIĆ-FILIPOVIĆ, 'Inventing a Saint's Life: Chapter XXXVI of the Annals of a Priest of Dioclea,' *Revue des études byzantines* 71 (2013): 259–76.

[17] JOVAN CVIJIĆ, *La Péninsule balkanique: géographie humaine* (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1918), 358–59. The topic is extensively discussed by SIMA ĆIRCKOVIĆ, *The Serbs*, trans. by Vuk Tošić (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 25–27 and further; CATHIE CARMICHAEL, *Ethnic Cleansing in the Balkan: Nationalism and the Destruction of Tradition* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 96; WOLFF, *Venice and the Slavs*; LARRY WOLFF, 'Disciplinary Administration and Anthropological Perspective in Venetian Dalmatia: Official Reflections on the Morlacchi from the Peace of Passarowitz to the Grimani Reform,' in *Constructing Border Societies on the Triplex Confinium*, eds DRAGO ROKSANDIĆ et al. (Budapest: Central European University Budapest, 2000), 48–49; DRAGO ROKSANDIĆ, 'The Dinaric Vlachs/Morlachs in the Eastern Adriatic from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Centuries: How Many Identities?' in *Balcani Occidentali, Adriatico e Venezia fra XIII e XVIII secolo / Der westliche Balkan, de Adriarum und Venedig (13.-18. Jahrhundert)*, eds GHERARDO ORTALLI and OLIVER JENS SCHMITT (Venice and Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009), 271–85.

[18] In this respect the research developed by Tea Mayhew was also helpful. Her studies offer examples of case studies for a later period and also a methodology to follow: TEA MAYHEW, *Dalmatia Between Ottoman and Venetian Rule: Contado di Zara, 1645-1718* (Rome: Viella, 2008); TEA MAYHEW, 'Soldiers, Widows and Families: Social and Political Status of the Professional Warriors of the Venetian Republic (1645–1718),' in *Professions and Social Identity: New European and Historical Research, Gender and Society*, ed. BERTEKE WAALDIJK (Pisa: Edizioni Plus-Pisa University Press, 2006), 89–101. Also, STEPHAN KARL SANDER-FAES, *Urban Elites of Zadar: Dalmatia and the Venetian Commonwealth (1540-1569)* (Rome: Viella, 2013).

[19] MINUCI MINUCIO and PAOLO SARPI, *Storia degli Uscochi, Co'i progressi di quella gente fino all'anno 1602* (Venice: Roberto Meietti, 1676), 2.

away, criminal, thief, merciless person, etc. Hence, its use strongly suggests that *uskok* was a term used to identify a social group composed of individuals of different geographic origin, political patronage and social condition.[20]

The Sources

In the case of the Morlachs living in Dalmatia during the sixteenth century, approximating the number of sources mentioning them is a challenging task. The difficulty lies not only in the large number of documents kept in various archives around the Adriatic, and elsewhere, but also in the fact that they are scattered across various fonds in these archives. Hitherto in my research I have used published documents[21] and sources I found in the State Archives of Venice and the State Archives of Zadar. The cases in which the Morlachs could be found with the help of the indexes or other archival instruments were very few. Instead, most of the references were identified by reading page after page of the files from many of the archival collections relevant to the history of the *Stato da Mar*, Dalmatia and the activity of the Venetian ambassadors and other representatives. Hence, the collections in which I found mentions of the Morlachs are: Senato Deliberazioni Mar (both in the registers and the *filze*),[22] Senato Deliberazioni Secrete[23] (also in the registers and the *filze*), Bailo a Costantinopoli,[24] Lettere e scritture turchesche,[25] Capi de Consiglio de' Dieci,[26] Consiglio de' Dieci, Collegio. Lettere secrete,[27] Commemoriali,[28] Avogaria di Comun,[29]Senato Deliberazioni Costantinopoli (registers and *filze*),[30] and Miscellanea materie miste e notabile.[31] To these I added some files from the archives of Zadar: Opčina Trogir,[32] Opčina Šibenik,[33] Zadarski Knez,[34] and

[20] CATHERINE WENDY BRACEWELL, *The Uskos of Senj: Piracy, Banditry, and the Holy War in the Sixteenth-century Adriatic* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2011); SVETKA ŠMITRAN, *Gli Uscocchi: Pirati, ribelli, guerrieri tra gli imperi ottomano e asburgico e la Repubblica di Venezia* (Venice: Marsilio Editore, 2008); PHILLIP LONGWORTH, 'The Senj Uskoks reconsidered,' *Slavonic & East European Review* 57, no. 3 (1979) 348–68.

[21] ŠIMEON LJUBIĆ, ed., *Commissiones et relationes Venetae*, II (1525-1553) (Zagreb: Officina Societatis Typographicae, 1877), III (1553-1571) (Zagreb: Officina Societatis Typographicae, 1880); EUGENIO ALBERI, *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato durante il secolo decimo sesto*, III, part 3 (Florence: Societa Editrice Fiorentina, 1855); MARIA PIA PEDANI, *Relazioni di ambasciatori veneti al Senato. Costantinopoli (1512–1789)*, XIV (Padua: Bottega d'Erasmo – Aldo Ausilio editore, 1996).

[22] Archivio di Stato di Venezia (State Archives of Venice, ASVe henceforth), Senato Deliberazioni Mar (SDM henceforth). The entire series limited to the years 1500–71, for both the registers and the *filze* (archival series).

[23] ASVe, Senato Deliberazioni Secrete (SDS henceforth). The entire series limited to the years 1500–71, for both the registers and the *filze*.

[24] ASVe, Bailo a Costantinopoli (BaC henceforth), *busta* (envelope, b. henceforth) 264, 363, 365.

[25] ASVe, Lettere e scritture turchesche (LST henceforth), *filza* (fl. henceforth) 1-2.

[26] ASVe, Capi de Consiglio de' Dieci, b. 266, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283.

[27] ASVe, Consiglio de' Dieci, Collegio. Lettere secrete, b. 15, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25.

[28] ASVe, Commemoriali, *registro* (register, reg. henceforth) 21, 22, 23.

[29] ASVe, Avogaria di Comun, b. 3583.

[30] ASVe, Senato Deliberazioni Costantinopoli (SDC henceforth), reg. 1, 2, 3 and fl. 1, 2.

[31] ASVe, Miscellanea materie miste e notabile, b. 33.

[32] State Archives of Zadar (SAZ henceforth), Opčina Trogir, b. 4–9.

[33] SAZ, Opčina Šibenik, b. 7, 8, 36.1, 65, 70, 74, 85.

various other files of public notaries. Since the Uskoks are even more present in the Venetian documents than the Morlachs, in the current stage of the research I used the same archival fonds researched for the Morlachs. However, since the period of focus preceded the War of Cyprus (1570–1573) and the War of Gradisca, also known as the Uskok War (1615–1617), my aim was to analyse the relations between them and the Morlachs, but more importantly the outcomes of these relations on the Venetian-Ottoman collaboration on the Dalmatian border.

The analysed documents are mainly letters exchanged between the central and regional authorities,[35] complaints of Venetian subjects from Dalmatia and Istria, and official decisions taken by the Venetian Senate and sent for their application to its representatives in Dalmatia. Additionally, I identified some references in letters and agreements issued in various contexts regarding life on the border of Dalmatia and encounters with the Ottoman Empire. These documents were part of the correspondence among Venetian officials, whose main objective was to find solutions to the problems caused by the Morlachs or to answer some of their needs. In very few cases were these documents addressed directly to the Morlachs or written on their behalf. In these cases, a translation was mentioned, but without offering any details regarding the language from which it was made. Moreover, we lack sources issued by the Morlachs describing themselves or their origins. Given all these aspects, I chose to use the term 'Morlach' exclusively in line with the Venetian way of identifying them.

Therefore, out of 350 unpublished documents[36] transcribed from various archival collections covering the period between 1500 and 1600, only 167 explicitly contain the term 'Morlach' in either of its forms (*Morlacchi* or *Murlachi*).[37] The rest of the documents are relevant for different case studies in which a specific Morlach activity was the reason for the intervention of the Venetian authorities. Furthermore, from these 167 documents, 84 do not offer any explanation of the term 'Morlach,' appearing simply as an identifier for those involved in some dispute, commercial exchange or negotiations for the border. A further 35 documents mention the

34 SAZ, Zadarski Knez, *Antonio Crivan, Antonio Michiel,* and others.

35 MONIQUE O'CONNELL, *Men of Empire: Power and Negotiation in Venice's Maritime State* (Baltimore, MA: The John Hopkins University Press, 2009), p. 2: 'Charged with putting Venetian state policies into practice, the Venetian rector played an essential mediating role, acting as the main face of Venetian rule for subjects and as the primary conduit of information, demands, and requests to and from the city.'

36 This analysis was made on the documents used for my PhD thesis. Hence, it only represents a part of the documents collected from the archives. This is why this sample just aims to emphasise their diversity and to set out some working hypotheses for verification.

37 Archivio di Stato di Venezia ASVe, LST, fl. 1-2: September 1528: 'murlacchi, quail transmigrano di loco in loco'; ASVe, SDM, reg. 61, *carta* (sheet, c. henceforth) 63v-64r: January 1540: 'quando che li Murlachi, che nella passata Guerra turchescha si leverono dal Banadego et venero ad habitar li territorii nostri'; ASVe, SDC, reg. 2, c. 21r-v: March 22, 1561: 'per la venuta a quella porta delli nuntii mandati dalli morlachi che sono in le ville 33'; ASVe, BaC, b. 365: 1553: 'et che li Morlacchi vengono l'inverno con li loro animali a pascolare […] li Morlachi voleno combatter con loro et gli batteno et alle volte feriscono.'

Morlachs as Ottoman subjects – *morlacchi sudditi turchi* –[38] displaying the extent to which the Venetian authorities were also aware of the distinction between the Morlachs and other 'communities' present in Dalmatia.[39] Most of these documents make a clear distinction between the Morlachs and the Uskoks (even though in some cases, like the document from 1570, they are described as the same group),[40] the people of Dalmatia, Greeks, Gypsies[41] and others. The same documents also offer possibilities of identifying the Morlachs as Christians, foreigners, ancient Hungarian settlers[42] and in only one case as Vlachs.[43] The latter aspect, however, can be quickly explained: the term 'Vlachs' only appears in the Venetian documents when the document is a translation of an Ottoman one. Thus, the discussion revolves around the how the Ottoman authorities understood this term: was it ethnic or social?[44]

As an example of a source for the Uskoks, it is worth adding a 56-page collection of 295 résumés of documents making reference to them. Kept in one of the registers of the Miscellanea[45] fonds in the Venetian archives, this collection brings together information from collections like Stato da Mar, Senato Secreta, Dispacci a Costantinopoli and Bailo a Costantinopoli, covering the time frame between 1529 and 1576. It proves to be a very useful tool when trying to follow the outcomes of decisions made by the Venetian central authorities, regional officials, the Sultan, the Ottoman provincial authorities and occasional ambassadors, all of which deal with damage caused by the Uskoks.

To all of these we can add numerous male and female names accompanied by the term 'Morlach.' These types of documents are more common in the State Archives of Zadar and once more stress the fact that these terms were rather an identifier for individuals originating outside the Venetian lands and jurisdiction. Some examples of Morlach names can be selected from those mentioned by the documents kept in box number 7 of the Opčina Trogir collection from the State

[38] ASVe, SDS, reg. 59, c. 93v-94r: October 22, 1538: 'la laudabil operatione per voi fatta de condur dalla obedientia dei Turchi alla devotion nostra quelli subditi Turcheschi della Murlaccha con li figlioli, donne, animali et altri beni soi'; ASVe, SDS,fl. 27: January 24, 1555: 'che sono menate via da uscochi 22 anime de morlachi subditi di quell Serenissimo Signor'; ASVe, SDC, reg. 3, c. 97v-98v: February 12, 1568: 'l'omicidio di dui murlachi sudditi turcheschi.'

[39] ASVe, SDM, reg. 20, c. 126v-127r: 'per li proveditori nostril alla camera del'armament siino conducti alli stipendii de la Signoria Nostra galioti numero 3000 delle sotto scripte nationicione histriani, dalmatini, schiavoni, murlachi, albanesi et greci exceptuati quelli delle insule nostre di Candia et Cypri et Corphu.'

[40] ASVe, SDM, reg. 39, c. 338v: February 6, 1570: 'che da quell rettor nostro siando condotti scochi overo Murlachi ducento con doi capi della loro natione.'

[41] ASVe, SDS, fl. 27: 'ladri uscochi vestiti in habito musulmano […] assaltarono doi musulmani […] et doi murlachi et una morlacha […] essendo venuti alcuni Cingani.'

[42] ASVe, Capi del Consiglio dei X, b. 281: 'nostra gens bellica Uschochi nominati in civitate Segnensi, […] qui alias Murlachi nomine, sed re ipsa veters coloni Ungarorum sunt.'

[43] ASVe, BaC,b. 365:'et in loro ville et castelli et luochi li huomini detti Vlachi veneno la invernata con le loro bestiame et castroni loro a pascolare.'

[44] VJERAN KURSAR, 'Being an Ottoman Vlach: On Vlach Identity(ies): Role and Status in Western Parts of the Ottoman Balkans (15th-18th centuries),' *OTAM* 34 (2013): 115–61.

[45] ASVe, Miscellanea, b. 123.

Archives of Zadar: *Milos Murovlachus de Bristiviza* (July 15, 1549); *Johannis Vesselicich murlaco di Succhidol* (SuhiDol; April 2, 1569); *Milan Murlaco di Petrovopoglie* (April 19, 1569); *Simeon Juanovich murlacus* (April 20, 1569); *Score Bracoevich* (April 21, 1569); *Jacomo Bascich murlacho de villa Triloque* (Trogir hinterland; April 26, 1569) and many more.

The Morlachs and Uskoks through Venetian Eyes

The arrival of the Ottomans in the proximity of Venetian Dalmatia (after the conquest of Bosnia in 1463) diversified the contexts in which the Morlachs crossed the border, by both increasing the number of immigrants and encouraging commercial exchanges between the subjects. The negotiations for the border between the Republic of Venice and the Ottoman Empire in the mountainous area of Dalmatia started after the end of the 1499–1503 war.[46] Since the powerful neighbour could not be driven away, the need to establish clear borders and rules to cross them became apparent. Before the beginning of a new war in 1537, Venice signed four agreements with the Ottomans.[47] Accordingly, they solved the border issue as follows[48] the subjects of the Sultan were forbidden to cross the border or to cause damage in the Venetian lands, and a similar prescription was valid for the Venetian subjects. This formulation was echoed in the regional officials' task to negotiate and draw the border, efforts carried on until the beginning of the Cyprus War and summed up in documents by the phrase *per vicinar bene*.

In this context, the Morlachs played a very important role, since they were the ones who kept the misunderstandings alive regarding the possession of some villages of mainland Dalmatia. The sources mention 33 villages in the hinterland of Šibenik and 3 in that of Trogir, inhabited by the Morlachs,[49] Ottoman subjects, even though

[46] BERNARD DOUMERC, 'L'Adriatique du XIII^{eme} au XVI^{eme}siècle,' in *Histoire de l'Adriatique*, ed. PIERRE CABANES (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2001), 283.

[47] Between 1503 and 1537 the following Venetian-Ottoman agreements were concluded: in 1503, *Instrumentum Reciprocum* published in HANS PETER ALEXANDER THEUNISSEN, 'Ottoman-Venetian Diplomatics: The ᶜAhd-names. The Historical Background and the Development of a Category of Political Commercial Instruments Together with an Annotated Edition of a Corpus of Relevant Documents,' *EJOS* 1, no. 2 (1998): 377–92; in 1513, capitulation in THEUNISSEN, 'Ottoman-Venetian Diplomatics,' 394–99; in 1517, capitulation in THEUNISSEN, 'Ottoman-Venetian Diplomatics,' 400–14; in 1521, capitulation in THEUNISSEN, 'Ottoman-Venetian Diplomatics,' 415–36.

[48] Even if attempts for a clear border demarcation were made, the sources suggest that they were not implemented until after the War of Cyprus. See WALTER PANCIERA, 'Building a Boundary: The First Venetian-Ottoman Border in Dalmatia, 1573-1576,' *Radovi: Zavod za hrvatski povijest* 45 (2013): 9–37; WALTER PANCIERA, 'La frontiera dalmata nel XVI secolo: fonti e problemi,' *Società e Storia*, 114 (2006): 783–804; Walter Panciera, 'Tagliare i confini: La linea di frontiera Soranzo-Ferhat in Dalmazia (1576),' in *Studi storici dedicati a Orazio Cancita*, eds ANTONINO GIUFFRIDA, FABRIZIO D'AVENIA and DANIELE PALERMO (Palermo: Mediterranea, 2011), 237–72.

[49] Some disputed villages also came under discussion in the hinterland of Zadar, but the Morlachs were not 'blamed' for it. For the villages from Šibenik and Trogir, see also KRISTIJAN JURAN, 'Doselavanje Morlaka u opustjela sela šibenske Zagore u 16. Stoljeću,' *Povijesni prilozi* 46 (2014): 129–60; CRISTIAN LUCA, 'The Vlachs/Morlaks in the Hinterlands of Traù (Trogir) and Sebenico (Šibenik), Towns of the Venetian Dalmatia, During the 16th century,' in *Miscellanea historica et archaelogica in honorem Professoris Ionel Cândea* (Brăila: Istros-Muzeul Brăilei, 2009), 311–22; SNJEŽANA BUZOV, 'Vlaška

the villages were in Venetian territory, according to previous documents.[50] A résumé of the negotiations for the borders and villages of Šibenik is contained in a description[51] written sometime between 1566 and 1568. The author, thought to be Francesco Difnico/Franjo Difnić, paid special attention to the villages from this hinterland occupied by the Morlachs after the Ottoman conquest of Skradin (1522). The villages, abandoned by the Venetian subjects[52] who were driven away by fear of the Turks, attracted Ottoman subjects willing to exploit their resources. The discontent of the rightful owners was obvious and discussions for the release of the lands could not be avoided, creating a situation that lasted at least until the beginning of the Cyprus War.

But the Morlachs were not only illegal settlers in Venetian villages. They also became immigrants and benefited from a special status in the Venetian lands, stimulating Venice to develop an official settlement policy. Usually, the main aim of this policy was to transfer the immigrants to Istria and grant them lands and some exemptions in exchange for populating and working these abandoned areas. The solution was administrative in nature, since Istria was being drained of its population, while Dalmatia had become too crowded with immigrants and individuals entering to plunder the place. This overpopulation of Dalmatia was solved by the transfer of people to Istria. Obviously, the decision was also influenced by the fact that the new arrivals did not respect the rules or laws of Venice or fulfil their status as guards of the border against the Ottomans, their former lords. When these inconveniences happened in Istria, it became a matter of internal administration.[53] Over time, as the higher stability of Istria managed to influence the Morlachs, some changes could be seen. Without a direct Ottoman influence, and having agricultural fields, markets to sell their products and authorities to assure their protection, the Morlachs began to act as subjects of the Venetian state.

The same evolution was not enjoyed by the *morlacchi istriani*,[54] the name we find in the sources for the Morlachs who settled in the hinterland of Zadar during the war of 1537–1540. This case study offers a singular example concerning the Dalmatian

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sela, pašnjaci i čifluci: krajolik osmanlijskog prigraničja u šesnaestom e sedamnaestom stoljeću,' in *Triplex Confinium (1500-1800): ekohistorija*, eds DRAGO ROKSANDIĆ et al. (Split/Zagreb: Hrvatsko Povijest Filozofskog Fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2003), 227–41.

[50] A relevant example is the list of documents written by Daniele di Ludovico in July 1531 which contains more than ten documents issued by the kings of Hungary, Bosnia, or other powers in the Western Balkans. He created this list to help the negotiations for the border of Dalmatia and to prove that the villages from the hinterland of Šibenik and Trogir counted among the Venetian possessions. ASVe, LST, fl. 1-2.

[51] ŠIMEON LJUBIĆ, *Commissiones et relationes Venetae*, III (1553–1571) (Zagreb: Academia Scientiarum et Artium Slavorum Meridionalium, 1880), 238.

[52] LJUBIĆ, *Commissiones et relationes Venetae*, 239.

[53] See TOMASO CAENAZZO, 'I Morlacchi nel territorio di Rovigno,' in *Atti e memorie della Società Istriana di archeologia e storia patria,* 1(1885), 129–40; LIA DE LUCA, *Venezia e le immigrazioni in Istria nel Cinque e Seicento* (PhD thesis, University Ca' Foscari, Venice, 2011).

[54] SILVIA-DANA CACIUR, 'Migraţii spontane şi organizate în teritoriul Zarei (Zadar-ului) la mijlocul secolului al XVI-lea. Cazul Morlacilor Istrieni,' *Studii şi materiale de istorie medie* 34 (2016): 73–104.

hinterland and Venetian involvement in convincing the Morlachs to settle in its jurisdiction and including them in the provinces' administrative system. The evolution of this community during the sixteenth century opens the possibility of analysing a set of features which allow an understanding of the Morlachs' transformation from an ethnic group into a social one. This transformation took place without excluding features specific to the ethnic groups and indeed occasionally they could be observed inside the larger social group. As subjects of the Serenissima and new settlers, they enjoyed various privileges and exemptions. Three decades after their settlement in the Venetian lands, in 1569,[55] the benefits they had received in 1538 were reconfirmed and their exclusion from service on the galleys was extended. However, the Morlachs wished to be included among the troops active in Dalmatia and to receive a salary for defending the lands from thieves and the incursions of the Ottoman soldiers. In the beginning, the Senate refused their request, since all the privileges they had received were granted to them in order to cultivate the lands and to defend the inner parts of Dalmatia. However, their inclusion in a more organised system of defence seemed to be a good idea. Accordingly, the official decision was to hire two Morlachs in larger companies of Croatian soldiers, and one in the smaller ones, with the possibility of hiring more once positions became available. The salary was similar to that paid to the Croatian soldiers. Interestingly enough, in their request, recapitulated and presented in Venetian dialect by the regional Venetian officials, the Morlachs asked to receive the same status and salary as was granted to the *Levantines*, since they too were loyal subjects who left their houses and lands and chose to live in *the shadow of the Serenissima*. It shows their awareness of their advanced stage of assimilation within the rules and practices of the Venetian state.

However, the Morlachs of Dalmatia continued to cross the Venetian-Ottoman border the way for which they were best known: as shepherds. Shepherding and a semi-nomadic transhumance practice were specific activities that came with an implicit lifestyle, connected through many common elements with the shepherding traditionally attributed to the Vlachs spread all over the Balkan Peninsula, and to the north up to southern Poland.[56] Nevertheless, the role played by transhumant shepherding in the survival of an ethnic group in the Balkans has to be questioned. The research required for a history of the Morlach shepherds has to be, in first place, linked to the socio-political changes of the areas they roamed and then the ethnicity this practice might suggest.

Unfortunately, the Venetian sources neither allow us to establish whether the Morlachs were exclusively shepherds, nor argue that all the Morlach shepherds were exclusively Vlachs, even though they are nevertheless connected with the Vlach shepherds from the inner Balkans. In Dalmatia, the Morlach shepherds could be

[55] ASVe, SDM, fl. 43.

[56] MILOŠ LUKOVIĆ, 'Self-government Institutions of Nomadic and Semi-nomadic Livestock Breeders in the Balkans and in the Carpathian Regions in the Late Medieval and Early Modern Periods,' *Res Historica* 41 (2016): 51–94; and others.

encountered during the winter months, between November and April. For these six months the Morlachs used the fields of the locals to feed and water their flocks. Since no mention of reserves of hay is found in the documents, it is clear that the public or rented pasture lands, or those situated far from the towns were not enough to feed the flocks. The case of the water sources was similar. Also, in the months spent in Dalmatia, the Morlach shepherds used to conclude commercial collaborations or rent land, thus creating bridges for cultural exchanges, if necessary.[57] Pastoral transhumance proved to be another element that allowed the Morlachs to adapt to different political systems. The transformations caused in Dalmatia by the Venetian-Ottoman neighbourliness regime at the same time facilitated the survival of a traditional way of life and increased their integration in Dalmatian society.

While far from being a predominantly mercantile 'community,'[58] the Morlachs nevertheless developed some dynamic commercial activities in Dalmatia. They crossed areas difficult to cross and connected communities from both sides of the mountains. This trade involved skilful individuals familiar with the opportunities granted by the different geographic spaces. It can be assumed that the involvement of Morlachs in these commercial activities might testify to the presence of a richer stratum of these people, much more open to assimilation in the lowland communities. Since these journeys from the inner Balkans towards the coastal towns were quite frequent, it can be concluded that the Morlachs were familiar with the customs and rules of the markets. Accordingly, they had to respect them in order to exploit the opportunities for their own interests.

These aspects are mostly visible when analysing the commerce of cereals brought from the Ottoman territories. This commerce was a constant part of the Morlachs' trade, although it easily became subject to smuggling especially after the Sultan's decision to stop exports.[59] Nevertheless, the Morlach caravans carrying cereals into the Dalmatian towns and buying salt were emblematic in identifying their traditional role.

Opportunism defined the Morlachs' commerce in Dalmatia. The need to sell the excess products obtained from grazing sheep led to their specialisation and

[57] For more about these see DANA CACIUR, 'Considerations Regarding the Status of the Morlachs from the Trogir's Hinterland at the Middle of the 16th Century: Being Subjects of the Ottoman Empire and Land Tenants of the Venetian Republic,' *Res Historica* 41 (2016): 91–110.

[58] A good example of such a type of mountain and pastoral community, but clearly defined in ethnic, social and geographic terms, is presented in PATRICE POUJADE, *Une société marchande. Le commerce et ses acteurs dans les Pyrénées modernes* (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 2008).

[59] MARIO GRIGNASCHI, 'Les documents ottomans conserves aux archives de la maison d'Este à Modena,' in *Türk Tarih Kongresi* 9, no. 2 (1981), doc. no. 11, p. 825: *Commandamento […] sopra la sublime curia […] tratta delli formenti per foura del regnio ai di 15 del ramazan 962, cioe ai di 21 d'agosto 1555*; BRUNO SIMON, 'Contribution à l'étude du commerce vénitien dans l'Empire Ottoman au milieu du XVIe siècle (1558–1560),' *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Moyen Age, temps modernes* 96, no. 2 (1984): 973–1020.

identification as the main providers of significant quantities of cheese,[60] wool, sheep, lambs and leathers. This traditional practice developed in a context where the demand for subsistence products increased in Dalmatia, while Venice, on the other hand, did not show a direct interest in the Morlachs' goods (they were only sent to Venice through the mediation of local merchants who used to sell Dalmatian products together with other local items). As a result, the Morlach trade became an advantageous activity for all the parties involved without monopolising the economic life of Dalmatia.

Nevertheless, the Morlachs were far better known as malefactors, merciless cold-blooded outlaws and public enemies. A narrow province under constant pressure of war and populated by many different 'out-comers' forced the authorities to solve each case of criminality in order to avoid an escalation of the conflict. The Morlach outlaws can be only considered examples of *banditismo* up to a certain point,[61] especially since their actions did not emerge from some form of sanguine malevolence, but as a solution for survival in merciless conditions. However, there were many aspects that might convince us to speak about the sixteenth-century Morlachs as bandits. Suffice it to mention the highway thefts, killings, kidnappings that fed the slave markets, rapes and animal stealing, together with cases of complicity with local authorities, traditional forms of justice (the *vendetta)* and close ties with their milieu of origin (i.e., the community to which the leader belonged).[62]

In fact, when discussing crimes involving the Morlachs some important distinctions can be observed between the outlaw inhabitants of the Venetian lands and the malefactors arriving from the Ottoman territories. This distinction is relevant because it justified the different measures applied by Venice in order to react to or stop disruptive events. It can be noticed that when the outlaw Morlach was a Venetian subject (a colonised subject in a settlement under Venetian administration), his punishment involved a public announcement to appear before a court of justice.[63] If a number of days passed and he did not arrive, then he was banished from all Venetian territories and ships, with an attractive reward for those willing to offer information about the criminal. This form of punishment, the banishment of a criminal, was defined by Venetian laws under the term of *bando* (Medieval Latin

[60] FLORENCE SABINE FABIJANEC, *Le développement commercial de Split et Zadar aux XVe-XVIe siècles: Un commerce transitaire entre l'Europe et la Méditerranée* (Saarbrücken: Éditions Universitaires Européennes, 2011); SAZ, Opčina Šibenik, b. 70: fragment of a customs register containing large quantities of Morlach cheese shipped to Venice in the year 1576.

[61] NEVA MAKUC, 'Noble Violence and Banditry along the Border between the Venetian Republic and the Austrian Habsburgs,' *Mediterranea: Ricerche storiche* 12 (2015): 211–226, see 212.

[62] Considering the aspects defining a bandit as established by ERIC HOBSBAWM in *Bandits* (ABACUS, 2000). It is worth considering that the author stressed the fact that all bandits had a pastoral origin, like in the case of the Balkan *hayducs*, and that they benefited from an autonomy granted by a traditional lifestyle, by their past and the geographic area they originate from.

[63] ASVe, SDM, reg. 25, c. 173r-v: *Antonio Carlich Murlacho* and his companions carried out some acts of violence and robberies in the summer of 1540, one of them ending with the death of a soldier/knight at the service of the captain of Raspo.

bannum). It can be found among the capital punishments, together with the death penalty, life sentence or forced service as a rower on the Venetian galleys for a specific amount of time.[64] On the other hand, when the Morlach offender was an Ottoman subject, his punishment was negotiated with the Ottoman representative who had the right to judge him.[65]

It appears there was a clear distinction drawn between incursions for plunder and occasional incidents caused by the Morlachs. Venice had to deal with Morlach criminality in a different way and to find specific solutions in order to transform the damage into advantages or at least to diminish it. The mentioned differences emphasise the specifics of the Morlach communities (always ready to fight but attached to the family) as well as the ways followed by Venice to protect the border and to solve the demographic challenges.[66] The settlement of a few thousand Morlachs[67] for the entire time frame of my research is a clear answer to these permanent problems of Venetian Dalmatia.

As suggested at the beginning, the sources mentioning the Morlachs are rather short and lacking in detail. They are almost exclusively Venetian and record the Morlachs' activities in contexts that challenge the good administration of the province. While the peace agreements between the bigger actors may have settled the ideal relationships, the everyday encounters at the local level were more about threatening the desired peaceful coexistence. In a region like Dalmatia, threatened by the Ottoman military offensive towards the Adriatic, the Morlachs appeared as nothing more than another potential reason for conflict. Therefore, from the Venetian perspective, the Morlachs were those people who arrived in Dalmatia from beyond the mainland border; they were shepherds, merchants, malefactors, immigrants, colonists, soldiers, etc. While a Morlach or a group of Morlachs could engage in one or more of these activities, what was certain is that they originated from beyond the border of Dalmatia. Aspects like religion, language and ethnicity (in a modern sense) cannot be derived from the analysed sources, which are mainly administrative in nature and grant no significance to such details.

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[64] EDOARDO RUBINI, *Giustizia veneta. Lo spirito Veneto nelle leggi criminali della Repubblica* (Venice: Filippi Editori, 2010), 99–100; MAKUC, 'Noble Violence,' 214: 'the characteristic practice of the Venetian authorities [was] sentencing criminal offenders to banishment. The most severe penalty was a *bando capitale*, which meant that anyone had the right to kill an exile with impunity.'

[65] Some other examples can be found in DANA CACIUR, 'Soluţiile oficialilor veneţieni din Dalmaţia la practicile criminale ale morlacilor în decursul secolului al XVI-lea. Cazul: Milia Popovich/Melia Popović', in *Povestiri întretăiate.Istoria în cheie minoră*, ed. OVIDIU CRISTEA (Târgovişte: Cetatea de Scaun, 2016), 295–314.

[66] This was even more important since there were Venetian subjects willing to go into the Ottoman lands and become Muslims and subjects of the Sultans. See KLEMEN PUST, '"Le genti della citta, delle isole e del contado, le quale al tutto volevano partirsi." Migrations from the Venetian to the Ottoman Territory and Conversions of Venetian Subjects to Islam in the Eastern Adriatic in the Sixteenth century,' *Izvorni znanstveni rad* 40 (2011): 121–59.

[67] ANGELO DE BENVENUTI, *Storia di Zara dal 1409 al 1797* (Milan: Fratelli Bocca editori, 1944), 106.

In addition to all of these already complicated aspects of the Morlachs' identity, we have to mention their relations with the Uskoks. They are relevant mainly because they give even more emphasis to the status of the Morlachs as inhabitants of the border, or marginal people. As Ottoman subjects, and tolerated by the Venetians, the Morlachs became easy victims of the Uskoks, who were in charge of sabotaging the Ottoman offensive. By attacking, kidnapping, killing or robbing the Morlachs, the Uskoks threatened the Venetian-Ottoman relations[68] and affected the commercial agreements and border negotiations.

Officially in charge of protecting the Habsburg border in the south of Dalmatia, after 1537 the Uskoks settled in Senj/Segna and its hinterland. Having fought against the Ottomans, the Uskoks became a constant source of tension and conflict between Venice and the Sublime Porte in spite of their agreements regarding the rule of the Adriatic. The piracy or corsair activities of the Uskoks increased in frequency over the sixteenth century and challenged the task of Venice to protect the sea and the maritime commercial routes, as established in the Venetian-Ottoman agreement from 1540.[69] However, the Uskoks' attacks were also organised in the inner parts of the Venetian over-sea province, especially but not exclusively in Northern Dalmatia. From this point of view, an investigation into the Uskok raids on Ottoman subjects crossing the border region of Dalmatia opens new research directions regarding the relations between the regional and central authorities of the three states involved. Moreover, it creates the opportunity to examine new elements defining the various social groups present in the rural hinterland of Dalmatia.

A very important aspect of this Morlach-Uskok relationship is shaped by the dynamism of their interaction. In most Venetian documents, the Morlachs appear as victims of the Uskoks,[70] even though they were equally protected by the Venetians and the Ottomans.[71] The Uskoks were depicted as the main enemies of the Ottomans, Morlachs and Venetians. However, certain sources reveal that the Morlachs, and others besides,[72] frequently helped the Uskoks in organising plundering raids and received a share of the loot. Morlachs also left the Venetian lands and chose the Uskok lifestyle, especially to flee Venetian justice or to enjoy an

[68] BRACEWELL, *The Uskoks of Senj*, 187–89.

[69] TOMMASO STEFINI, 'Irregolarità e rapporti di forza nella Dalmazia del Cinquecento,' *Studi veneziani* 59 (2010): 634.

[70] ASVe, SDS, fl. 20: February 20, 1545: 300 Uskoks attacked Morlach shepherds, Ottoman subjects in the hinterland of Šibenik; ASVe, SDS, reg. 59, p. 58v-59r: October 29, 1554: 14 Uskoks dressed in Ottoman clothes (*vestiti in habito Musulmano*) kidnapped three Morlachs, two men and one woman, to sell them as slaves in Segna; ASVe, SDC, fl. 1: November 1558: 18 Morlachs, *sudditi turcheschi,* were taken by the Uskoks to be sold as slaves in Segna; etc.

[71] Sometimes they even collaborated to rescue the Morlachs: ASVe, Libri Commemoriali, reg. 22, c. 100v-100r: in the winter of 1546–1547 eight Morlachs, men, woman and young boys, and one Turk, Ferhat, were recovered from the Uskoks by the joint efforts of Paulo Giustinian, captain of *fuste,* Stephano, the son of the former count and captain of Šibenik and *Rezep*, the Ottoman *emino* living in Šibenik.

[72] ASVe, SDM, fl. 25: 'uno Gregorio Cernarich complice participe de Uschochi nella casa del quale se dividevano le prede.'

easier life based on plunder. In all these cases, the Venetian authorities had to intervene in order to recover the Morlachs or their goods, to catch Uskoks who had killed Morlachs, or to protect the Morlach caravans from Uskok raids in Venetian lands.[73] It is clear why the Venetians resented their presence and denounced the actions of the Uskoks, usually referring to them with aggressive words.

The Uskoks found a place in the history of the Balkan world as a social group on which the ruling state did not apply any coercive measures, instead exploiting their 'abilities' to secure a fragment of the border with the Ottomans. The Habsburg masters granted them military freedom in exchange for the defence of a triple border[74] in a high mountain area. Like the Morlachs present in the Venetian territories who were tolerated, encouraged and hardly punished for their misconducts, the Uskoks who settled in the Habsburg lands appear as a marginal autonomous people who were in fact a useful instrument in the hands of the state. Two aspects of a world marked by war, the Morlachs and the Uskoks are relevant examples of marginal people managing to carry on a traditional lifestyle while developing strong connections with the ruling powers.

Conclusions

In the sixteenth century, the hinterland of Venetian Dalmatia became a place where 'the others' – that is, refugees from the territories affected by war[75]– had to adapt to the rules of the locals and to find ways to maintain their specific cultural traits. At the formal level the Venetian administration made it clear that the border had to be respected; but, at the ground level, they did not exclude the coexistence of different subjects with the expressed intention to respect the pact of neighbourliness (*buona vicinanza*) and friendship with the Ottomans. The continuous immigrant waves caused the officials to find ways to integrate the newcomers and use this human resource to repopulate the region, to protect the borders and to revitalise agriculture in the areas affected by depopulation and Ottoman raids. In turn, the immigrants welcomed the opportunities offered: lands for houses and agriculture, exemptions from taxes and military duties, and the possibility of practising commercial activities in the region. They combined this new stability with their own lifestyle and created autonomous communities, with certain fiscal and military obligations.

Researching the Morlachs and their relations with other marginal populations, especially with the Uskoks, enhances our knowledge about these border people in the early modern period. Communities which are defined by great ethnic and

[73] ASVe, SDS, reg. 65, c. 133r-v; ASVe, SDS, fl. 2: a Morlach caravan transporting salt from Šibenik was attacked by 40 Uskoks while crossing the mountains. According to the Venetians they were escorted by soldiers to the border, while the attack took place in the Ottoman lands.

[74] See the studies published within the *Triplex Confinium: International Research Project* accessed November 11, 2020 http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/pov/zavod/triplex/triplex_confinium_homepage.htm.

[75] BORNA FUERST-BJELIŠ, 'Imagining the Past: Cartography and Multicultural Realities of Croatian Borderlands,' in *Cartography: A Tool for Spatial Analysis*, ed. CARLOS BATEIRA (Porto: IntechOpen, 2012), 295–312, see 299.

professional diversity but offer scarce information about themselves demand historical research which delves into a large number of sources of various provenances. Nevertheless, they are a crucial source of information on border regions, often inhabited by lesser-known groups of people who have their own specific strategies for survival and adaptation. For certain situations, the analysed sources suggest a three-state approach when discussing these cross-border subjects. This is the case of the Morlach caravans that were protected by the Venetian *strattioti* while present in the Venetian hinterland and immediately attacked by the Uskoks after they entered the Ottoman territory. The same idea applies for those cases when the Morlachs or other Ottoman subjects chose to become Uskoks and to move to Habsburg territory. For this reason, while emphasising the relations between the Morlachs and the Uskoks in the Dalmatian hinterland, one should not ignore the role of diplomacy (regional and central) as it developed between Venice and the Ottoman Empire. Together with other factors of coexistence on the common border, the presence of the Uskoks and their interactions with the Morlachs (mainly Ottoman subjects) contributed to shaping the 'neighbourliness' policy. Therefore, research into these very active, mobile people extends the perspectives on Venetian-Ottoman relations by strengthening the visibility of some 'small actors' as true cross-cultural and transimperial agents.

Remarks on Foreignness in Eighteenth-Century German Cookbooks

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Social history has recently rediscussed the notion of foreignness in early modern times. In particular, Simona Cerutti has introduced the idea that the foreigner was not so much 'the one who comes from elsewhere' as the one who did not belong enough to a specific social group in a given moment and territory. According to Cerutti, the foreigner was the one who had no access to property, no civic rights or no family bonds where he or she operated, and on which he or she could rely. Cerutti then moved the focus away from studying people coming from elsewhere to a 'state of foreignness' (*condition d'extranéité*) that was specific of socially – but not necessary economically – unempowered people (*personnes misérables*). She shifted the attention from the normative framework to instead study practices.[1] If we are to transfer this methodology from social history to the history of food, it invites us to consider as foreign what was not usually available in a market, not usually used in a cuisine, or not usually present around a table. This leads us to question our present obsessions regarding the origin of a product, its name, and the ways of cooking it according to an alleged tradition and identity.[2] Such criteria were not necessarily relevant in eighteenth-century Europe where the *terroir* did not exist as such, where authenticity was not yet a concern, and where identity and belonging were defined differently, or not exclusively, from a national perspective.[3] The narrative conveyed by cookbooks allows us to examine the categories their authors created and adjusted according to the

[1] SIMONA CERUTTI, *Étrangers. Étude d'une condition d'incertitude dans une société d'Ancien Régime* (Montrouge: Bayard, 2012). See also: JACQUES BOTTIN and DONATELLA CALABI, eds, *Les étrangers dans la ville. Minorités et espace urbain du bas Moyen Âge à l'époque moderne* (Paris: Éditions de la MSH, 1999); PETER SAHLINS, *Unnaturally French: Foreign Citizens in the Old Regime and After* (Ithaca, NY; London: Cornell University Press, 2004); MARIE-CARMEN SMYRNELIS, *Une société hors de soi, identités et relations sociales à Smyrne aux XVIIIe et XIX siècles* (Paris: Editions Peeters, 2005); HANNA SONKAJÄRVI, *Qu'est-ce qu'un étranger? Frontières et identifications à Strasbourg (1681-1789)* (Strasbourg: Presses universitaires de Strasbourg, 2008); FRANCESCA TRIVELLATO, *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); MARIA PIA PEDANI, *Venezia Porta d'Oriente* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2010); and ROBERTO ZAUGG, *Stranieri di antico regime. Mercanti, giudici e consoli nella Napoli del Settecento* (Rome: Viella, 2011).

[2] HÉLÈNE D'ALMEIDA TOPOR, *Le gout de l'étranger. Les saveurs venues d'ailleurs depuis la fin du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2008) and GÜNTEL WIEGELMANN, *Alltags- und Festspeisen in Mitteleuropa, Innovationen, Strukturen und Regionen vom späten Mittelalter bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* (Münster: Waxmann, 2000), 40–64. See also INA BAGHDIANTZ MCCABE, *Orientalism in Early Modern France: Eurasian Trade, Exoticism, and the Ancien Régime* (Oxford/New York: Berg, 2008), 163-256.

[3] PHILIPPE MEYZIE, *La table du Sud-Ouest et l'émergence des cuisines régionales (1700-1850)* (Rennes: PUR, 2007).

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practices they observed, regarding food, recipes and cooking techniques and methods assumed to come from elsewhere, but not necessarily from abroad. This requires us to constantly adapt our scale of analysis according to the culinary territory that the specific author was reporting on.[4]

Cookbooks appeared in the fifteenth century in the Holy Roman Empire and they contributed to the emergence of national cuisines. According to Philippe Meyzie, the 'dual dynamics of codification and representation participated very strongly in the construction of national cuisines and in their distinction one from the other.'[5] Accordingly, the different and diverse cuisines of the Holy Roman Empire can be seen as a European laboratory in which to analyse this evolution. The German cookbooks offered an array of food, recipes, techniques and methods that combined different criteria and participated in identifying elements referring to foreign countries within the eighteenth-century gastronomic narratives developed in the German-speaking world. They referred to an 'elsewhere,' both outside and inside the Holy Roman Empire. The cuisine from Bohemia could be as foreign for a Saxon cook in Hanover as a Spanish soup might be in Nuremberg. Cookbooks could also be socio-economic in the context of the affirmation of a bourgeois cuisine that intended to strongly distinguish itself from that of the court.[6] We should also keep in mind that the reference to a foreign food, recipe, technique or method could be part of the narrative of a meal. It did not necessarily indicate a foreign origin. It could be a way of introducing a new dish or making fun of a culture from which it was claimed to be borrowed. In this respect, the political, religious and even linguistic diversity of the Holy Roman Empire constitutes a privileged field of research for analysing how references to foreign elements were introduced in the titles of cookbooks, their introductions, the naming and the content of the recipes, and the numerous comments inserted by the authors. The present article shows that there was no German national cuisine by the end of the eighteenth century. It also explores the vibrant circulation of food, recipes, techniques and methods within the German-speaking world and between the German-speaking world and the rest of Europe, the Ottoman Empire included. As Claire Gantet and Christine Lebeau recently stated: 'From Hamburg to Trieste, from Antwerp to Vienna, imperial institutions structured the political and

[4] BRUNO LAURIOUX, 'Kochbücher vom Ende des Mittelalters,' in *Mahl und Repräsentation. Der Kult ums Essen*, ed. Lothar Kolmer and Christian Rohr (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2000), 157–66 and 'L'histoire de la cuisine: problèmes, sources et méthodes,' in *Alimentazione e nutrizione, secc. XIII-XIII*, ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Prato: Mondadori Education, 1997), 463–87.

[5] PHILIPPE MEYZIE, *L'alimentation en Europe à l'époque moderne. Manger et boire XVIe s.–XIXe s.* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2010), 241 and KYRI W. CLAFLIN, 'Food among the Historians: Early Modern Europe' in KYRI W. CLAFLIN and PETER SCHOLLIERS, eds., *Writing Food History: A Global Perspective* (Oxford/New York: Berg, 2012). See also MARTIN BRUEGEL and BRUNO LAURIOUX, eds, *Histoire des identités alimentaires en Europe* (Paris: Hachette, 2002) and ANNE-MARIE THIESSE, *La création des identités nationales: Europe XVIIIe-XXe siècle* (Paris: Seuil, 1999).

[6] JACK GOODY, *Cuisine and Class. A Study in Comparative Sociology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982). See also JEAN-LOUIS FLANDRIN, 'Internationalisme, nationalisme et régionalisme dans la cuisine des XIVe et XVe siècles: le témoignage des livres de cuisine,' in *Manger et boire au Moyen Age: cuisine, manières de tables, régimes alimentaires*, ed. DENIS MENJOT (Nice: Belles Lettres, 1984), 75–91.

social space, permeated practices and even consciences and formed the society of the Empire, a set of solidarities, hierarchy and common norms.'[7]

In spite of the diversity of these references, a cookbook cannot be defined as cosmopolitan or syncretic because it incorporated food coming from a foreign province, country or culture. References to food from elsewhere were constitutive of a particular cultural narrative and so I look at them first and foremost as the result of the food culture that enunciated them, of which the cookbook was the medium. As Georg Simmel stated, 'the stranger is yet an organic member of the group.'[8] The foreign origin of a food, recipe or technique highlighted or claimed by German cookbooks was often only a piece of a narrative that was intended to satisfy the expectations of a targeted readership. In other words, could these aspects in eighteenth-century German cookbooks be deemed foreign if we consider that every recipe introduced was already part of the culture that the book referred to? A comparison of cookbooks printed in German in the Holy Roman Empire allows us to identify dissonances and therefore particular ways in which food, recipes, techniques and methods that could be described as French, Swedish, Hungarian, Spanish or Polish, but also Austrian, Bavarian, Bohemian or Saxon, could belong to the different cuisines cooked in the German-speaking world. In a sense, cookbooks are similar sources to the topographies or city directories that developed in the eighteenth century too. They too focused on practices and tried to explain the evolution of the world they witnessed to their readers, by offering new categories to understand a new and rapidly changing world.[9]

The following remarks are based on 31 cookbooks published in German in the Holy Roman Empire during the eighteenth century. They first stress the coexistence of two gastronomic models that emphasised two parallel German scholarly worlds at the beginning of the eighteenth century. However, this division tended to fade away from the 1730s with the triumph of a sort of food statistics promoted by publishers from the southern states of the Holy Roman Empire, and the progressive disappearance of cumulative knowledge. Moreover, references to foreign countries and cultures in cookbooks, recipes, techniques and methods emphasised the different interfaces between the Holy Roman Empire and England, France, Hungary, Poland and Sweden. These influences led to regional specificities and thus, in the narrative,

[7] CLAIRE GANTET and CHRISTINE LEBEAU, *Le Saint-Empire, 1500-1800* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2018), 133. Hans JÜRGEN TEUTEBERG, GERHARD NEUMANN, and ALOIS WIERLACHER, eds, *Essen und kulturelle Identität. Europaïsche Perspektiven* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1997); PETER PETER, *Kulturgeschichte der deutschen Küche* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2008) and *Kulturgeschichte der österreichischen Küche* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2013). See also HANS U. WEISS, *Gastronomia. Eine Bibliographie der deutschsprachigen Gastronomie 1485–1914. Ein Handbuch für Sammler und Antiquare* (Zurich: Bibliotheca Gastronomica, 1996).

[8] GEORG SIMMEL, 'The Stranger,' in *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, ed. KURT H. WOLFF (New York: Free Press, 1950), 408.

[9] On the statistical history of Germany: JASON D. HANSEN, *Mapping the Germans: Statistical Science, Geography and the Visualization of the German Nation, 1848-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 20. See also EMMA SPARY, *Eating the Enlightenment: Food and the Science in Paris, 1670-1760* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012), 146–94.

they gradually characterised the foreign cuisines found within the ancient *Reich*. Finally, the question of whether or not to mention the origin of food products leads to a re-evaluation of the importance of the availability of food on a specific market, and not the place where food was produced, in defining it as foreign or not.

Foreignness in Cumulative and Analytic Food Knowledge

In contrast to the historians of the eighteenth century, who often analysed foreigners in the same city nation by nation, topographers never presented foreigners as separate categories within the societies they described. They forged categories that were relevant to the society as a whole. Cookbook authors were the topographers and statisticians of the dining table. They took a similar approach. Indeed, the history of cookbooks is part of the history of science[10] and it participated in the emergence of modern statistics that occurred in the Holy Roman Empire during the eighteenth century. As can be seen from German booksellers' catalogues, cookbooks were considered at the crossroads between medicine, economy and science.

In the eighteenth century, German cookbooks belonged to different disciplines. The famous *Allgemeines Oeconomisches Lexicon* (General Economic Lexicon) of Leipzig, dating from 1731, classified cookbooks in the section 'House, Kitchen and Cellar.'[11] However, in 1777 the *Allgemeines Verzeichniß neuer Bücher* (General Yearbook of New Books), published in Leipzig, still classified, for example, Jean Neubauer's *Neues Kochbuch* (New Cookbook), published in Vienna in 1776, in its 'economy' section.[12] In this catalogue, Neubauer preceded Johann August Block's *Fünf und zwanzig für den Staat interessante Aufgaben* (Twenty-five Duties in the Interest of the State) published in Berlin and the anonymous *Rural Improvements* imported from London. The index of the same *Allgemeines Verzeichniß* set out a second section for cookbooks. In accordance with the classical knowledge on which this classification was based,[13] Neubauer's cookbook was listed in the 'domestic economics' section, along with Johann Christian Kersertein's *Anfangsgründe der bürgerlichen Baukunst* (Introduction to Municipal Architecture), Johann Wilhelm Heinemann's *Abhandlung über die Feuerlöschungsanstalten* (Treatise on Fire-Extinguishing Measures) and Antoine August Parmentier's *Avis aux bonnes ménagères sur la meilleure manière de faire le pain* (Advice to Good Housewives on the Best Way to Bake

[10] HENRY NOTAKER, *A History of Cookbooks: From Kitchen to Page over Seven Centuries* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017) and EMMA C. SPARY, *Eating the Enlightenment: Food and the Sciences in Paris, 1670-1760* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2014). See also KEN ALBALA, 'Cookbooks as Historical Documents,' in *The Oxford Handbook of Food History*, ed. JEFFREY M. PILCHER (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 227–40; HENRY NOTAKER, 'Printed Cookbooks: Food History, Book History, and Literature,' *Food & History* 10, no. 2 (2012): 131–59; and MARY HYMAN and PHILIP HYMAN, 'Imprimer la cuisine: le livre de cuisine en France entre le XV^e^ et le XIX^e^ siècle,' in *Histoire de l'alimentation*, eds JEAN-LOUIS FLANDRIN and MASSIMO MONTANARI (Paris: Fayard, 1997), 643–55.

[11] GEORG HEINRICH ZINKE, *Allgemeines Oeconomisches Lexicon, darinnen nicht allein Die Kunst-Wörter und Erklärungen dererjenigen Sachen* (Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Gleditschens sel. Sohn, 1731).

[12] JEAN NEUBAUER, *Neues Kochbuch bestehend in ganz Ordinairen oder auf bürgerliche Art zu bereiteten Fleisch und Fastenspeisen* (Vienna: Joh. Georg Weingand, 1776).

[13] ROBIN NADEAU, 'Cookery Books,' in *A Companion to Food in the Ancient World*, eds JOHN WILKINS and ROBIN NADEAU (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), 53–58.

Bread), in its original French version.[14] In 1780, the new edition of the *Allgemeines Verzeichniß* modified its nomenclature with an alphabetical index that did not offer double categorisation and classified Neubauer under 'the fine arts and sciences'.[15] A cookbook was therefore above all practical. For example, the *Allgemeines Verzeichniß* of 1777 introduced Neubauer's *Neuer Kochbuch* as 'among the most essential, as far as it can be judged useful and good by a layman in the field of cooking. Man seems to be elevated in the kitchen and is educated by the experience of the cook. However, it regretted that 'like most cookbooks, the Bavarian German cooking language makes it difficult to understand in many German provinces.'[16] This Bavarian language, which made the language of the book difficult to understand to its Saxon reviewer, underlined a tension between the elaborate German network of book distribution and the limits of its reception due to German linguistic diversity.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, in the Holy Roman Empire food was divided by two models of knowledge organisation. In the North, Maria Anna Schellhammer's *Der wohl-unterwiesenen Köchin* (The Well-Educated Cook), published in Braunschweig in 1700, Gottlieb Corvinus's *Frauenzimmer-Lexicon* (Lexicon of Chambermaids), published in Leipzig in 1715, and Paul Jacob Marperger's *Vollständiges Küch-und-Keller Dictionarium* (Dictionary of Kitchens and Cellars), published in Hamburg in 1716, had an alphabetical structure that organised the recipes they introduced. They differed radically from Conrad Hagger's *Neues Saltzburgisches Koch-Buch* (New Salzburg Cookbook), published in Augsburg in 1718.[17] The latter, which consisted of eight books in four volumes, was always intended to be a comprehensive collection of knowledge, but it also introduced a thematic index that became common in the southern part of the Holy Roman Empire from the 1730s onwards. In 1733, Johann Albrecht Grunauer wrote 37 chapters, each corresponding to a type of dish or food, ranging from soups to jellies, veal, duck and fish dishes. Devoted to the latter, chapter 22 was further subdivided into types of fish from eel to crayfish, carp and pike.[18] In 1740, the anonymous *Nutzliches Koch-Buch* (Useful Cookbook), published in Vienna, simplified the classification to six sections, which were taken from the *Bewehrtes Koch-buch* (Proven Cookbook) of 1748. These sections corresponded to the order of the dishes and services and no longer to the nature of the main ingredient to be cooked.[19]

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[14] *Allgemeines Verzeichniß neuer Bücher mit kurzen Anmerkungen nebst einem gelehrten Anzeiger auf das Jahr 1777* (Leipzig: Siegfried Lebrecht Crusius, 1777), 116 and 990.
[15] *Allgemeines Verzeichniß neuer Bücher ... auf das Jahr 1780*, vols 5-7 (Leipzig: Siegfried Lebrecht Crusius, 1780), 960.
[16] Ibid.
[17] MARIA SOPHIA SCHELLHAMMER, *Der wohl-unterwiesenen Köchin zufälliger Confect-Tisch* (Braunschweig: Heinrich Keßler, 1700); GOTTLIEB L. CORVINUS, *Nutzbares, galantes und curiöses Frauenzimmer-Lexicon* (Leipzig: Joh. Friedrich Gleditsch und Sohn, 1715); PAUL JACOB MARPERGER, *Vollständiges Küch-und-Keller Dictionarium* (Hamburg: Benjamin Schiller, 1716); and CONRAD HAGGER, *Neues Saltzburgisches Koch-Buch* (Augsburg: Johann, Jacob Lotter, 1718).
[18] JOHANN ALBRECHT GRUNAUER, *Das vollständige und vermehrte auf die neueste Art eingerichtete Koch-Buch* (Nuremberg: Georg Christoph Lochners, 1733).
[19] *Nutzliches Koch-Buch, oder: kurzer Unterricht in welchem Unterschiedene Speisen gut zu zubereiten beschriben seynd* (Steyr: Johann Adam Holzmayr seel, 1740) and *Bewehrtes Koch-buch in sechs Absätz vertheile*, (Vienna: Leopold Kaliwoda, 1748).

Knowledge was no longer merely accumulated. It reflected a social practice and it was classified and organised in order to produce a norm. The size of the books was also reduced in order to make them more practical.

This analytic model progressively became the basis of the cookbook. Only the registers that completed the books retained an alphabetical classification, with the exception of the *Vollständiges Koch-Buch* (Complete Cookbook), published in Ulm but edited 'at the request of the Stettin (Szczesin, today in Poland) Bookstore Commission' in Western Pomerania.[20] The *Schwedisches Koch- und Haushaltungs-Buch* (Book of Swedish Cookery and Household) by Christina Warg, published in Greifswald in 1772, and the *Nieder-Sächsisches Koch-Buch* (Lower Saxon Cookbook) by Marcus Looft, published in Lübeck in 1783, testified to the adoption of the statistical model.[21] As the author of the *Allgemeines Verzeichniß* mentioned, for example, Neubauer's 1776 book offered a list of menu types. In *Die Geschäfte des Hauswesens* [The Business of the Household], published in 1803 in Stendal, the table of contents substituted the index. It organised the book thematically and the recipes were classified by the type of dish, numbered and paginated. In the appendix it also listed different ways of adapting the recipes for people in poor health.[22] Ignaz Gartler's *Wienerisches bewährtes Kochbuch* (Viennese Real Cookbook), published in 1787, appears to be the most elaborate of the period. Not only did it bring together the contributions of the previous books, such as the classification of dishes by course, their numbering, the index and the register explaining the specific vocabulary, but it also brought innovation, in particular thanks to its appendices. They listed the rules for using and organising a kitchen, the availability of food according to the seasons, the art of setting the table according to the dishes, and the art of setting the dishes and plates according to the food and especially the specific cuts of meat. They also provided menus for fat and lean days, based on the different possibilities to combine products, dishes and the number of guests. Finally, table plans for lunch and dinner and the number of guests were inserted and developed during the successive editions of the book in 1793, 1831 and 1838, on which Barbara Hikmann also collaborated.[23]

Gartler's cookbook perfectly embodied the scientific approach of cookbook authors comparable to that of topographers and statisticians. In 1780, the structure of *Der kaiserlich-königliche Residenzstadt Wien Kommerzialschema* (Commercial Directory of the Imperial and Royal Court-City of Vienna) clearly echoed that of cookbooks. In the first part, Christian Löper first provided an alphabetical classification of the city's

[20] *Vollständiges Koch-Buch- und Konfiturenlexikon oder alphabetischer Auszug* (Ulm: Kommißion der Stattinischen Buchkandlung, 1786).
[21] CHRISTINA WARG, *Schwedisches Koch- und Haushaltungs-Buch, nebst einem Unterricht auf Seide, Wolle und Leinen zu färben zum Nutzen junger Frauenzimmer entworfen* (Greifswald: A. F. Röse, 1772) and MARCUS LOOFT, *Nieder-Sächsisches Koch-Buch, oder Anweisungs-Regeln wonach alle und jede, sowol kostbare, als ordinaire Speisen präpariret, auch einige Garten-Früchte getroncknet und eingemacht werden können* (Lübeck: Iversen und Compagnie, 1783).
[22] *Die Geschäfte des Hauswesens, ein Handbuch für junge Frauenzimmer, die gute Hauswirthinnen werden wollen* (Stendal: Franzen und Große, 1803).
[23] IGNAZ GARTLER, *Wienerisches bewährtes Kochbuch* (Vienna: Josef Gerold, 1787).

craftsmen and merchants by section, in the same way as cookbooks classified the dishes by course. This was followed by an alphabetical index of the persons mentioned, which mirrored the index of dishes at the end of the cookbooks, and then a topography of the city by district and by economic function, prefiguring the appendices, which provided information on the availability of products by season, and the arrangement of Ignaz Gartler's dishes.[24] Gartler's cookbook can also be compared to two of its exact contemporary topographies, *Wiens gegenwährtiger Zustand* (Present State of the City of Vienna) by the Linz professor of statistics, Ignaz De Luca, published the same year in Vienna, and the first edition of *Skizze von Wien* (Sketch of Vienna) by the secretary and librarian of the Chancellery of State, Johann Pezzl.[25] As rich as it was in its descriptions, the structure of De Luca's book, which followed an alphabetical order, appeared much less elaborate than that of Gartler's book. It clearly referred to a kind of knowledge designed in the dictionaries and lexicons of the beginning of the century. As for *Skizze von Wien*, which uses an analytical and non-alphabetical structure, the absence of an index, at least in the first edition, seemed to rule out a non-linear first reading. In Vienna, cookbooks were the embodiment of modern statistics.

Which German Cuisine in which Germany?

Just like topographies, cookbooks accounted for the presence of foreign elements in the society they described and analysed. However, the definition of what was foreign was first a question of scale. Indeed, if the publishers reflected a book geography dominated by major publishing centres such as Leipzig and Vienna, there was still a great range of places that in some way corresponded to cookbooks focusing on local cuisine (fig. 1). What was designated as foreign could paradoxically belong to the Holy Roman Empire. Moreover, what was foreign never belonged to a section specifically created for this category. Food, recipes, techniques and methods referring to elsewhere were always integrated into the different categories of the different cuisines that a cookbook proposed to introduce.

Indeed, before the end of the eighteenth century none of the cookbooks claimed to be about German cuisine. They targeted other types of geographical areas within the Holy Roman Empire: an administrative circle (*Kreis*), a state or a city. Moreover, this division did not necessarily correspond to the political divisions of the ancient *Reich*. In 1783, Marcus Looft positioned his *Nieder-Sächsisches Koch-Buch* on the scale of the German-speaking Hanseatic world, while, in 1792, Ernst Meyfeld and Johann Ennes's *Hannoverisches Kochbuch* (Hanoverian Cookbook) and in 1799 Jakob Melin's *Grätzerisches durch Erfahrung geprüftes Kochbuch* (Graz Cookbook through a Series of Experiments) were respectively restricted to Hanover, and to Graz in present-day Austria.[26]

[24] CHRISTIAN LÖPER, *Der kaiserlich-königliche Residenzstadt Wien Kommerzialschema* (Vienna: Josef Gerold, 1780).
[25] IGNAZ DE LUCA, *Wiens gegenwährtiger Zustand unter Josephs Regierung* (Vienna: Georg Philipp Wucherer, 1787) and JOHANN PEZZL, *Skizze von Wien*, 6 vols (Vienna: Kraussischen Buchhandlung, 1786–90).
[26] LOOFT, *Nieder-Sächsisches Koch-Buch*; ERNST MEYFELD and JOHANN GEORG ENNER, *Hannoverisches Kochbuch*, 2 vols (Hanover: Hahn, 1792); JAKOB MELIN, *Grätzerisches durch Erfahrung geprüftes Kochbuch. Eingerichtet für alle Stände* (Graz: Johann Andreas Kienreich, 1799).

Figure 1. Place of edition of the mentioned cookbooks in the Holy Roman Empire in 1800.

The cookbooks referred to the geography of the various economic areas that made up the Holy Roman Empire. What was foreign to the Holy Roman Empire depended on the specific context of enunciation and could not be understood on the scale of the Holy Roman Empire or the German-speaking area. Cookbooks could also be introduced as foreign and could reflect a certain circulation of tastes.[27] In 1794, the *Neues Londner Kochbuch* (New London Cookbook) by Francis Collingwood was published in Leipzig, based on a German translation made in London, while the *Schwedisches Koch- und Haushaltungs-Buch* by Christina Warg was published in Greifswald in 1772.[28] Germany's economic links with northern Europe, which rested on the Hanseatic trade networks, embodied a sort of culinary modernity and pushed French and Italian cookbooks out of fashion, except for

[27] PHILIPPE MEYZIE, 'La circulation des goûts et des modes alimentaires en Europe,' in *Les circulations internationales en Europe 1680-1780*, eds PIERRE-YVES BEAUREPAIRE and PIERRICK POURCHASSE (Rennes: PUR, 2010), 425–34.

[28] FRANCIS COLLINGWOOD and JOHN WOOLLMAN, *Neues Londner Kochbuch oder allgemeiner Englischer Küchen-Wirthschafter für Stadt und Land* (Leipzig: Adam Friedrich Gotthelf Baumgärtner, 1794). WARG, *Schwedisches Koch- und Haushaltungs-Buch*. See also JOHANN REINHARD FORSTER and KURT SPRENGEL, *Bengt Bergius über die Leckereyen aus dem Schwedischen mit Anmerkungen* (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1792).

the '*grande cuisine*.'[29] The influence of Anglophilia over the German Enlightenment (Aufklärung) – and not only in the Protestant states[30] – and a familiarity developed with the extra-Germanic, Hanseatic or Mediterranean world, encouraged the modification of the different cuisines in the Holy Roman Empire. Finally, Western Pomerania, of which Greifswald was a part, was a vassal territory of the Swedish crown, and reflected the cultural influence of a Scandinavian elite, without necessarily inducing the exact transfer of this model.

The ancient *Reich*'s cuisine was also characterised by the vitality of its geographical margins. In 1790, a *Pariser Kochbuch* (Parisian Cookbook), published in Trieste – an Adriatic city-port of the Holy Roman Empire in Inner Austria, today in Italy – was listed in the catalogue of the bookseller Anton Löwe in Pressburg (Baratislava, today in Slovakia), thus in the kingdom of Hungary, outside the Holy Roman Empire, but within the Habsburg composite monarchy. Nevertheless, in Pressburg, at Löwe's bookshop, the *Pariser Kochbuch* also belonged to a series of cookbooks from throughout the Holy Roman Empire, printed in Braunschweig, Cologne, Trieste or Stralsund, as transcribed here:

> Koch-Bücher.
> *Braunschweigisches Kochbuch*, m. Kpf. 8., Braunsch[weig]. [1]789. 1fl. 15kr.
> *Hamburgischer Kochbuch oder Anweisung zum Kochen*, 8. Hamb[urg]. [1]788. 2fl. 30kr.
> *Handbuch zur vollständigen Kochkunst*, 8. Schwerin. [1]774. 36 kr.
> *Köchin, die wohlerfahrne, oder Neues Kochbuch*, 8. Köln, [1]784. 30 kr.
> *Köchin, die Nürnbergische wohl unterwiesene*. 8. Nürnb[erg]. [1]779, 2 fl.
> Looft, M. *Niedersächsisches Kochbuch, oder 710 Anweisungsregeln*, 8. Lübeck, [1]774, 1fl.
> Meyfeld, C. *Die Kunst zu kochen*, 2. B[ände]. 8. Rinteln. [1]785. 1fl. 30.kr.
> Miller, F. D. *Die Küche, ein Handbuch für junge Köche und Frauenzimmer*, gr. 8. L[ei]p[i]z. [1]789. 2 fl.
> *Pariser Kochbuch nach der beleibten französischen Manier, nebst Anweisung wohlschmeckende Speisen und Ragut zu bereiten*. M. Kupf. 8, Triest. [1]763. 45kr.
> *Portefeuille der Kochkunst und Oekonomie nach systematischer Ordnung*. 8. Danzig. [1]785. 1fl. 30kr.
> *Sächsisches Kochbuch*, 8. Wien. [1]789. 2fl. 15 kr.
> *Sammlung vieler Vorschriften von allerley Koch- und Backwerk für junge Frauenzimmer*. 8. Stuttg[art]. [1]787. 1fl. 12kr.
> Warg. Chr. *Schwedisches Koch- und Haushaltungsbuch, nebst Unterricht auf Seide, Wolle und Leinen zu färben*. Gr. 8. Greifsw[ald]. [1]772. 2fl. 15 kr.
> Winström, B. E. *Neues Kochbuch*. 8. Stralsund. [1]781, 1fl. 45 kr.[31]

Pressburg relayed knowledge produced within the Holy Roman Empire and made it available to a German-speaking city. To a certain extent, it belonged to the German world even though it was not a city of the Holy Roman Empire. Similarly, in 1786 the *Unterricht für ein junges Frauenzimmer* (Lesson for a Young Housewife) by Johanna Katharina

[29] See for example: CHARLOTTE BELLAMY, "Les professionnels de bouche français dans la Suède gustavienne (1750-1820)" (PhD dissertation, European University Institute, 2020).
[30] For example JOHANN FEKETE DE GALÁNTHA, *Esquisse d'un tableau mouvant de Vienne tracé par un cosmopolite* (Vienna: Sammer, 1787), 43–45.
[31] *Verzeichnitz der Bücher; welche bey Anton Löwe Buchhändler in Preßburg* (Pressburg [Bratislava]: Anton Löwe, 1790), 217–18.

Morgenstern-Schulze, first printed in Magdeburg in 1782 and then in Leipzig and Frankfurt-am-Oder in 1785, was republished in Danzig (Gdansk). A free city of Poland, Danzig also remained linked to the Empire through the Hanseatic trading networks.[32] We should also note the role of publishing houses in Strasbourg – part of France since 1680 – and the publication of *Das allerneuste Pariser Kochbuch* (The All-New Parisian Cookbook) by Amadeus König in 1752, which was mentioned in *Einleitung in die Oekonomische und physikalische Bücherkunde* (Introduction to Economics and Physics for Book Buyers) by Johann Traugott Müller, published in Leipzig in 1780.[33]

Moreover, the German 'elsewhere' could be internal to the Holy Roman Empire, as Maria Anna Neudecker's *Die Bayer'sche Köchin in Böhmen* (The Bavarian Cook in Bohemia), printed in the small but wealthy spa town of Karlsbad (Karlovy Vary, today in the Czech Republic)[34] in 1805, expressed very clearly. The author wrote:

> I am indebted to Bavaria – my homeland – for having taught me the first principles of art, and I believe that my many years of experience in the greatest houses of Bohemia and Austria have together led me to the point where I have acquired the means to embark on this venture.[35]

Then she added further on:

> I wanted this book to be of public utility throughout Germany and to make it suitable for everyone, so I have also included the national names of the most common dishes in Bavaria, Austria and Bohemia in the High German language, or I have indicated the meaning of these provincial expressions in the explanations I have written especially for this purpose.[36]

Neudecker's introduction was set in the context of the separation of the Habsburg hereditary lands – forming the Austrian Empire from 1804 onwards – from the rest of the German political area, with Francis II relinquishing his title of Roman Emperor in 1805 under the Treaty of Pressburg. Nevertheless, by explicitly targeting her readership through the choice of language, unlike Neubauer, Neudecker clearly affirmed the existence of a diverse German community. Her pan-Germanism readily acknowledged that her 'homeland' and the existence of German nations, whose vocabulary she combined, were foreign to each other while belonging to the same world. The success of the book and its subsequent reprints in Salzburg in 1826, then in Munich from 1846 to 1863, were clearly part of the promotion of a classic 'Greater Germany' model against Bismarck's 'Little German' idea.[37]

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[32] From 1764 see also the *Preßburger Zeitung*. See also JOHANNA KATHARINA MARGENSTERN-SCHULZE, *Unterricht für ein junges Frauenzimmer das Küche und Haushaltung selbst besorgen will* (Magdeburg: Johann Adam Creutz, 1782; Danzig [Gdansk]: Heinrich Carl Brückner, 1786).

[33] *Das allerneuste Pariser Kochbuch* (Strasbourg: Amadeus König, 1752) and JOHANN TRAUGOTT MÜLLER, *Einleitung in die Oekonomische und physikalische Bücherkunde* (Leipzig: Schwicker, 1780).

[34] MARIA ANNA NEUDECKER, *Die Bayer'sche Köchin in Böhmen* (Karlsbad [Karlovy Vary]: F. J. Franteck, 1805).

[35] NEUDECKER, *Die Bayer'sche Köchin in Böhmen*, iv–v.

[36] NEUDECKER, *Die Bayer'sche Köchin in Böhmen*, viii.

[37] ADAM WANDRUSZKA, 'Großdeutsche und kleindeutsche Ideologie 1840–1871,' in *Deutschland und Österreich. Ein bilaterales Geschichtsbuch*, eds ROBERT KANN and FRIEDRICH PRINZ (Vienna: Jugend u. Volk, 1980), 110–42.

Culture in Practice

Looking at the cookbooks in more detail, it becomes even more difficult to define a foreign element. From Nuremberg in 1733, Grunauer delivered the recipe for his 'Nudel oder Macaronen-Suppen,' 'Macaronen' being printed in Latin and not in Gothic as was the case at that time for all foreign words in a German text.[38] The first page of his book already set the tone by multiplying the borrowed words: 'fricassée,' 'bœuf à la mode,' 'Gallery' or 'Gelée' also printed in italics (fig. 2). While this was common in German printing, as the century progressed cookbooks avoided, though did not totally prohibit, the common use of both Gothic and Italic characters. This somehow reflected the affirmation of a bourgeois cuisine, which did not necessarily need to emphasise foreign ingredients, recipes or techniques and did not use non-German vocabulary as a sign of social distinction.

More generally, what was introduced as coming from elsewhere was above all the way of preparing the dishes, which therefore presupposed the acquisition of a cooking technique that the author did not consider obvious to his readers. In 1716, the *Vollständiges Küch-und-Keller Dictionarium*, published in Hamburg by the trade advisor to the courts of Poland and Saxony Paul Jacob Marperger, described several ways of preparing a pike. First, Marperger mentioned the possibility of serving it poached in a 'Polish broth' made from eggs, water and onions. Then followed the possibility of cooking it in 'Hungarian style' with a broth made of wine and eggs or water, to which onions, pepper and saffron and bread were added.[39] His group of recipes, however, was not a European tour of pike cooking. So-called Polish and Hungarian broths were only added to the recipes for pike in red broth, for buttered pike or for pike in white broth. In 1700, in *Der wohl-unterwiesenen Köchin*, published in Braunschweig (Brunswick), Maria Sophia Schellhammer already specified 'the Swedish way,' for example, of preparing almond bread in a variety of ways that had no particular national equivalent.[40] The reference to elsewhere was common and artificial. It did not necessarily indicate a cultural transfer. On the contrary, it claimed this way as proper to the culinary culture described by the book.

As for Grunauer, in 1733, he identified recipes as foreign and not as variations in the ways in which German dishes were prepared. Listed among the soups is *Porro* soup, also called 'Spanish broth,' between veal soup and celery soup.[41] In 1740, the *Nutzliches Koch-Buch*, from Steyr in Lower Austria – primarily aimed at a Viennese readership, which is why it was published in a small format – described the recipes for 'Bohemian Soup,' 'French strudel,' 'Bavarian sprout noodles,' 'pike in Polish soup,' 'English roast,' 'Bohemian roast [beef] lung,' 'Pomeranian cake,' 'Spanish cake' and 'French cake.'[42]

[38] GRUNAUER, *Das vollständige und vermehrte auf die neueste Art eingerichtete Koch-Buch*, 6.
[39] MARPERGER, *Vollständiges Küch-und-Keller Dictionarium*, 461–66.
[40] SCHELLHAMMER, *Der wohl-unterwiesenen Köchin*, 15–20.
[41] GRUNAUER, *Das vollständige und vermehrte auf die neueste Art eingerichtete Koch-Buch*, 12.
[42] *Nutzliches Koch-Buch*, 12, 20, 35, 44–45, 100–101, 104, 146, 160, and 160–61.


Das vollständige und vermehrte
auf die neueste Art eingerichtete
Koch-Buch,
Bestehend
in 37. Capiteln, und 1030. wohlzugerichteten Speisen;
ad Conv. monac. Cd. Als:
In Suppen/ Potagen/ Mußen/ Ragout,
Fricasée, à la togue, Rolaten, Bœuf-à la mode,
angeschlagene, gefüllte, gedämpffte Essen,
Auch von allerhand Geflügel, Fischen, Garten-
Gewächsen, Eyern, Schwammen, Morgeln, Driffeln, Dar-
toffeln, Obst, Gallery, Gellée, Salaten, Gebratenes,
Torten, Pasteten, und Schmaltz gebackenes;
Wie solche auf eine kurtze und leicht-practicable Manier zu-
zubereiten, und man bey vorfallender Gelegenheit allezeit
damit fertig seyn kan;
Nebst noch einem Anhang von 150. Sorten Speisen.
Heraus gegeben von
Johann Albrecht Grunauer/
Seiner Königl. Hoheiten, aus dem Königl. Preussischen Stamme
damahlig-verwittibten Marggräffin zu Brandenburg-Bayreuth Culm-
bach, vorjetzo verwittibten Hertzogin von Meiningen, vormals gewesenen Mund-
Koch, anjetzo Gast-Wirth zum schwartzen Adler in Christian-Erlang.
Nürnberg, In Verlegung Georg Christoph Lochners,
Buchhändlers und Buchdruckers. A. 1733.

Figure 2: Foreign food on the cover page of Johann Albrecht Grunauer, *Das vollständige und vermehrte auf die neueste Art eingerichtete Koch-Buch* (Nuremberg: Georg Christoph Lochners, 1733). Copy at Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek, licensed under no copyright - non-commercial use only.

In its way of categorising the foreign cuisine, the *Nutzliches Koch-Buch* erased the scales of foreignness, referring to an elsewhere equivalent to non-German as opposed to

German dishes, while affirming that these recipes belonged to one same cuisine, namely the one practised and performed in the main aristocratic houses of the Archduchy of Austria. One of the possible outcomes of highlighting local dishes was undoubtedly embodied in Neubauer's 1776 bourgeois cuisine, which removed both foreign methods and foreign dishes from the book. The *Neues Kochbuch* was, like the *Nutzliches Koch-Buch*, smaller, less exhaustive and clearly focused on a common practice.[43] Vienna, however, was not a special city. Although very rich, the Hanoverian cookbook by Meyfeld and Enner also testified to this trend. Only the 'Polish sauce' resisted Germanisation and of course one or two English references that make sense in this context.[44] At the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century, there were two cookbook models that differed in the naming of the dishes: one Germanised, the other emphasising a foreign origin. Looft's *Nieder-Sächsisches Koch-Buch* continued to make English and Spanish dishes fashionable, especially when it came to pies and tarts, and it still evoked Austrian or English pasta and the Italian and French ways of cooking veal.[45] In 1805, *Die Bayer'sche Köchin in Böhmen* shamelessly included typical dishes of foreign cuisine, especially French, because they were so familiar to the noble houses where its author served.[46]

However, the Germanisation of the foreign cuisine was sometimes transparent. Without mentioning the 'breaded veal cutlet with parmesan' from the *Nutzliches Koch-Buch* of 1740, the *Hannoverisches Kochbuch* of 1792 hardly concealed the French influence on its cuisine when it discussed 'Orangensauce,' 'Sauce poivrade zu Grillade' or 'Bœuf à la Mode.'[47] The familiarity of German cuisine with these dishes had led to their assimilation, to the point of removing their foreign connotations. Against all this evolution, the *Allerneuestes Oesterreichisches Kochbuch* (All-New Austrian Cookbook), published in Graz in 1791, borrowed a number of French words printed in Latin, not Gothic characters, with an enriched vocabulary. Its cover states that the book 'includes German explanations of French words and methods.' It was also the first to evoke a 'German sauce' and to clearly differentiate an Austrian cuisine from that of the rest of Holy Roman Empire. Nevertheless, the author – probably Christian Friedrich Trötscher – is not to be credited with aiming at nationalism. In the introduction he specified that his book was Austrian because the instructions were 'adapted to Austrian weights and measures.'[48] This made it possible to reproduce foreign recipes in Austria, which constituted the first step in their assimilation. Its approach was the opposite of *Die Bayer'sche Köchin in Böhmen*, which aimed to spread its knowledge throughout the

[43] NEUBAUER, *Neues Kochbuch*.
[44] From 1714, the UK and the Electorate of Hannover were gathered under the authority of Georges I. Meyfeld and Enner, *Hannoverisches Kochbuch*, 21.
[45] LOOFT, *Nieder-Sächsisches Koch-Buch*, 328, 329, 332, 334, 409, 410, 411, and 412.
[46] One can also mention 'la face de veau à la française,' 'Bœuf à la mode' (*sic*) or 'soupe française' in NEUDECKER, *Die Bayer'sche Köchin in Böhmen*, 4, 42 and 223.
[47] *Nutzliches Koch-Buch*, 1740, 232–33 and MEYFELD and ENNER, *Hannoverisches Kochbuch*, 22, 26 and 54.
[48] [CHRISTIAN FRIEDRICH TRÖTSCHER], *Allerneuestes Oesterreichisches Kochbuch für herrschaftliche und andere Tafeln* (Graz: Christian Friedrich Trötscher, 1791), 45.

entire German-speaking world, even if they both led to the same result: the circulation of recipes within the same German-speaking world.

The actual naming of the dishes was of course misleading. For example, there was no indication that the 'Polish sauce' found throughout the century in almost all German cookbooks really referred to something Polish in the mind of the cook or the consumer. We could also question what Poland it referred to. Polish actually meant 'from Lorraine.' Pike in Polish sauce was one of the classics of the table of the Duke of Lorraine and former King of Poland Stanislas Leszczynski in Lunéville [today in France], whose cook provided the recipe. The Poland imagined in Lorraine here was only one of the variants of the sauce which I have shown already existed in 1716 in Marperger's cookbook. [49]

Gartler's *Wienerisches bewährtes Kochbuch* of 1787, in contrast to Neubauer, readily recognised hypothetical foreign recipes in its cuisine.[50] The supply networks of Vienna at that time were quite well known and it is easy to identify the origin of certain products such as speck from the Alpine valleys, truffles from Lombardy which were prepared in stews, or game from Bohemia, in particular pheasant which was cooked stewed or grilled and exported to Istanbul for the pleasure of the members of the Habsburg diplomatic corps.[51] However, at no time was the origin of these products highlighted in the cookbooks. For example, chocolate, which, from soup to cake, was represented in six dishes in Gartler's book, was never given as exotic.[52] The origin of the food referred to the market where it could be found, and not to the place where it was produced. It was its availability on the market that made chocolate an indigenous food in Vienna's cuisine.

The close relationship that developed between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires during the eighteenth century provides a good example of the elite's indifference towards the 'authenticity' of food. In 1780, from Pera, the Northern district of Istanbul where the Christian diplomats were based, the *internuncio* – representative of the Emperor – baron Peter Herbert von Rathkeal wrote to Count Johann Philipp von Cobenzl in Vienna:

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[49] JAROSŁAW DUMANOWSKI, 'Deux langages? Mode vestimentaire et culture culinaire en Pologne au xviiie siècle comme objets du métissage,' in *Circulation, métissage et culture matérielle (XVIe-XVIIIe siècle)*, eds MICHEL FIGEAC and CHRISTOPHE BOUNEAU (Paris: Garnier, 2017), 329–46, and 'Die polnische Küche: Wiedergeburt und Tradition,' *Jahrbuch des Wissenschaftlichen Zentrums der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien* 3 (2010–12): 227–38.

[50] One can mention the 'nœud turc,' 'ragout de Bruxelles' and 'gâteau hollandaise,' Gartler, *Wienerisches bewährtes Kochbuch*, 244, 523, and 682.

[51] DAVID DO PAÇO, 'Échelles d'approvisionnement et aménagements urbains: les espaces portuaires de Vienne, vers 1650-vers 1800,' in *L'approvisionnement des villes portuaires en Europe XVIe-XXe siècles*, eds CAROLINE LE MAO and PHILIPPE MEYZIE (Paris: Presses Universitaires de Paris-Sorbonne, 2015), 21–33.

[52] GARTLER, *Wienerisches bewährtes Kochbuch*, 7, 323, 538, 636, 672–73, and 730. See also DAVID DO PAÇO, 'Comment le café devint viennois. Métissage et cosmopolitisme urbain dans l'Europe du XVIIIe siècle,' *Hypothèses* 16 (2012): 331–42.

> Your Excellency will be able to indicate to me the fish and shellfish from the Black Sea which She will want to bite into in Vienna ... gudgeons and *Stockfisches* excluded, the species of which has been completely lacking here for twenty-five years; it has been transplanted, it is said, to Austria, the store is in the Graben at the *fischen Apotecken* on the second floor.[53]

The relocation of stud farming and *stockfisch* production to Austria was nothing more than a simple mercantile logic aimed at freeing the Habsburg monarchy from its dependence on Ottoman imports of foodstuffs and textiles.[54] The identity of the products was not an object of attention.

Conclusion

The techniques, methods, dishes and food introduced as coming from elsewhere, or imitating what was done elsewhere, were therefore not foreign elements as long as they were included in the cookbooks. They must be considered as a type of practice belonging to a larger set reified by cuisine statistics. Likewise, the origin of the food did not matter, and authenticity was not the concern of societies in the eighteenth-century Holy Roman Empire. The availability of the product and the recurrence of its use defined its belonging to a particular cuisine. The problem with importing was one of economic dependency and not of denaturing the product. Moreover, German cuisines were often foreign to each other despite the circulation of certain dishes and models. At the beginning of the century, these cuisines were foreign first of all in the way the books introduced and organised them. If the cumulative knowledge of the northern German area gave way to practical and statistical knowledge promoted by the southern publishers – and in this respect the impact of the Viennese publishing industry must be kept in mind – this did not imply a homogenisation of the vocabulary or recipe content. If here and there, for commercial purposes, the name of a product was translated so that it could be understood from one state of the Holy Roman Empire to another, Neudecker's pan-German cooking perspective was late in coming and it did not so much aim to homogenise the dishes as to make recipes from Austria, Bavaria and Bohemia available throughout the German-speaking world, despite the strong linguistic diversity. German cookbooks were not cosmopolitan either, in that they did not echo a social blending process – whether it exists or not – but presented themselves as tools analysing a practice and disseminating a know-how. In this sense, they are not so much a subject for the history of literature, to which they are sometimes reduced, as for the history of science, or even urban history.

Defining what was foreign not as what came from elsewhere but as what was not present in a given society also invites historians to review their criteria of analysis. In early modern Europe, language, religion and citizenship did not make an individual a foreigner. Foreigners were those who did not fit into the categories of a normative discourse which aimed to account for the evolution of a society. The definition

[53] Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei V, 18, fol. 86v.
[54] DAVID DO PAÇO, *L'Orient à Vienne au dix-huitième siècle* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2015), 116–25.

therefore depended primarily on the normative systems through which the notion of foreigner was approached. Thus, while the normative system of cookbook authors belonged to an emerging statistical science, this did not apply to them all. Nevertheless, these authors offer historians an interpretation of society based on the practices they selected, described, classified and interpreted. Their normative system was not that of the state, which is what most of the studies on the history of circulation in early modern Europe rely on. It is an invitation to see the world in a way more similar to a cookbook author than a state.

The Strategic Mobilisation of the Border
The (Post)colonial (Re)production of a British National(ist) Identity in Gibraltar[*]

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Colonialism can generally be described as a form of power that emerged in the heart of European cities, to be imposed on the rest of the world. During the period of colonialism, pre-existing systems of social, political, economic and cultural organisation were replaced by the establishment of racial and/or ethnic hierarchies over the indigenous populations.[1] Interestingly, while colonisation took place through the – more or less violent – application of these new (and racist) governmental strategies, for colonial power to endure, these forms of social, political and economic control had to be reproduced over time. As such, the colonial power structures were progressively internalised by the colonised subjects, hence colonial governance was not simply imposed by the colonisers.[2] For colonialism to last, the racist/exclusionary logics had to be absorbed and reproduced by the colonised peoples themselves.

Interestingly, since the mid-twentieth century, the decline of old colonial empires has led to the birth of new national borders and communities in the territories of the former colonies.[3] There, the colonial rationalities of government have carried on operating within society, combining with new and post-colonial modes of organising sociocultural but also political and economic life. This work explores this transition by concentrating on one specific tool of colonial and post-colonial government – that is,

[*] For further reading, see my article GIACOMO ORSINI, 'Gobernando a través de la frontera: seguridad y la gubernamentalidad (post)colonial en Gibraltar,' *Almoraima. Revista de Estudios Campogibraltareños* 48, no. 1 (2018): 377–89, as well as the co-authored chapters GIACOMO ORSINI, ANDREW CANESSA, and LUIS G. MARTÍNEZ DEL CAMPO, 'Gibraltar as a Gated Community: A Critical Look at Gibraltarian Nationalism,' in *Barrier and Bridge: Spanish and Gibraltarian Perspectives on Their Border*, ed. ANDREW CANESSA (Brighton: Sussex University Press, 2018), 163–84, and GIACOMO ORSINI, ANDREW CANESSA, and LUIS G. MARTÍNEZ DEL CAMPO, 'Governing Through the Border: (Post)Colonial Governmentality in Gibraltar,' in *Bordering on Britishness: National Identity in Gibraltar from the Spanish Civil War to Brexit*, ed. ANDREW CANESSA (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 195–216.

[1] PARTHA CHATTERJEE, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); DAVID SCOTT, 'Colonial Governmentality,' in *Anthropologies of Modernity: Foucault, Governmentality, and Life Politics*, ed. JONATHAN XAVIER INDA (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 23–49.

[2] George Stocking, *Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1968).

[3] JEFFREY HERBST, 'The Creation and Maintenance of National Boundaries in Africa,' *International Organization* 43, no. 4 (1989): 673–92; WALTER MIGNOLO, *Local Histories/Global Design: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000).

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the border – to explore the construction of a national(ist) identity in the territory of a former colony: Gibraltar.

This British Overseas Territory constitutes an extremely significant case study, as it has been controlled by the United Kingdom (UK) since the eighteenth century. Founded as a military garrison for the British military, over time a civilian population of Maltese, Genoese, Spanish, Portuguese, Jewish and Moroccan origin has been able to settle on the Rock.[4] Importantly, unlike most former colonies, the Gibraltarians have never challenged the British colonial power. On the contrary, in the context of a tense international dispute between the governments of UK and Spain, since the second half of the twentieth century the inhabitants of the small enclave – who have never fought a war of independence – have shown their desire to remain part of Britain.

This desire was formalised with two referendums in 1967 and 2002,[5] and it has hardly been contested, even when faced with the dangers of the enclave's possible post-Brexit isolation.[6] Today, Gibraltarians claim a different national identity from their Spanish neighbours, increasingly identifying themselves with the British culture. As discussed in this paper, the border that divides the enclave from Spain plays a key role in this complex and seemingly contradictory framework.

Importantly, despite being marked on maps, the border between Gibraltar and Spain remained permeable until the early twentieth century. In 1908, the British installed the first fence in an attempt to limit smuggling to and from the nearby Spanish town of La Línea de la Concepción.[7] But it was only from the mid-1950s that, due to the increasing restrictions on the movement of individuals and vehicles imposed by the Spanish government, it became more complicated to cross the border. This process culminated in the total closure of the frontier between 1969 and 1985.[8]

Although, in the past, the border had already played a key role in shaping the economic and social life of the small enclave, it was only with Franco's rise to power in Spain that problems relating to the border began to somehow permeate the daily life of the small Gibraltarian community. As discussed in this article, henceforth, the border became a cornerstone in the construction of a Gibraltarian national identity.

Unlike those who describe the border between Gibraltar and La Línea as the greatest threat to the normalisation of everyday life in the small enclave, this paper analyses the border as an essential element for the exercise of social, cultural and

[4] Gibraltarians call Gibraltar 'the Rock.'
[5] PETER GOLD, 'Identity Formation in Gibraltar: Geopolitical, Historical and Cultural Factors,' *Geopolitics* 15, no. 2 (2010): 367–84.
[6] ELENA SÁNCHEZ NICOLÁS, 'Confusion over Gibraltar Border Controls in UK-Spain Deal,' *The EU Observer*, January 6, 2021, https://euobserver.com/brexit/150517?utm_source=euobs&utm_medium=email.
[7] WILLIAM G. F. JACKSON, *The Rock of the Gibraltarians. A History of Gibraltar* (Grendon: Gibraltar Books, 1990); SIMON J. LINCOLN, 'The Legal Status of Gibraltar: Whose Rock is it Anyway?' *Fordham International Law Journal* 18, no. 1 (1994): 285–331.
[8] CHRIS GROCOTT and GARETH STOCKEY, *Gibraltar: A Modern History* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2012).

political life on the Rock. The aim is thus to show how it is precisely through the border that Gibraltarians can imagine themselves as part of a nation distinct from neighbouring Spain.

Empirically, the article concentrates on the analysis of a major set of data consisting of almost 400 oral history interviews collected in the enclave and the bordering Spanish city of La Línea.[9] The interviews were conducted by locally recruited researchers drawn from all sectors of the community and included researchers from the Moroccan, Jewish and Hindu communities, as well as researchers from La Línea. The in-depth interviews, often lasting several hours, were conducted in English, Spanish or any combination of the two. Others were conducted in Moroccan Arabic. The interviewees were representative of social class, ethnic and religious affiliation, gender and people with mobility issues. There was a clear bias in the sample towards older people since they have longer memories, but a representative sample of younger people was obtained as well. The youngest interviewee was 16, while the oldest was 101 at the time of the interview.

In the following pages these interviews are discussed within a historical reconstruction which focuses on the main transformations in the management of the border and the development of a Gibraltarian national(ist) identity.

Colonial Times and the Permeable Frontier

At the beginning of the twentieth century, there were virtually no physical limitations marking the perimeter of Gibraltar's territory. There were only the gates of the city fortifications which, located almost one kilometre south of the current border, were closed at night and opened in the morning to regulate access to and residence in the city.[10] As a result of frequent cross-border interactions, relations between Gibraltarians and the populations of the neighbouring Campo de Gibraltar region remained almost osmotic for centuries. People crossed the city gates in both directions, from La Línea to Gibraltar and vice versa.[11]

The economic opportunities present in the enclave undoubtedly facilitated cross-border exchanges and mobility in the region. In general, the small peninsula has prospered economically in comparison with the surrounding area – which is, in fact, one of the poorest areas in all of Spain.[12] In addition to military activities, the port and shipyards represented the bulk of the colony's economy.[13] Due to its geographical

[9] The interviews were collected as part of the ESRC-funded project 'Bordering on Britishness: An Oral History of 20th Century Gibraltar' led by Professor Andrew Canessa at the Sociology Department of the University of Essex.

[10] STACIE D. A. BURKE and LAWRENCE A. SAWCHUK, 'Alien Encounters: The Jus Soli and Reproductive Politics in the 19th-century Fortress and Colony of Gibraltar,' *History of the Family* 6 (2001): 531–61.

[11] ANTONIO REMIRO BROTÓNS, 'Estudios. Gibraltar,' *Cuadernos de Gibraltar/Gibraltar Reports* 1 (2015): 13–24.

[12] ANTONIO ESCOLAR PUJOLAR, *Sobremortalidad por cáncer en El Campo de Gibraltar. El medio social, la piedra clave* (Cádiz: Delegación Provincial de la Consejería de Salud, Junta de Andalucía, 2011).

[13] THOMAS D. LANCASTER and JAMES L. TAULBEE, 'Britain, Spain, and the Gibraltar Question,' *The Journal of Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 23, no. 3 (1985): 251–66.

position, caught between two continents – Africa and Europe – and seas – the Mediterranean and the Atlantic Ocean – Gibraltar has always been a natural port of considerable importance for global trade. Gibraltar's geopolitical position as a nodal point for the British colonial empire's trade made the difference.

The border which delimited the territory of exclusive British sovereignty – differentiating it from the rest of Spain – ensured additional benefits for the goods unloaded in Gibraltar. In part because of the availability of products that could not be found on the Iberian Peninsula and also because of their low cost – the port of Gibraltar has been a free zone since 1706[14] – many of the goods unloaded in Gibraltar fed – and continue to feed – a flourishing smuggling trade with Spain. Marco, a Gibraltarian tobacco entrepreneur in his early nineties, describes the role that smuggling played in the local economy.

> […] In 1640, Spain did us the great favour of banning the import of tobacco. It was this that allowed us to become what we are today. It was so important that, even now, Gibraltar keeps living thanks to one thing: forget wine, forget cars! Here we live thanks to tobacco![15]

Marking the limits of the Spanish and British tax jurisdictions, the border has always been at the basis of one of the most important economic activities of the enclave. What is more, the border also generated other differentials which facilitated cross-border mobility.

The lack of housing which has always characterised the tiny, crowded enclave of about five square kilometres led to poor living conditions and high living costs. Combining this with the military colonial discipline with which life inside the Rock was organised, the area of the Campo de Gibraltar constituted a natural extension of Gibraltar where plenty of Gibraltarians lived – or spent much of their leisure time. The border also served to keep vice at bay. Although Gibraltar was full of bars for the British soldiers and sailors, entertainers were imported from Spain while prostitution was kept on the other side of the frontier. In the words of a Gibraltarian woman in her nineties:

> At that time, there were many soldiers in Gibraltar, you know. There was the Trocadero Bar and all the bars... A lot of Spanish girls used to come and dance, you know, in the Trocadero and things like that. Oh, yes [… And then there was] Calle Gibraltar, in La Línea.[16]

Gibraltar Street – 'la Calle Gibraltar' in Spanish – was famous for its brothels widely frequented by Gibraltarian civilians and British servicemen. The brothels, however, through a largely unspoken code, catered for different ranks and social classes.

Allowing those living in Gibraltar to spend their leisure time in La Línea reduced social tensions within the garrison.[17] Not only did Gibraltarians regularly socialise in La Línea, but almost a third of marriages contracted in the earlier decades of the

[14] JAMES E. S. FAWCETT, 'Gibraltar: The Legal Issues,' *International Affairs* 43, no. 2 (1967): 236–51.
[15] Interviewed by Andrew Canessa in August 2015.
[16] Interviewed by Andrew Canessa on June 20, 2014.
[17] MATILDA BETHAM-EDWARDS, *Through Spain to the Sahara* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1868).

twentieth century were between Gibraltarians and Spaniards.[18] Over the centuries, close social and cultural relations, but also family ties, had thus formed across the border. Membership of one or another ethnic group mattered mainly for the colonial masters who organised authority in the enclave on an ethnic basis, between the British and others.[19]

Importantly, relations across the border were structured along class lines. Spanish and Gibraltarian workers shared the same work and leisure spaces – and, often, a very similar degrading treatment from the British colonial authorities.[20] Similarly, the colonial masters on the one side, and Spanish aristocrats on the other, had plenty of common interests, as well as shared spaces and leisure activities, such as hunting.[21] Class solidarity, and hostility mainly towards the British, pushed the Gibraltarian and Spanish workers to unite, as they experienced discrimination from the British colonial government first-hand.[22] On the Rock, the British colonial elites, as well as the moneyed Gibraltarians, separated themselves from the rest.[23] Similar to how the military lived in separated – and gated – areas of the Rock, which Gibraltarians could not enter unless they had permission, only a few selected Gibraltarians could access 'the most exclusive clubs' of the enclave.

Such discrimination did not go unnoticed by the Gibraltarian subjects. These are the words of an important Gibraltarian public figure in his sixties. Here he described the ethnic and class relations in the enclave up until the middle of the twentieth century – and even later.

> Speaking of the English… we must tell the truth… If we tell the truth… then there were three kinds of people. There were the Englishmen – I am talking of the officials and the people in high places… Then, there were the Gibraltarians, who you could divide in two parts: those who found it convenient to get closer to the [British. They were the] merchant class, the ones chosen by the British and the poshest ones; and then there was the whole people here. And then, there were the third-class citizens. They were the poor Spanish people.[24]

One of the clearest and most humiliating manifestations of this system of segregation were the separate toilet facilities for British, Gibraltarians and Spaniards in the Royal Naval Dockyard (the major employer until the late 1970s) as well as in other areas of

[18] LARRY A. SAWCHUK, 'Historical Intervention, Tradition, and Change: A Study of the Age at Marriage in Gibraltar, 1909–1983,' *Journal of Family History* 17, no. 1 (1992): 69–91.
[19] SETHA M. LOW, 'The Edge and the Center: Gated Communities and the Discourse of Urban Fear,' *American Anthropologist* 103, no. 1 (2001): 45–58.
[20] STEPHAN CONSTANTINE, 'The Pirate, the Governor and the Secretary of State: Aliens, Police and Surveillance in Early Nineteenth-Century Gibraltar,' *The English Historical Review* 123, no. 504 (2008): 1166–92.
[21] GARETH STOCKEY, 'Sport and Gibraltar – Problematizing a Supposed 'Problem', 1713–1954,' *Sport in History* 32, no. 1 (2012): 1–25.
[22] JONATHAN JEFFRIES, 'The Wrongful Deportation of Albert Fava: The Indisputable Champion of Workers' Rights,' *Gibraltar Heritage Journal* 15 (2008): 47–60.
[23] STEPHAN CONSTANTINE, 'Monarchy and Constructing Identity in 'British' Gibraltar, c.1800 to the Present,' *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 34, no. 1 (2006): 23–44.
[24] Interviewed by Ronnie Alecio on January 23, 2016.

employment such as cable and wireless. John, a Gibraltarian professor in his late sixties, describes how segregation in the shipyards worked in the late 1940s.

> In the shipyard there were three types of toilets: one for the English, one for the *llanitos*[25] and one for foreigners. […] And the foreigners were mostly the Spanish. There were some Portuguese, but very few, right? So, the English toilet was kept very clean […] the one for the *llanitos* was inferior and dirtier, and the Spanish one was a hole in the ground […] There was a certain amount of xenophobia.[26]

Until the mid-twentieth century, only the wealthiest or most aspirational Gibraltarians had a good command of English, although functional bilingualism was widespread, particularly among men. Even though English was certainly the official language, most Gibraltarians of all social classes spoke Spanish at home and among themselves. As one octogenarian Gibraltarian and one of the wealthiest men in Gibraltar put it, 'I cannot imagine speaking to anyone of my generation in anything other than Spanish.' For much of the twentieth century, Gibraltarians not only shared a language with their neighbours, they shared the same accent and variant of Spanish too. People on both sides of the border also shared the same – or at least similar – social struggles against the British colonial powers.

Being born in Gibraltar, however, conferred a more important status than if one was born in Spain. Many of our interviewees gave examples of the lengths people went to make sure children were born in Gibraltar. Spanish wives almost always settled in the colony for this reason. Being a Gibraltarian male gave one better access to employment as well as political security, so it is not surprising that very few working-class Gibraltarian women married Spanish men. The economic gap between Gibraltarians and Spaniards is the most salient aspect pointed out by our interviewees when asked about the differences between the two groups in the first half of the twentieth century. Many people underlined that, culturally, there was little or no difference, but that the people who lived *there* and came to work in Gibraltar were invariably poorer.

Gibraltarians were certainly not all wealthy, but they were almost always wealthier than the poor Spaniards. This is underlined by the widespread existence of Spanish servants across all social classes. One of our interviewees who grew up in a large house shared by several families – a typical working-class arrangement in Gibraltar called a '*patio*' – impressed upon the interviewer how difficult times were in the 1950s, so hard that the men rotated employment when it was scarce so that no one was unemployed for very long. Even then, however, the *patio* had a Spanish servant, María, who crossed the border every day and was paid in leftovers from the family cooking pots as well as money. Although the interviewee confessed that there is no way he could have said which of the mothers in the *patio* were Spanish and which Gibraltarian, it was quite clear that María, who worked for them all, was Spanish.

[25] The term '*llanitos*' is commonly used in the area of the Campo de Gibraltar to refer to the inhabitants of Gibraltar.
[26] Interviewed by Andrew Canessa on June 22, 2014.

In other words, in those days 'Spanishness' was an identity that did not survive very long if people settled and had kinship ties in Gibraltar. Being born in Spain, being Spanish-speaking and enjoying Spanish culture did not mark a person as 'other' since not only did most Gibraltarians speak Spanish better than English but they crossed the border to watch bullfights, enjoyed Spanish music and, by and large, were culturally indistinguishable from their neighbours.

Other Gibraltarians of a working-class background remembered that their fathers earned enough to maintain their families and that their mothers had at least some Spanish help. So, the border functioned as an economic marker, yet no distinct cultural or ethnic identity was felt to divide the people on the two sides: rather, class solidarity developed across it regardless of nationality. The key social differences were vertical, not horizontal; that is, class differences were more significant than whether one was considered Spanish or Gibraltarian. Despite the fact that some people were given passes by the colonial authorities and others were refused them, this was not done on the basis of any ethnic distinction between Gibraltarians and Spaniards; the former were simply those who had rights to live in the territory by virtue of birth, marriage or other means. There is very little evidence that there was any sense of a Gibraltarian identity that was fundamentally different from that of the broader Campo area.

As such, the British authorities were interested in maintaining a porous border while providing differentiated access to civil, social and economic rights to the people residing in the enclave or entering it daily for work. The border helped to mark inter-group distinctions, pushing Spanish border workers to the margins of Gibraltarian society and dividing the enclave's workforce along national and ethnic lines. While Gibraltarian workers experienced colonial exploitation and discrimination first hand, the fragmentation of the labour force into distinct groups made it more difficult to establish any form of trade union organisation.[27] We should keep in mind that, for centuries, Gibraltar was one of the most strategic colonies of the British Empire. It functioned as a military base and commercial nerve-centre of the empire, even more so after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869.[28] The colonial government was thus very interested in maintaining a dynamic economy in the small peninsula, a relatively low-cost labour force and a tight control over the local population.[29] In this sense, the border allowed for a large and cheap supply of labour from the Campo de Gibraltar. These workers had limited rights and were therefore harmless in terms of public order. The border was undoubtedly an instrument of coercion in the hands of the colonial government of Gibraltar.[30] As we will see in the following pages, this function became

[27] EDNA BONACIHIC, 'A Theory of Ethnic Antagonism: The Split Labor Market,' *American Sociological Review* 37, no. 5 (1972): 547–59.
[28] SCOTT C. TRUVER, *The Strait of Gibraltar and the Mediterranean* (Alphen aan den Rijn: Sijthoff and Noordhoff International Publisher, 1980).
[29] GROCOTT and STOCKEY, *Gibraltar: A Modern History*.
[30] GARETH STANTON, 'Military Rock: A Mis-anthropology,' *Cultural Studies* 10 (2006): 270–87.

increasingly predominant with the implementation of policies restricting the movement of people across the border.

The Partial De/Colonisation of Gibraltar and the Tangible Frontier

As the crossing of the frontier became more problematic in the second half of the twentieth century, cross-border relations in Gibraltar underwent profound transformations. The series of developments which took place as more governing powers were transferred to newly born Gibraltarian institutions are central to explaining the rapid construction of a Gibraltarian national(ist) – and mainly British – identity.

From a Cross-Border to a Bordered Community: The Making of Gibraltarian Nation(alism)

For centuries, most Gibraltarians perceived themselves as part of a single community which included those residing across the border, in the whole area of the Campo de Gibraltar. The situation remained largely unchanged after the installation of the first metal fence in 1908. However, it was with the beginning of the Spanish Civil War – and even more so with the end of the Second World War – that border crossing began to be limited and regulated.[31] Officially, restrictions were imposed by the Spanish government in response to a series of changes in political relations between the inhabitants of the small colony and the British colonial authorities.

The evacuation of the civilian population from the enclave in 1940 had led to considerable tension against the colonisers.[32] Following an initial and brief evacuation to Morocco, the Gibraltarians were soon redistributed by the British authorities in the UK, on the island of Madeira and in Jamaica.[33] The relationship between the British colonisers and their Gibraltarian subjects can be summed up in the words of the then local governor: Colonel Sir Clive Gerard Liddell. In 1945, in an official communication to the British government, he described the civilian inhabitants of the enclave as 'useless mouths,'[34] referring both to the need to feed them and to meet their demands. After centuries of colonial hierarchy and deprivation of the most basic civil rights, the social and political relations between the colonial government and the local population deteriorated significantly, during as well as immediately after the evacuation. From then on, the Gibraltarians began to demand greater self-government and, through trade unions, equal rights to their British co-workers.[35]

At that point, Gibraltar still retained an important geopolitical role for the UK. At the same time, the enclave also seemed to be attracting the increasing interest of the government of General Franco in Spain. From the 1950s onwards, Spanish claims

[31] FAWCETT, 'Gibraltar: The Legal Issues.'
[32] TOMMY J. FINLAYSON, *The Fortress Came First* (Gibraltar: Gibraltar Books Ltd, 1991).
[33] DAVID J. DUNTHORN, *Britain and the Spanish Anti-Franco Opposition, 1940-1950* (New York: Palgrave, 2000).
[34] JOSEPH GARCIA, *Gibraltar. The Making of a People: The Modern Political History of Gibraltar and its People* (Gibraltar: Mediterranean SUN Publishing Ltd, 1994), 15.
[35] GARCÌA, *Gibraltar: The Making of a People*; JEFFRIES, 'The Wrongful Deportation of Albert Fava.'

to sovereignty and control of the enclave became more frequent and stronger.[36] Over the same period, the British authorities allowed the formation of a legislative council with a minority of members elected by the Gibraltarians[37] and, in 1954, the Queen of England made her first official visit to Gibraltar.

In response to the royal visit and the transfer of some legislative function to the inhabitants of the Rock, the Franco regime ordered a radical change in the management of the border. A growing number of limitations to free movement were introduced: restrictive measures that culminated in the complete closure of the frontier in June 1969, a few days after the adoption of Gibraltar's first constitution.[38] Thus, the beginning of the (partial) decolonisation of Gibraltar took place in parallel to the closure of the border. This closure profoundly affected the socio-cultural fabric of Gibraltar, thus somehow colonising the Gibraltarians' minds. It is not just that the inhabitants of the Rock began to perceive themselves as distinct from their Spanish neighbours: they in fact increasingly identified with their British colonisers.

The family, friendship, economic and business ties that had formed through centuries of cross-border interactions were quickly interrupted. A nonagenarian from Gibraltar confirmed to us how the border closure ruptured family ties and disrupted the familiarity people had with Spanish culture.

> What I feel is that they imposed it on us... [that we could not] bring up our kids with their grandparents from La Línea. […] We would have liked them to be more used to the... Spanish things by experiencing them more than once a year. My parents always took us [to Spain] for Christmas, but it was not the same [compared with when] we could go there every weekend.[39]

Our interviewee underlined the same point as many other Gibraltarians: that they had a strong kinship connection with Spain. Yet, when the connections were cut or made difficult, this led to a lack of familiarity with Spanish culture.

Having kin born in Spain and sharing the characteristic of 'Spanishness' became quite different things. The political nature of this breach can scarcely be exaggerated. In countless interviews, people mentioned a visceral hatred of Franco, or the pain of not being able to cross the border to see a dying relative.[40] Some of our younger respondents reported teasing their grandmothers for being Spanish only to be told that they stopped being Spanish when they could not attend a parent's funeral – or simply because of Franco's fascism. One man in his fifties reported that his grandmother refused to set foot in Spain even after the border reopened in 1982 – and did not cross

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[36] STEPHAN CONSTANTINE, *Community and Identity: The Making of Modern Gibraltar since 1704* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009).
[37] D. J. HEASMAN, 'The Gibraltar Affair,' *International Journal* 22, no. 2 (1967): 265–77.
[38] KLAUS DOODS, DAVID LAMBERT, and BRIDGET ROBINSON, 'Loyalty and Royalty: Gibraltar, the 1953–54 Royal Tour and the Geopolitics of the Iberian Peninsula,' *Twentieth Century British History* 18, no. 3 (2007): 365–90; GROCOTT and STOCKEY, *Gibraltar: A Modern History*; GEORGE HILLS, *Rock of Contention: A History of Gibraltar* (London: Robert Hale, 1974).
[39] Interviewed by Robert Anes on July 2, 2014.
[40] CAROLINA LABARTA RODRÍGUEZ-MARIBONA, 'Las Relaciones Hispano-Británicas Bajo el Franquismo, 1950–1973 (Anglo-Spanish Relations during the Franco Regime, 1950–1973),' *Studia historica. Historia contemporánea* 22 (2015): 85–104.

the frontier until she died in 1998. She did receive a visit from her brother but threw him – a brother she had not seen for 20 years – out of the house when he said Gibraltar was Spanish.

The anti-'Spanishness' of Gibraltar thus came as much from people born in Spain as from those born in Gibraltar. We were surprised in our interviews by how many people told tales of relatives killed or imprisoned by the fascists, and others who sought refuge in Gibraltar and stayed. One man in his late eighties remembers seeing his uncle shot in the streets of La Línea as he peered through the window of his house. Many others mentioned that when, in 1936, the fascist troops arrived in La Línea they did not enter the houses of those flying a British flag, which therefore saved people's homes from being sacked and women from being raped by Franco's militias.

There is no question that the Gibraltarians were spared the violence that occurred during the Spanish Civil War. With political unrest in Spain during the Civil War and, later, with the political repression of Franco's regime, Spain appeared a much more dangerous place than Gibraltar. In the Gibraltarians' minds, the border started to serve as key security apparatus, keeping the unruly and criminal out of the enclave.[41] Many of our interviewees across all generations mentioned how Gibraltar makes them feel safe – that they breathe a sigh of relief when they cross the border and come home. Some younger Gibraltarians note with conscious irony that they do not feel unsafe when travelling to Madrid or Barcelona or indeed anywhere else in the world and yet, crossing the border into La Línea creates a sense of anxiety.

Part of this is due to the continued tensions at the border which involve long, arbitrary delays which produce intense frustration. Crossing the border is rarely a simple process, it has a kinaesthetic effect which contributes to the essentialisation of the difference between Spaniards and Gibraltarians. This is how a Gibraltarian in his seventies perceives his neighbours of the Campo de Gibraltar:

> Spain [has] a distinct culture... It is a more violent culture... Everything looks nice... fictional life and a nice one, but it was not like that, you know. And they have a distinct way of being... They enjoy life in a different way... I do not know... We are not quite like that! […] Those […] from Algeciras […] are like [those] from La Línea, [while] we are the *llanitos*![42]

The political climate of international confrontation between the UK and Spain concerning Gibraltar favoured the polarisation of the debate in the enclave. The closure of the border had even changed the perception of Spain for those from La Línea who resided in the enclave. One interviewee in his late sixties, born in Spain of a Gibraltarian father and a Spanish mother, told us how he experienced his transforming relationship with Spain.

> Frankly speaking, I had a very hard time here because... I did not feel British; I did not feel Gibraltarian; I felt that I was from La Línea. I did not perceive myself as a Spaniard. I felt like I was from La Línea because it was there where I spent my childhood with all my friends... Thus,

[41] NAN ELLIN, *Architecture of Fear* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997).
[42] Interviewed by Andrew Canessa on August 2, 2015.

> honestly speaking, I spent my first months here crying... And then, little by little... the Spanish government made sure that I changed. Today I feel Gibraltarian to the bone, right to the marrow. […] And this was thanks to all the beatings and pain they gave us... My mother was left without all her family. She remained here alone... unable to see her family.[43]

As Spain became the worst threat to the existence of Gibraltar, Spaniards quickly began to be perceived as 'others' to the Gibraltarians. Through the border, a new sense of Gibraltarian national subjectivity developed in contrast to everything Spanish. Alexander, a young Gibraltarian, recalls his grandparents' relationship with Spain.

> [My grandparents] lived... when Franco was in control of everything in Spain, they remember many hostilities and aggressions... towards the people of Gibraltar. My grandfather escaped with his family to Gibraltar, they opened a shop and spent their whole lives here... I do not think [they ever returned to Spain].[44]

It is as if, due to the impossibility of crossing the border, the Gibraltarians had embraced a new geography in which Spain had become a distant land. While Spain came to be perceived as the worst danger to Gibraltar's existence, the Spaniards quickly began to be seen as the alter ego of the Gibraltarians. A new Gibraltarian national subjectivity started to be constructed in contrast to everything Spanish.[45] As this new Gibraltarian identity appeared throughout the process of partial decolonisation of the enclave, somehow Gibraltarians paradoxically ended up feeling culturally as well as politically closer to their British colonisers.[46]

After serving as a bridge to unite the inhabitants of the Campo de Gibraltar and the enclave in one single community, the border became an essential device for Gibraltarians to live a socially, economically and politically secure life against the perceived/imagined threats posed by the Spanish neighbour. After years of isolation from Spain and the simultaneous rapprochement with the UK, Spanish was no longer used as a lingua franca in Gibraltar. This is how Fred, a 30-year-old Gibraltarian, describes his relationship with the Spanish language:

> I refused to speak Spanish […] because I had this idea in my head that only old people speak Spanish. I am British and I am going to speak like a British person. […] What I mean is that if you spoke to me in Spanish, I was going to refuse to speak to you.[47]

Although the frontier became traversable once again in 1985, it has never left the core of local public debate. These are the words of Angela, a 90-year-old Gibraltarian: 'It is getting worse. Unless [Spain] changes government or something... There are a lot of queues [at the border]. And all the women [...] come tired, after work... and have to wait there!'[48]

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[43] Interviewed by Andrew Canessa on February 10, 2016.
[44] Interviewed by Ronnie Alecio on January 28, 2016.
[45] MICHAEL BILLIG, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage, 1995).
[46] DAVID ÁLVAREZ, 'Colonial Relic: Gibraltar in the Age of Decolonization,' *Gran Valley Review* 21, no. 1 (2000): 4–26.
[47] Interviewed by Ronnie Alecio on April 2, 2016.
[48] Interviewed by Robert Anes on June 18, 2014.

Today, the elements that constitute Gibraltar's national identity are multiple. However, in order to differentiate themselves from their Spanish neighbours, Gibraltarians often refer to liberal values – in particular democracy and multiculturalism – as the cornerstones of local society, politics and culture. This is what a Gibraltarian of almost 90 years of age told us about the Spanish political system. 'I do not think that the Spanish … are truly democratic. I do not think so. I do not think [in Spain] the law is the same for everyone.'[49]

Similarly, Gibraltarians often refer to Spaniards through the pejorative term of 'sloppies,' that is, as basically careless and incompetent. In this, Gibraltarians implicitly and sometimes explicitly associate themselves with a British culture which is imagined as being more advanced and efficient.

The geographical proximity to the inhabitants of the Campo de Gibraltar seems to be countered today by a socio-cultural distance that divides the people who live on the two sides of the border. While thousands of Spanish and other EU citizens continue to enter the enclave every day to work, fewer Gibraltarians cross that same border in the opposite direction, as Ana, a Gibraltarian housewife in her seventies, specifies here:

> Since Franco closed the border […] the families have been pushed aside, because there have been fathers, mothers, brothers, some from there, some from here, who have died and have not been able to come and see each other again! […] Now, it is rare for Gibraltarians to go to the Spanish coast. The truth is...What happens is that... there is a lot of hate... A lot of hate![50]

We have seen how Gibraltarian society moved very quickly from a border geography – characterised by the centrality of cross-border relations – to a bordered geography which is defined through the isolation induced by the closure, both real and symbolic, of that same border. Through the border, and as the partial decolonisation of the enclave progressed, locals came closer, more or less symbolically, to their British colonisers.

A Colonised National Identity in Gibraltar

Contrary to what happened in most colonies, Gibraltarian nationalism did not develop in opposition to the cultural identity assigned to the colonisers.[51] It was rather generated in opposition to the former indigenous peoples of the area of Campo de Gibraltar. The socio-cultural construction based on the frontier and its closure between 1969 and 1985 allowed Gibraltarians to (re)produce a historical and cultural separation from their Spanish neighbours.

There are cultural differences between Gibraltarians and Spaniards but these were largely created by the border itself: during the 20 years of border closure, the Gibraltarians were forced to rescale their social networks and develop them inside the enclave and, partly, in Britain, rather than in Spain where people had previously spent

[49] Interviewed by Andrew Canessa in March 2014.
[50] Interviewed by Andrew Canessa on September 1, 2015.
[51] ANIA LOOMBA, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (Oxon: Routledge, 2007).

most of their leisure time. The border closure, moreover, created a shared experience, and thus was an identity maker in itself. A Gibraltarian company manager in his eighties described the mood during the closure.

> [The border closure] had an effect on all our businesses. The Rock Hotel for argument's sake, most of [the workers were] Spanish and overnight we had the lady volunteers of Gibraltar who worked, fabulous. Fantastic. They came up in hundreds to volunteer to work in whichever way possible, we had [a friend] who flew from London, the Head Waiter, he was... He had a very good job in Piccadilly in London and he arrived at the door of the Rock Hotel and said: 'I am here. Can I help?' And, you know, it was that sort of feeling and one was very proud to be a Gibraltarian and it was great.[52]

New networks developed within the enclosed territory of the Rock – or, alternatively, away from there, in the UK. Much less contact was instead available with the neighbouring people, generating new individual as well as collective sociocultural geographies behind the closed fences. A retired Gibraltarian teacher in her sixties described what, in her view, 'Gibraltarianness' is all about.

> I think also the fact that we are so well-off economically helps us keep a sense of identity in the sense that we, the Gibraltarians, have always felt we are superior to the Spanish because... For us, Spain is La Línea, the Campo de Gibraltar, which is the most downtrodden part of Spain […] The most impoverished part of Spain and I think so long as our economy is doing well that helps to feed this sense of identity that we are better than our neighbours. […] It is still us and them but if the border were to completely disappear and the standard of living in the Campo de Gibraltar rose then, perhaps... you know... That would dilute this sense of identity of being different, of this 'us and them.'[53]

The fence that cuts the isthmus of land connecting Gibraltar to La Línea marks the boundary of the Gibraltarians' superior economic and social status, a condition that is certainly facilitated by the possibility for many local entrepreneurs to access a much cheaper and more exploitable workforce from the other side of the gate.

As a Gibraltarian banker of Spanish origin pointed out, 'the life that you can make in Gibraltar is not the same as the one you will make in Spain: it has to do with tranquillity in terms of crime, work and anything else in general.'[54] The border that enabled the Gibraltarians to imagine themselves a nation[55] serves primarily to produce and maintain these real as well as perceived differentials with respect to the quality of life.

As Gibraltar was partially decolonised, the Gibraltarians' minds were recolonised through the border – or, the gate. The inhabitants of the Rock started safeguarding their increased wealth by identifying with the colonisers and their ways of organising power within society.[56] It was a very fast national identity-building process, with several contradictions. As mentioned earlier, many Gibraltarians emphasise the liberal and

[52] Interviewed by Andrew Canessa in July 2015.
[53] Interviewed by Andrew Canessa in March 2015.
[54] Interviewed by Andrew Canessa in June 2014.
[55] BENEDICT ANDERSON, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).
[56] FRANTZ FANON, *Black Skin White Masks* (London: Pluto Press, 1952).

cosmopolitan nature of Gibraltarian society and politics as opposed to the undemocratic and intolerant spirit of Spain.[57] However, this view clashes with the experiences that were reported by many of our interviewees.

After the closure of the border, Spanish workers disappeared from the socio-cultural horizon of Gibraltar and, in their place, a growing number of Moroccan workers were invited to move to the enclave.[58] An influential Gibraltarian historian describes the relations with the newcomers as follows: 'The Jews came to Gibraltar because they were needed. [The same thing happened with the Moroccans] and it was very good. As soon as they arrived, [...] they were given the same rights and the same protections as the others.'[59] However, this idyllic description contrasts with the experience of a Moroccan woman who came to Gibraltar during the 1970s:

> Eight people in one room. Eight people! [We lived in] Tuckey's Lane: a room and a kitchen [and] the toilet for all [the] neighbours. The shower was also outside: in the courtyard […] Do you understand? It was very difficult before! When I stayed here working […] a Moroccan boy from Tetouan married me... We started our life, but I could not have a child here... [I was four months pregnant] and I was taken by a policeman […] I will never forget that in my life! ... I did not know anything about this thing, [and] I went out on the street when I was four months pregnant – four and a half – and the policeman said: "Come with me." They took me to the hospital and said "You?"' ... [And they took me to take the] ferry to Morocco as [if I had committed] a crime. [So, I went to Morocco to] have the baby, [and] I came back here: they wanted me to leave the baby with my sister.[60]

On the one hand, the coexistence between different cultures and religions is not exceptional for a Mediterranean port city – even less so if we consider the role of nerve-centre of the British Empire that Gibraltar played for centuries.[61] On the other hand, the coexistence between the different ethnic groups established in Gibraltar does not seem to be the result of a process of social inclusion and equality. Rather, the opposite is true. If, in the past, the strict colonial hierarchy dispensed individual rights and duties according to ethnicity, with the gradual decolonisation of Gibraltar the border became the main instrument for the distribution of power and privilege in the enclave.

Today, Gibraltarians have effectively achieved equal rights to their British colonisers. However, the Moroccan population continues to live at the margins of local society,[62] while the nearly 3,000 frontier-workers who enter and leave Gibraltar daily

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[57] LUIS MARTINEZ, ANDREW CANESSA, and GIACOMO ORSINI, '"An Example to the World!": Multiculturalism in the Creation of a Gibraltarian Identity,' in *Barrier and Bridge*, ed. CANESSA, 119–33.
[58] GARETH STANTON, '"Guests in the Dock": Moroccan Workers on Trial in the Colony of Gibraltar,' *Critique of Anthropology* 11, no. 4 (1991): 361–79.
[59] Interviewed by Andrew Canessa on June 22, 2014.
[60] Interviewed by Andrew Canessa on January 23, 2015.
[61] HENK DRIESSEN, 'Mediterranean Port Cities: Cosmopolitanism Reconsidered,' *History and Anthropology* 16, no. 1 (2005): 129–41; DANIEL GOFFMAN, 'Izmir: From Village to Colonial Port City,' in *The Ottoman City Between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir and Istanbul*, eds EDHEM ELDEM, DANIEL GOFFMAN, and BRUCE MASTERS (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 79–135; DIETER HALLER, 'The Cosmopolitan Mediterranean: Myth and Reality,' *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 129, no. 1 (2004): 29–47.
[62] STANTON, '"Guests in the Dock."'

through the land border tend to have the lowest paid jobs, and often see some of their rights denied on the Rock.[63] The border and its closure encouraged the emergence of a number of myths which today are embedded in Gibraltar's national(ist) culture. Based on stereotypical views of the Spanish context, these myths are at the heart of the contemporary discrimination of Spaniards working in the enclave.[64]

Marking a cultural difference that did not exist, the frontier seems to function as a self-fulfilling prophecy.[65] We are talking about a population – that of Gibraltar – whose members did not hesitate to welcome Spanish Republican refugees during the Civil War, despite the British colonial elite's support for Franco's uprising.[66] They are the same Gibraltarians who shared many common trade union struggles with their Spanish co-workers, against British colonial injustice and exploitation.[67] Like any other nationalism,[68] the Gibraltarian one also stands on a series of myths: myths that are generated by (and through) the border.

Conclusions

Despite the British attempts to divide and rule the people of Gibraltar and the Campo de Gibraltar – the British officials actively encouraged the Gibraltarians to see themselves as socially superior to the Spanish and adopt a colonial attitude vis-à-vis Spaniards even though they were colonial subjects themselves[69] –, cross-border interactions over the centuries remained structured around class solidarity and cultural sameness.

As Franco's regime closed the border and the economic, social and political conditions of the Gibraltarians improved, however, cross-border interactions decreased significantly and social class differences were eroded within the enclave as the Gibraltarians became formally British and an increasing amount of institutional functions moved from London to Gibraltar.

Within such a transformational scenario, a national discourse gained momentum in Gibraltar. Throughout the process, the increasingly affluent population started to imagine itself as a distinct nation, whose boundaries were set against a Spanish culture which came to be defined in terms of a series of pejorative stereotypes. With a barrier

63 JOHN FLETCHER, *An Economic Impact Study and Analysis of the Economies of Gibraltar and the Campo de Gibraltar* (Gibraltar: The Gibraltar Chamber of Commerce, 2015); FRANCISCO ODA ÁNGEL, 'Gibraltar a un año de la Declaración de Córdoba: la recuperación de la confianza,' *Documento de Trabajo* 45 (2007): 1–23.

64 CAROLINE NORRIE, 'The Last Rock in the Empire: Evacuation, Identity and Myth in Gibraltar,' *Oral History* 31, no. 1 (2003): 73–84.

65 ALEXANDER T. ALEINIKOFF and RUBÉN G. RUMBAUT, 'Terms of Belonging: Are Models of Membership Self-Fulfilling Prophecies?,' *Georgetown Immigration Law Journal* 13, no. 1 (1998): 1–24.

66 JULIO PONCE ALBERCA, *Gibraltar and the Spanish Civil War, 1936-39: Local, National and International Perspectives* (New York; London: Bloomsbury, 2015).

67 JEFFRIES, 'The Wrongful Deportation of Albert Fava.'

68 ANDERSON, *Imagined Communities*.

69 GARETH STOCKEY, 'Us and Them: British and Gibraltarian Colonialism in the Campo de Gibraltar,' in *Bordering on Britishness. National Identity in Gibraltar*, ed. ANDREW CANESSA, 91-119.

physically as well as symbolically separating the Rock from the rest of the Campo de Gibraltar, ethnic and cultural diversity was thus constructed, and soon the border and the bordered nationalism generated by it became central in allowing Gibraltarians to maintain their improved economic, social and political status.

Approaches to the Paper Revolution

Ed. by José María Pérez Fernández

INTRODUCTION
Approaches to the Paper Revolution: The Registration and Communication of Knowledge, Value, and Information *

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First invented in China and brought to Europe by Muslim merchants along the Silk Road, the use of paper in the West took off in the Mediterranean towards the end of the Middle Ages. Overshadowed in cultural and media history in large part by the invention of print, but also by its own success and consequent ubiquity, since its introduction paper has played a fundamental role as the media infrastructure for innumerable processes that involve the registration and communication of data, knowledge and value in human communities and institutions of all sorts – from religious orders, through financial and mercantile societies, to global empires. Only recently has the digital age ushered in new media that have become serious competitors to the global rule of paper.

This special subsection of *Cromohs* proposes four essays, three of which (by William Zammit, Joëlle Weis, and Elizabeth Harding) examine particular cases of paper as a medium for the codification and exchange of knowledge, information and value, whereas the fourth (José María Pérez Fernández) provides an outline of the state of the art on the history of the so-called paper revolution while also proposing new interdisciplinary approaches illustrated with relevant case studies. All surveying the existing scholarship on the cultural history of paper, our contributions propose a series of original and innovative approaches that open paths for further interdisciplinary research. Our essays also exemplify the sort of research conducted by the Paper in Motion work group, within the People in Motion COST Action project, which looks into the role of paper as a medium for the connectivity of information in processes and practices involving objects, people, and ideas in motion across the Mediterranean, and beyond.

The aim of our essays is to examine several distinct but at the same time closely related varieties of paper formats and documentary genres, from a wide range of administrative documents, through newsletters, to auction and library catalogues. Some of them demonstrate the use of paper documents in legal and political administration across linguistic and cultural boundaries. Others illustrate the formats

* The present thematic section of *Cromohs* is based upon work from COST Action CA18140 'People in Motion: Entangled Histories of Displacement across the Mediterranean (1492–1923)' (PIMo), http://www.peopleinmotion-costaction.org/, Workgroup 3 – Paper in Motion.

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and the protocols employed in transnational financial and commercial correspondence in combination with the exchange of news across the Mediterranean, as demonstrated by the case of the Maltese archives and the documents that belonged to the sixteenth-century Spanish merchant Simón Ruiz.

While my article puts forth the case of the Hispanic monarchy to illustrate the use of paper documents for the administration of a global empire and all the fabulous challenges that this posed, William Zammit focuses on the micro-history of a political community like Malta. Its scale and scope may have been much more modest, but it still displayed the peculiar functional complexity in the administration of all its different affairs that was facilitated by paper-based documents. In other words, Malta is a micro-cosmos that yields a comprehensive catalogue of different documentary genres and their performative functions. These illustrate the ubiquitous and complex role of paper as a medium for the administration of all the different aspects involved in a political, cultural, linguistic, religious and economic community, on both the domestic front and also in terms of its manifold relations with the rest of the world. Zammit's essay also includes a particular sort of documentary genre which resonates with our current pandemic predicament: the so-called bill of health, whose main purpose was to certify the absence of any contagious disease in its carrier, and therefore facilitate his or her mobility.

As regards relations with the outside world, the Maltese letters in the Archivo Simón Ruiz (one of the most important repositories of sixteenth-century mercantile and financial documents)[1] afford scholars insights into a significant piece in the vast paper mosaic mapping the sociocultural and economic networks of the Mediterranean world and its connections with the rest of the globe. Zammit also discusses the self-interested use of newsletters in early modern Malta, which proves that early modern news and the documentary formats it employed emerged as tools at the service of economic, political and religious agendas. Their emergence is a phenomenon that went hand in hand with the creation of a growing constellation of postal systems, which were in turn part of the material and immaterial infrastructures for the transport of goods and people, and the communication and administration of news and data. To put it in short and blunt terms: the early modern global Mediterranean rested upon the logistics facilitated by this sort of sophisticated infrastructure in which the medium of paper played a central role.

While Zammit's essay illustrates how paper logistics informed the relations and hierarchies of power in all its manifold demonstrations, Joëlle Weis's article samples library catalogues as both records of knowledge and agents in the creation of a hierarchy of disciplines, in their special capacity as meta-registers comprising several layers of data that classify not just authors and their titles, but also genres and formats. In the same way, they also project power relations and embody socio-cultural values.

[1] Archivo Simón Ruiz (Medina del Campo, Valladolid, ES), https://www.museoferias.net/archivo-simon-ruiz/.

Her essay constitutes further proof, for example, of the close connection between libraries, their catalogues, the production of knowledge and the conduct of intellectual lives within social networks of scholars – that is, in the so-called Republic of Letters. Like paper, these ties have traditionally been taken for granted, and historians of ideas have, for the most part, failed to explore them in the depth and detail they deserve. Likewise, the involvement of intellectuals and scholars in the administration of libraries and in the elaboration of their catalogues also goes unnoticed, or simply commented on as an episode in their intellectual biographies that does not deserve as much attention as their major publications. However, this engagement in libraries, in particular in the task of organizing and classifying knowledge, frequently constituted the preconditions, or the seedbeds, as it were, for the onset and development of their intellectual careers. And so, not many of those who are familiar with Leibniz and his work as a philosopher and mathematician are aware of or lend much importance to the fact that he was also a librarian who penned and organized a sophisticated catalogue for a collection which, by the time he took charge, had grown to such a size that it had become difficult to manage and search.

Paper was part of a general revolution in communication which also provided the material conditions for a revolution in the production and distribution of science and knowledge. Libraries and library catalogues played an important role among the institutions and tools that contributed to unleashing the potential of paper as a medium in combination with the technology of print. For instance, the use of paper facilitated the massive production of maps, not just at the service of sailors, or soldiers, but also for the armchair traveller, a new sort of reader who proliferated with the publication of atlases and the growing favour that travel literature enjoyed among the general public. While maps were the result of the triangulation of data and of complex calculations involving cross-referencing different sources and sorts of information and data, catalogues created different methods for the classification of manuscript and printed paper documents, which when successfully combined – facilitated by the modular nature of paper – generated virtual maps of the knowledge materialized in a particular library. The tabular cartography of a catalogue offered different paths to a vast array of contents for a large variety of readers, each with his or her own particular interests and ends.

The sheer material overabundance of paper – light, cheap, and easy to produce and transport – did not just condition its modular nature and facilitate the production of documents of all sorts, manuscript and print, bound and unbound, all of which could then be combined and recombined in myriad ways. The amount of information that these documents could now record also posed immense challenges for the classification of knowledge, on totally unprecedented scales. Whereas medieval libraries or archives were always modest in size, new libraries and archives could grow exponentially – usually also in close step with the power of their political patrons, financiers and administrators. In some cases, this mass of bound paper flooded the shelves, and even the catalogues themselves started to proliferate in a way which posed

new challenges, to wit: how to catalogue the catalogues themselves. As my essay proves, the administration of early modern states faced similar challenges: hence the growth of their bureaucratic machines with the host of officers employed for the generation, manipulation and storage of paper-based information. Paper documents legitimized social exchanges, enfranchised individuals as members of the community, and in general defined and established their position within the complex structures of daily life and the hierarchies of power that regulated it. In a similar way, catalogues guaranteed the actual social existence and intellectual function of individual books, for a volume that was not properly registered or identified in the catalogue was virtually non-existent and could lie hidden for many, many years, buried under a mass of other books. A book is, on its own, a specific repository of knowledge which can in some cases have a simple and straightforward structure while in others it may display an extremely complex and multilayered classification of its contents, with tools to facilitate its navigation (such as indexes, abstracts, and all sorts of paratexts and paralinguistic components). A library catalogue, therefore, can flaunt the complexity and sophistication of a meta-map, as an index to knowledge that reflects the world view and the interest of its compilator and his or her times, or the agendas of her or his patrons and political masters.

Elizabeth Harding demonstrates that auction catalogues are a documentary genre which combines the features and functions of administrative documents having an economic and/or political scope, on the one hand, with those of library catalogues as registers of knowledge and its hierarchies, on the other. Auction catalogues record market value alongside the symbolic intellectual, aesthetic or political capital of the artefacts that they list. Like library catalogues, auction catalogues were also alternative methods for the classification of knowledge, genres, formats, disciplines, and categories of objects, showing how the dynamic of market forces unleashed by the emergence of a culture of consumption could contribute to shaping representations of knowledge and the world, as well as social order. They also constitute a very interesting series of case studies on the interaction of manuscript and print, and on how readers and collectors who doubled up as consumers left traces of their approach to the objects for sale and the social occasion of the auction through their annotations.

The cases addressed in my article bring to the foreground the pervasive triumph of paper as a medium that materialised knowledge and power, and thus took them into the most recondite and private corners of citizens' lives. The use of paper as an icon in literature and the visual arts as a signifier for the ubiquitous contractual-administrative culture of the early modern state provides a striking reminder of the extent to which its bureaucratic structures and the forces set in motion by the new social, political and economic conditions invaded the public and private realms. One of the earliest and most significant cases is that of the Hispanic monarchy. Established first upon the union of the crowns of Castile and Aragon, and then the imperial rule of Charles V, it came to fruition under Philip II, who supervised the emergence of an extremely complex and sophisticated administrative machine with a global reach,

founded upon a profusion of paper-based documents that circulated throughout the vast communication networks of the first global empire. Simultaneously, Philip II also envisaged an imperial library in El Escorial, whose purpose was, among others, to appropriate Muslim knowledge and science – El Escorial houses the largest collection of manuscripts in Arabic outside the Arab world. Philip II controlled all these paper-based levers of power – which included the administration of the private lives of his subjects – with only one remarkable exception: the parallel empire of paper-based currency and credit, an increasingly immaterial financial economy which was not in the hands of the monarch, but in those of his international bankers. As my essay demonstrates, the use of paper money and the development of sophisticated financial instruments registered on the new medium contributed to the dematerialization of the global economy, a process that generated a significant amount of anxiety and confusion among those who were not familiar with the semiotic arcana involved in these new methods for the registration and communication of value. Paper in motion was, in other words, part of the media infrastructure that facilitated the emergence of modern capitalism. Even now, its progress continues to stir debate and generate controversies about the semiotic and performative nature of money and credit, and the media used for their registration, be it in the now traditional paper format, or its enormously successful digital and electronic competitors, the latter of which have come to exacerbate the process of dematerialization set in motion by paper.

The essays in our special section bring to the foreground the paradox that it is only with the arrival of the digital age and new electronic formats that paper has started to attract the attention of the academic community. The digitisation of texts, and above all the imaging of digital copies of books and documents, have brought to the attention of global audiences the massive ubiquity of paper in a way that was unconceivable before the invention of these new formats. Not so long ago, many of us (in particular those of a certain age) conducted our daily affairs using paper in the workplace, in our dealings with the public administration on all its different levels, and as part of a host of other activities that relied on this omnipresent medium: medical prescriptions; financial dealings with our banks; letters to lovers, family and friends; birth, marriage and death certificates. In short, paper was everywhere and it accompanied us throughout our whole lifespans.

Paper in Motion: Communication, Knowledge and Power Case Studies for an Interdisciplinary Approach

JOSÉ MARÍA PÉREZ FERNÁNDEZ
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Introduction

> Her lap was full of writs and of citations,
> Of processes, of actions and arrests,
> Of bills, of answers, and of replications,
> In courts of Delegats, and of requests,
> Grieuing the simple sort with great vexations:
> She had resorting to her as her guests,
> Attending on her circuits and her iourneys,
> Scriu'ners and clarks, lawyers and atturneys.
>
> LUDOVICO ARIOSTO, *Orlando Furioso*[1]

The allegory of *Discord* in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* appears as a female figure bearing a morass of legal papers and followed by a host of scribes, clerks, lawyers, attorneys and notaries. It is one among several samples in literature and the arts which represent the new contractual habits that had emerged towards the end of the Middle Ages. It was also part of a larger cluster of changes in communication and trade which some have described as a revolution.[2] The contractual exchanges registered on papers like those featured in Discord's lap were meant to weave a fiduciary network based on professional practice and documents whose authenticity and validity were legitimised through the use of seals, intricate signatures and a series of other protocols that also guaranteed a degree of homogeneity for their efficient communication.

The theologian Jean Gerson (1363–1429) was among those who sought to look into the nature of these habits with a short treatise titled *De contractibus* (1420). Gerson claims that

[1] JOHN HARINGTON, trans. *Orlando Furioso in English Heroicall Verse* (London: Richard Field, 1591), canto XIV.73, *Discord.* 'Di citatorie piene, e di libelli, / D'essamini, e di carte di procure / Hauea le mani, e il seno; e gran fastelli / di chiose, di consigli e di letture; / per cui le facultà de' pouerelli / non sono mai ne le città sicure. / Hauea dietro, dinanzi, e d'ambi i lati, / Notai, Procuratori, & Auuocati.' LUDOVICO ARIOSTO, *Orlando Furioso* (Venice: Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1560), canto XIV.84, *Discordia.*

[2] HAROLD INNIS, *Empire and Communications* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2007), 150–51. For Innis on paper, its invention in China, its spread throughout Asia and its arrival in Europe, see 'The Coming of Paper,' in *Harold Innis's History of Communications. Paper and Printing. Antiquity to Early Modernity*, eds WILLIAM J. BUXTON, MICHAEL R. CHENEY and PAUL HEHER (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 15–56. The first part of LUCIEN POLASTRON's *Le Papier, 2000 ans d'histoire et de savoir-faire* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1999) provides an interesting and beautifully illustrated account of paper in China, the rest of Asia and its arrival in medieval Europe. The most recent contribution on important aspects of paper with a focus on the British Isles is ORIETTA DA ROLD's *Paper in Medieval England* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

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the contract both establishes *and* legitimises civic life. It provides a fiduciary framework for human communities in which mutual trust in all sorts of social and commercial exchanges are established by means of documents and practices regulated by positive law.[3] But far from a source of social harmony and creditable exchanges, literature and the visual arts frequently depicted such contractual relations as causes and symptoms of deceit, discord and exploitation. This appears in visually striking terms in Marinus van Reymerswaele's *The Lawyer's Office* (1545) and Brueghel the Younger's *Village Lawyer* (1621).[4]

Figure 1. Marinus van Reymerswaele, *Ein Notar* (*The Lawyer's Office*), 1542, Bavarian State Painting Collections, Alte Pinakothek, München, https://www.sammlung.pinakothek.de/. Reproduced under Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-SA 4.0) license. A digitised reproduction of the 1545 version is available through the New Orleans Museum of Art's website, https://noma.org/collection/the-lawyers-office/.

[3] The full text of *De contractibus* can be found in GERSON's *Opera Omnia*, vol. III (Antwerp, 1706), cols. 165–96. The passages in question are in cols. 167–68.

[4] Similar visual treatment of the ubiquity of paper can be found in several other paintings, from JAN GOSSAERT's *Portrait of a Merchant*, ca. 1530, at National Gallery of Art, https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.50722.html, to REMBRANDT's moneylender, *The Parable of the Rich Fool, or the Money Changer*, 1627, at RKD - Netherlands Institute for Art History, https://rkd.nl/en/explore/images/46372. Here and henceforth links were last accessed November 14, 2020.

Figure 2. Pieter Brueghel the Younger, *Village Lawyer* (1621). Source: Museum of Fine Arts, Ghent, www.artinflanders.be, photo Hugo Maertens. Used with permission.

The material substance of paper in and of itself is of course useless for all these purposes unless it serves as the vehicle for symbolic systems, such as script in the case of natural languages or a code for numerical notation in mathematics. Paper is nothing without the semiotic performance that it serves to materialise or the formal protocols that facilitate the communication of the information recorded on it. The arrival of paper in Europe alongside the adoption of Arabic numerals around the twelfth century, the development of arithmetic techniques for the collection, measurement and quantification of economic and scientific data, and the use of paper as an inexpensive, modular and highly mobile medium on which to register, combine and exchange the growing wealth of information and knowledge that was produced towards the end of the Middle Ages, all decisively contributed not just to the emergence of complex political, administrative and legal structures, but also to a revolution in disciplines and practices like astronomy, cartography and navigation. The parallel emergence of paper-based finance and banking also resulted in the gradual dematerialisation of the economy. The sort of knowledge and abstract credit thus produced became in turn the lifeblood for the practice of global trade and imperial hegemony.

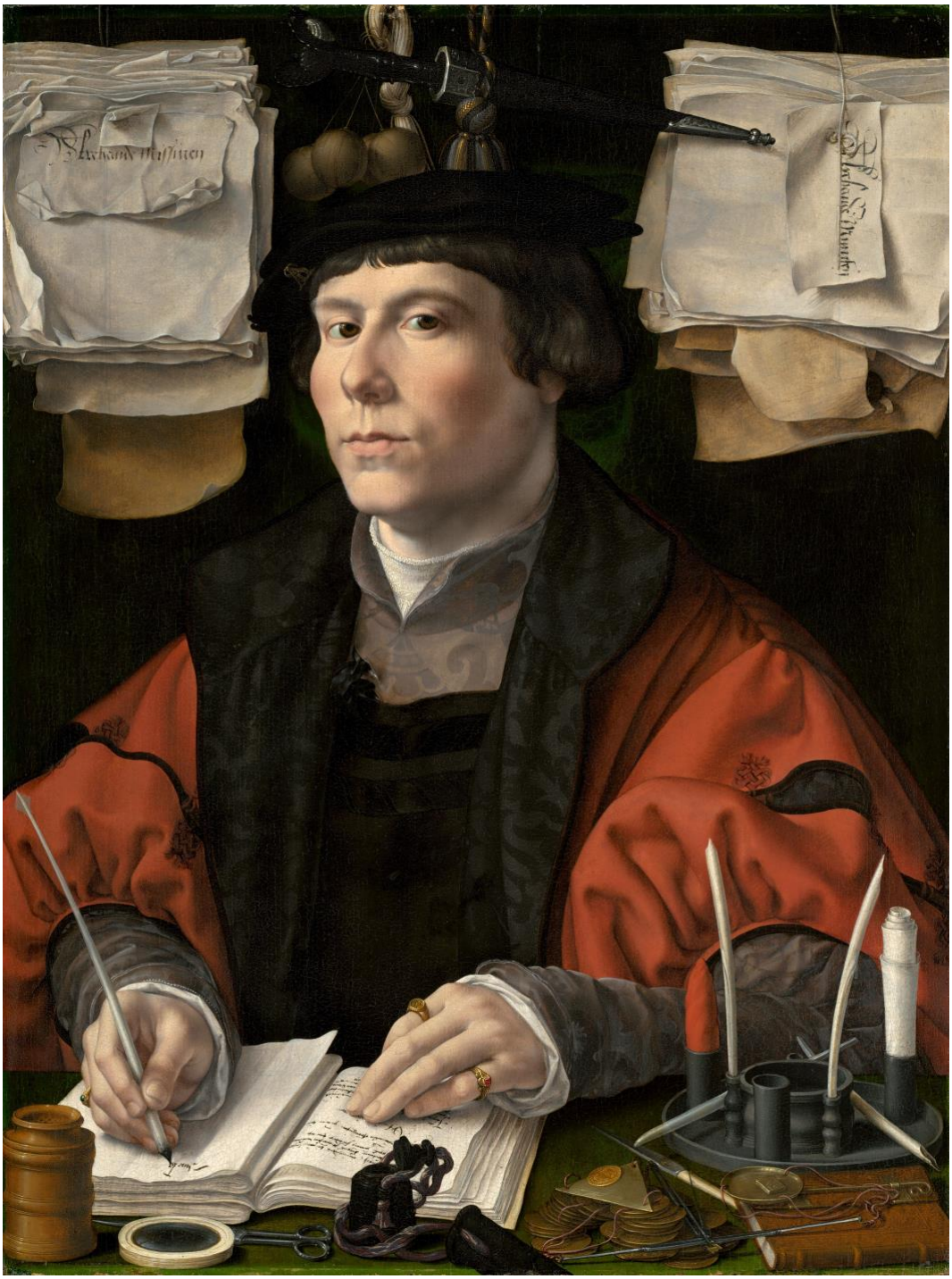

Figure 3. Jan Gossaert, *Portrait of a Merchant*, ca. 1530, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund, National Gallery of Art, https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.50722.html. Open access image.

Figure 4. Rembrandt, *The Parable of the Rich Fool, or the Money Changer*, 1627, via RKD - Netherlands Institute for Art History, https://rkd.nl/en/explore/images/46372. Reproduced under Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) license.

The close relation of the new contractual culture with the conduct, legitimation and regulation of trade and finance is further illustrated by one of the earliest print editions of Gerson's *De contractibus*, which was published in Cologne in 1483–84 along with two other essays on contracts and a treatise on currency. *De moneta*, penned by the French polymath Nicholas Oresme (1323–85), proves that coins were another type of documentary genre, inscribed on a different sort of medium, whose performative value, like that of legally binding contracts, relied on the combination of a social compact and a central authority that enforced and legitimised it.[5]

[5] The other two essays on contracts were penned by Henry of Langenstein and Henry of Oyta, two of Oresme's disciples. *Opera. Add: Henricus de Hassia: De contractibus; Henricus de Hoyta: De contractibus; Nicolaus Oresme: De moneta* ([Cologne]: Johann Koelhoff, the Elder, 1483–84), see also 'Gerson, Johannes: Opera. Add,' entry in BRITISH LIBRARY, *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue: The International Database of 15th-century European Printing*, https://data.cerl.org/istc/ig00185000: 'Oresme takes the Aristotelian view that a coin is a definite weight of precious metal, the quantity and fineness of which is guaranteed by the stamp of the authority issuing it. The currency does not belong to the issuing authority, but to the public which uses it for the purpose of exchange of goods. The prince has therefore no right to vary the standard or the weight or (if two metals are, as usually, employed) the bimetallic ratio; though the last

These few examples prove that a proper approach to paper requires an interdisciplinary perspective which can take into close consideration its entanglement with other media, a variety of cultural phenomena, and historical developments of very complex and heterogeneous natures. The history of paper and its arrival from China and through the Muslim world – including what at that time was still the Muslim south of Europe – across the Mediterranean into Europe around the twelfth century, and eventually on to the rest of the globe, constitutes in itself an interesting case study for the material mobility of a new medium that contributed to a revolution in communication, knowledge and administration. The availability of paper, its inexpensive nature and its capacity to register and circulate data swiftly and efficiently facilitated a new age of information towards the end of the Middle Ages.

Before the new inventions in electronic media that followed the Industrial Revolution, paper was the essential technology employed in regional and international communication networks, as well as in the administration of a host of institutions.[6] Only now, more than 700 years after its arrival in Europe, has paper found a serious competitor in the new digital format. This essay aims to provide a brief, and hence non-exhaustive, account of some relevant approaches to paper which can contribute to an understanding of its cultural history, alongside its role in the history of communication and media. It will do so by surveying a few case studies which illustrate the presence of paper in momentous political, economic and cultural developments, and which also contemplate it as both a material medium and a trope involved in the mobility of objects, people and ideas.

The following pages will consist of a few snapshots with episodes in the cultural history of paper in the West. They show its role in the establishment of the administrative and political architecture of the modern state, the practice of international trade, and the emergence of banking and finance. They will also contemplate paper as the vehicle for modular epistemic units used as building blocks for the articulation of knowledge into larger discursive structures, and finally its function as the semiotic vehicle for the codification of the emotional capital that brings about a sense of common identity in human communities.

Rather than the use of a medium like paper, it is the new technology of print that has traditionally been perceived as a major turning point in the history of communication. More recent historians of paper like Lothar Müller instead propose a new interpretation that brings paper to the foreground as the facilitator of a semiotic space with the potential to materialise a multitude of contents. Müller seeks, for example, to go beyond the traditional manuscript / print dichotomy by proposing a

may be done if the relative value of the metals is materially altered by a new source of supply. And any necessary alteration must be by agreement of the whole community.' NICHOLAS ORESME, *The* De moneta *of Nicholas Oresme and English Mint Documents*, translated with introduction and notes by CHARLES JOHNSON (London: Nelson & Sons, 1956), x–xi.

[6] On the concept of communications revolutions, see WOLFGANG BEHRINGER, 'Communications Revolutions: A Historiographical Concept,' *German History* 24 (2006): 333–74.

new typology of paper formats based on two distinctive pairs: printed vs. unprinted and bound vs. unbound. Modern books are the result of combining the printed and bound formats, whereas most letters and documents tend to be unbound and unprinted. Pamphlets and flyers tend to be printed and unbound, whereas traditional manuscript books shared the unprinted and bound formats with notebooks, commonplace books, catalogues, diaries and logs.[7]

Until the arrival of digital media, one of the most important uses of paper was for documents, and their ubiquity led to a misleading identification of their materiality with their documenting function. The media historian Lisa Gitelman stresses that, as a semiotic and epistemic unit, the document constitutes a category above paper. There are documents in a variety of other media, including not just wood, stone or parchment (to name but a few), but artefacts with a common practical use which also have the potential to be semiotically charged. In other words, the paper document is just part of a larger typology of semiotic instruments which are used to register and communicate information. The difference between a mere artefact or an object (be it a piece of paper, or any other sort of *thing*) and a document is that the document is contextualised, framed and semiotically mobilised to serve a purpose. Documenting is a social and epistemic practice: as Gerson suggested, the binding performative power of contractual documents brought the texture of civic communities into existence.[8] But in contrast to the somewhat idealistic way in which Gerson, or soon after him civic humanism, described the contract – that is, as a horizontal compact of sorts among citizens somewhat distantly overseen by a benevolent ruler – paper also had the power to become a Trojan horse by means of which the administrative structures of power and their public instruments could and did infiltrate the private realms of individuals and their business. This is why paper is part of the semiotic cluster that makes up Ariosto's allegory of Discord, and why it features in Reymerswaele and Brueghel's iconic critiques of contractual society and its excesses.

Users tend to identify the material substance of a medium with the contents it registers, and paper has been certainly perceived as being one with the information it records and the purposes it serves. The French title of Derrida's collection of essays, *Papier machine*, reminds us that beyond its sheer materiality – as well as the revealingly ambiguous trope in Derrida's original title – the material formats and the functions of paper are inseparable from both their social and cultural environments, and the

[7] LOTHAR MÜLLER, *White Magic: The Age of Paper* (Cambridge, UK and Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2014), 82. On notebooks and paper, see ANKE TE HEESEN, 'The Notebook: A Paper-Technology,' in *Making Things Public: Atmospheres of Democracy*, BRUNO LATOUR and PETER WEIBEL, eds (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005), 582–89.

[8] On this definition of the document, see SUZANNE BRIET, *What is Documentation?*, trans. Ronald E. Day, Laurent Martinet and Hermina G. B. Anghelescu (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 2006) and LISA GITELMAN, *Paper Knowledge: Toward a Media History of Documents* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2014), chapter 1.

practical functions for which this medium first came into existence and within which it then evolved.[9]

In our days, one of the most remarkable expressions of paper as a trope is the reference to undocumented immigrants as *sans-papiers* or its newly coined English equivalent, *paperless*.[10] Closely related to the term *green card*, the synecdoche here is double: in the first place the medium stands for the legal data it records and their value. For immigrants, on top of its essentially legal function, the paper document has a financial, political and potentially also emotional value. *Papers* become the key for their incorporation into the civic community since they grant them the status of citizen and all the rights and benefits that come with it. In contrast, the paperless live in a legal and political limbo, in which the absence of the sanctioning value of *papers* prevents them from integration within the political-administrative structures and also from entering the social spaces of the community into which they would like to be admitted.

Administration and Empire

Harold Innis viewed paper as one among different media that determined the nature of empires, since their vast political and administrative structures need to rely on efficient communication networks. Durable and heavy media like stone, clay or parchment contributed to civilisations that emphasised time and tended to be run by centralised institutions. They are typical of long-lasting but space-limited political communities like Egypt or Babylon. The use of lighter media like papyrus or paper, on the other hand, favours decentralisation and more hierarchical institutions. And given their mobility, these media also have the potential to generate more complex and dynamic administrative networks whose branches can reach much further.[11]

Paper started to be used for administrative purposes immediately after its arrival in Europe: in the early thirteenth century the Sicilian chancery of the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II worked with paper provided by Arab merchants. Another Mediterranean monarch, James I of Aragon, used the Arab paper mills on the east coast of the Iberian peninsula which had come under his power after the conquest of Valencia in 1238 for his administrative correspondence, for the establishment of an aulic archive, and also for the registration and reproduction of portolan charts.[12]

In 1231, Frederick II issued a legal code which stressed that all important decrees and laws (*instrumenta publica*) were to be recorded, copied and distributed on parchment, which emphasises the fact that whereas the inexpensive and light nature of paper made

[9] *Papier machine* does not mean paper machine, as the original title was translated into English, but 'typing paper, or any of its more recent equivalents such as printer paper,' RACHEL BOWLBY, 'Translator's Note,' in JACQUES DERRIDA, *Paper Machine*, trans. Rachel Bowlby (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005), ix–x.

[10] See for example CHARLOTTE ALFRED, "'We want to build a life:" Europe's Paperless Young People Speak Out,' *The Guardian*, August 3, 2020, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/aug/03/europe-paperless-young-people-speak-out-undocumented-dreamers.

[11] INNIS, *Empire and Communications*, 26–27.

[12] On the pioneering use of paper by James I, see ROBERT IGNATIUS BURNS, *Society and Documentation in Crusader Valencia* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985).

it extremely useful for common everyday tasks, more durable media, such as parchment, were preferred when it came to recording important texts that needed to last. Like the knots in a reticular structure, Frederick's parchment documents were meant to hold together the vast networks of the imperial administration, as they also established the semiotic protocols and the rules that ran the entire system. In contrast, paper worked as the fast, disposable and dynamic medium by means of which data and information, the lifeblood of the body politic, circulated throughout the extensive bureaucracy that sustained the power of the monarch over all of his territories.[13]

The way in which the archive of the Castilian monarchy was established in the early years of the sixteenth century reveals some very interesting facts about imperial archives. The lawyer Diego de Salmerón was appointed on 23 June 1509 as keeper and custodian of all the charters and privileges of the crown. His job included gathering all the relevant documents, making official copies, and developing a system for their efficient storage and retrieval. Three identical archives were to be created: two of them in Valladolid and Granada, which were the sites of the two permanent *chancillerías* (royal high courts) in the kingdom, whereas Salmerón himself would carry the third as he followed the itinerant court.

The archive created by Diego de Salmerón was the direct forerunner of the archive of the first global empire run by paper. As one of the most important repositories of documentary information about the Hispanic monarchy, the Archive of Simancas and its papers constitute excellent case studies, on the one hand, for the complex macro-economic and administrative structures that were generated as a result of the gradual expansion of trade and finance on a global level and, on the other, the creation of the modern state. The age of exploration, which, *inter alia*, had been made possible by the circulation of astronomical and cartographical data and information based on paper, then opened new paths for imperial conquest and expansion whose management relied on a sophisticated bureaucratic machine based on the use of paper and its circulation throughout domestic and global networks.

The early seventeenth-century historian Lorenzo Vander Hammen y León stressed Philip II's investment in infrastructure and personnel with a view to the collection and coordination of his papers in Simancas. The *cubo*, or strongbox, at the core of the archive held the documentary foundations for the entire legal and administrative architecture of the state and its territories. It contains, says Vander Hammen, documents concerning the Conquest of Granada, the Indies, the rights to the crowns of Naples, Navarre, Portugal, Siena and Sicily, plus the foundational charter of the Holy Inquisition, the wills and testaments of kings, and peace agreements with France, Moorish kings and the house of Austria, among many others, including 'papeles de razón de Estado.'[14] Philip II is an excellent example of the oscillation between the centralising tendencies of power, on the one hand, and its unavoidable

[13] MÜLLER, *White Magic*, 34 ff. q.v. for further details.
[14] LORENZO VANDER HAMMEN Y LEÓN, *Don Filipe el prudente, segundo deste nombre, rey de las Españas y nuevo mundo* (Madrid: viuda de Alonso Martin, 1625), 184r-v.

dispersion over a global network of administrators and correspondents who share their information with the monarch and his close collaborators by means of paper reports circulated via a sophisticated postal system, on the other.[15]

As a versatile, disposable, light and highly mobile medium, paper provided the administrative scaffolding for social, economic and political structures. It was instrumental in sparking a revolution in communications which opened the way to a new age of information towards the end of the Middle Ages. What is more, it held the power to become the representational double of the world itself. It created a host of armchair travellers thanks to the proliferation of inexpensive travel literature profusely illustrated with maps: cartography became a documentary genre of the highest order during the age of exploration. Last, but not least, the bureaucrat monarch and the armchair traveller found their financial and economic counterpart in merchant bankers who ran their business from their desks thanks to a global network of correspondents.[16]

Finance and Trade

Jost Amman's broadside *The Allegory of Trade* is a large, single-sheet engraving (30" x 46", or 76.2 cm x 116.84 cm) consisting of six different woodcuts produced around 1585 to celebrate the practice of trade, and Antwerp in particular as one of its most important centres. Amman presents a complex composition that displays the geographical spaces of trade, lists its most important hubs, and illustrates the diverse offices and agents involved in it. An allegory of Fortune stands as one of its main protagonists on the symmetrical axis of the engraving, giving it a visual sense of order and harmony in paradoxical contrast to the presence of the fickle goddess. Fortune appears flanked by two great books resting on the arms of a balance with a crowned figure as an allegory of justice ('*Iudex*') in the middle, all of which is held directly above the head of the goddess by Mercury. The books are identified as '*creditor*' and '*debitor*:' As tokens for the balance of trade, they are part of the flow of value that circulates throughout the entire trade system.

[15] On early postal systems, see BEHRINGER, 'Communications Revolutions.' Relevant primary sources include GIOVANNI DA L'HERBA and CHERUBINUS DA STELLA's *Itinerario delle poste per diverse parte del mondo* (Rome: Valerio Dorico, 1563) and OTTAVIO COTOGNO's *Nuovo itinerario delle poste per tutto il mondo* (Venice: Lucio Spineda, 1611; Giacomo Zatonni, 1616). Recent projects on early modern private postal companies also include *The Brienne Collection Project*, http://brienne.org/. Vander Hammen y León emphasises how Philip II always carried a portable archive with him and praises his extraordinary capacity to deal with paperwork in a record time (VANDER HAMMEN Y LEÓN, *Don Filipe*, 186 v). Another of Philip II's first historians, Luis Cabrera de Córdoba, described him as 'el rey papelero,' who had the power to move the world with his pen and his papers, LUIS CABRERA DE CÓRDOBA, *Historia de Felipe II: Rey de España*, vol. 1, eds JOSÉ MARTÍNEZ MILLAN and CARLOS JAVIER DE CARLOS MORALES (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1998), 368. On Philip II's bureaucratism and his actuarial habits, see Arndt Brendecke, *Imperio e información. Funciones del saber en el dominio colonial español* ([*Imperium und Empirie. Funktionen des Wissens in der spanischen Kolonialherrschaft*, 2009], trans. Griselda Mársico (Madrid and Frankfurt: Iberoamericana & Vervuert, 2012), chapter 1.

[16] See MÜLLER, *White Magic*, 42 on this, and above all chapter 3, 201 ff.

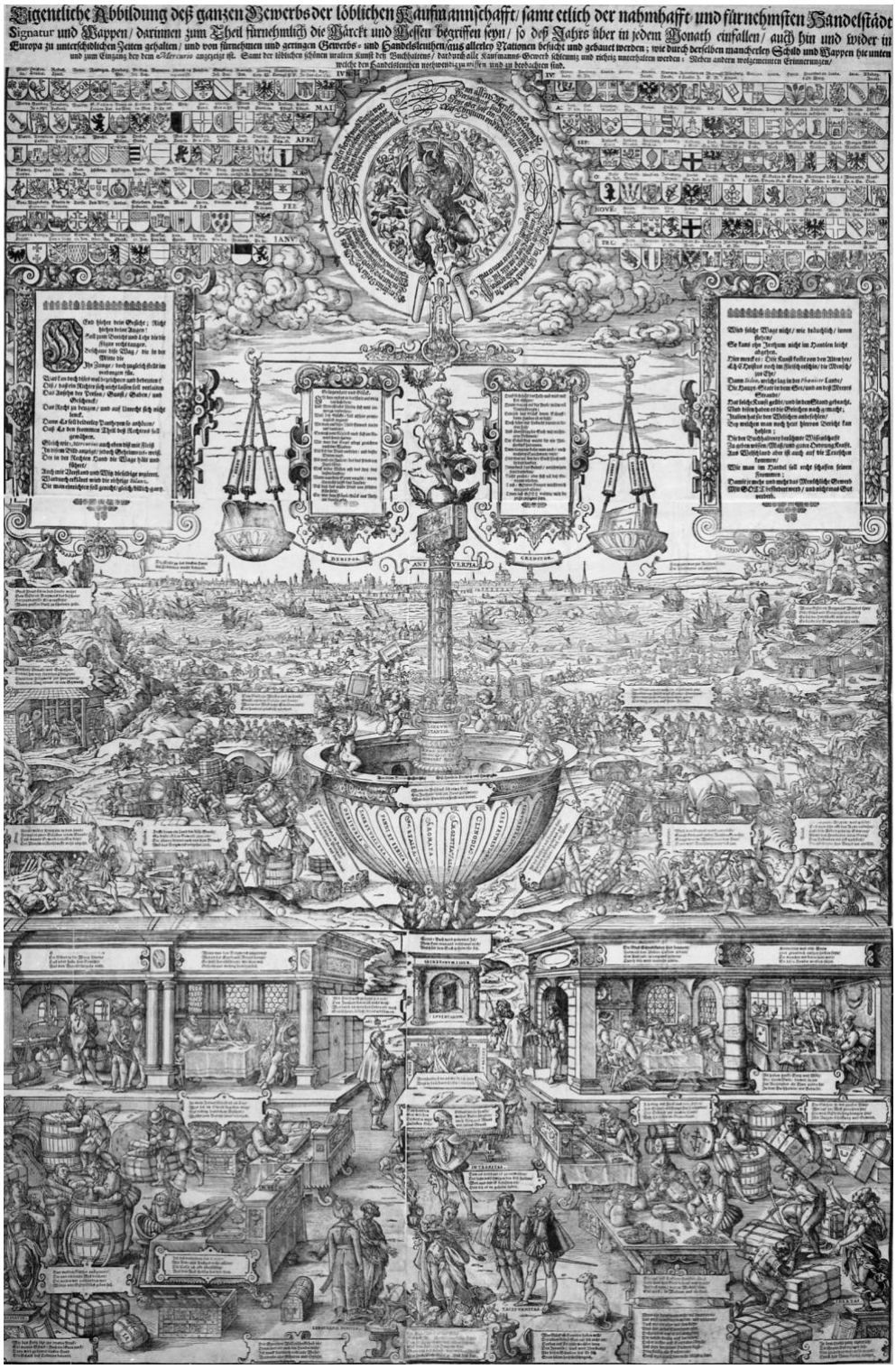

Figure 5. Jost Amman, *Allegorie van de handel* (The Allegory of Trade), 1585 (1800-1854, late impression), copy at British Museum, © The Trustees of the British Museum, reproduced under Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) license. A high-definition reproduction is also available at Museum Plantin-Moretus, https://www.museumplantinmoretus.be/nl/pagina/allegorie-van-de-handel.

In spite of its iconic harmony, the balance reveals its precarious equilibrium by hovering in mid-air above Fortune, who stands on a winged sphere – a conventional component in her allegorical representations. The sphere in turn rests on a third book marked as the '*zornal*,' the log used to register the daily flow of data between creditors and debtors, symbolised by the chains that connect the three books. The diary then stands on top of a column, which rises from a fountain inscribed with a range of different tradeable materials and goods.

This complex architecture with Fortuna, the balance, the column, the fountain and the three books – of creditors, of debtors and the diary – plus the goods and products, all rest upon an urn inside which there is a fourth book, the *inventarium*. The entire architecture and balance of trade thus appear articulated by the information that flows through these four different manuscript books: of creditors, of debtors, the diary and the inventory.

At the foot of the column sits another central figure: the chief merchant handing over a letter to a messenger. He appears surrounded by several secretaries, clerks and accountants, all of them busy exchanging currency and duly registering all the information concerning business in letters and logbooks. Their desks are richly decorated, well furnished with all the tools of a scribe and surrounded by numerous chests filled with moneybags. Standing next to one of them are two men dressed in Turkish attire over the legend '*linguarum peritia*,' to stress the fundamental role of translators and interpreters in the exchange of information in international trade. The background on the upper half of the engraving is populated with ships carrying their cargo all over the world, connecting the different cities represented by their coats of arms and the dates of their respective trade fairs. Underneath them we find stevedores busy at work, loading and collecting the traded goods.

Amman successfully portrays the inherently mobile nature of trade, with its material goods always on the go, and the use of the variety of paper formats to register, coordinate, control and share the numbers, data, weights and measures. The engraving amounts to a celebration of material transport and immaterial (or quasi immaterial) communication as the logistics that make trade possible, within which paper played a central role as a material repository of information.

For Philip II at his desk in El Escorial, or hard at work in his travelling archive, or for the readers of illustrated travel literature in their studios, semiotically charged paper stood for the world, or rather, for the many new worlds in the expanding globe that was coming under the ken of sixteenth-century Europe: the administrative realms of an emperor, or the geography and chronographic outlines of the world with its exotic regions and peoples. If maps were representations of the world on parchment and paper, which gave armchair travellers the opportunity to sail the globe from the safety of their homes, in the case of mercantile and financial documents paper constitutes a textual space where figures, tables, graphics and other symbolic systems

register the transactions that take place in the actual physical world of trade, which the merchants could then trace and control from their desks.

The importance of a merchant's paper-based records is demonstrated by *Il Negotiante* (Genoa: Pietro Giovanni Calenzani, 1638). A practical handbook on business and finance penned by Domenico Peri (1590–1666), *Il Negotiante* is in important aspects the textual counterpart to Amman's iconic allegory of trade. Some of its opening chapters are devoted to the protocols employed in the elaboration of mercantile and financial documents, their management and classification.[17] Chapter 10 deals with the '*scritturale*,' the officer whose job is to register all the information concerning the activities of the company, and whose office is according to Peri the most important among all of those required for the good governance of business.[18] In chapter 12 ('De contratti'), Peri provides a definition of the contract which takes us back to Gerson, reminding us of the similarities between the contract and currency, and of what both have in common as documentary genres whose performative value is sanctioned by formal semiotic protocols, their consensual nature, and their legitimation and enforcement by a central authority.[19]

The role of paper documents in the conduct of international trade constitutes an important aspect in the complex relations between paper and power. It was, as I have already mentioned, an important part of the macro-economic and complex administrative structures that were created as a result of the gradual expansion of trade and finance on a global scale. It also played a fundamental role in the creation and administrative upkeep of the modern state. And it was also fundamental when it came to the transmission and generation of information and knowledge in disciplines like trigonometry, astronomy and cartography, all of which were essential for the establishment of paths for imperial expansion through exploration and conquest, the latter in turn depending for its management on a sophisticated paper-based bureaucratic machine. In short, we can talk about a heterogeneous and open-ended, but nevertheless circular structure that facilitated the emergence of a new era of state administration by way of paper, alongside a new age of paper money and paper-based financial exchanges, which in turn constituted the lifeblood of global trade and the imperial body politic.

Paper was the medium employed in the codification and exchange of value through letters of exchange and letters of credit, and as such it played a fundamental role in the gradual dematerialisation of the global economy. This was part of a shift

[17] Chapter 3 deals with the basics of script ('Dello scriuere,' 21–27), chapter 4 with basic mathematical operations ('Dell'Abaco,' 28–31). Chapters 5 and 6 concern the formats and protocols of the different genres of documents required in the practice of trade (5, 'Del modo di scriuere lettere, ordini e commissioni,' 32–39; 6, 'Della scrittura mercantile,' 40–58), including some useful samples of formats and forms to be used in account books.

[18] 'Dello Scritturale,' 78–85.

[19] Chapter 12, 'De contratti,' 97–100. The rest of the book contains models of letters, which also makes it a catalogue of protocols, and common rhetorical and legal practices in trade and finance, all of which are techniques to store, classify, retrieve, and share data and information.

from the use of precious metals as tokens for the circulation of monetary value and their exchange for goods to the use of more complex financial instruments and the eventual emergence of paper currency – a new development which, as we shall see, was found objectionable by some.

The development of paper money and paper credit in Europe was preceded by the use of paper money in China in the tenth century. There was also a medieval Islamic paper economy, which saw practices in Cairo like cashless orders of payment and purchases on credit. The Abbasid Caliphate also saw the creation and use of bills of exchange.[20] Europeans first heard about paper money in the Far East, well beyond the familiar region of the Levant, from Marco Polo, who provided his readers with a detailed description first of the material nature of paper money, processed from the bark of mulberry trees, and then an account of its conversion into a carrier of financial value, by means of its inscription, authentication with official seals, and its ultimate legitimisation and enforcement as an exchangeable form of currency by the central authority of the Great Khan.[21] In his *De moneta*, Oresme described coins as semiotic instruments articulated upon formal protocols whose consensual value and circulation was sanctioned and enforced by an authority, usually a monarch, as well as by the (supposedly) immanent material value of the precious metal used as the medium.

The virtual relations established by the data registered and shared by means of letters of credit and bills of exchange, and the value recorded in inventories and logbooks, all contributed to the creation of capital, which thus emerged from a cypher in motion and semiotic systems in circulation, rather than from the hard metal of gold, silver or copper coins. Modern capitalism arose from the account books that registered creditors and debtors, the inventories and logbooks that recorded what came in and what went out, and the abstract (but nevertheless exchangeable) credit which emanated from the semiotics of financial and mercantile contracts. The result was that these increasingly abstract practices of merchant banking created alternative documentary genres for the representation, circulation and generation of financial value which frequently escaped the control of the monarch and became totally detached from the material value of the medium that carried it.[22]

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[20] SHELOMO DOV GOITEIN, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, vol. I, *Economic Foundations* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999), 240 ff. On Arab paper, see KARABACEK's classic *Arab Paper*. [*Das Arabische Papier*, Vienna, 1887], trans. Don Baker and Suzy Dittmar (London: Archetype Publications, 2001), and more recently Jonathan Bloom, *Paper Before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001).

[21] Chapter 18, second book, 'Della sorte della moneta, di carta, che fa fare il Gran Can, qual corre per tutto il suo dominio,' in GIOVANNI BATTISTA RAMUSIO, *Secondo volume delle nauigationi et viaggi* (Venice: Giunti, 1583), 29r.

[22] As Elvira Vilches suggests 'the new dematerialized bank credit did not entail deferred payments but rather functioned as a promise to pay (IOU) issued outside the authority and control of the sovereign's mint,' ELVIRA VILCHES, *New World Gold: Cultural Anxiety and Monetary Disorder in Early Modern Spain* (Chicago, IL and London: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 7.

The power of the abstractions generated by early modern banking made themselves felt even for rulers as powerful as Philip II. Whereas with his pen and his papers, and his army of archivists, clerks, ambassadors and messengers, Philip II could create and sustain an administrative network that carried significant political weight, his finances were controlled by Genoese and German bankers who used paper as a material signifier to generate, circulate and hoard an enormous amount of value which came to represent an alternative empire of financial paper.

The perception of paper as a repository of financial and economic value with enough power to bring about the default of an entire kingdom certainly did raise many eyebrows. The Spanish *arbitrista* González de Cellorigo blamed the bankruptcy of the Hispanic monarchy in 1600 on the paradox that, in spite of all the territorial and material value of the kingdoms, its wealth had all gone up in the 'air, in papers, contracts, census and letters of exchange.' For Cellorigo, Ariosto's allegory of Discord had transmuted into the confusing alchemy of financial paper that ailed the Hispanic kingdoms.[23]

There is a telling analogy between Cellorigo's outcry and current complaints about the uncoupling of the financial economy from the real economy, now that our troubles do not stem from paper money or paper credit, that is, value that circulates in very light, hardly tangible matter. Today money and financial value circulate in an even more intangible medium, in electronically generated signifiers which have the potential to deal with a huge mass of information – and hence the financial value it represents – at amazing speed and across immense distances. Many of these operations appear, besides, to be managed not by individuals, but by algorithms which are based on their remote ancestors, the *libri d'abbaco* and arithmetic handbooks employed by early modern merchants and bankers. We have gone a long way indeed from Peri's chapters on script and the abacus, Amman's papers, translators and scribes, to globally interconnected computer programs and databases run by algorithms. The media and the technologies are certainly different, above all as regards their power, speed and scope, but the core principles and processes remain similar: the registration, storage and communication of economic and financial information on a light, fast and supple medium which is then run by mathematical principles and an oligarchy of expert operators.

But well before electronic media, the combination of paper, script and arithmetic – that is, a new medium and two different semiotic systems – were enough to bring about the dematerialisation of the economy, and to set in motion the increasing abstraction of commercial and financial exchanges established by the terms of a contract.[24] That abstract paper money was perceived as related to the consensual-contractual culture of this period is demonstrated by Oresme's definition of coins, and by Peri's definition of the contract as '*un consenso reciproco di molti, ò almeno di due persone, la queli conuengono insieme sopra qualche cosa, per il consentimento legitimo de'quali risulta in ambe, ò il*

[23] MARTÍN GONZÁLEZ DE CELLORIGO, *Memorial de la política necesaria y útil restauración a la República de España* (Valladolid: Juan del Bostillo, 1600), 29.
[24] VILCHES, *New World Gold*, 6–7.

alcuna delle parti qualche obligatione.'[25] González de Cellorigo does accept this definition, but complains that paper money is now used for other purposes, different from those for which it had been legitimately created, that is, exclusively within contractual mercantile exchanges, not outside them, and certainly not to generate abstract money or credit. Money, he proclaims, is the cause of the exchange, not the result of it. Cellorigo misses the tangibility not just of gold and silver, but of goods themselves. He argues that in the exchange of manufactured and raw materials ('cosas naturales e industriales') for American gold and silver, Spain neglects not just the production of these goods, but also disregards the material value of precious metals and only reaps the credit money that emanates from financial contractual exchanges. This abominable abstraction, he concludes, is the ultimate cause of the economic decline of the country.[26]

About two hundred years after Cellorigo, Goethe saw paper money as an evil invention which he attributed to Mephistopheles, turning the beginning of the second part of his *Faust* into a critique of immaterial *fiat money*.[27] A few years later, in his history of the French Revolution Thomas Carlyle would echo Goethe's words on paper money, and on paper in general, in a description of the deceitfully peaceful years that led to the opening of the Estates General by Louis XVI and the subsequent Revolution as the Age of Paper.[28]

Information and Knowledge

> L'écriture hors livre répond à l'agriculture hors sol, à l'économie des immatériaux, aux échanges monétaires sans espèces.
>
> REGIS DEBRAY, 'Dématérialisation et désacralisation'[29]

Complaints about paper money and abstract finance as abominations punctuate the *longue durée* of intellectual and economic history. In the present day, these grievances have translated into the current outcry against financial capitalism, its digital algorithms and complex market arcana – warrants, options, derivatives, and so on, which only an elite of initiates can understand, generate and control. Like in finance and currency, the abstraction of immaterial or quasi immaterial media arouses fear and enthusiasm in equal measure, in the realms of information and knowledge too.

New media have always excited the imagination of those who see in them the potential to liberate, universalise and potentially democratise knowledge. The advent of the Internet about three decades ago brought about what appeared to be a process of

[25] PERI, *Il Negotiante*, 97, italics in the original.
[26] GONZÁLEZ DE CELLORIGO, *Memorial*, 22.
[27] MARC SHELL, 'Money and the Mind: The Economics of Translation in Goethe's *Faust*,' *Modern Language Notes*, 95, no. 3 (1980): 516–62, see 534–35.
[28] THOMAS CARLYLE, *The French Revolution: A History*, 2 vols., vol. 1, *The Bastille*, 3rd ed. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1848), 37.
[29] REGIS DEBRAY, 'Dématérialisation et désacralisation: le livre comme objet symbolique,' *Le Débat* 86, no. 4 (1995): 14–21, see 19.

decentralisation and the release of information and knowledge production from the elites who had controlled it hitherto. In the new medium, many saw the potential to turn the monologue of books into a digital, free-floating global conversation, and to turn readers from passive recipients into active agents who could not just interact with the text but even intervene upon its configuration. Already in 1995, amongst the enthusiasm of those who saw the World Wide Web as the electronic space for a global community of free agents, Régis Debray was cautiously ambivalent and ultimately sceptical about these new possibilities. The materiality of the book-object, he claimed, over the course of centuries – indeed over millennia – had acquired an aura that had elicited veneration in the realms of spirituality and knowledge, from the Bible to the last printed encyclopaedias of the twentieth century, on the part of a multitude of different communities. This aura, he concluded, resulted from a sort of material-mediatic coherence.[30] But once the fetishistic value of the book-object, with its remarkable power to energise and rally the emotions and identities of communities of all sorts, vanishes within the electronic dream of an immaterial and supposedly egalitarian global village, Debray foresaw a return to the most atavistic variety of materialities: a revalorisation of the earth, wood and stone, and all the primaeval values they tend to stand for. About ten years later, in his critical approach to new digital formats and the potential they display for the creation of a universal online library under the auspices of digital corporations like Google, with the eloquent question that stands as the subtitle for his book, *La grande numérisation*, *Y a-t-il une pensée après le papier?*, the historian of paper Lucien X. Polastron expressed his reservations about such projects as potentially dystopian totalitarian nightmares.

These apocalyptic approaches contrast with the optimism raised by a different sort of medium which prompted two early twentieth-century proposals. The first of them was H.G. Wells' *World Brain* (1938), the name he gave to his scheme for a global encyclopaedia. He saw it as a feasible plan based on the potential of a new medium that had just been made available around the time he was campaigning for his ambitious scheme in a series of lectures and publications. It was, of course, not paper (which was old hat), nor the digital format (which was yet to come): Wells's *World Brain* would be registered on microfilm.[31] The bibliographer and information scientist Paul Otlet (1868–1944) also saw great possibilities in microfilm and other new early electronic media. Wells' contemporary and acquaintance, and a fellow optimist believer in progress, Otlet outlined plans first for what he called an *archivium* of humanity and a universal bibliography which would function as its catalogue. This would then lead to a universal microfilm library, an institution which he called the *Mundaneum* or City of Knowledge. The faith in new technologies led him to suggest a number of new media and methods that could be used to achieve what he encapsulated in a slogan as a new type of 'universal

[30] DEBRAY, 'Dématérialisation et désacralisation,' 16.
[31] W. BOYD RAYWARD, 'H. G. Wells's Idea of a World Brain: A Critical Reassessment,' *Journal of the American Society for Information Science* 50, no. 7 (1999): 557–73, see 563–64.

civilisation, universalist education.'[32] This would be made possible by a host of 'mechanical instruments' that would work as the '*extension of the word and the book*.'[33] However, as a bookish and earnest young man, well before he embraced the possibilities of new electronic and photographic information technologies, Otlet resorted to a more traditional and time-honoured method to annotate and classify information, a process which he recorded in his pen-and-paper diary:

> In taking notes from authors one has the incontestable advantage of making a compendium; that is to say, a small abridged treatise which contains useful passages for one's own particular use... To gain time, instead of immediately developing a thought that one has read, *one simply makes a note of it on a piece of paper which is put in a folder. On Saturday, for example, these papers can be taken up one by one for classification and also for development if this is necessary*... Rather than classifying the loose leaves of the same format each week, one can write all the subjects in the same exercise book, taking care to give a whole page and its verso to each new subject. *Once the notebook is filled, the leaves can be torn out and classified. However, lots of things are difficult to classify and these one gathers together ad hoc in a notebook without recopying them*.[34]

Wells and Otlet were enthusiastic about the possibilities of new electronic media at the dawn of an era that only now is starting to see some of their ambitions realised. But before these were available, they used *paper* to register and classify information in exactly the same way in which European scholars had done for centuries. For more than 700 years before the age of electronic media, paper was unbeatable as a means of communication and as a modular repository of information. Lisa Gitelman stresses the epistemic power that paper-based documents have held for centuries: to the extent that 'information is understood today to come in discrete "morsels" or bits partly because of the way *the concept of information reifies the properties of paper documents; they are separate and separable, bounded and distinct*.'[35]

These modular epistemic units could then be incorporated as building blocks into a larger, discursive or narrative whole – be it in science, history, a court case, a catalogue, a memorandum or a report. The information and knowledge recorded on these manuscript pieces of paper could be copied, reproduced, recorded and recombined in as many different ways as necessary. Some of these formats have reached us in the form of commonplace books, composite manuscripts, provisional catalogues and inventories

[32] W. BOYD RAYWARD, *The Universe of Information: The Work of Paul Otlet for Documentation and International Organisation* (Moscow: VINITI for the International Federation for Documentation, 1975), 295, http://hdl.handle.net/2142/651.
[33] BOYD RAYWARD, *The Universe of Information*, my emphasis.
[34] Quoted in BOYD RAYWARD, *The Universe of Information*, 17.
[35] GITELMAN, *Paper Knowledge*, 4; GEOFFREY NUNBERG, 'Farewell to the Information Age,' in *The Future of the Book*, ed. GEOFFREY NUNBERG (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996), 103–38, see 120. On the use of paper slips, see ANN BLAIR, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2010), 210–27. Medical recipes were among the practical uses for paper slips: the *Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Valladolid* preserves over 200 of them, the so-called *Recetas de Manzanedo*, which date from the sixteenth century, https://www.culturaydeporte.gob.es/cultura/areas/archivos/mc/archivos/acv/actividades/doc-destacados/recetas/presentacion.html.

– heterogeneous collections of notes on paper of different sizes which scientists and scholars used as rough sources for their more articulated and complex end products.

All of this demonstrates the need to reassess traditional interpretations of the significance of print over and above paper in the scientific revolution and in intellectual history in general. And so we should direct our attention also to paper and the changes it brought about not just in administration and finance, but in science and the humanities too, as well as its early contribution to the redefinition of disciplines of knowledge from the twelfth century up to Gutenberg's invention, and thereafter, in close alliance with print. Print was without any doubt a ground-breaking new technology, but it took off in the spectacular way it did thanks to the fact that there was a pre-existent medium that could be used as the vehicle to launch new formats – bound-printed, unbound-printed – that were destined to change the world of knowledge forever.

Recent statistical surveys demonstrate that well before the invention of print the production of the manuscript-bound book format had already increased significantly thanks to paper. The widespread use of paper in new educational institutions like universities and more traditional centres of textual production like monasteries dynamised the drive towards a gradual standardisation and universalisation of knowledge, which thus laid the ground for the acceleration of this process after the arrival of the printing press. When compared with the explosion in book production brought about by print, the previous figures are certainly modest, but they are still very significant in contrast to the period that preceded the arrival of paper in Europe.[36]

Paper stands in a paradoxical position, as not totally immaterial, but still facilitating long-term processes of abstraction in a large variety of disciplines of knowledge and human practices. Paper, says Lisa Gilman, 'is familiarly the arena of clarity and literalism – of things in black and white – at the same time that it is the essential enabler of abstraction and theory, as in mathematics and theoretical physics.' As demonstrated by Debray and Polastron, the dematerialisation of information and knowledge has deprived us of a tangible medium which could stand for the contents it registered and for human cognition: paper, to borrow Wells' expression, could be taken to be the material manifestation of the human mind at work, the contents it could hoard and the information it could process. As a blank page, paper can even turn into an icon for nothingness and absence. With electronic media we have gone a step further, for digital bits are nowhere to be seen other than in their indirect and ephemeral on-screen manifestations.

The notion of paper as a trope that denotes all that is external to the mind, either in isolation or in conversation with other minds, is coextensive with the idea that *any* medium, by facilitating the registration of information and knowledge which are apprehended and

[36] See the statistics provided by UWE NEDDERMEYER's *Von der Handschrift zum Gedruckten Buch: Schriftlichkeit und Leseinteresse im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit, quantitative und qualitative Aspekte*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998); see also DANIEL HOBBINS, *Authorship and Publicity before Print: Jean Gerson and the Transformation of Late Medieval Learning* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 7–9.

elaborated by human cognition, can turn into its mirror. This idea was of course employed by Wells in his own trope of the *World Brain* to describe his universal repository of knowledge. Projects for universal archives and libraries tend to be tied to grand teleological schemes. That was the case of Hernando Colón (1488–1539), son of the explorer Columbus, who intended to gather all books ever published, in all languages, and all possible formats, and to compile a series of catalogues that would summarise their contents. Hernando put his collection and his catalogues to the service of Charles V's concept of *universitas christiana*, as an empire of knowledge to emulate the territorial empire that his own father had bestowed upon the Castilian crown. This was an idea which Hernando proudly proclaimed in the coat of arms he designed for his tombstone.

The castle and the lion which symbolise the kingdoms of Castile and León appear alongside a cartography of islands in the middle of the ocean, with the orb and cross that represent imperial sovereignty. The entire ensemble is surrounded by the four main catalogues elaborated by Hernando, the discursive counterparts to the iconic cartography that symbolises his father's conquests.[37] The first three of these catalogues would respectively classify his titles into disciplines, subject matter and authors, whereas the fourth one would consist of a series of summaries or epitomes with the contents of *every book ever published*. The books themselves, however, were not to be shared: they would remain ensconced in his library in Seville as a private universal repository of knowledge, to be used only in case of extreme necessity when a particular title could not be found elsewhere. The four catalogues, on the other hand, were to be copied and distributed across the globe so that readers could navigate this new world of knowledge.[38] After Hernando's death, his secretary Juan Pérez left a memorandum that describes the nature and function of each of these catalogues, and the principles that guided their compilation, including a practical example of the use of paper as the repository for modular information which could then be arranged and rearranged as many times, and in as many different ways, as would be convenient:

> There are besides in the library some slips of paper strung together, which go almost from the first book in the library to a little over ten thousand, although in between some are missing and there are some others beyond ten thousand; we call these annotations and they were to be used to compose the table of the sciences and authors, to know how many authors have written about which sciences.[39]

[37] The original copy of Hernando's last will and testament is in the Archivo Provincial de Sevilla, Oficio V. Escribanía de Pedro de Castellanos. Legajo 4º de 1539, Folio 287. The design for his tombstone is in fol. 290r.

[38] On the relation between the worlds of knowledge production and circulation, and that of finance and trade, see chapter 2, 'Trade Secrets,' in JOSÉ MARÍA PÉREZ FERNÁNDEZ and EDWARD WILSON-LEE, *Hernando Colón's New World of Books. Toward a Cartography of Knowledge* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, forthcoming 2021), 55–96.

[39] JUAN PEREZ, 'Memoria de las Obras y Libros de don Hernando Colón,' trans. Pérez Fernández and Wilson-Lee, in *Hernando Colón,* eds PÉREZ FERNÁNDEZ and WILSON-LEE, 201. In another of his provisional catalogues, the so-called *Registrum A*, we can see several practical cases of the use of paper slips to dynamise and register information in a catalogue as it was being put together, HERNANDO COLÓN [*Memorial de los libros naufragados* o *Registro antiguo* o *Registrum A*], February-November 1521, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, sig. 10-1-15. See for instance, fols. 44v-45r, 48 v-49r, et passim.

Figure 6. Hernando Colón's coat of arms, in his own design for his tombstone. Reproduced with permission from the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla.

As the head pilot (*piloto mayor*) at the *Casa de Contratación*, Hernando was familiar with the management of an enormous amount of paper documents bearing information sent in by pilots, astronomers and cosmographers from the four corners of the world. In 1526 Emperor Charles V charged him with the task of gathering a team of experts in the recently created institution. He was ordered to collect and coordinate information with a view to the creation of a universal *mappamundi*, the so-called *Padrón Real*, which was to become the blueprint for all other maps used by pilots around the globe.[40] The imperial decree demonstrates the challenge that exploration and imperial expansion posed for Charles V and his administrators. The maintenance and defence of such a vast empire did not just require able soldiers and sailors, astronomers, mathematicians and cosmographers. Expert information and knowledge engineers were also essential: officers capable of collecting, sorting out and classifying huge amounts of data, and then processing all this unprecedentedly vast amount of information into other documents that would make sense of the world and help imperial officers conduct their business.

Like all such grand schemes, Hernando's utopian library and cataloguing systems never fully materialised, but the universalist impulses of the global monarchy he served kept pushing for other projects led by similar principles. We have already mentioned Philip II's archive in Simancas as an administrative mirror, a paper double, of his geographical empire. But like Hernando, the monarch also had plans for a comprehensive library and other collections, which stresses the relation between paper and the practices of cataloguing, as well as the administration of book and artefact collecting. Some of the ideas behind it appear in Juan Páez De Castro's *Memorial a Felipe II sobre la utilidad de juntar una buena biblioteca* (1555), which is part of a manuscript sammelband still deposited at the library which the monarch actually created in *El Escorial*.[41] De Castro's plan also includes the design for the three different spaces where the collections were to be deposited. The first of them would be used for books, with an emphasis on Scripture, the Church Fathers, theology, law and philosophy. The second one was to be devoted to maps, globes, but also to watches, astrolabes and other scientific instruments used for the disciplines of astronomy and mathematics, alongside rare antiquities, and botanical and zoological samples brought from all over the territories under the jurisdiction of the monarch. Royal officers in the Americas were instructed to send rare objects, and the Hispanic monarchy, as we shall see, set up a grand programme to collect information from the different territories of its global empire. Last, the third space would work as an archive, very similar in contents and function to Vander Hammen's description of the archive in Simancas.

The sammelband with de Castro's memorandum is relevant in its own right, since it also includes other documents that sample the methods and categories employed for

[40] *Archivo General de Indias*, Indiferente 421, vol. 11, fol. 234r; trans. Pérez Fernández and Wilson-Lee, *Hernando Colón*, 243–44, *q.v.*, for more details on Hernando's role in the *Casa de la Contratación*, and the relation between this cartographic project and his library.

[41] *Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial* (BME), Ms. &. II. 15, 192v-194v. JUAN PÁEZ DE CASTRO, *Memoria a Felipe II sobre la utilidad de juntar una buena biblioteca*, ed. GONZALO SANTONJA, prologue GREGORIO SALVADOR (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 2003).

the collection of information. It contains a very practical and down-to-earth memorandum on the price of manuscripts, alongside mixed repertories of books and items of a different nature (books and paper documents, books and coins, and books and relics). The sammelband constitutes, in short, an inventory of different documentary genres, which reminds us that information, and the practices of collecting and classification, concerned not just paper-based semiotic artefacts, but that this medium was just one of a large variety of other sorts of symbolically charged, documentary objects of significant value and performative power. Since the index lists other catalogues, it is also a meta-register of sorts which can be used to search for repertories of the items that eventually went into the making of Philip II's larger collections at *El Escorial*.

Imperial administration relied on practices of transcultural communication and interpretation, since the information sent from distant and exotic territories had to be culturally *translated* in terms that the administrators back in the Iberian peninsula could first understand, and then put to practical use. It also called for common protocols and standard questionnaires, as well as a team of administrators, scribes and archivists, with notaries to certify the veracity of the information.[42] Arndt Brendecke stresses that the *memoriales* or provisional reports produced by these clerks were only a guide or a memory aid for actual oral exchanges, and that the information recorded in them would normally be discarded and destroyed after being discussed, used and incorporated into more permanent registers.

Manuscript AM 253 fol. at the Arnamagnæan Collection in Copenhagen constitutes an excellent example of the use of paper slips as disposable modular units for the management of knowledge during the middle stages of the production of more complex and permanent documentary artefacts – which most of the time consisted of books, but could also be long, reasoned and discursively articulated reports or memorandums in any discipline whatsoever. This particular composite manuscript belonged to Pedro Chacón (1526–81), a Spanish Hellenist and mathematician who held a chair at the University of Salamanca until he was called to Rome by Pope Gregory XIII to work as part of the team charged with the reform of the Julian Calendar.[43]

[42] The royal decree that set in motion these plans for the global collection of information established 'very detailed rules on implementation [which] regulated how the collections of data and descriptions for individual subfields were to be carried out' (Brendecke, *Imperio e información*, 189). For samples of these questionnaires, see FRANCISCO DE SOLANO and PILAR PONCE LEIVA, eds, *Cuestionarios para la formación de las relaciones geográficas de Indias: Siglos XVI/XIX* (Madrid: CSIC, 1988).

[43] On this and other Hispanic manuscripts at the *Arnamagnæan Institute*, see N. KIVILCIM YAVUZ's 'Notes from the Sixteenth Century: AM 828 4to,' *Arnamagnæan Institute Manuscript of the Month*, October 15, 2018, https://manuscript.ku.dk/motm/notes-from-the-sixteenth-century/; as well as her 'Judging a Book by its Cover: Manuscripts with Limp Bindings in the *Arnamagnæan Collection*,' in *From Text to Artefact: Studies in Honour of Anne Mette Hansen*, eds KATARZYNA KAPITAN, BEEKE STEGMANN and SEÁN VRIELAND (Leeds: Kismet Press, 2019), 121–40. I am grateful to the *Arnamagnæan Institute* not just for the images, and the permission to reproduce them, but also for facilitating my access to the volumes. I must also thank Prof. Matthew Driscoll for bringing these manuscripts to my attention, and providing relevant information about them.

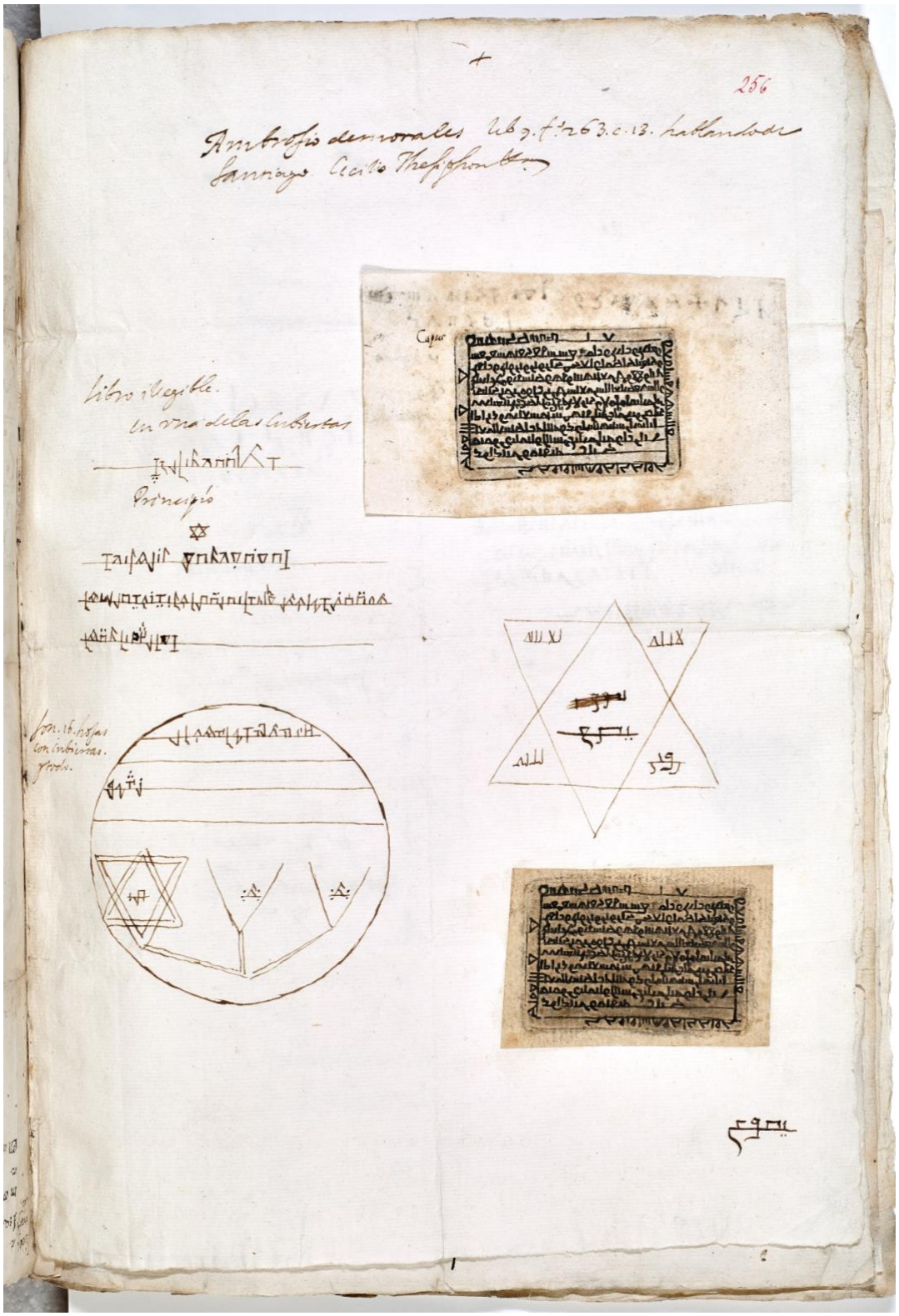

Figure 7. Copenhagen, Arnamagnæan Collection, AM 253 fol., f. 256r. Photo: Suzanne Reitz. Used with permission.

Figure 8. The verso of the paper rectangle pasted on the upper half of AM 253 fol., fol. 256r. Copenhagen, Arnamagnæan Collection. Photo: Suzanne Reitz. Used with permission.

This sammelband was put together by Chacón himself in Rome, where he presented it to a close friend, Luis de Castilla. From the hands of de Castilla, the manuscript passed on to the library of the Count-Duke of Olivares in Seville. It was subsequently purchased by the Danish ambassador and collector Cornelius Lerche, who took it with him to his country. From Lerche's library the manuscript was transferred in 1681 to the collection of another collector and scholar, Árni Magnússon, who bequeathed his books and documents to the University of Copenhagen, where AM 253 fol. has been deposited ever since. The sammelband is, in short, another good example of paper

and information in motion across space and time. But in addition to its paper in motion and modular use, the sammelband has some items which demonstrate the status of texts and their media (paper and otherwise) as material spaces with the power to rally the emotional ties that create a sense of identity in human communities.

Fol. 256r of the sammelband has several interesting inscriptions and two small paper slips pasted onto it, one of which is attached to the folio page only on its right edge, so it can be viewed on both its recto and its verso. The strange characters on these paper slips reproduce the texts of one of the *Lead Books of El Sacromonte*, a series of documents inscribed on lead discs found in some caves near Granada between 1595 and 1599.[44] The unexpected discovery of these unusual texts and formats made quite an impact because they contained prophesies about the role of Granada in the subsequent development of Hispanic Christianity which conveniently matched the expectations of a monarchy that saw itself as the sword of Rome, charged with the mission of spreading the true faith all over the globe – an extension of Charles V's idea of *universitas christiana*, and Philip II's millenarian outlook. But in contrast to this narrative, the lead books also presented a new account of the origins of Christianity in the Iberian peninsula. It featured the names and deeds of some proto-martyrs, whose remains were also conveniently exhumed alongside some of the books, and immediately turned into venerated relics. Furthermore, the texts did not just proclaim that these martyrs were the first Christians sent to preach the Gospel in the Iberian peninsula, but that they were ethnic Arabs. And finally, the texts inscribed on some of the lead discs displayed a syncretic faith that sought to bring Islam and Christianity into doctrinal harmony. After a few years of intense controversies among scholars on their authenticity, the Vatican established that these doctrines were not just heretical, but that the books were a fraud too.

All the empirical and historical evidence about them suggests that they had been fabricated by someone with a good knowledge of Latin and Arabic, as well as an expert in the doctrinal intricacies of both Christian and Muslim theology. The languages of the texts include Arabic, Latin, Spanish and a fourth strange script that has not been deciphered yet, in the so-called *Dumb Book,* or *Libro Mudo*. The leaves of paper pasted onto Chacón's sammelband contain passages from this text, undoubtedly sent to him in the same way as they were sent to other expert scholars in Spain and abroad, with a view to their interpretation. The rest of the folio also bears Chacón's handwritten notes with other similar characters, and some drawings of the star-shaped Seal of Salomon, one of the main symbols that feature in the lead books.

There are some important aspects related to the fascinating story of the lead books which I have neither the time nor the space to discuss in greater detail but are nevertheless of interest for the current essay. One is the media employed: if the forgers wanted to come up with a credible set of texts supposedly dating from the first century

[44] On the lead books, and their cultural and historical background, see MANUEL BARRIOS AGUILERA's *La invención de los libros plúmbeos. Fraude, historia y mito* (Granada: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad, 2011). For the first full-length account in English of the lead books, see ELIZABETH DRAYSON's *The Lead Books of Granada* (New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013).

AD, they had to inscribe them upon durable media that could have successfully resisted the passage of a millennium and a half – certainly not paper, nor even parchment. The other one is that, although the authorship of the texts has not been established with absolute certainty, one of the most likely suspects is the Spanish *Morisco* Alonso del Castillo, an accomplished scholar well versed in Latin who also worked as a translator of Arabic diplomatic correspondence for Philip II and catalogued the well-furnished collection of Arabic manuscripts in the library of *El Escorial*. Last, but not least, scholarship agrees that, irrespective of its authorship, such a skilfully timed and sophisticated forgery was an attempt to reconcile Islam with Christianity and therefore to contribute to legitimising the presence of *Moriscos* on the Iberian peninsula. Indeed, it was to confirm them as the oldest of all *cristianos viejos*, since the texts established that these Arab Christians had been sent to evangelise the Iberian Roman population during the times of Emperor Nero. The lead books appeared at a time when there was much unrest among the *Morisco* community, which found itself under constant threat of expulsion. The entire project, therefore, amounted to an attempt to create a series of texts around which two very different communities could rally with a view to the creation of a common identity and the establishment of a peaceful coexistence. They failed, and in 1609 the Hispanic *Moriscos* were expelled from Spain once and for all.

Certain events related to the Hispanic *Moriscos* and their situation soon after the final defeat of Islam in the Iberian peninsula illustrate the relation between paper, identity and the emotions. The role of paper as a medium for communication and consequently for the establishment of communities and the emotional ties that generated and held them together is the subject of the last section of my essay.

Memory and Identity

The first part of Miguel de Cervantes' *Don Quijote* was originally published in Madrid in 1605, namely just a few years after the discovery of the *Libros Plúmbeos*, in the midst of the furore they provoked, and only four years before the definitive expulsion of the *Moriscos* in 1609. At the end of chapter 8, the story is abruptly truncated *in medias res*, and chapter 9 opens with the narrator's lament that the author of the story he is recounting has left both himself and his reader frustratedly wanting for more. He then proceeds to tell how, as one day he was walking 'on the exchange [i.e. the market]' in the city of Toledo, 'a boy coming up to a certain mercer, offered to sell him a bundle of old papers he had in his hand' (pp. 74–75). The narrator hastens to add that since he had always had 'a strong propensity to read even those scraps [*papeles rotos*] that sometimes fly about the streets, I was led by this my natural curiosity, to turn over some of the leaves: I found them written in Arabic, which not being able to read, tho' I knew the characters, I looked about for some Portugeze Moor who should understand it.'[45] The narrator finds a *Morisco* whose translation reveals that these papers

[45] MIGUEL DE CERVANTES, *The Histories and Adventures of the Renowned Don Quixote*, trans. Tobias Smollett (New York: The Modern Library, 2004), 74–76. The Spanish original says *morisco aljamiado*, that is, a bilingual Moor who could read Arabic and speak Spanish.

recorded 'The history of Don Quixote de la Mancha, written by Cid Hamete Benengeli, an Arabian author,' and from this moment on Cervantes devises the rest of his novel as the narrator's transcription of their translation by a bilingual Morisco from an originally Arabic manuscript penned by an imaginary Muslim author.

There are several aspects of this complex metanarrative device which strike the reader. In the first place Cide Hamete Benengeli is introduced by Cervantes as a historian who gathers information from the annals of *La Mancha* to compose his story with the adventures of Alonso Quijano. The second aspect of interest lies in the paper fragments (*papeles rotos*, literally, broken papers) which stand as scattered documentary ruins, or textual echoes of a pre-existing peninsular other: tokens for Muslim Iberia first, and then for the *Moriscos* after the demise of Islam in the south of Europe. Presenting a story as the translation from a manuscript in an alien language was not an infrequent narrative device in prose fiction, and above all in chivalric romance. But other than these literary antecedents and their parodic intent as part of a complex literary game, there is also a recognisable historical context for this serendipitous discovery of a bundle with paper documents in Arabic, which lends verisimilitude to Cervantes' fictional device. The episode takes place in a public market, but instead of using the most common Spanish words, *mercado*, Cervantes uses one of Arabic origin, *alcaná*. This market also happens to be in the city of Toledo, well known for its large communities of Jewish and Muslim converts – which explains why it was not difficult for the narrator to find a *morisco aljamiado* (i.e., a Spanish-speaking Muslim convert) to translate his broken papers. The mercer from whom he bought the papers was a *sedero*, namely a dealer in silk: traditionally one of the main exports of Muslim Iberia, an industry and a trade which significantly declined after the expulsion of the *Moriscos*, who were mostly responsible for its production and sale. Finally, the fact that the papers were about to be recycled by the mercer illustrates uses of paper other than for the registration of script, which confirms its nature as a supple and versatile material put to good use in a variety of industries.

In spite of the destruction of Arabic books and manuscripts which – with very few exceptions – had been decreed and systematically performed over the years after the Christian conquest, it was not infrequent to come across documents of this sort in Arabic, either recycled for other functions, or as books and records to be used in clandestinity by the *Morisco* community. A number of Arabic manuscripts, either on paper or parchment, circulated under the radar of the authorities, and when they became too dangerous to share, some of them were hidden to avoid destruction. Walled libraries and archives with Arabic manuscripts are indeed a category of their own, and several of them have been found over the past century and a half. Late in the nineteenth century (1886), 63 codices were discovered in Almonacid de la Sierra, the property of a *Morisco* bookseller who also hid the tools employed in the production

and binding of his manuscripts.[46] Around the same time, a *Morisco Qur'an* was found in a house undergoing demolition in central Granada. Other copies of the *Qur'an*, on parchment and paper, were found in 1961, 1969 and 1993 in several different locations. Some of these documents date from the early years of the Christian conquest, whereas others are dated closer to the time of the definitive expulsion of the *Moriscos* in 1609. There are also remains of books that belonged to the Jewish community: the so-called *Biblioteca de Barcarrota*, found in 1992, consists of ten different books which belonged to a sixteenth-century Jewish convert, the physician Francisco de Peñaranda.

The next and final section of my essay is the story of the most recent of these finds. It is a modest, but very representative library found in Cútar, a small village perched in the mountains that overlook the Mediterranean coast in the south of Spain. During the refurbishment of an old house in 2003, workers found a niche behind a recently demolished wall with several documents in it: three manuscripts, one of them a copy of the *Qur'an* in parchment, plus several unbound paper documents, all carefully preserved in straw. During the last decades of Muslim Iberia, Cútar was part of the municipality of the Axarquía, which was swiftly occupied after the victory of the Catholic monarchs over the Muslim troops in Málaga in 1487. During the early years of the occupation, and in particular in distant villages in the mountains like Cútar, the Moorish population were allowed to preserve their social, religious and cultural institutions, naturally under the supervision of a Christian officer, until the situation changed drastically early in the sixteenth century with a decree that forced them into conversion or exile. In other words, for about a decade, namely around 1487–1501, Moors were allowed to preserve and use some of the institutions, documents and practices that recorded and performed their common linguistic, cultural and religious identity.[47] These are the historical circumstances that lay behind the documents found in Cútar, whose owner appears to have been an *alfaquí*, that is, an expert in *sharia*, or Islamic law. For the small community in which he lived and worked, he was a spiritual guide, notary, lawyer, and also a scribe. The documents he preserved prove that he performed these functions during the first few years after the Christian conquest, as part of a community which felt increasingly under siege and constant surveillance.

There are some relevant analogies between the *alfaquí*'s situation and that of his community and the nature of the contractual culture described in the first section of my essay and the role of paper in it. Some of the *alfaquí*'s legal documents amount to a handbook of sorts for a small-town lawyer, registrar and notary public. They include

[46] MARÍA JESÚS VIGUERA MOLINS, 'Marco Socio-Cultural del *Corán* de Cútar,' in *El Corán de Cútar. Estudio Introductorio*, ed. MARÍA JESÚS VIGUERA MOLINS (Sevilla: Fundación Tres Culturas del Mediterráneo, 2009), 15-45, see 35-36 for a list of some other findings.

[47] VIGUERA MOLINS, 'Marco socio-cultural,' 16–19; MARÍA ISABEL CALERO SECALL, 'Los manuscritos nazaríes de Cútar: el contenido,' in *Los manuscritos nazaríes de Cútar (Málaga). Documentos y estudios*, ed. MARÍA ISABEL CALERO SECALL et al. (Malaga: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Málaga, 2016), 15–61, see 17; ESTHER CRUCES BLANCO, ANA DÍAZ SÁNCHEZ and SONSOLES GONZÁLEZ GARCÍA, 'Manuscritos y documentos nazaríes conservados en el Archivo Histórico Provincial de Málaga,' in *Los manuscritos nazaríes de Cútar*, ed. CALERO SECALL et al., 63–86, see 66–67, et passim for a material description of the documents and the process of their restoration.

forms and protocols, norms on marriage and death taxes, basic arithmetic for the measurement and weight of goods and land involved in legal disputes about ownership and trade, and in general information on the traditions of the Prophet, that is, the interpretation of Islamic law – the common legal framework, and the highest source of authority which could legitimise the value and function of all these documents. These walled papers are a documentary micro-cosmos of methods for the regulation and administration of everyday life in a small Muslim community.

The papers themselves hold the key to the reason they were hidden, since they also document the advance of the Christian troops and a series of forced conversions. Interspersed in some of the manuscripts with legal and quantitative data, the *alfaquí* also registered his personal response to the events that eventually led to the suppression of his community. 'Christians conquered Vélez during the spring of 892/1487,' says one of these brief manuscript notes, 'and the Lord of Castile conquered Granada in the winter of 897/1492, and he broke his pact and baptised the people of Granada.' He concludes with a curse on those who had inflicted such pain and loss upon Muslim Iberia.[48]

As is frequently the case with paper documents, some of the most common methods for their dating involve their watermarks, the type of script used and naturally their language. The watermarks of the documents found in Cútar prove that some of the older papers were produced by Muslims, while the most recent were of Christian origin. After the occupation, the *alfaquí* had no choice but to use Christian paper to register a few poetic elegies on the loss of Muslim Iberia. In contrast to other border poems on the confrontation between Christians and Muslims, which are usually written in Classical Arabic, these *endechas* are written in an Andalusian dialect. Carmen Barceló transcribed and translated the poems into Spanish in 2012 and suggests that they must have been composed within a time frame that starts circa 1485–87, namely, during the years of the siege and conquest of Málaga, and concludes with the decree of 1501 that forced Hispanic Muslims into conversion or exile. One of the poems is actually dated by the *alfaquí* himself as what he calls the 'year of oppression and mistreatment.'[49]

There is a very revealing contrast between this lament in dialectal Andalusian Arabic which had to lay hidden for more than 500 years to avoid destruction, and another very different kind of paper document. Petrus Bosca's Latin *De victoria Malachitana*, which celebrates this victory over Islam, is a typically humanist oration as it also constitutes an early case of news in print. An 11-page pamphlet in quarto, the oration was delivered and printed in Rome in October 1487, soon after the events it recounted – the capitulation of Málaga was signed on 18 August 1487. Bosca celebrates

[48] Vol. L-14030, fol. 11v/256, quoted in CALERO SECALL, 'Los manuscritos nazaríes de Cútar,' 46. The *alfaquí* also recorded news on current events which he must have contemplated through an apocalyptic lens – such as an earthquake in the city of Málaga in 1494, two years after the definitive fall of Granada, L-14030, fol. 11v/256, quoted in CALERO SECALL, 'Los manuscritos nazaríes de Cútar,' 47.
[49] L14030, fol. 8v/247, in CALERO SECALL, 'Los manuscritos nazaríes de Cútar,' 29; see also 60, 62.

the conquest of Málaga as a victory for global Christianity and a decisive step on the path towards the culmination of the Hispanic project of *universitas christiana*.

The poems of Cútar and the Roman pamphlet are, therefore, very good examples of the recording of emotional responses generated by the same event, in very different formats and tones, from two totally different perspectives. One is a lament, recorded in a manuscript, for very private and personal use by the *alfaquí* and perhaps also his diminishing community, which records a keen sense of loss. It is very telling that this document had to remain walled for half a millennium in order to survive, whereas the Christian celebration trumpeted its victory through a printed and very public document that was distributed all over Europe: the ISTC catalogue records 37 surviving copies.[50]

The manuscripts of Cútar and the community that produced and used them are just one of myriad cases which confirm that, like people, paper can also become subject to displacement and loss: adventurous travellers, merchants, diplomats, collectors, explorers, migrants and exiles, all engaged in the production and circulation of paper-based documents. Alongside falsification, theft and exchange, paper also became the victim of violent elimination. In addition, there were other less aggressive practices which consisted of symbolic acts of cultural and political appropriation, in particular when this involved the registration of history and the generation of textual and symbolic spaces that represented the entire community.[51]

Coda: Paper Fetishism

State administration and politics, in both its domestic and international dimensions, are of course recorded in institutional or state archives whose documents are a source of information for historians. At the same time, these archives also constitute cultural icons in their own right, repositories of political and cultural capital that represent the community, the institution or the nation that invests a significant amount of emotional value in their symbolic power. One of the symptoms of the wave of nationalism that spread throughout Europe in the nineteenth century was the systematic creation of archival records, commissions for the research, collection and classification of documents, and also the publication of critical editions of the most significant among them. Some of these documents, were (are) then displayed permanently in museums or in temporary exhibitions, thus entering the public sphere as significant constituents within a larger narrative of common identity. In contrast to this well-established use, new research increasingly tends to demonstrate that these documentary repositories

[50] 'Bosca, Petrus, Oratio de victoria Malachitana, 22 Oct. 1487,' entry in BRITISH LIBRARY, *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue*, https://data.cerl.org/istc/ib01039000.

[51] *The Prize Papers Project*, http://www.prizepapers.de/, which is in the process of digitising and classifying the enormous amount of documents confiscated by the British navy from enemy ships during wartime, will without any shadow of a doubt yield extremely interesting material for historians of this kind of documents and related disciplines.

also record the hybrid foundations of all cultural, national and religious identities – thus yielding a counternarrative that contradicts the claims of traditional nationalism.[52]

New electronic media and the global spread of the Internet have laid the ground for the emergence of a heterogeneous constellation of online communities in the same way as it has also come to reinforce more traditional, even atavistic, narratives of identity, as Debray predicted. But, thanks to digitisation, it has also returned paper-based archives to the foreground, and online libraries have developed the potential to bring pdf copies of rare and old books to readers the world round. The wealth of digitally remediated electronic copies of paper documents and paper artefacts has paradoxically highlighted the ubiquity of paper in European and global history and facilitated new interpretations of its fundamental roles. We may find that digitisation will end up re-fetishising books and paper documents after all.

[52] For an excellent introduction to the most recent secondary literature and the most important issues related to the cultural and social history of the early modern archive, see ALEXANDRA WALSHAM's 'The Social History of the Archive: Record-Keeping in Early Modern Europe,' in *Past and Present*, Supplement 11 (2016): 9–48, and in general the entire special issue of *Past and Present*.

Paper, Commerce, and the Circulation of News: A Case Study from Early Modern Malta

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Introduction

The increasing availability of paper and its use as a medium for written and visual communication, whether in manuscript or printed format, together with the processes through which this transformed commerce and the communication of news in early modern Europe, has been the focus of a number of studies at both the macro and micro levels. The evolving, interdependent and intricate nature of the relationship between paper, manuscript and print was to prove of paramount importance in the evolution, among other things, of modern European commercial and business transactions, structures and networks, as well as in the dissemination and hence availability of news both as a political tool in the hands of the rising state and for the formation of public opinion when it percolated beyond the strictly political confines.[1]

The aim of this paper is to provide a case study of the interplay between paper, commerce and the dissemination of news – the latter in various typologies and through different media. In other words, it concentrates on the transformative power of this relationship within a specific peripheral European, geographical, political and cultural entity; one which aptly fits into Braudel's category of 'isolated worlds.'[2] Early modern Mediterranean islands often remained archaic in practically every aspect, unless and until what Braudel described as 'some accidental change of ruler or of fortune' took place, resulting in a sometimes short-lived, sometimes long-term, if not permanently maintained political, commercial and cultural integration with mainland Europe.

In this context, Malta provides a significant example. The island's 'historical accident' took place in 1530 when it became home of the Hospitaller and Sovereign Military Order of St. John.[3] A cosmopolitan and aristocratic order with members

[1] WILLIAM J. BUXTON, MICHAEL R. CHENEY and PAUL HEYER, eds, *Harold Innis's History of Communications: Paper and Printing – Antiquity to Early Modernity* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), chapter 1, provides a succinct analysis of the wider availability of paper in the context of the broad political, religious, economic and cultural scenarios in which its availability thrived.

[2] FERNAND BRAUDEL, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (London: Fontana–Collins, 1981), I, 149.

[3] The early modern phase of Maltese history is customarily considered to cover the period of the Hospitaller and Military Order of St. John's presence and rule in Malta, that is, between 1530 and 1798. The fact that the order's central administration moved over to Malta, from where it conducted its diplomatic and military activities and where hundreds of its members resided, constituted a marked

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hailing from across Europe, a good number of whom were very well politically and culturally connected, the order's presence was to set in motion a process of integration with Europe on all levels. Geographically cut off from the very southern fringe of Europe by a stretch of sea, the crossing of which depended as much upon the vagaries of the weather as political stability in the Mediterranean and – above all – the strength of the Muslim corsairing presence, the island, given the Hospitaller takeover, was to establish permanent and heavily sustained political and economic links with the harbours of the Italian peninsula, France and Spain, among others, and from there with practically all areas of Catholic Europe.[4] Its economic contacts extended to Islamic North Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean.[5] A cultural and economic backwater, more akin to North Africa than even to nearby Sicily, in most respects, pre-1530 Malta would be integrated within the European fold in the process.[6] The extent to which these processes of 'opening up' the island, as it were, depended upon a dramatic increase in the presence of paper and in its utilisation particularly for business transactions and the communication of news, while not unique to early modern Malta, is certainly worth exploring.

Paper and the Expansion of Print Culture in Hospitaller Malta

As was the case of other fringe regions in early modern Europe, the condition of pre-Hospitaller Malta, with a population of just around 25,000, of whom only the miniscule lay and ecclesiastical elites were literate, imposed considerable limitations upon the presence of paper for private and business needs, whether in manuscript or, even more so, in print format. The lack of local paper production and printing facilities undoubtedly did little to help in this respect either.[7] Even allowing for losses over time and the possible discovery of pre-1530 documentation of a personal and commercial nature, the limited utilisation of paper and written communication of a private, non-institutional nature was in line with that of other small, isolated Mediterranean communities.

difference from the previously scantily populated island's status as a remote outpost of the Aragonese crown between 1283 and 1530.

[4] The literature on this is quite extensive. On the activity of the order's fleet in this respect, see JOSEPH F. GRIMA, *The Fleet of the Knights of Malta* (Malta: BDL Publishers, 2016). On the activity pertaining to the maritime contacts established by the rising class of Maltese merchants, see CARMEL VASSALLO, *Corsairing to Commerce: Maltese Merchants in XVIII Century Spain* (Malta: Malta University Publishers, 1997).

[5] JOAN ABELA, *Hospitaller Malta and the Mediterranean Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2018), especially chapter 4.

[6] IOAN. QUINTINI, *Insulae Melitae Descriptio ex Commentariis Rerum Quotidianarum* (Lyons: Sebastianus Gryphium, 1536). The author described the island as culturally African, going into such details as the inhabitants' appearance, clothing, way of life and housing. This contrasts with the various later travelogues which consistently referred to Malta's European and cosmopolitan nature.

[7] No attempt at the production of paper in Malta is known, except for the instance in 1850 which, however, never took off. See the pamphlet entitled *Prospetto pel lo stabilimento di una fabbrica di carta nell'isola di Malta* (Malta, 1850). In this case, the initiative was taken by relatives of Luigi Tonna, one of the first Maltese to set up a private printing press on the island following the granting of press freedom in January 1839.

On an institutional level, however, what survives of the major pre-1530 Maltese archival fonds intended for permanent retention – namely that of the *universitas*, that is, the Maltese local commune; of the cathedral chapter and bishop's court; and the notarial archive – constitute but a part of their original extent. Outside the island, the state archive of Palermo contains the largest-known collection of paper documentation originating from Malta prior to the Hospitaller phase. Limited as they must have been, private trade contacts between the island and its Mediterranean neighbours, particularly Sicily, would have also necessitated the creation of additional paperwork, of which little trace now survives at least in public archival repositories. An analysis of fourteenth-century paper fragments and the more substantial material from the following century from Maltese archives is certainly a desideratum in this respect as it may reveal as yet unsuspected trade contacts between the island, the rest of the Mediterranean and possibly beyond.[8]

By the mid-sixteenth century, a series of developments were to result in a rather dramatic increase in the degree of manuscript and print requirements on the island and, hence, requirements for paper. The more permanent presence of the Hospitaller Order led to an influx of human and material resources into what had by then become the definite choice for its residence. The expansion of the state's administrative machinery, but also more refined interests, both on the part of the individual Hospitallers as well as the local elites, resulted in a steep increase in the presence of paper both for administrative as well as cultural purposes. After 1575, the Tridentine enactments regarding parochial record-keeping were put into practice on a regular basis by the ever-increasing number of parishes on the island. Coinciding with this was the establishment of the Roman Inquisition as a separate entity from the diocesan one. In the local case, this assumed the form of both an inquisition and apostolic delegation. Besides the substantial number of criminal and civil cases, running into many thousands by 1797, the new institution maintained a regular flow of correspondence with the Congregation of the Holy Office as well as with the papal Secretariat of State.[9]

The necessity for an increased and regular supply of paper of different qualities resulted in the state's regulation of paper imports, establishing this commerce on a more permanent footing. By the early seventeenth century at the latest, monopolies for the importation of an ever-increasing amount of paper were being awarded to

[8] BURNS, 'The Paper Revolution,' 8 refers to a document from 1267 describing a cargo which included 'paper of Murcia' sailing from Barcelona to Sicily and other areas. This paper may have reached Malta directly from Iberian harbours or via Sicily, but this can only be confirmed through a physical study of pre-1530 Maltese archival paper. During the late thirteenth to the early fifteenth centuries what was described as '*cartis de papiro*' were imported from Sicily for the use of the secular and ecclesiastical set-ups in Malta. See STANLEY FIORINI, ed., *Documentary Sources of Maltese History: Part II: Documents in the State Archives, Palermo, No. 1, Cancelleria Regia: 1259–1400* (Malta: Malta University Press, 1999), documents 171, 172 and 249; *No. 2, Cancelleria Regia: 1400–1459* (Malta: Malta University Press, 2004), documents 58, 176 and 313.

[9] The archive of the Roman Inquisition and Apostolic Delegation in Malta (1561–1798) is among the most complete to have survived. It is further enriched by much of the original correspondence sent from Malta to the papal Secretariat of State and the Congregation of the Holy Office. The Secretariat of State correspondence also includes the *foglietti di notize* discussed below.

private individuals, generally for a three-year period. Prior to the setting up of printing facilities on the island this was to remain the standard procedure through which the island's paper requirements were met.[10]

The general European tendency towards the creation of more streamlined bureaucratic structures where both state and Church were concerned[11] in the Maltese context resulted in the first traced attempts to set up printing facilities on the island during the 1630s.[12] The Hospitaller state's need to maintain regular contacts with its mainland European lifeblood, where it held its wealth and from where its members were recruited, was a crucial added motivation. From the very start, the state resorted to the use of the press to project itself to the European audience, mainly through the printing of adulatory accounts of its achievements against the Muslim foe.[13] Local printing was also, however, motivated by a rising demand from the local business and literate classes. Initially intended to be set up in the form of a state monopoly, issues pertaining to censorship with Rome induced the order to allow the establishment of a printing press in the form of a private, albeit still monopolistic initiative in 1642. Persisting differences over the control of its output, however, were to result in its closure just fifteen years circa following its opening. Its limited traced printed output has been studied from a bibliographic but also from a physical point of view, including the paper's provenance. The latter revealed that the paper for the earliest Maltese press was produced in Messina and Amalfi, with other sources remaining unidentified.[14]

Well into the eighteenth century, the island remained practically the only sovereign European state lacking printing facilities, with all the ensuing limitations that this entailed from the administrative, commercial and cultural perspectives, even if the connections established by then somehow facilitated the use of foreign printing presses for specific local needs and the importation of material of a more generic nature.[15] The dependence on foreign paper supplies thus extended to any form of printed product,

[10] Mdina Cathedral Archives (MCA henceforth), Archive of the Inquisition Malta, Memorie section, vols. 2 and 15, containing the various monopolistic contracts for the importation of paper, starting from the seventeenth century down to the mid-eighteenth, with some gaps.

[11] On the evolution of state bureaucracies across cultures, see PAUL M. DOVER, ed., *Secretaries and Statecraft in the Early Modern World* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016); for a discussion of the differentiation of spaces and practices of European archives, see RANDOLPH C. HEAD, 'Configuring European Archives: Spaces, Materials and Practices in the Differentiation of Repositories from the Late Middle Ages to 1700,' *European History Quarterly* 46, no. 3 (2016): 498–518.

[12] William Zammit, *Printing in Malta, 1642–1839: Its Cultural Role from Inception to the Granting of Freedom of the Press* (Malta: Gutenberg Publishers, 2008), chapter 1.

[13] Thus, to give one example, in 1644, copies of the locally printed account of the order's naval victory of September 28 of that year were sent to Rome to be reprinted there and further disseminated, so that, in Grand Master Lascaris's own words 'Essendo stampata la relatione del combattimento […] ve ne mandiamo alcune copie, affinchè possiate pubblicarle in cotesta Corte, e venghi risaputo per mezzo loro il successo in detto combattimento, e quanto sangue consti alla nostra Religione una tal impresa'; ZAMMIT, *Printing in Malta*, 302, n. 53.

[14] MARIUS CINI, 'Technical Analysis and Documentation of Seventeenth-Century Works Printed in Malta,' (unpublished dissertation: Institute for Conservation & Restoration Studies, Malta Centre for Restoration, 2003), 25–49.

[15] A parallel may be drawn here with the examples discussed by PABLO SÁNCHEZ LEÓN in *Print Culture and Peripheries in Early Modern Europe*, ed. BENITO RIAL COSTAS (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 1–30.

comprising even basic administrative and business literature. It was only in 1756, following an agreement reached with the Holy See regarding censorship procedures, that printing was re-established, this time under a firm and permanent state monopoly.[16] While tightly controlled through a triple censorship mechanism resulting in a press which reinforced the political, religious and social status quo, the presence of local printing after 1756 undoubtedly resulted in the availability of a far greater amount of print in circulation than ever before. As in 1642, while the primary motivation for setting up printing facilities resulted from the state's administrative and propaganda requirements, the press was also heavily used by private individuals to satisfy a variety of needs, including those of the ever-expanding business community.

The surviving records of the eighteenth-century Maltese press constitute some of the most complete for an early modern state-owned facility. They allow not only for a detailed bibliographic study of its printed output and general functioning, but – even more significantly in the context of the present study – of the variety, sources, amount and use of paper imported for the press.[17] Paper of different, specified types was imported mainly from Ancona, Comiso, France, Genoa, Naples and Venice, with their respective costs being given.[18] Besides its utilisation for the satisfaction of printing commissions, the press was to assume the role of becoming practically the exclusive supplier and distributer of paper on the island, substituting the old system of private importation on a contractual basis.[19] Very significantly, the presence of local printing facilities from 1756 onwards not only enabled the consolidation of the local print culture and an increased dependence on it, but also allowed the press to become the main supplier of paper as the raw material for the satisfaction of all script-related communication both within and beyond the island.

The Rise of a Paper-Dependent Maltese Business Class

The greater integration of the Maltese economy with that of other Mediterranean regions started early on but picked up especially following the victory of 1565 over the Ottoman force that besieged Malta.[20] The traditional commercial ties with Sicily, mainly concerning the annual importation of foodstuffs and other basic necessities – imports of food and basic necessities – experienced a dramatic expansion, both in terms of sheer volume and the variety of commercial transactions. This of course

[16] ZAMMIT, *Printing*, 45–88.

[17] National Library of Malta (NLM henceforth), Archive of the Order of Malta (AOM henceforth) volumes 2038 to 2071 consist of the surviving registers of the state press, including the annual registers listing every single printing commission and all of the press income and expenditure. These have been summarised in STANLEY FIORINI and WILLIAM ZAMMIT, *Catalogue of the Records of the Order of St John of Jerusalem in the National Library of Malta: Volume XIII, 2038–2071* (Malta: University of Malta, 1990).

[18] FIORINI and ZAMMIT, *Catalogue*, viii.

[19] AOM volumes 2038 to 2063, consisting of the annual press registers covering the period 1756 to 1781 and 1791 to 1793. The registers for 1782 to 1790 and 1794 to 1798 are missing. Substantial sales of paper of various types to other government departments and private entities were recorded under 'Introiti Diversi' (Miscellaneous Receipts). The wealth of detail provided by these registers regarding paper quality and the amounts that were imported to be used either by the press itself or sold to third parties calls for in-depth study.

[20] ABELA, *Hospitaller Malta*, 4.

necessitated and was reflected in a parallel increase in paper-based finance. Maltese and foreign traders in a variety of staple but also increasingly luxury goods operated from Malta, particularly from the expanding harbourside towns, and maintained regular communication with their suppliers in Italy, France and Spain, among other countries.

Together with the Hospitaller Order's massive revenues which poured into the island, it was cotton exports that sustained the island's ever-increasing population and balance of payments. A Maltese Chamber of Commerce had been established by the first decades of the eighteenth century, in part to regulate the export of this cash crop.[21] Meanwhile, quite substantial Maltese migrant commercial communities had been established throughout much of the Western Mediterranean. Thus, to give one example, a total of 396 Maltese merchants were operating from various parts of Spain during the sample years 1764 to 1766, with the vast majority being in Cadiz (191) and Valencia (99).[22] Similar Maltese commercial communities thrived in Pachino,[23] Marseilles[24] and Ragusa (modern-day Dubrovnik).[25] The Maltese commercial presence abroad was also reflected in the expansion of the island's consular representation.[26] A major alternative to commerce was corsairing. Prosperous Maltese families invested in corsairing activities on a considerable scale, some of them, like the Preziosi family, making a fortune in the process.[27]

Both regular trade and legalised piracy in the form of corsairing similarly required the creation and maintenance of a vast array of documentation, examples of which have survived in substantial numbers. Pride of place in this respect goes to the notarial archive. Situated in Valletta and containing hundreds of thousands of notarial deeds covering the late fifteenth to the end of the eighteenth centuries and beyond, the archive is only now being catalogued so that its contents may be comprehensively researched. Nevertheless, even in its current state, a study of trade activity on the island during the second half of the eighteenth century has revealed its richness in this respect.[28] The archive's impressive holdings of documents in the form of commercial contracts, loans, insurance deeds, inventories of cargo and of corsairing booty, and the

[21] MCA, Miscellanea 153, ff. 102–3.
[22] VASSALLO, *Corsairing*, 56.
[23] ROSA SAVARINO, *Terra Compita: Pachino, una colonia maltese nella Sicilia del Settecento* (Palermo: edizioni Verbavolant, 2014); ARNOLD CASSOLA, *Malta-Sicily: People, Patriots, Commerce (1770–1860)* (Syracuse: Morrone editore, 2016).
[24] In 1792 the Maltese community in Marseilles returned to Malta due to the upheavals of the French Revolution. Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, Segreteria di Stato, Malta, vol. 148, f. 221, Inquisitor Scotti-SS, dated August 2, 1792: 'Coll'ultimo bastimento di Francia sono qui ritornate alcune famiglie maltesi stabilite in Marsiglia fin da molti anni.'
[25] MASSIMO PEZZI, 'La "congiura" maltese del 1749 nei documenti diplomatici ragusei,' *Studi Melitensi* 25 (2017): 53–76.
[26] CARMEL VASSALLO, 'The Consular Network of XVIII Century Malta,' in *Proceedings of History Week 1994* (Malta: Malta Historical Society, 1996), 51–62.
[27] The literature on Maltese corsairing activities is vast; however, the economic aspect still requires attention. A classic in this respect remains PETER EARLE, *Corsairs of Malta and Barbary* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1970), 97–191.
[28] JOHN DEBONO, *Trade and Port Activity in Malta, 1750–1800* (Malta: The Author, 2000). Debono's work relies very heavily on material held at the Malta Notarial Archive.

whole variety of commercial paperwork in the form of bills of exchange, bills of lading and customs literature, attest to the increasing dependence on different and evolving typologies of trade documentation. A related, vast and even less explored archival fond is that pertaining to the records of the various Maltese courts of law operating during the period. Particularly relevant are those of the *Consolato del Mare*. Set up in 1697, the records of this maritime tribunal attest to the regular utilisation of what were by then fast becoming standardised forms and ephemera, whether still in manuscript format, or, increasingly, in print. Among others, manifests and safe conducts pertaining to shipping leaving the Maltese harbour abound.[29] By way of contrast, not much seems to have survived of the original *Monte di Pietà* archive. While primarily intended to provide modest loans, secured by pawned goods, the *Monte* could also be utilised for raising a moderately higher capital to be used in commercial transactions beyond the island's shores and this again created the need for standardised printed forms, examples of which have also be found in collections outside Malta.[30]

All the above constitute public archival repositories which, by their very nature, are usually lacking when it comes to trade-related correspondence of a private nature. A number of the early modern trading families of Malta have survived and are known to possess substantial family archives. These, however, are only exceptionally open for research and their contents remain mostly unknown. One exception is the large archive pertaining to the Bonavita family which has been passed over to the University of Malta. The Bonavita archive spans the seventeenth to the nineteenth century and contains printed and manuscript trade-related paperwork concerning the family's business interests.[31] More family business archives are nevertheless gradually being opened for study. A classic in this context is the amazing fond recording the business translations of Simón Ruiz. Ruiz (1525–97) settled in Medina del Campo in the heart of Castile, from where he conducted and expanded his commercial empire throughout much of Europe. The collection of letters received from his agents in Malta alone, covering the period 1575 to 1591, total over eighty, constituting the largest known collection for this period in Malta.[32]

[29] VASSALLO, *Corsairing to Commerce*, 13; SEBASTIAN VELLA, 'The Bureaucracy of the *Consolato del Mare* in Malta (1697–1724),' in *Consolati di Mare and Chambers of Commerce: Proceedings of a Conference Held at the Foundation for International Studies (Valletta, 1998)*, ed. CARMEL VASSALLO (Malta: Malta University Press, 2000), 69–80.

[30] DAVID ROSSI, 'The Monte di Pietà in Hospitaller Malta' (unpublished BA (Hons) dissertation, Faculty of Arts, University of Malta, 1998).

[31] ROGER VELLA BONAVITA, 'The Bonavita Papers: One Method of Preservation,' in *Maltese History: What Future? Proceedings of a Conference held at the Royal University of Malta on 19 and 20 March 1971*, eds ANN WILLIAMS and ROGER VELLA BONAVITA (Malta: Malta University Press, 1974), 156–60.

[32] I consulted this collection, held at the Simón Ruiz Archive in Medina del Campo, on a short-term scientific mission within the COST Action 'People in Motion' project, and I am currently working on the material. A word of appreciation is here due to Prof. José María Pérez Fernández who alerted me to the Maltese material in this archive and to Antonio Sánchez del Barrio, Director of the Archive and his staff, particularly Fernando Ramos Gonzáles, for their most generous assistance.

Some Major Typologies of Maltese 'Print in Motion'

Limited use of such staple business-related literature as bills of exchange, lading and health goes back to at least the second half of the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, they experienced an elaboration in format and a very considerable increase in demand during the following two centuries.

Bills of exchange constituted one of the commonest financial instruments when it came to carrying out transactions with traders outside Malta as well as for the repayment of foreign-based loans. This is clearly evidenced by the Maltese material in the Ruiz collection which contains a good number of early bills of exchange originating from Malta. Similar early examples have been tracked down in the Maltese notarial archive, with one going back to 1540.[33] Their use in manuscript form remained generally prevalent until the advent of printing facilities on the island, when they started to be printed regularly and in sustained amounts:

Date of printing	Description	Client	Print run
October 5, 1756	Polize di cambio mercantili	Gioacchino Arena	nda[34]
October 23, 1756	Polize di cambio	Gioacchino Arena	nda
October 23, 1756	Polize di cambio	Gioacchino Arena	nda
January 15, 1757	Polize di cambio	Giuseppe Fenech	nda
January 17, 1757	Polize di cambio, parte de'quali in francese e parte in italiano	Giuseppe Fenech	nda
June 8, 1757	Polize cambiali	Gioacchino Arena	nda
June 21, 1757	Polize di cambio	Gioacchino Arena	nda
November 19 1757	Polize di cambio	Gioacchino Arena	nda
February 7, 1758	Polize cambiali a'giorno	The Printing Press	500
July 13, 1758	Polize cambiali ad'uso	The Printing Press	500
October 4, 1758	Polize cambiali seconde	Gioacchino Arena	nda
January 31, 1759	Ricevute o'siano polize di cambio	Giuseppe Crenna	nda
August 9, 1760	Polize cambiali	Gaspare Maurin	nda
December 1760	Polize cambiali	Giuseppe Crenna	nda
1768	Cambiali	Gioacchino Sauron	nda
May 3, 1769	Cambiali	Gioacchino Arena and Antonio Poussielgues	515
May 10, 1769	Cambiali	Federico Vella (Press employee)	nda
July 26, 1769	Cambiali	Federico Vella (Press employee)	nda
December 29, 1773	Cambiali	Federico Vella (Press employee)	nda

[33] JOAN ABELA, 'Some Early Forms of Financial Instruments found in Mid-Sixteenth Century Malta,' in *Storja: 30th Anniversary Edition, 1978/2008*, ed. HENRY FRENDO (Malta: Malta University Historical Society, 2008), 38.

[34] No data available. That said, the recorded consumption of paper for their printing indicates a substantial print run.

1774	Polize di cambio	Vincenzo Micallef	nda
1774	Polize di cambio	Antonio Poussielgues	nda
1774	Cambiali	Federico Vella (Press employee)	134
1774	Polize di cambio	Federico Vella (Press employee)	140
1775	Cambiali	The Printing Press	nda
1775	Polize di cambio	The Printing Press	nda
1775	Cambiali	The Printing Press	nda
1779	Cambiali	Antonio Poussielgues	nda
June 1, 1791	Cambiali	nda	nda
March 26, 1792	Cambiali	nda	nda

Figure 1. The printing of bills of exchange in Malta: 1756–1798.[35]

The survival of the detailed original printing press records thus confirms the sustained use of printed bills of exchange, actual copies of which are often found in collections outside the island. The different wording used in their description may indicate variants, examples of which still need to be traced. The major traders on the island, foremost among whom was d'Arena, commissioned such bills regularly. As practised elsewhere, the printing press itself printed material in regular demand which it then sold at a profit. The absence of commissions between 1782 and 1790 and again between 1794 and 1798 is due to the fact that the annual press registers for those years have not survived. The bills of lading used by Maltese shipping followed a similar trend, though imported printed specimens were often resorted to prior to 1756:

Date of printing	**Description**	**Client**	**Print run**
1758	Polize di carico	The Printing Press	nda
October 25, 1760	Polize di carico	The Comptroller of Customs Giorgio Grognet	nda
1760	Polize di carico	The Printing Press	nda
February 11, 1761	Polize di carico	The Printing Press	nda
February 17, 1762	Polize di carico	The merchant Basilio Cognidi	nda
1767	Polize di carico	Federico Vella (Press employee)	nda
October 3, 1772	Polize di carico	Antonio Poussielgues	nda
1776	Polize di carico	nda	nda
May 11, 1778	Biglietti di carico	Leonardo Cognidi	nda

Figure 2. The printing of bills of lading in Malta: 1756–1798.[36]

[35] FIORINI and ZAMMIT, *Catalogue*, data collated from the original annual press registers.
[36] FIORINI and ZAMMIT, *Catalogue*, data collated from the original annual press registers.

Printed Maltese bills of health preceded the availability of printing in Malta by well over a century. Moreover, given their very nature, they constituted by far the most widely available category of 'print in motion' between the Hospitaller state, the Mediterranean region and at times well beyond. By way of contrast with travel patents, bills of health were issued to all those travelling outside the island, confirming they had left the island without any traces of contagious disease. Hence, they were printed in vast quantities.[37] Given the rapid increase in travel and thus the considerable quantities required, Maltese bills of health started being commissioned from foreign printing presses well before 1756, with the earliest printed specimen traced as yet being dated 1713. From 1756 onwards, vast quantities of the documents were printed locally, constituting a major and regular commitment for the modest local press:

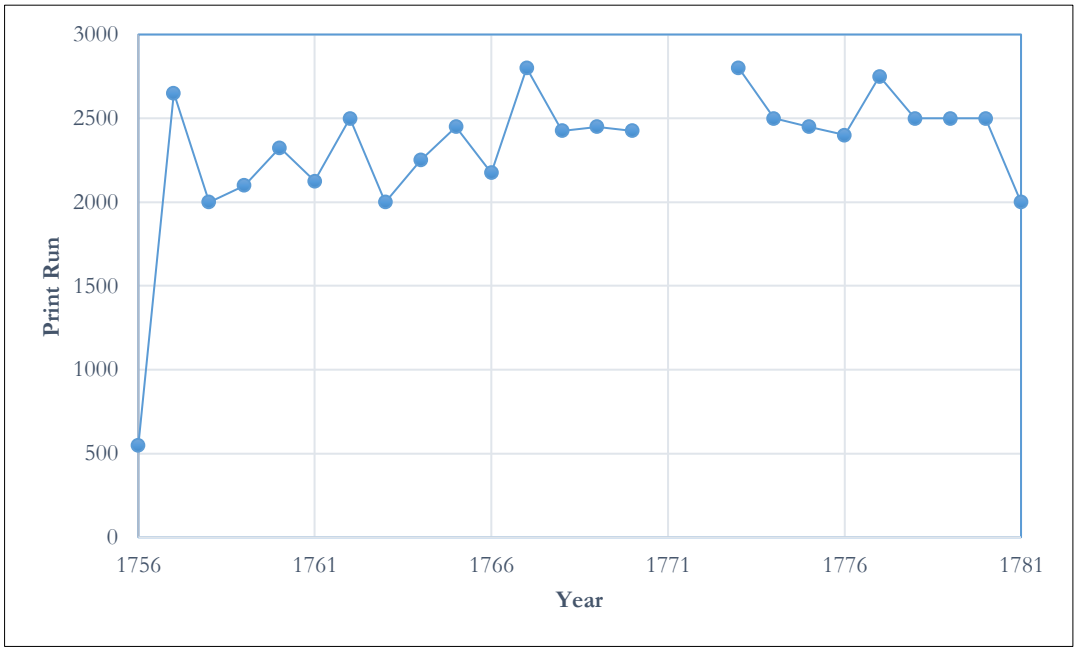


Figure 3. The printing of bills of health in Malta: 1756–1781.[38]

As in the case for the previously presented data, the unrepresented years 1782 to 1790 and 1794 to 1798 are due to the lack of the original press registers, while the lack of bills of health printed in the years 1791 to 1793 remains rather inexplicable.

[37] For a discussion of another form of travel document in the Maltese context, namely the travel patent, see IAN F. HATHAWAY, 'Informing, Controlling, Protecting: Sixteenth-Century Mediterranean Travel Patents as Vehicles of Diplomatic and Administrative Communication' (Paper presented during the COST PIMo Granada Conference held on January 28-29, 2021).
[38] FIORINI and ZAMMIT, *Catalogues*, collated from the original annual press registers.

Printed currency convertors constituted a vital novelty when it came to finance-related printed literature on the island. The expansion of Maltese imports and exports had resulted in a considerable variety of foreign currencies of fluctuating value circulating on the island. These usually comprised Sicilian, Neapolitan, Roman, Venetian, Spanish, Portuguese and French denominations for which the currency convertors provided the equivalent in Maltese currency. The demand for such convertors was such that they started to be printed locally, quite regularly in considerable print runs, until the gradual elimination of foreign currencies from local circulation during the early nineteenth century.[39] In this case too, raw material and technology would enable the vast number of financial transactions characterising Malta's eighteenth-century multinational economy.

The Evolution of Text and Iconography

While generally speaking the written content of bills of exchange, lading and health underwent little change once rendered into a printed form, the same can hardly be said for the decorative elements that characterised this paper in transit.[40] The essentially private nature of bills of exchange may explain their plain, unadorned format, with no visual religious or state reference, at least until the end of the order's rule. It was during the first decades of the nineteenth century that vignettes depicting sea-related scenes and particularly a shield and trident-holding image of Britannia made its way onto these purely private and utilitarian prints. As for the written format, it remained practically identical, apparently being copied from its predecessor.

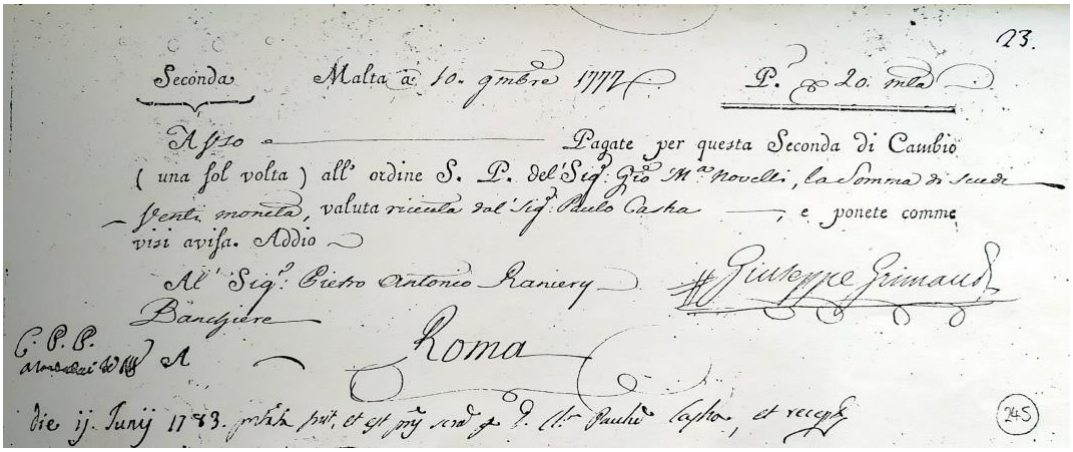
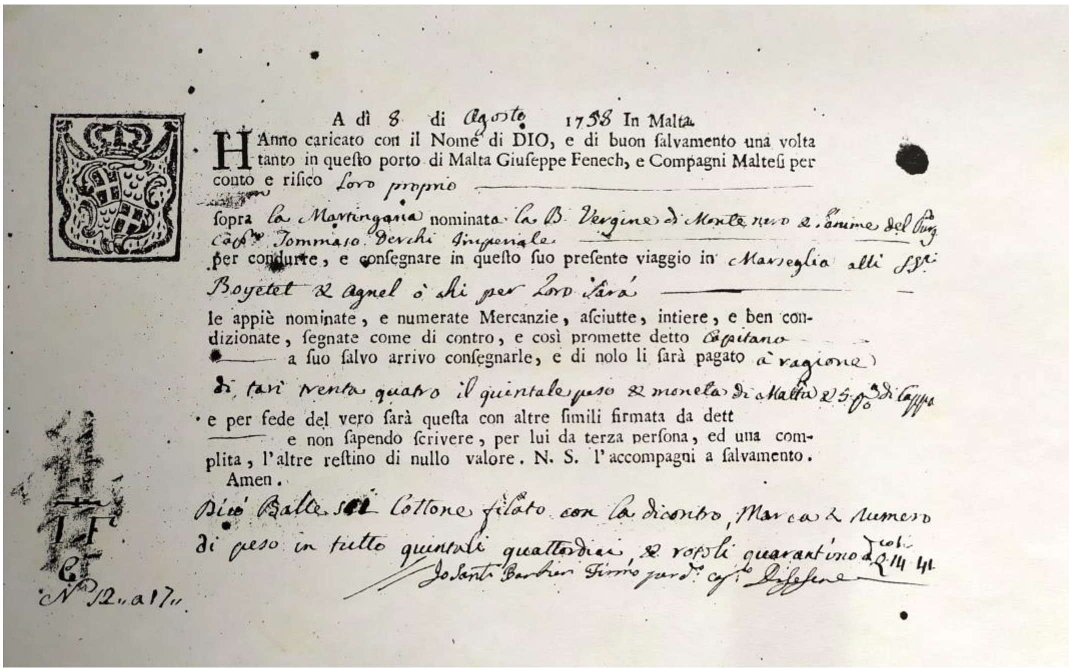


Figure 4. A 'Malta' bill of exchange dated 1777. Private collection, Malta.

[39] Such currency convertors are known to have been printed locally in 1756, 1758, 1765, 1775, 1780, 1790 and 1811.

[40] GIOVANNI BONELLO, 'Maltese 19th Century Commercial Instruments and their Adornment,' in *Histories of Malta: Passions and Compassions*, vol. X (Malta: Fondazzjoni Patrimonju Malti, 2009), 116–39.

Bills of lading constituted a more value-laden document, in terms of both the written and the iconographical content.[41] The printed text invariably commenced and ended with an invocation to God for the safe arrival of the vessel and its contents at the port of destination. All such bills examined, dated between 1746 and 1816, carried this invocation in a practically identical format.[42] The main body of the text then proceeded, as in the case of bills of exchange, in a standard legal jargon aiming to cover all eventualities which could lead to the loss or damage of the registered merchandise. This also underwent little by way of refinement during the same period. Generic bills of lading from 1746 and 1813 carrying cargo destined for Malta, but without specifying the port of origin in print, bore naïve woodblock vignettes depicting the Virgin Mary (1746) and the saints Marcian and Lucy, both patron saints of Syracuse (1813). Interestingly, a rare surviving example printed in Malta (1758) and also specifying the Maltese harbour as that of departure did not feature any religious symbolism, while it did bear the coat of arms of the reigning Grand Master Pinto de Fonseça. Another example from the Maltese press used in 1763 does not feature any printed imagery at all. Subsequent traced Malta-related bills of lading utilised between 1812 and the 1860s only bore generic engravings of shipping, mythological scenes related to the sea and occasionally views of the Maltese harbour, with no religious or overtly political iconography whatsoever.[43]



A dì 8 di Agosto 1758 In Malta

HAnno caricato con il Nome di DIO, e di buon ſalvamento una volta tanto in queſto porto di Malta Giuſeppe Fenech, e Compagni Malteſi per conto e riſico Loro proprio

ſopra la Martingana nominata la B. Vergine di Monte nero e anime del Purg. Cap.ⁿ Tommaso Derchi Imperiale

per condurre, e conſegnare in queſto ſuo preſente viaggio in Marseglia alli Sig.ri Boyetet e agnel o chi per Loro sarà

le appiè nominate, e numerate Mercanzie, aſciutte, intiere, e ben condizionate, ſegnate come di contro, e così promette detto Capitano a ſuo ſalvo arrivo conſegnarle, e di nolo li ſarà pagato a ragione di tarì venti quatro il quintale peso e moneta di Malta e 5 p.% di Cappa

e per fede del vero ſarà queſta con altre ſimili firmata da dett e non ſapendo ſcrivere, per lui da terza perſona, ed una complita, l'altre reſtino di nullo valore. N. S. l'accompagni a ſalvamento. Amen.

Dico Balle sei Cottone filato con la dicontro, Marca e numero di peso in tutto quintali quattordici, e rotoli quarantuno

Figure 5. A 'Malta' bill of lading dated 1758. National Archives, Malta.

[41] CHARLES GOLDIE, 'The Bill of Lading Then and Now,' in *Consolati di Mare*, 3–13.

[42] Thus, the example from 1746 starts with: 'Ha Caricato con il nome di DIO, e di buon salvamento' and ends with: 'Nostro Signore l'accompagni in salvamento.' Practically identical phrases are to be found printed on examples dated 1758, 1813 and 1816.

[43] BONELLO, 'Maltese 19th Century,' 122–37.

The physical size and format of the bills of health provided a much larger space for the inclusion of decorative and symbolic visual elements. From the earliest one traced, down to the end of the Hospitaller rule, bills of health consisted of a large copperplate engraving, varying in size but roughly equivalent to the modern A2 size. Notwithstanding the fact that thousands were printed in Malta during the second half of the eighteenth century (Figures 7 and 8), they are seriously, though understandably, rare to come by, with only a handful of examples traced as yet. Like the other two major types of printed commercial literature discussed above, they consisted of a form, in this case bearing the seal of the Castellan, namely the highest health authority on the island. The individual's name and age, together with the name of the vessel on which the person was embarking and date of issue, were added to the form. Some of the specimens examined list more than one individual. The printed text certified that the travellers were not known to be suffering from any communicable disease at the point of departure.

Three main distinct copperplate bill of health patterns have hitherto been identified from the Hospitaller period. While the text remained practically unaltered throughout, the imagery was subject to some changes. The earliest, rather crude specimen traced so far was issued on September 16, 1713 and bears Grand Master Perellos' (1697–1720) coat of arms in the top centre, flanked by a panoply of military trophies and with an image of St. John the Baptist and St. Paul on the left and right sides respectively, both saints also being invoked to keep the island free from plague or any other epidemic (see Figure 6). The inclusion of those two saints bears particular significance, the former being the patron saint of the Hospitaller Order, while the latter was that of the island-principality over which the same order ruled. This symbolic identification of the order with Malta constituted nothing less than a widely disseminated visual political statement: the expansion of the order's sovereign political claims over the island – essentially being granted as a fiefdom and ultimately remaining under Sicilian suzerainty – were increasingly being questioned and at times resisted both by foreign powers, particularly Naples, but also by the Maltese themselves. It is indeed likely that this depiction emphasising the Hospitaller Order's untrammelled claim over Malta constituted the most widely distributed one outside the island, remaining a staple, prominent feature on bills of health until the end of the order's rule. The figures of Justice and Bounty flanking the coat of arms similarly constituted permanent visual statements of the grand masters' power and benevolence.

Figure 6. The Perellos bill of health dated 1713. National Museum of Art, Malta (MUŻA) collection.

The Perellos template formed the basis for the second known bill, dating from Grand Master Pinto's magistracy (1741–73, see Figure 7). A traced example was issued on February 28, 1766. A more artistically refined engraving, the Pinto bill of health also featured a map of the Maltese harbours with its fortifications. A copperplate from Pinto's successor, Ximenez de Texada (1773–75), confirms the retention of the Pinto plate, with only the two quarters of Pinto's coat of arms being re-modelled into those of Ximenez.[44] This is also confirmed by the identical plate size.

The third variant copperplate was the one produced during Grand Master de Rohan's magistracy (1775–97). The only known engraving to bear the names of its designer and engraver, the de Rohan bill of health is by far the most competently executed of them all.[45] For some reason, the use of this plate was short-lived, being succeeded by a considerably poorer copy which remained in use into the late 1790s.[46]

[44] NLM, Libr. MS 1083, f. 15.
[45] NLM, Libr. MS 704A, f. 444, dated April 5, 1781.
[46] NLM, Libr. MS 703, f. 49, dated 1796.

Figure 7. The Pinto bill of health dated 1766. National Museum of Art, Malta (MUŻA) collection.

Malta and the Circulation of News in the Mediterranean and Beyond

In the Maltese context the evolution of the three main typologies of early modern communication, namely oral, visual and written, was a direct result of the very considerable expansion of interactions with the outside world. While, of course, the initial impact was felt in the rapidly expanding harbour conurbation, imported news, ideas and fashions did reach, at least to some extent, the island's rural areas. The archival record provides extensive confirmation of this: new and often unorthodox ideas even reached villagers in the remoter areas, while the visual communication of might in the form of secular and religious spectacle was similarly emulated, particularly but not exclusively, through the elaboration of village parish cults during the eighteenth century. The low levels of literacy pervading early modern Mediterranean societies resulted in oral and visual communicative means assuming paramount importance; indeed, even paper-based interaction was often image- rather than script-dependent. It is thus within this overall wider communicative context that the expansion in the amount as well as the variety of paper communication both within and beyond the island's shores needs to be discussed.

Figure 8. The de Rohan bill of health dated 1781. National Library of Malta collection.

Given the presence of the multinational Hospitallers on the island, together with an increasing number of other foreigners and consulates on the island, Malta became a centre for the receipt and dissemination of factual news about the great and the mighty, but also of rumour and hearsay originating from well beyond the island's shores. The exchange of written correspondence with the continent was – as well as the case of verbal conversation with foreign visitors – a major means for the acquisition of current

information and opinion. This was at times disseminated in such a way as to reach a very substantial part of the local illiterate population.[47] The divulgation of information obtained was at times motivated by the satisfaction of particular interests. In 1755, for instance, Inquisitor Salviati circulated the information he had received regarding the deathbed conversion of Montesquieu using all means at his disposal.[48] Letters reached the island either through ships stopping at its harbour or through the order's own postal system which employed ships specifically for the transport of letters. Members of the order eagerly awaited correspondence from their native country and the arrival of letters was generally greeted with enthusiasm. The arrival and despatch of correspondence was always subject to the vagaries of the weather[49] and to the depredations caused by corsairing activity.[50] Notwithstanding temporary delays, however, the flow of correspondence reaching the island was, given the order's presence, very considerable, both in amount and in the diversity of origin and hence of the information, opinions and ideas contained.[51]

In their role of apostolic delegates, inquisitors in Malta were regularly reminded by the papal Secretariat of State of their duty to gather any news concerning events taking place in Malta as well as along the Mediterranean littoral and much further afield too, and to pass it over to the central authority in Rome. This was particularly emphasised in times of crises, such as during an Ottoman onslaught.[52] In the vast majority of cases such news was not included in the formal correspondence itself, but in the extremely valuable news-sheets or confidential *foglietti di notizie* compiled by the

[47] For example, AAV, SS Malta 51, f. 242, Inquisitor Messerano-SS, dated September 18, 1700: '[…] la sudetta feluca portò lettere d'Italia assai fresche, dalle quali con giubileo di tutta l'Isola si è inteso che Nostro Signore si ristabilisca nella salute.'

[48] AAV, SS Malta 122, f. 178r-v, Inquisitor Salviati-SS, dated June 9, 1755: 'I chiari contrassegni di ravvedimento, e di ritrattrazione dell'erronee sue massime dati prima del passaggio all'altra vita del celebre Presidente di Montesquieu fanno veramente conoscere quanto sia grande, ed in tutte le opere sue amirabile la misericordia del Signore. Io ne ho letto con infinito piacere la relazione del Padre Bernardo Rothè, che Vostra Eminenza si è degnata benignamente trasmettermi, e non ho lasciato di comunicarla a diversi principali Signori, con spargerne anche varie copie, affinchè maggiore sia lodata la Divina Bontà nella divolgazione di un avvenimento così maraviglioso.'

[49] For example, AAV, SS Malta 58, f. 31, Inquisitor Spinola-SS, dated February 6, 1706: 'Cresce sempre più l'impatienza di questi nazionali francesi, che da gran tempo sono senza lettere de' loro paesi'; f. 59v, dated March 13, 1706: 'Siamo tutta via senza nuove per la parte di Francia, attesa la scarsezza de' bastimenti capitate da quelle parti'; f. 275, Inquisitor Caracciolo-SS, dated October 30, 1706: 'Continua in quest'Isola la mancanza delle lettere dalla Sicilia'; 125, f. 163, Inquisitor Salviati-SS, dated January 2, 1759: 'La stagione contraria ha impedito finora il ritorno da Siracusa della Barca speditavi da questo Balì Combraux, Agente del Re di Francia per prendere i dispacci'; 146, f. 7, Inquisitor Scotti-SS, dated January 9, 1789: 'La contrarietà de' tempi impedisce l'arrivo di bastimenti, e massime Francesi, onde ricever interessanti notizie sugli oggetti vertenti per questa Religione in quel Regno.'

[50] For example, AAV, SS Malta 53, f.222, Inquisitor Messerano-SS, dated August 6, 1702.

[51] For example, AAV, SS Malta 65, f. 339, Pro-Inquisitor Napulone-SS, dated March 5, 1718: 'Oggi a punto arrivò la Barca speronara delle lettere da Reggio, e porta quattro dispacci con molte novità del mondo'; 80, f. 18, Inquisitor-SS, dated January 24, 1739: 'Coll'arrivo qua fatto da vari bastimenti provenenti dalle Parti di Ponente, sono capitate fresche lettere ad alcuni di questi Signori Cavalieri Spagnoli'; f. 39v, dated February 21, 1739: '[…] con lettere pervenute da Marsiglia a diversi di questi Cavalieri francesi.'

[52] JOHANN PETITJEAN, 'The Papal Network: How the Roman Curia Was Informed about South-Eastern Europe, the Ottoman Empire and the Mediterranean (1645–1669),' in *News Networks in Early Modern Europe*, eds JOAD RAYMOND and NOAH MOXHAM (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016), 178–92.

inquisitors themselves thanks to the information network that the Holy Office maintained in Malta.[53] The news-sheets were attached to the formal inquisitorial dispatches and contained a motley of news, from Malta or indeed from any part of the globe, of which the apostolic delegate deemed Rome should be aware.[54]

Confidential in nature and based on the variety of sources that were accessible to such a powerful institution as the tribunal of the Roman Inquisition in Malta, the *foglietti di notizie* fulfilled the role of any printed news-sheet literature – which in any case did not exist in Malta – to perfection. Malta's position was admirably suited for this purpose in more ways than one. The island's geographical but also its political and, increasingly so, its commercial situation provided the Hospitaller state with all the ideal credentials to act as a *lieu de passage*, a place of discursive interaction, and thus potentially a main supplier of news to the papacy. Inquisitors in Malta, residing practically on the shore of Malta's Grand Harbour, were kept regularly supplied with the news constantly flowing into Malta from the ever-increasing amount of naval and commercial shipping originating from all corners of the Mediterranean and beyond. Thus, running parallel to the ever-flourishing commerce in goods was the equally as vital trade in events, rumours and suspicions, resulting in what Pettegree refers to as 'the exponential growth of news reporting' during the period.'[55] The Maltese harbour did not simply evolve into a centre for entrepôt trade: with no less equal vigour, it assumed the role of news-broker, a cosmopolitan babel where an amazing kaleidoscope of news – available on a first- or second-hand basis and hence always subject to factual error and construed interpretation – was eagerly sought, translated, bartered, exchanged and passed on, even if it was inevitably somewhat distorted in the process.[56]

It is in this context that the *foglietti di notizie* constitute a most remarkable and possibly unique corpus of factual data, observations and running commentaries on practically every aspect of life in Malta and beyond between the mid-seventeenth century and the last decades of eighteenth, ending of course with the demise of what may perhaps best be described as the Old Regime phase of Maltese history.[57] Not only

[53] For a discussion of '*avvisi secreti*' and '*avvisi pubblici*', see Paul Arblaster et al., 'The Lexicons of Early Modern News,' in *News Networks*, ed. Raymond and Moxham, 67.

[54] While register copies were kept of the formal dispatches themselves, many of which still survive in the archive of the Inquisition in Malta, no copies of the news-sheets seem to have been made and so the originals in the Archivio Apostolico Vaticano are unique.

[55] ANDREW PETTEGREE, *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know About Itself* (Yale University Press, 2014), 5.

[56] On the various aspects of oral communication in early modern Malta, ZAMMIT, *The Dissemination*, I, 7–30. See also IVAN GRECH, 'Struggling Against Isolation: Communication Lines and the Circulation of News in the Mediterranean: the Case of Seventeenth-Century Malta', *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 16, no. 1 (2006): 163–74.

[57] The original correspondence between inquisitors in Malta and the papal Secretariat of State is held in the Malta section of the Secretariat of State's archival fond, held in the Vatican Apostolic Archive. The section contains a total of 186 volumes, spanning the second half of the sixteenth century down to the end of the eighteenth. The regular series of original correspondence starts with Inquisitor Gori Pannellini in May 1645 and ceases with Inquisitor Carpegna in September 1795. The fond also contains other volumes of a miscellaneous nature which include pre-1645 and post-1795 material from Malta, as

is the chronological span of the coverage impressive: a striking blend of news, varying from the strictly internal political machinations that moved inexorably following the demise of the grand master-cum-*sultan* and the sombre funerary rites that followed, to the commissioning of artistic works; from natural calamities to naval victories; and from descriptions of pious acts to horrific crimes and even more blood-curdling descriptions of the state's vengeful retribution that inevitably followed. News from Persia reached Malta as early as 1629 and was duly transmitted to Rome, as were other reports that described events in Muscovy and Baghdad in 1700.[58] When news-sheets were unusually concise or indeed totally lacking, it was felt that some justification was required. Inclement weather and hence a paucity of ships calling at the Maltese harbour was often a reason for this.[59] On other occasions, however, a laconic statement would express surprise at the fact that newly arrived shipping did not bear any intelligence as to what was going on beyond the shores of the miniscule island-state.[60] The typology and extent of the information contained in the *notizie* varied very considerably from one inquisitor to another and this explains why, for some particular years, more information on crime is available. Inquisitors such as Gerolamo Casanate (1658–63), Giacinto Ferrero de Messerano (1698–1703) and Paolo Passionei (1743–54) are a historian's delight when it comes to crime reporting, given the number of cases they described. During the latter's tenure, the failed revolt of the slaves was unravelled, and the Inquisitor's reporting of the blood-curdling saga as it developed between May 1749 and March 1751 constitutes a major primary source, vividly describing not just the framework of events but more importantly the feelings of shock, fear and indignation and the resulting sense of self-righteousness and justification in meting out what even back then was seen as horrific punishment.[61] In contrast, Passionei's successor, Gregorio Salviati (1754–59), seems to have been more concerned with providing Rome with news concerning practically every corner of the world, rather than with local goings-on. Together with the order's printed *relazioni*, *avvisi* and *ragguagli*, the

well as ciphers from Malta and drafts of letters from the Secretariat of State addressed to inquisitors and others in Malta.

[58] Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV henceforth), Barberini Latino (Barb. Lat. henceforth) 6678, f. 65 Inquisitor Herrera, dated April 17, 1629; AAV, SS Malta 51, f. 213, Inquisitor Messerano, dated August 7, 1700.

[59] AAV, SS Malta 37, f. 4, Inquisitor Caracciolo, dated January 16, 1686: 'Pochi bastimenti qui giunti dalla Sicilia, et una tartana da Marsiglia non portano alcuna curiosità da riferirsi'; 79, f. 321, Inquisitor Durini, dated December 27, 1738: 'Attesa la stravaganza de'tempi, che qua corre, non è comparso in questa settimana alcun bastimento nel Porto, anche si rimane privo di novità di Levante, e d'ogni altra Parte.'

[60] Thus, AAV, SS Malta 65, f. 343, Pro-Inquisitor Napulone, dated December 25, 1717: 'In questa settimana comparve un piccolo vascello inglese … quale arriva in questo general porto da Inghilterra […] non da novità del mondo'; 75, f. 51v, Inquisitor Durini, dated February 16, 1732: 'Da molto tempo il porto non e stato così pieno di bastimenti, ma nulladimeno le nuove sono assai scarse.'

[61] My major study on the 1749 Plot of the Slaves and Inquisitor Passionei's description thereof is currently in press.

inquisitorial *foglietti* thrive within the wider context of Behringer's detailed discussion of the concept of early modern 'communications revolutions.'[62]

The officially regulated seaborne postal service between Malta and mainland Europe utilised the existing postal infrastructure once it reached the European mainland.[63] The service was run by the state, primarily for the satisfaction of its own requirements. It was, however, also available for use by other institutions and the population at large. The state's control over the only organised public postal system linking the island with the European mainland was a valuable weapon in the struggle for supremacy over the other contenders to power, particularly the Inquisition. State centralisation led to surveillance, both of which characterised various other European postal systems.[64] It was one which was increasingly resorted to by the more absolutist-minded grand masters, notably de Vilhena and Pinto. The non-regularity of the service throughout the eighteenth century thus resulted as much from fortuitous circumstances as from political considerations. Inquisitorial correspondence invariably took over a month – at times well over that – to reach its destination.[65] In times of conflict with the Inquisition, the state could use all possible means at its disposal to prevent the despatch of inquisitorial correspondence to Rome. In extreme cases, not only was the state postal service made unavailable to the Inquisition, but the latter's attempt to utilise alternative means was similarly obstructed. Occasionally, this could include the searching of merchandise on private shipping suspected of carrying inquisitorial correspondence and the prohibition of vessels from carrying any letters not registered with the government. The Inquisition would, in such circumstances, have no option but to rent out a ship at its own expense for the despatch of its correspondence and have it manned by inquisitorial patentees upon whom the state could exercise no authority.[66] At the height of the various disputes between Inquisitor Stoppani and Grand Master de Vilhena, the government was accused of intentionally delaying the despatch of post to Rome for nearly two months, specifically to prevent inquisitorial correspondence from reaching that destination while, at the same time,

[62] WOLFGANG BEHRINGER, 'Communications Revolutions: A Historiographical Concept,' *German History* 24, no. 3 (2006): 333–74.

[63] This is discussed by NIKOLAUS SCHOBESBERGER et al., 'European Postal Networks,' in *News Networks*, ed. RAYMOND and MOXHAM, 59–61.

[64] SCHOBESBERGER et al., 'European Postal Networks', especially 60–61.

[65] For example, AAV, SS Malta 60, f. 134, Inquisitor Caracciolo-SS, dated March 31, 1708; f. 344, dated July 28, 1708.

[66] For example, AAV, SS Malta 53, f. 21r-v, Inquisitor Messerano-SS, dated January 14, 1702: 'Provo anche se mi riesce di far giunger' quest'umilissima mia all'Eccellenza Vostre per la quarta con simile, che furtivamente, e con somma fretta tento di spedire già che tirannicamente mi s'impediscono tutte le strade da poter mandar costì le mie lettere […] Haveva già consegnato il mio dispaccio ad un Bergantino … e gli fu sequestrata la mercanzia per haver prese le mie lettere. Fu poi da questo Governo fatto un rigorosissimo ordine, che tutti i legni di partenza non debbano prender lettere di alcuno, che non ne diano relazione, e che non le portino in segretaria Magistrale. Vedendo ciò, presi a mie spese una barca, e per marinari di essa i miei barcaruoli, e familiari, e pure con altri vari palliati pretesi ieri fu impedita de' partire, dicendosi, che si voleva, che la detta mia barca benchè spedita à mie spese, con i miei barcaruoli sopra, per servizio di Nostro Signore, aspettasse che fosse all'ordine il dispaccio del Governo, senza portare il quale non sarebbe mai partita.'

creating inconvenience to all.[67] The use of such politically motivated tactics in the manipulation of the postal service continued during Pinto's magistracy and beyond, with delays at times lasting months on end.[68] These delays did not disrupt the state's own correspondence since the latter had its own alternative means of sending and receiving despatches.[69]

The government's manipulation of the postal service remained a reality until the end of the order's rule.[70] Delaying tactics were not the only obstacles to the delivery of correspondence. The use of the official postal system required its users to deliver their despatches to the grand master's secretariat and this always raised fears of governmental tampering.[71] As a countermeasure, the more sensitive inquisitorial correspondence was invariably written in cipher. The order was not the only political entity that interfered with the delivery of letters. In 1714 it was reported that all correspondence arriving in Sicily from Rome was opened and if found to contain anything touching upon the Kingdom of Naples, withheld and its deliverers ill-treated.[72] The disruption in communications as a result of the dispute between the order and the Kingdom of Naples between 1753 and 1755 resulted in perhaps the most serious interruption of correspondence between Malta and the continent during the century. Indeed, the effects of this disruption were still being felt following the reopening of commercial ties between the two sides.[73]

Conclusion

The aim of this case study has been to broadly highlight the role played by specific typologies of manuscript and print in the transformation of an erstwhile isolated and culturally archaic Mediterranean community into the context of an economically and culturally thriving European microcosm. Self-containment gave way to connectivity. Of course, the main reason was the 'political accident' of 1530. It was indeed this accident that vastly increased the need for written exchanges of all sorts. The introduction of printing provided the Hospitaller Order with an effective means to

[67] AAV, SS Malta 75, f. 18r-v, Inquisitor Stoppani-SS, dated January 19, 1732: 'Vuole Vostra Eminenza col pregiatissimo suo foglio de' 15 dello spirato, che io mi assicuro nel sospetto già da me concepito, che il commercio delle lettere con Roma non si ritardi solamente dall'avversità della stagione, ma talvolta per qualche privata ragione […] Da ciò presi motivo di risolvergli alla spedizione di una Barca a mie spese, e mi riuscì in tal guisa di riconvenire civilmente la negligenza del Governo, e di svegliarlo alla spedizione della solita speronara del Dispaccio, che da quasi due mesi si tratteneva oziosa in Porto con susurro, e pregiudizio di tutta l'Isola, che attribuiva l'artificiosa tardanza alle note mie differenze col Governo sudetto'; 76, f. 57, dated February 7, 1733.

[68] AAV, SS Malta 122, f. 100, Inquistor Salviati-SS, dated March 17, 1755: 'Doppo 5 mesi che era stata levata la posta, si è veduto finalemente affisso il Cartello per la prossima partenza della barca con il pubblico dispaccio.'

[69] Cassar, 'The Diplomatic Courier,' 29–30.

[70] AAV, SS Malta 149, f. 8, Inquistor Carpegna-SS, dated January 21, 1796: 'La posta differita da questo governo sino a giovedì venturo.'

[71] AAV, SS Malta 61, f. 533, Pro-Inquisitor Napulone-SS, dated May 17, 1710.

[72] AAV, SS Malta 63, f. 493v, Inquisitor D'Elci-SS, dated June 9, 1714.

[73] AAV, SS Malta 122, f. 90v, Inquisitor Salviati-SS, dated March 10, 1755: 'Il commercio riaperto della Sicilia non si puol dire, che sia ancora risultato di alcun vantaggio a quest'Isola, nè quanto al sostanziale de' viveri, nè quanto al reciproco trasporto delle lettere.'

develop its administrative hold over the island, but also to promote itself to its European patrons. Equally crucial was the increased availability of commercial print, enabling the transformation from an essentially agrarian economy to one in which trade played a very significant role by 1798.

The exchange of goods, but also of politically relevant factual news, rumours, hearsay, as well as opinions, ideas and values, increased dramatically as channels of communication improved and political interest in the Mediterranean and beyond increased. At the local level, the political, religious and commercial elites sought to consolidate and expand their respective base of political and economic power. In all this, the role of paper in its different manuscript, printed or pictorial manifestations played an enormous, if as yet generally underrated role.

The Genealogy of a Collection: The Augustean Catalogues in Wolfenbüttel

JOËLLE WEIS
Herzog August Bibliothek

Already in the early days of his service as librarian of the ducal library in Wolfenbüttel, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing developed a plan for a publication containing the 'treasures' of the library's collection. In the introduction to the first issue, he explained his intentions to document the great merits of the library, whose books had served scholars for generations. Lessing criticised his predecessors for being interested only in the history of the library's augmentation, or of the library's 'genealogy,' as he put it.[1] According to the famous writer, the prior librarians had been so focused on the catalogues that they ignored the real purpose of telling the collection's history: to show how it had contributed to scholarship. Much like some critics today, Lessing found genealogical research too unimaginative.[2]

Indeed, using book lists as sources to write an institution's history or a scholarly biography was not a new approach in the eighteenth century.[3] The contents of private libraries were considered valuable evidence of the interests of their owners and were hence widely used by authors of *historia literaria*.[4] Such approaches are still widespread,

[1] GOTTHOLD EPHRAIM LESSING, 'Vorrede,' *Zur Geschichte und Litteratur: Aus den Schätzen der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel* 1 (1773): 4. On Lessing see Hugh Barr Nisbet, *Gotthold Ephraim Lessing: His Life, Works, and Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

[2] For example, Dirk Werle criticises library reconstructions that are missing a sophisticated theoretical foundation. See DIRK WERLE, 'Literaturtheorie als Bibliothekstheorie,' in *Literaturwissenschaft und Bibliotheken*, eds STEFAN ALKER and ACHIM HÖLTER (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2015), 22. One central aspect of criticism towards the information value of library reconstructions is the differentiation between book ownership, book use, and reading. See for example DANIEL MORNET, 'Les enseignements des bibliothèques privées (1750–1780),' *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* 17 (1910): 449–92, at 451–52.

[3] On library catalogues as sources see MALCOLM WALSBY, 'Book Lists and Their Meaning,' in *Documenting the Early Modern Book World: Inventories and Catalogues in Manuscript and Print*, eds MALCOLM WALSBY and NATASHA CONSTANTINIDOU (Brill: Leiden, 2013), 1–24; ARCHER TAYLOR, *Book Catalogues: Their Varieties and Uses*, 2nd ed. (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1986); PAUL RAABE, 'Bibliothekskataloge als buchgeschichtliche Quellen: Bemerkungen über gedruckte Kataloge öffentlicher Bibliotheken in der frühen Neuzeit,' *Tradition und Innovation: Studien und Anmerkungen zur Bibliotheksgeschichte* (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 2013), 69–89; REINHARD WITTMANN, 'Bücherkataloge des 16.−18. Jahrhunderts als Quellen der Buchgeschichte. Eine Einführung,' in *Bücherkataloge als buchgeschichtliche Quellen in der frühen Neuzeit*, REINHARD WITTMANN, ed. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1984), 7–17.

[4] See for example ZACHARIAS KONRAD VON UFFENBACH, *Merkwürdige Reisen durch Niedersachsen, Holland und Engelland*, 3 vols. (Ulm: Gaum, 1753−54). Among other things, he reports in great detail on the libraries he visited. See also PERTTI VAKKARI, 'The Roots of Library Science in the Internal and External Discourse of *Historia Literaria* in Germany,' *Bibliothek Forschung und Praxis* 18, no. 1 (1994): 68–76. On

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and, mainly owing to digital methods, library reconstructions have experienced a real boom in recent years.[5] These days, historians and literary scholars are more interested than ever in book ownership as they try to discover the focal points of collections and deduce the scholarly or intellectual ambitions of private libraries.[6] The observation that especially systematic catalogues reflect 'how men understood and organised the world in which they lived' has become a topos;[7] thereby intellectual historians analyse the dissemination of ideas.[8] In some cases, catalogues are used to retrace international relations, book circulation, and knowledge transfer; other studies compare 'inventories of knowledge.'[9] Especially in the context of the nobility, research has been carried out on the question of book ownership and representation.[10] Scholars have conducted studies on reading behaviour and the role of books in households, often with a focus

historia literaria in general see FRANK GRUNERT and FRIEDRICH VOLLHARDT, eds, *Historia literaria. Neuordnungen des Wissens im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Akad.-Verlag, 2007); PAUL NELLES, 'Historia litteraria and Morhof: Private Teaching and Professorial Libraries at the University of Kiel,' in *Mapping the World of Learning: The Polyhistor of Daniel Georg Morhof*, ed. FRANÇOISE WAQUET (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000), 31–56.

[5] A variety of digital library reconstructions have been created in the context of the MARBACH WEIMAR Wolfenbüttel research association. Accessed August 27, 2020, http://bibliotheksrekonstruktion.hab.de/. See also, for example, STEFAN HÖPPNER and ULRIKE TRENKMANN, 'Goethe Bibliothek Online. Ein digitaler Katalog,' *Goethe-Jahrbuch* 134 (2017): 237–52.

[6] MICHAEL KNOCHE, ed., *Autorenbibliotheken: Erschließung, Rekonstruktion, Wissensordnung* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015); STEFAN HÖPPNER, CAROLINE JESSEN, JÖRN MÜNKNER, and ULRIKE TRENKMANN, eds, *Autorschaft und Bibliothek: Sammlungsstrategien und Schreibverfahren* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2018).

[7] TAYLOR, *Book Catalogues*, 154. On library classifications see also: HELWI BLOM, 'Philosophie ou Commerce? L'évolution des systèmes de classement bibliographique dans les catalogues de bibliothèques privées publiés en France au XVIIIe siècle,' *Les bibliothèques et l'économie des connaissances / Bibliotheken und die Ökonomie des Wissens 1450–1850*, eds FRÉDÉRIC BARBIER, ISTVÁN MONOK, and ANDREA SEIDLER (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtár és Információs Központ, 2020), 203–34.

[8] In this context see for example the project *Measuring Enlightenment. Disseminating Ideas, Authors and Texts in Europe (1665–1830).* Accessed August 27, 2020, http://mediate18.nl.

[9] See for example the Cambridge/Granada-based project *The Biblioteca Hernandina and the Early Modern Book World. Towards a New Cartography of Knowledge* and forthcoming publication: EDWARD WILSON-LEE and JOSÉ MARÍA PÉREZ FERNÁNDEZ, *Hernando Colón's New World of Books: Towards a Cartography of Knowledge* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2021). See also ALESSA JOHNS, 'The Book as Cosmopolitan Object: Women's Publishing, Collecting and Anglo-German Exchange,' in *Women and Material Culture*, eds JENNIE BATCHELOR and CORA KAPLAN (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 176–91; ULRIKE GLEIXNER, 'Weltensammlerin. Kultureller Transfer in fürstlichen Privatbibliotheken: Herzogin Antoinette Amalie von Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1696–1762),' in *Frauen-Bücher-Höfe: Wissen und Sammeln vor 1800. Women-Books-Courts: Knowledge and Collecting before 1800. Essays in Honor of Jill Bepler*, eds VOLKER BAUER, ELIZABETH HARDING, GERHILD SCHOLZ WILLIAMS, and MARA R. WADE (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2018), 79–91; FRANZ M. EYBL, 'Nordböhmische Spurensuche: was ein Bibliothekskatalog über barocke Textzirkulation erzählt,' in *Kommunikation und Information im 18. Jahrhundert: Das Beispiel der Habsburgermonarchie*, eds JOHANNES FRIMMEL and MICHAEL WÖRGERBAUER (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009), 101–18.

[10] For example: LISA SKOGH, 'Dynastic Representation: A Book Collection of Queen Hedwig Eleonora (1636–1715) and Her Role as a Patron of the Arts,' *Konsthistorisk tidskrift/Art History Journal* 80, no. 2 (2011): 108–23; CLAUDIA BRINKER-VON DER HEYDE and JÜRGEN WOLF, eds, *Repräsentation, Wissen, Öffentlichkeit. Bibliotheken zwischen Barock und Aufklärung* (Kassel: Kassel University Press, 2011); PAUL RAABE, *Leserleben. Geschichten von Fürsten, Sammlern, Gelehrten und anderen Lesern* (Zurich, Hamburg: Arche, 1982).

on gender-specific uses.[11] Moreover, manuscript catalogues can be valuable repositories for the reconstruction of book production in the context of the history of printing, as they sometimes mention obscure books that would otherwise be lost. They retrace the book knowledge of a specific time.[12] Initiatives like the *Union Catalogue of Books Printed in German Speaking Countries in the 17th Century* or the *English Short Title Catalogue* can benefit significantly from the book knowledge that is preserved by these early library documents. They hence serve mostly as 'primary sources of bibliographical information'[13] and are widely revered for their function as reference works.

Studies which consider catalogues as a medium beyond their function as a documentary list are rare.[14] Catalogues, their texts, and their physical properties tell stories that range far beyond simple book ownership as they invite researchers to explore the relationship between objects, collections, and collectors. Catalogues thus hold much more information than what is commonly assumed. Looking less at the actual contents of the lists, while considering their materiality as well as their mediality, opens up new observational dimensions: a catalogue coordinates a specific kind of communication between itself and the reader, but also between its different users. Shelfmarks, for example, tell users where to look for a book. They guide them to a specific place in a room; they are an instruction for action. Furthermore, the function of a catalogue reveals a lot about the way it wants to construct meaning. Does it want to convey the totality of a collection? Does it emphasise particular aspects? The materiality of a catalogue – its size, its weight, the quality of the paper – tells a lot about how it is supposed to be used; the object shapes the way the user interacts with it. When looking at the catalogue's text, we may ask what narrative it wants to develop. How does it communicate information, and is it universally valid or does the information change over time? Finally, we always have to consider catalogues part of

[11] See for example: HELWI BLOM, RINDERT JAGERSMA, and JULIETTE REBOUL, 'Printed Private Library Catalogues as a Source for the History of Reading,' *Edinburgh History of Reading*, ed. MARY HAMMOND, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020); JENNIFER ANDERSEN and ELIZABETH SAUER, eds, *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002); HEIDI BRAYMAN HACKEL, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); JILL BEPLER, 'Die fürstliche Witwe als Büchersammlerin: Spuren weiblicher Lektüre in der Frühen Neuzeit,' in *Der wissenschaftliche Bibliothekar: Festschrift für Werner Arnold*, eds DETLEV HELLFAIER, HELWIG SCHMIDT-GLINTZER, and WOLFGANG SCHMITZ (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009), 19–40; JILL BEPLER, 'Die Lektüre der Fürstin. Die Rolle von Inventaren für die Erforschung von Fürstinnenbibliotheken in der Frühen Neuzeit,' in *Sammeln, Lesen, Übersetzen als höfische Praxis der Frühen Neuzeit. Die böhmische Bibliothek der Fürsten Eggenberg im Kontext der Fürsten- und Fürstinnenbibliotheken der Zeit*, eds JILL BEPLER and HELGA MEISE (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), 201–27; ULRIKE GLEIXNER, 'Die lesende Fürstin. Büchersammeln als lebenslange Bildungspraxis,' in *Vormoderne Bildungsgänge. Selbst- und Fremdbeschreibungen in der Frühen Neuzeit*, eds JULIANE JACOBI, JEAN-LUX LE CAM, and HANS-ULRICH MUSOLFF (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau, 2010), 207–24.

[12] See for example FLAVIA BRUNI and ANDREW PETTEGREE, eds, *Lost Books. Reconstructing the Print World of Pre-Industrial Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2016); TAYLOR, *Book Catalogues*.

[13] TAYLOR, *Book Catalogues*, ix.

[14] For examples on the mediality and materiality of lists in general see JESSICA KEATING and LIA MARKEY, 'Introduction. Captured Objects: Inventories of Early Modern Collections,' *Journal of the History of Collections* 23 (2011): 209–13; JAMES DELBURGO and STAFFAN MÜLLER-WILLE, 'Introduction, Focus: Listmania,' *Isis* 103, no. 4 (2012): 710–15.

a more extensive communication network that only works because of the familiar patterns used. Each catalogue is hence integrated into a series, with precursors and successors referring to the past and pointing towards the future.

Enhanced Genealogy

Although Lessing's critical perspective may be shared, he greatly underestimated the potential of catalogues as historical sources. The same can be said for his assessment of the value of 'genealogy' as a historical discipline. In recent years the concept of object biographies[15] has also been applied to books.[16] Every book has its life: it changes meaning and value, it creates social interactions and relations between other objects and people. Library catalogues should be considered a critical component of a book's biography: they document a particular time of the book's life and establish relations between different objects. By codifying these relations, they create a 'book family' on paper whose genealogy can be traced through the medium. Such a genealogy goes far beyond what Lessing had in mind when he criticised his predecessors' work and can best be described with Foucault's words: 'genealogy does not oppose itself to history […] on the contrary, it rejects the meta-historical deployment of ideal significations and indefinite teleologies. It opposes itself to the search of "origins".'[17] According to Foucault, who refers to Nietzsche's *Genealogy of Morals*,[18] genealogy aims to record 'the singularity of events outside any monotonous finality; it must seek them in the most unpromising places, in what we tend to feel is without history.'[19] It meticulously dissects how events have different meanings and engage in divergent roles at different times. Genealogy is hence not about finding an immutable identity of things; it is about things that are fundamentally disparate and which are only brought together through specific circumstances at a specific time.[20] If we apply such a genealogical method to book collections, it means that we do not necessarily consider single copies and their origins. Instead, we analyse the ever-changing book family as a whole that is never a static, immobile manifestation of cultural interests. The genealogy of a collection examines developments; it studies 'numberless beginnings whose faint traces and hints of color are readily seen by a historical eye.'[21] The (supposed) unity of a collection can then be seen as a result of coincidence, as 'it shows the heterogeneity of what was

[15] See IGOR KRYPTOFF, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commodization as Process,' in *The Social Life of Things. Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. ARJUN APPADURAI (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 64–91.
[16] ULRIKE GLEIXNER, CONSTANZE BAUM, JÖRN MÜNKNER, and HOLE RÖßLER, eds, *Biographien des Buches* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2017).
[17] MICHEL FOUCAULT, 'Nietzsche, Genealogy, History,' in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, ed. DONALD F. BOUCHARD, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1980), 139–64, at 140.
[18] See the newest edition: FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE, *On the Genealogy of Morals*, ed. Robert C. Holub, trans. Michael A. Scarpitti (London: Penguin Classics, 2013).
[19] FOUCAULT, 'Nietzsche,' 139.
[20] FOUCAULT, 'Nietzsche,'142.
[21] FOUCAULT, 'Nietzsche,' 146

imagined consistent with itself.'[22] Catalogues are essential sources for such a genealogical method. To trace their history is to trace a collection's history.

In the case of the Herzog Augustus Bibliothek (HAB), former library of the ducal family of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel and one of today's most prestigious research libraries for medieval and early modern studies, the catalogues provide us with a new perspective on the present-day collection. The many manuscript book lists in the library's archives are witnesses of the numerous individual book collections that found their way into the holdings over the years. Even though today's holdings may be perceived as an entity, they are actually a conglomerate of private princely libraries, scholarly book collections, and former university libraries. Even though the library's history has been well documented since its foundation in 1572,[23] the majority of these catalogues are widely understudied, with the exception of the famous *Bücherradkatalog* (bookwheel catalogue) which has been researched extensively.[24] Still, all of them hold the potential for new discoveries beyond retelling the library's history as one of linear growth. By not looking at the documents as book lists, the catalogues tell a story of their own: they can be read as ego-documents, behavioural guidelines, instruments for representation, witnesses of scholarly practices, or legal papers. Just like literary documents, they invite us to read between the lines, to analyse their specific style and their reception as well as to discover their different communicative strategies and hidden messages. The catalogues themselves are hence much more than just lists, more than just the documentation of the collection's content: altogether, they are knowledge stores for the cultural practice we call collecting.

Looking at the various catalogues of the *Bibliotheca Augusta* that were produced between 1611 and the eighteenth century and which document the collection of Duke Augustus of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel,[25] we can see the genealogy of a collection that, over time, not only changed contents but also meaning.

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[22] FOUCAULT, 'Nietzsche,' 147.

[23] HERMANN CONRING, *De Bibliotheca Augusta* (Helmstedt: Müller, 1661); OTTO VON HEINEMANN, *Die Herzogliche Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*, 2nd ed. (Wolfenbüttel: Zwissler, 1894); MECHTHILD RAABE, *Leser und Lektüre vom 17. zum 19. Jahrhundert: die Ausleihbücher der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel 1664–1806*, 8 vols. (Munich: Saur, 1989–98). A new library history is currently being prepared for 2022 in the context of the HAB's 450th anniversary.

[24] MARIA VON KATTE, 'Herzog August und die Kataloge seiner Bibliothek,' *Wolfenbütteler Beiträge* 1 (1972): 168–199; ULRICH JOHANNES SCHNEIDER, 'Der Ort der Bücher in der Bibliothek und im Katalog am Beispiel von Herzog Augusts Wolfenbütteler Büchersammlung,' *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 59 (2005): 93–106; ALEXANDER NEBRIG, 'Der Katalog als literaturkritisches Werk. Die "libri ethici" im Bücherradkatalog Augusts des Jüngeren,' in *Autorschaft und Bibliothek*, eds HÖPPNER et al., 171–84.

[25] Augustus the Younger (1579–1666), Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg and Prince of Wolfenbüttel as of 1635, book collector and founder of today's HAB, which in the seventeenth century was the largest book collection north of the Alps. PAUL RAABE, ed., *Sammler Fürst Gelehrter – Herzog August zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg 1579-1666* (Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek, 1979); MARESA WILL and JILL BEPLER, eds, *Der Bücherfürst des 17. Jahrhunderts. Herzog August der Jüngere* (Heidelberg: Burkert & Müller, 2004).

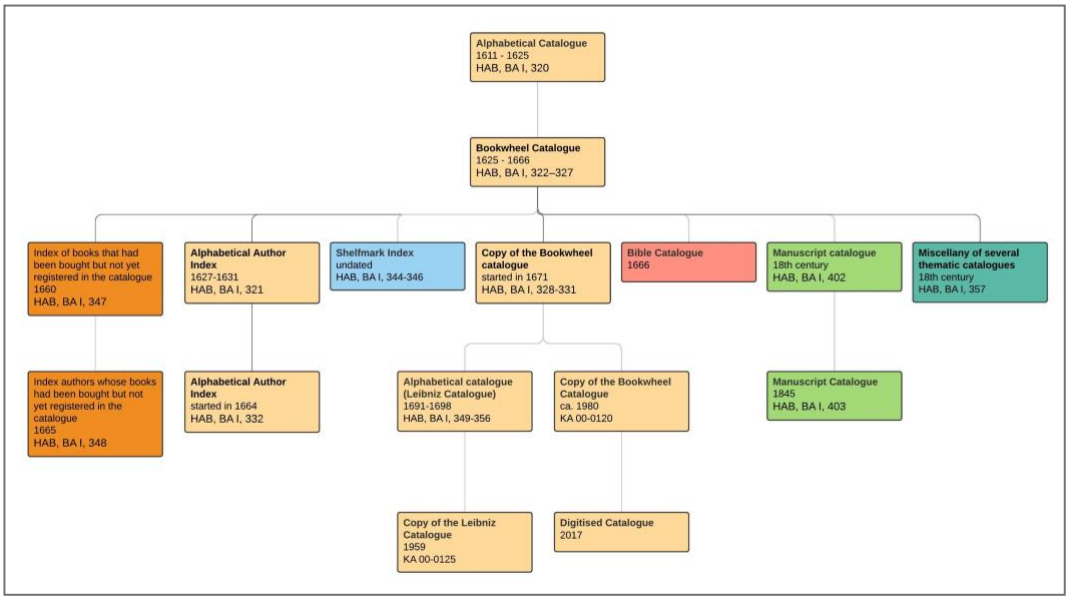

Figure 1. The Augustean manuscript catalogues and indices.

The Books Become a Family

Starting from a young age, and during his travels around Europe, Augustus bought a substantial number of books. The first preserved written record we have is a catalogue kept at the HAB's library archives, produced between 1611 and 1625 by Duke Augustus himself.[26] It can be presumed that the document is the start of the codification of the collection. The small folio volume lists a total of 6,245 books which build the foundation for what was later labelled the 'Bibliotheca Augusta.' As Maria von Katte points out, the catalogue contains only one edition of each work, revealing specific interests in diverse topics.[27] Later, Augustus collected multiple versions of the same oeuvre, making him more of a bibliophile treasure hunter.

Initially, the catalogue is organised alphabetically, starting with the author's last name and listing the book's place of publication, printer, and size. Considering that it makes no mention of each book's location, we can assume that it was used primarily as a personal reference work by the Duke, who added cross-references to other books or comments on the condition of a book. However, the catalogue does not end with the letter Z. After running out of space, Augustus simply added books as he bought them, with a lot less accuracy, documenting a rapid growth which caught him unprepared. Aware of the impossibility of keeping apace with the library's evolution, Augustus apparently planned to readjust the alphabetical system. The last page of the catalogue gives an insight into the Duke's new plans on how to continue the indexing: while sticking to the alphabetical order, he created subcategories according to the

[26] HERZOG AUGUST, Alphabetischer Katalog, BA I, 320, Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, DE (HAB henceforth).
[27] KATTE, 'Herzog August,' 171.

principle Aa, Ab, Ac, etc. One catalogue volume was to contain 200 entries of one category. After that, Augustus would simply start a new volume for the same category. Theoretically, this system could have carried on indefinitely, but it did not solve the problem of finding a book's exact location. At a certain point, Augustus must have realised that he was becoming a serious book collector and that he needed to change the system altogether.

Growing and Prospering

For his second catalogue, Augustus hence rethought his concept of alphabetical order and started developing a thematic classification for the so-called *Bücherradkatalog*.[28] But just like the first catalogue, the final product had a very revealing hybrid design. Augustus himself wrote most parts of the six volumes produced between 1625 and 1665.[29] The ponderous folios, which each weigh around ten kilograms, are bound in Morocco leather and count a total of 7,200 pages. The Duke put the folios on a specially made bookwheel, not only allowing him to switch between catalogues easily but also bearing witness to the sophisticated cataloguing and cross-referencing practices that Augustus had already developed for his library.[30] Unlike the first catalogue, which was smaller in size and potentially intended to accompany the Duke on his travels, the new catalogues were intended to stay in their dedicated place.

Whereas the first two volumes serve as a systematic inventory of the Duke's existing collection, the following volumes only list 'libri varii' and document the continuous accessions. In the same way as the alphabetical order, the spectacular growth of the library overstrained the systematic approach. The records are thus evidence of the absolutely unmanageable task that the collection was becoming and allow us to observe work in progress that went on for 40 years. For the two systematic volumes, Augustus came up with classifications, or what he called the 'ordo materiarum.' Nevertheless, we can observe once again how he reshaped his concept over time. The first draft of the categories can be found in the initial alphabetical catalogue. When finally moving his library to a new building in 1625, Augustus must have reconsidered his system and made some changes which he documented in the bookwheel catalogue, establishing a new order of 20 thematic groups for his library.[31] It shows how he engaged with the books on a theoretical and bibliographical level and that it was important to him to keep a record of his thoughts. Categorising was a conscious choice and a way for Augustus to make sense of his collection.[32] In the typical manner of the time, Augustus established clear hierarchies, starting with

[28] HERZOG AUGUST, Bücherradkatalog (6 Bde), BA I, 322–27, HAB.
[29] Parts of volume 6 were only completed as late as 1719, see KATTE, 'Herzog August,' 177.
[30] On the bookwheel see MARTIN BOGHARDT, 'Das Wolfenbütteler Bücherrad,' in *Herzog-August-Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel*, ed. PAUL RAABE (Braunschweig: Westermann, 1978), 58–60. On the invention of the bookwheel see JOHN CONSIDINE, 'The Ramellian Bookwheel,' *Erudition and the Republic of Letters* 1 (2016): 381–411.
[31] For a comparison of the categories see KATTE, 'Herzog August,' 175.
[32] On the problem of headings in library classifications see ANN BLAIR, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 92f.

theology and law, and ending with the so-called 'Quodlibetica' and manuscripts. Whereas other manuscript indices at the HAB note the exact location of a book, indicating for example the number of the bookcase and the specific shelf, Augustus simply chose consecutive numbers as shelfmarks.[33] This is a sign of the mobility of the books and the flexibility of the system, but it also shows that the catalogues were not intended to serve as a guide for the library. Augustus simply copied the text of the title pages of the books and sometimes added comments. According to Ulrich Johannes Schneider, the catalogue must thus be considered an intellectual work which was used as a personal 'memory aid.'[34]

To go even further, it can be argued that the catalogues should actually be read as a self-testimony, giving an insight into the Duke's everyday life and his engagement with his collection. Augustus carefully dated every new section that he started, beginning with the 'libri theologici' in folio, counting 80 pages, on February 25, 1625. The 'theologici in quarto' section was started two months later on April 21. Based on these indications, Maria von Katte estimated a daily workload of nearly two pages with an average of 15 entries per page.[35] The Duke hence worked very regularly, filling a total of around 4,000 pages all by himself. The dates are a manifestation of a strong self-awareness and that the library was at the centre of the Duke's everyday life. What is more, we can trace some periods when the Duke had other priorities. According to Katte, this is especially noticeable for the years 1635 to 1637 as well as 1643 to 1646.[36] These dates correspond to when Augustus's court moved from Hitzacker to Brunswick and finally to Wolfenbüttel. These were stressful times for the new Prince of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, who first had to deal with a struggle for succession and was later occupied with the reconstruction of the destroyed residence in Wolfenbüttel.[37]

Another hint that the catalogue was mainly intended for personal use are the marginalia that the Duke added to the titles and which were either cross-references to other works or additional information. In some cases, they can even be understood as short excerpts which summed up the essential topics of a work. These notes were complex private memory aids, intended to guide individual thought processes.[38] Some details of the catalogue seem to give private insights: looking almost like a random doodle, just alongside the table of contents of the catalogue, Duke Augustus added the words 'Animi medica officina' – loosely translating as 'the pharmacy of the mind.'

[33] See for example the manuscript catalogue of Philippine Charlotte, Duchess of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, which indicates specific shelfmarks for the position of each book. Systematischer Katalog der Handbibliothek der Herzogin Philippine Charlotte (1754), BA I, 641, HAB.
[34] He uses the term 'Gedächtnisprotokoll.' SCHNEIDER, 'Der Ort der Bücher,' 104.
[35] KATTE, 'Herzog August,' 179.
[36] KATTE, 'Herzog August,' 184.
[37] See HEINEMANN, *Herzogliche Bibliothek*, 54–61.
[38] On the many practices for handling knowledge and information overload in general see: BLAIR, *Too Much to Know*; HELMUT ZEDELMAIER, *Werkstätten des Wissens zwischen Renaissance und Aufklärung* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015); ANTHONY GRAFTON, *Inky Fingers: The Making of Books in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2020).

Augustus also emphasises the initial letters of each word, spelling out AMO – I love. Considering that the catalogue was originally not intended for public use, we can consider this a manifestation of personal sentiment. By adding these words, Augustus consciously refers to the ancient library of Thebes which allegedly had an identical inscription in its entrance. Justus Lipsius, famous philologist and humanist, includes this detail in his *De Bibliothecis Syntagma*, a text which is not only a history of antique libraries but also decidedly sets an exemplum for the actions of princes.[39] Considering the fact that Augustus owned a few editions of the book, it seems very likely that he had read this text and considered his library a legitimate successor of an antique tradition.[40] The catalogue is thus not only a database or memory aid, but also a guideline on how to act which the Duke addressed to himself.

A Collection at Its Peak

As a collection grows, it becomes more and more challenging to manage. In our case, this development is proven by the many 'side catalogues' that were produced alongside the bookwheel catalogue. First of all, there are two separate volumes: one lists books that had been bought but were not yet registered in the catalogue;[41] the second lists authors whose books were in the Duke's possession without figuring in the catalogue.[42] Here, the Duke encoded the process of appropriation. Both volumes show how the rapid growth of the library surpassed the capacities of the Duke and his librarians. The sophisticated practice of cataloguing was complicated as well as time-consuming, and any inaccuracies would make the catalogue unserviceable. The two lists were hence produced as makeshifts, interim solutions to handle the 'copia librorum.' What is more, they indicate the Duke's fear of information loss. Once a book was physically integrated into the library, it could not be traced unless it was recorded in at least one of the catalogues, which became essential tools of knowledge management.

Other side catalogues were intended for communication with third-party users and provided a pragmatic exchange of information. Mostly, they were designed to give the users guidance and orientation. This was especially important to scholars who wanted to utilise the books and manuscripts for their own work.[43] The existence of these catalogues attests to the obscurity of the bookwheel catalogue as, by adopting more common forms of indexing, they acted as universally comprehensible translators. The most important auxiliary material of the Augusta are two alphabetical author

[39] See DIRK WERLE, *Copia librorum. Problemgeschichte imaginierter Bibliotheken 1580-1630* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2007), 312.
[40] See THOMAS STÄCKER, ed., *Lipsius' De Bibliothecis Syntagma. Editiones Electronicae Guelferbytanae*, 17 (Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek, 2017). Accessed November 2, 2020. http://diglib.hab.de/edoc/ed000001/start.htm.
[41] HERZOG AUGUST, Verzeichnis angeschaffter Bücher, die noch nicht in den Katalog eingetragen sind, BA I, 347, HAB.
[42] HERZOG AUGUST, Verzeichnis der Autoren, deren Bücher gekauft, aber noch nicht in den Katalog eingetragen sind, BA I, 348, HAB.
[43] On Duke Augustus' contact with scholars see HEINEMANN, *Herzogliche Bibliothek*, 65–71. See also THOMAS STÄCKER, 'Der Gelehrte der frühen Neuzeit als Nutzer in der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel,' *Wolfenbütteler Notizen zur Buchgeschichte* 34 (2009): 3–25.

indices which refer to the entries in the *Bücherradkatalog*. The first one was written between 1627 and 1631;[44] the other one was created by the Duke's librarians from 1664 onwards and is a revised version of the first.[45] Both indices were probably not used by the Duke himself – he knew his library well enough – but were produced with future users in mind. They were only finished after his death.

One aspect which has not been mentioned so far but which applies to a variety of catalogues is the legal dimension of a list. In his testament, Augustus specified that the collection was not to be sold and had to remain, whole, in Wolfenbüttel.[46] His catalogues were meant to document the books as an entity, making sure that his legacy would stand the test of time. Today's HAB is the living proof of the strategy's efficiency.

A Collection Without Its Collector

After the death of Augustus, his son and successor Rudolph Augustus did not show great interest in the collection his father had built over 60 years. Instead, he focused on his own acquisitions[47] and only employed two librarians to take care of the Wolfenbüttel holdings. Over the coming years, the collection was relatively neglected: almost no acquisitions were made; the librarians spent most of their time completing the bookwheel catalogue with Augustus' acquisitions.[48] Nevertheless, new side catalogues kept being produced which testify to the long-lasting fascination with this one of a kind library. However, it was not only a fascination with the collection itself; it was also at least as much an acknowledgement of the accomplishment that was the bookwheel catalogue. Some of the newly emerging catalogues were simple copies; others used new exploration techniques.

The aim of these catalogues was threefold. First, they were copied to hand the knowledge down to future generations. Under the direction of David Hanisius,[49] an exact copy of the bookwheel catalogue was begun that was most likely intended for print. Such a printed version was eagerly awaited by scholars, as it would have greatly simplified lengthy correspondence and research processes.[50] Furthermore, the

44 HERZOG AUGUST, Alphabet. Autorenregister zum Bücherradkatalog, BA I, 321, HAB.
45 HERZOG AUGUST, Alphabet. Autorenregister zum Bücherradkatalog, BA I, 332, HAB.
46 A copy of Augustus's testament is in Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv, VI Hs 8 Nr. 39, Wolfenbüttel, DE. See also HEINEMANN, *Herzogliche Bibliothek*, 78–80.
47 On Rudolph Augustus (1627–1704), Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg and Prince of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel from 1666 until his death. JOCHEN BEPLER, 'Rudolf August, Herzog zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg (Wolfenbüttel),' in *Braunschweigisches Biographisches Lexikon*, eds HORST-RÜDIGER JARCK and DIETER LENT (Braunschweig: Appelhans Verlag, 2006), 598.
48 RAABE, *Leser und Lektüre*, vol. 1, 27.
49 David Hanisius (d. 1681), theologian and librarian. Head librarian in Wolfenbüttel from 1666. See KARL F. OTTO JR., 'Zu David Hanisius, dem unbekannten Bibliothekar,' *Wolfenbütteler Beiträge. Aus den Schätzen der Herzog August Bibliothek*, ed. PAUL RAABE, vol. 3 (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1978), 283–99.
50 Already in 1661, in a printed letter addressed to Johann Christian von Boineburg, Hermann Conring mentions the demand for a printed catalogue. It would be of great use to the whole 'respublica literaria.' Conring sees it as a 'sin' to assemble so many books without making use of them. See CONRING, *De*

polyhistor Hermann Conring (1606–81) mentioned already in 1661 another reason for the publication of the catalogue: to keep the memory of Duke Augustus' efforts alive.[51] However, after ten years, the endeavour was probably aborted – the volumes that are still preserved in the archive stop abruptly at page 4,348.[52] As Conring correctly observed, printing the catalogue would have been a costly endeavour, taking many years.[53] In the end, the catalogue was simply too big and the plan was never realised. Secondly, librarians soon started to prepare specialised catalogues. A bible catalogue was begun as soon as 1666,[54] and there are several lists of the Augustean manuscripts[55] intended to simplify users' practical requests. Thirdly and most importantly, these new catalogues were produced to optimise the use of the library. A curious and unfortunately undated list that was produced in order to simplify the use of the library was a three-volume shelfmark index that documented the exact position of the books.[56] In combination with the bookwheel catalogue, it acted as a map of the library room. The finding aid hence created its own reality by establishing a fixed relation between a title and a particular place. It reveals how the library was used and how its owner wanted to direct users through it. The volume is bound using reused paper on which slim strips of paper were glued.[57] These strips only list the serial shelfmarks; horizontal line breaks probably indicated that the user had to look on the next shelf. The design indicates that expansion was anticipated, as the single strips could easily be replaced. What is more, there are several added remarks, for example 'oben aufgelegt' ('put on top') which indicates that a book with a specific number was put on top of the shelf rather than integrated into the book line. Spaces that were left for additional books were also indicated. Probably at a later date, someone added shelfmarks in pencil. Although very abstract, the catalogue creates a spatial vision of the collection.[58]

It would seem that a new systematic index, containing several groups – Historici, Poetici, Rhetorici, Quodlibetici, Politici, Numismatici, Antiquarii, Physici,

Bibliotheca Augusta, 6. The historian Caspar Sagittarius encouraged David Hanisius to prepare the print, as it would be of 'great use.' See JAKOB BURCKHARD, *Historia Bibliothecae Avgvstae Qvae Wolffenbvtteli Est*, part 3 (Leipzig: Breitkopf 1746), 283.

51 'Ea est, quod sola Indicis editione possit aeterna parari memoria operarum illarum ingentium, quae in Bibliothecarum quarumvis admirabilium structuram impensae sunt.' CONRING, *De Bibliotheca Augusta*, 16.

52 Unvollendete Abschrift des Bücherradkatalogs (Bd 1-4, bei p. 4348 abgebrochen), BA I, 328–31, HAB.

53 Conring, *De Bibliotheca Augusta*, 36f.

54 Katte, 'Herzog August,' 184.

55 BA I, 402 and 403, HAB. See also WOLFGANG MILDE, 'Die Erwerbungsjahre der Augusteischen Handschriften der Herzog Augustus Bibliothek. Supplement zum Katalog von Otto von Heinemann "Die Augusteischen Handschriften", Bd. 1–5, Wolfenbüttel 1890–1903,' *Wolfenbütteler Beiträge* 14 (2006): 73–144.

56 BA, I, 344–46, HAB. Some of the reused papers are panegyrics printed by Anton Ulrich (1633–1714), son of Augustus. This indicates that the catalogue was probably only produced after Augustus's death.

57 On the practice of slips glued into reference works see BLAIR, *Too Much to Know*, 95–99.

58 On the interaction of spaces and catalogues see JEANNE PEIFFER and RAYMOND-JOSUÉ SECKEL, 'Der Grundriss der Bibliothek, oder wie der Raum die Konzeption des Kataloges bestimmt,' in *Museum, Bibliothek, Stadtraum: räumliche Wissensordnungen 1600–1900*, eds ROBERT FELFE and KIRSTEN WAGNER (Berlin: Lit, 2010), 77–88.

Bibliothecarii, Grammatici, Geographici, Ethici, and Mathematici – was produced in the eighteenth century.[59] To be exact, it is a single bound volume assembling several separate catalogues, probably listing books that were acquired after the death of Augustus as most of them are from much later dates, even going well into the 1720s. Nothing is really known about this miscellany. Some of the catalogue titles reveal that the books were arranged in a new order: Numismatici, Antiquarii, Bibliothecarii, and Mathematici are entirely new categories that are not found in the Duke's original system. Another part of this alleged systematic catalogue lists only recent books 'iuxta formarum seriem,' which shows that they were not physically integrated into the rest of the collection. Is it possible to understand the introduction of the categories as an epistemological shift towards disciplinary differentiation? Or was it simply easier to handle the book overload by dividing it into smaller sections? In any case, the Duke's successors must have felt the need for a more sophisticated system, which is why they produced the catalogues. Besides the content, the materiality of the volume is very interesting: at first glance, it reveals itself to be a conglomerate of different documents. The papers used show significant differences, the handwriting changes, the page numbering is not consistent, pages were added, and the binding is obviously from a much later date. The only factor linking this miscellany of lists to Duke Augustus's collection is the fact that it figures in the *Bibliotheca Augusta* section of today's library archive catalogue.[60] This volume is hence the best example of how catalogues create relations that are perceived as reality: I am not sure of this catalogue's actual connection with the Augustean collection, but considering that the HAB's current catalogue establishes a link between the two, I accept it as a fact.

However, the most significant user improvement must have been the catalogue that Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz started when he became the librarian of the Augusta in 1691.[61] With Augustus's alphabetical index, the bookwheel catalogue was still needed to find the exact location of a book. It was hence a cumbersome process to look up a specific book. Leibniz wanted to simplify the procedure by listing shelfmarks directly in the alphabetical author catalogue, which will have come as a massive relief for the user. Furthermore, he introduced a keyword system for anonymous works which made the older catalogues obsolete. To further simplify its use, page numbers were added with a red stamp at a later date. Leibniz's catalogue must have been received very well and adopted extensively as the many signs of wear show us. Many hands have browsed through the eight volumes. Indeed, current librarians indicate that the catalogue was still in frequent use until the 1980s.[62] However, in the same way as Augustus's

[59] HERZOG AUGUST, Systematischer Katalog der Gruppen: Libri, Historici, Poetici, Rhetorici, Quodlibetici, Politici, Numismatici, Antiquarii, Physici, Bibliothecarii, Grammatici, Geographici, Ethici, Mathematici, BA I, 357, HAB.
[60] The catalogue of the HAB's library archive is an internal document and is available on request.
[61] See ULRICH JOHANNES SCHNEIDER, 'Leibniz konvertiert einen Katalog,' in *Frauen-Bücher-Höfe*, eds BAUER et al., 61–77.
[62] I particularly thank Alexandra Schebesta for this information.

catalogue, the fame of the author might be one of the main reasons for the document's success.

Whatever their purpose, all of these catalogues are joined by the fact that they, in some way or another, try to manufacture a better understanding of the collection. Furthermore, the librarians wanted to retrace the genesis of the collection, hoping to penetrate the core of this structure, which was more or less impervious to outsiders. As well as making it accessible to the public as an exemplum, the printed edition of the bookwheel catalogue, in particular, was also intended to record Augustus's genius.[63] Authors of catalogues hence choose what to highlight and what to conceal, and they significantly regulate how a book assemblage is perceived.[64] This is especially important considering that librarians in the nineteenth century started to take the Augustean collection apart and integrate it into the general holdings. When plans were made to restore the original constellation in the twentieth century, the catalogues became important for its reconstruction. The result is the Augusteerhalle as it can still be seen today.[65]

New Mediality: Manuscript Catalogues in the Digital Age

The librarian Lorenz Hertel drew a final line under the Augustean collection in 1705, when he stopped adding to the bookwheel catalogue and instead started a new list of acquisitions.[66] Nevertheless, the story of the manuscript catalogues of the Augustean collection does not end in the eighteenth century. Even though gradually replaced by other finding aids, the bookwheel catalogue remained an iconic object for the history of the library, which experienced substantial growth in the eighteenth century mainly thanks to the incorporation of other collections.

Together with its predecessor and the many side catalogues, it is now listed in the library archive's catalogue – basically a catalogue of catalogues. It widely influences how the catalogues are perceived and used, and, in a Latourian sense, how they make us act.[67] In preparation for this essay, for example, the library archive's finding aid was the primary resource that enabled my entrance into the world of the Augustean catalogues. Many of the catalogues I examined were ordered based on the titles the HAB librarians gave them in the twentieth century. The finding aid hence raises expectations, which creates biases that can sometimes be highly misleading.[68] One example is the above-mentioned, apparently new systematic catalogue that was produced in the eighteenth century and which had never been described in detail

63 See KATTE, 'Herzog August,' 196–98.
64 On the question of omitting information see DAVID PEARSON, 'The English Private Library in the Seventeenth Century,' *The Library* 13, no. 4 (2012): 379–99.
65 BEYER, 'Mittlere Aufstellung' in the forthcoming *Jubiläumsband*.
66 RAABE, *Leser und Lektüre*, vol. 1, 30.
67 In his Actor-Network Theory, Bruno Latour sees objects as responsible for creating social interactions in the same way as humans. See BRUNO LATOUR, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
68 On the problem of finding catalogues in present-day library catalogues see BLOM, 'Philosophie ou Commerce?,' 210–11.

before. After a closer look, however, it reveals itself to be but a fragment of what the title 'Systematischer Katalog' promises.

It is evident that the documents consulted most are still the bookwheel catalogue and the alphabetical catalogue started by Leibniz. A sign of how widely they were used as historical sources is the number of copies that were produced to conserve the originals in the twentieth century.[69] Another step in that direction was the 2017 restoration of the volumes and their concurrent digitisation. The bookwheel catalogue has remained part of the Wolfenbüttel manuscript database since this transformation of medium, which changes our perception of it significantly. Ironically, the huge books have become hard for primary users to find, as the digital version is now integrated into another catalogue with its own logic.[70] What is more, the general context of the single volumes and pages is lost. In order to fully understand the digitised page, the user has to possess a certain amount of preliminary knowledge. A digital edition was planned to serve as a finding aid and make the document more accessible, but this goal was only accomplished in part. Only the first volume of the digitised object is easily navigable thanks to a linked table of contents and occasional links to the HAB's online public access catalogue.[71] Once again, like so many of the initiatives embarked upon, the project was simply too big. Meanwhile, a facsimile of the bookwheel catalogue is on display in the HAB's permanent exhibition. It has become a central piece of the library's self-presentation and stands like no other object not just for the institution's history, but its very identity. The original is locked away in the vault and can only be seen by special permission, which contributes to the document's gradual mystification.

Conclusion

Typically, the many manuscript catalogues that document the Augustean collection are treated like family portraits: they are considered to document the as-is state of the collection at a specific moment of its existence. What is all too often forgotten is the staging behind these pictures; it gives away much more information than a first glance suggests. In the same way, the catalogues' information value is not reduced to the supposed reality they mirror. What and how do they want to tell us about the book family they portray?

For the Augustean collection, the catalogues narrate how it changed over time and how it keeps being transformed and repurposed. They are essential sources for all of the collection's developments, as they accompany the single objects in their biographies and link them to form an ensemble. They also recount the numerous interactions between the collectors, the users, and the objects. Moreover, the catalogues themselves have changed their function during their lives. The

[69] The copy of the Leibniz catalogue (KA 00-0125) was produced in 1959. For the copy of the bookwheel catalogue (KA 00-0120), no exact date is indicated. According to internal information, it was produced for the opening of the new library spaces at the Zeughaus in 1981.
[70] HAB Handschriftendatenbank. Online: http://diglib.hab.de/?db=mss (accessed November 2, 2020).
[71] The digitised volume is accessible at http://diglib.hab.de/mss/ba-1-322/start.htm (accessed November 2, 2020).

Bücherradkatalog is the best example of this: it was and still is a database, but, even in Augustus's time, it was so much more. It has always been evidence of the challenges that came with handling large amounts of data. For Augustus, it became increasingly impossible to document his collection, but indexing was an essential collection practice, linking the collector to his objects. For him, it was a way to handle contingency, which also led to the long-lasting fascination that still lingers today. After the death of the collector, the catalogues thus became a means for the retrospective staging of Augustus's book ownership. They became paper monuments constructed by subsequent generations to glorify the collection. They were also a way for the catalogue authors to inscribe their names in the genealogy of the collection. But first and foremost, the copies of and engagement with the catalogues are a sign of the ongoing quest for coherence which still appears a big challenge today.

On a meta-level, the intensive study of the catalogues has shown how subsequent generations tried to capture the collection's significance. The manuscript documents were regarded as the key to understand the collection, not only because of their pure function as a list but also because of the immediate access to their formation and consequently to Augustus's mind. Librarians and historians saw the catalogues as evidence of the collection's significance.

From today's perspective, we wonder: would the collection have remained so relevant if the catalogues did not exist? The catalogues make us perceive the books as an ensemble, they create the collection and keep on doing so even in cases when the books themselves have long been dispersed. The fact that, in case of the Herzog Augustus library in Wolfenbüttel, the collection can still be admired as an entity in the so-called *Augusteer Halle* is a result of the catalogues' power to convey a fictional presence. It is the best proof of how catalogues create reality.

Connecting People, Trade and Orders of Knowledge
The Mediality and Intermediality of Early Modern Auction Catalogues

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Auction catalogues have received a fair amount of attention over the last couple of years. On a digital level, this interest is evident in a variety of databases, such as the Art Sales Catalogues Online 1600–1900 (ASCO), the Book Sales Catalogues Online (BSCO), the German Sales Catalogs and the Getty Provenance Index databases. Indeed, they are useful sources in different research contexts: for constructing the ownership history of objects (provenance); for developing local, national and global collection profiles (trade routes and tastes); for reconstructing prices (markets); and, especially in the context of book history, for studying the dissemination of ideas through text (enlightenment).[1] Though at a first glance they may appear diverse, these approaches mainly centre on the information the auction catalogues provide about the trade objects that are being sold – be they books, art works or other trade goods. Despite the considerable scholarship they have attracted and the social and cultural importance which is attributed to them, it is only recently that research has begun to develop methods to deal with the use of auction catalogues and their agency.[2]

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[1] ALICIA MONTOYA, 'The MEDIATE project,' *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis / Yearbook for Dutch Book History* 25 (2018): 229–32; SUSANNA AVERY-QUASH and CHRISTIAN HUEMER, eds, *London and the Emergence of a European Art Market, 1780-1820* (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2019); BERT DE MUNCK and DRIES LYNA, eds, *Concepts of Value in European Material Culture, 1500–1900* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2015); NEIL DE MARCHI and SOPHIE RAUX, eds, *Moving Pictures: Intra-European Trade in Images, 16th to 18th Centuries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014); DRIES LYNA et al., eds, *Art Auctions and Dealers. The Dissemination of Netherlandish Painting During the Ancien Régime* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009); JEREMY WARREN and ADRIANA TURPIN, eds, *Auctions, Agents and Dealers: The Mechanisms of the Art Market 1660–1830* (Oxford: Beazley Archive, 2007); BRUNO BLONDÉ et al., eds, *Buyers and Sellers. Retail Circuits and Practices in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006); JOHN MICHAEL MONTIAS, *Art at Auction in 17th century Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2002). For the German context see also THOMAS KETELSEN and TILMANN VON STOCKHAUSEN, 'Einleitung,' in *Verzeichnis der verkauften Gemälde im deutschsprachigen Raum vor 1800, Vol. 1 (a–hi)*, eds THOMAS KETELSEN and TILMANN VON STOCKHAUSEN (Munich: Saur, 2002), 11–40 and REINHARD WITTMANN, ed., *Bücherkataloge als buchgeschichtliche Quellen in der frühen Neuzeit* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1984).

[2] From the perspective of art history: DRIES LYNA, 'Words of Value? Art Auctions and Semiotic Socialization in the Austrian Netherlands (1750-1794),' in *Concepts of Value in European Material Culture, 1500-1900*, eds BERT DE MUNCK and DRIES LYNA (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2015), 57–73; SOPHIE RAUX, 'From Mariette to Joullain: Provenance and Value in Eighteenth-Century French Auction Catalogs,' in *Provenance: An Alternate History of Art*, eds GAIL FEIGENBAUM and INGE REIST (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Publications, 2012), 88–105; TILLMANN VON STOCKHAUSEN, 'Formen des Ordnens. Auktionskataloge des 18. Jahrhunderts als Beginn der modernen Kunstgeschichte,' in *Räume der Kunst. Blicke auf Goethes Sammlungen*, eds MARKUS BERTSCH and JOHANNES GRAVE (Göttingen:

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How do these paper-based objects function as mediators of things? How do they present, order and classify them? And even more fundamentally: What role do they play in the actual auction? How do they structure trade and facilitate it? How are these fascinating orders of knowledge that reflect understandings of early modern objects rooted in social interaction?

After a brief introduction on the current trends in historiography on auction catalogues (par. 'Current State of Research and the Art of the List'), this contribution aims to highlight the objects' potential for research on (inter)mediality, trade and orders of knowledge from a praxeological perspective (par. 'The Mediality of Auction Catalogues'). In a case study, it explores the material traces and the listing of prices and buyers as a note-taking practice which, like the catalogues themselves, facilitated social interaction and advanced knowledge (par. 'Interleaved Auction Catalogues'). We will only be able to fully understand the epistemic and social relevance of auction catalogues by including an approach that focuses on the social context at which they were aimed (the commercial, open-spectacle 'auction').

This study focuses on one national context, namely Germany, as there were different normative frameworks for conducting auctions in Europe. Nevertheless, with all the necessary caution, findings from other countries are also included. The article mainly builds on historians' ongoing interest in reception studies and book culture. Hence, though the principal focus is on book auction catalogues, the study attempts to raise questions relevant to other disciplines too.

Current State of Research and the Art of the List

As the aforementioned databases testify, the editors of auction catalogues have often equated them with other object lists, such as stock or sales catalogues or (probate) inventories, thereby paying scant regard to the different communicative settings in which these sources were created.[3] To be sure, such sources were of a highly permeable nature, as Helwi Blom, Rindert Jagersma and Juliette Reboul have recently convincingly argued with regard to book lists.[4] While focusing on book lists as a whole, these scholars, members of the MEDIATE big data project, provide a useful specification of the qualities of book catalogues. In their book, the authors list the sheer number of catalogues, their accessibility, the wealth of information provided (with regard to what they tell us about a collection), their high level of bibliographical detail, their relevance for the book trade (networks), the information they offer on prices and buyers, and the information they contain about the books' use (marginalia).[5] However, despite their aim to reassess the history of book lists as a whole, Blom,

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), 89–101; CYNTHIA WALL, 'The English Auction, Narratives and Dismantlings,' *Eighteenth Century Studies* 31 (1997): 1–25. From the perspective of book history: HELWI BLOM, RINDERT JAGERSMA and JULIETTE REBOUL, 'Printed Private Library Catalogues as a Source for the History of Reading in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Europe,' in *The Edinburgh History of Reading: 1. Early Readers*, ed. MARY HAMMOND (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), 249–69.

[3] This is the case regarding both book and art sales projects.

[4] BLOM, JAGERSMA and REBOUL, 'Printed Private Library Catalogues.'

[5] BLOM, JAGERSMA and REBOUL, 'Printed Private Library Catalogues,' 257f.

Jagersma and Reboul only hint at the communicative situation that produced the lists, which they in turn influenced.

However, a better understanding of the ways in which lists were used in social interaction opens up avenues of inquiry on how this interplay of text and communication formed orders of knowledge in general. Where previous research has focused on the objects marketed by lists, such an approach addresses the list itself (the list as an object), in three ways: First, in line with the more recent approaches in book history, it aims to investigate the specific nature of the medium in question, its properties, composition and materiality.[6] Secondly, regarding the actual text, this perspective attempts to analyse its history (the sources it was based upon and the toolkit its writers used). This includes, for example, recognising templates and intertextual and intermedial 'translations' and principles of referencing and citation, and analysing their significance not just for reception in general but also for how people interacted as a result. Thirdly, and this is the key aim of my paper, it is important to establish the ways in which media are used: research on the cultural history of early modern politics has shown that objects, such as clothing, coats of arms and codices, were employed to empower political-social order. As political order was not anchored in a written constitution (or only to a very limited extent), these media contributed to stabilising societies. Thus, such an exploration of how an object is used in social interaction may open up perspectives on how to better understand the effect that catalogues had on the political dimension of communication (as a socially stabilising or destabilising medium).[7]

This essay briefly outlines a threefold framework for an approach to the medial properties of auction catalogues and the specific ways in which they were rooted in and shaped social interaction. It will then discuss a particular sort of object list – the interleaved copy – and its various links to the 'auction' as an open, not socially exclusive communicative event.

The Mediality of Auction Catalogues

Fiction of Presence

It is hardly surprising that auction catalogues had print runs of up to 400 copies, usually in a handy quarto or octave format, given their function as marketing instruments: as

[6] Recent publications include: Anthony Grafton, *Inky Fingers*: *The Making of Books in Early Modern Europe*, (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2020); JORDAN ALEXANDER STEIN, *When Novels Were Books* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2020); DANIEL BELLINGRADT et al., eds, *Books in Motion in Early Modern Europe. Beyond Production, Circulation, and Consumption* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017); for the German context UTE SCHNEIDER, ed., *Praxeologische Studien zur historischen Buchwissenschaft* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2019). On object lists in particular: MALCOLM WALSBY, 'Book Lists and Their Meaning,' in *Documenting the Early Modern Book World: Inventories and Catalogues in Manuscript and Print*, ed. MALCOLM WALSBY and NATASHA CONSTANTINIDOU (Brill: Leiden, 2013), 1–24.

[7] For example, FINDLEN, *Objects*. On clothing: ULINKA RUBLACK, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); for the German context, more generally, MARIAN FÜSSEL, 'Die Materialität der Frühen Neuzeit. Neuere Forschungen zur Geschichte der materiellen Kultur,' *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 42 (2015): 433–63.

cheap or, more often, complimentary objects, they reached a larger, more distant audience than any sort of verbal communication could. What is perhaps a little more surprising in view of this function is that, especially in the early stages of the history of auction catalogues, in many catalogues the entries are extremely vague and so they are now often difficult to decipher. The catalogue authors bundled the information they provided on each object into short descriptions, rarely more than one or two lines long, with abbreviations and other short forms.[8] In many cases, the temptation is to believe that catalogue authors had little interest in an in-depth description of the materiality of an object and/or its size, form, origin or iconographic components.

However, it is important to look beyond the individual, isolated print material, as these sources gained their significance from the wider context and the social setting in which they were used: for instance, it is well known that scholars, aristocrats and other patrons collected them and discussed their content as an important source of information on objects, collections and collectors. Using the example of catalogues from early seventeenth-century Leuven, David McKitterick argues that the texts explicitly encouraged their readers to distribute them, while linking their minimalist nature – '[t]here were no details of place or date of publication, and older books were mixed with more recent ones. The same was mostly true for other early Leuven auction catalogues. It remained true on occasion even a hundred years later' – to the fact that '[t]hese were sales in a close-knit university community, addressed to local audiences, most of whom could be assumed to have some connection with the university .... There was no call for unnecessary detail.'[9] In other words, the catalogues provided very little information on the objects and it could only be fully understood with the help of others (collectors, agents or other auction attendees).

However, auctioneers traded objects and wanted to make money from them. Their aim was to attract a large number of buyers. The catalogues therefore explicitly asked their readers to circulate the texts. In this way, they targeted a broad market that reached beyond the immediate community. An auction catalogue from 1744 for the book collection of the lawyer Johann Paul Kress gives some measure of this business. It names 27 contact persons, from Augsburg and Göttingen to Berlin, who were willing to distribute it. David McKitterick describes the case of an English book auction of 1687–88, where the list of booksellers offering to circulate the catalogue included names from Amsterdam, Brussels, Paris and Cologne.[10]

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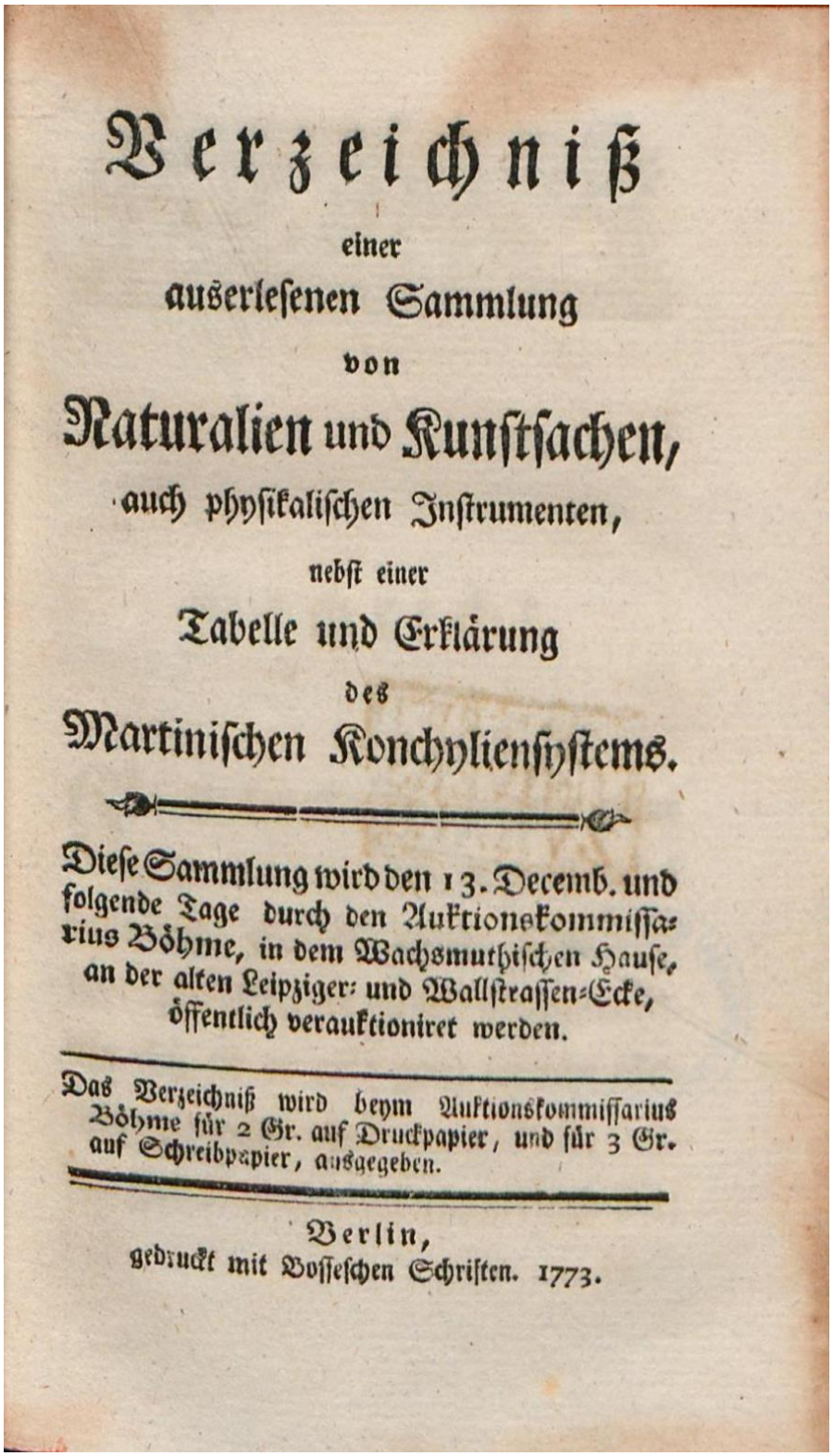
[8] They are, in this sense, very similar to other book or collection catalogues and inventories (both important models/sources for auction catalogues). On these see WALSBY, 'Book Lists'; GIORGIO RIELLO, 'Things Seen and Unseen: The Material Culture of Early Modern Inventories and Their Representation of Domestic Interiors,' in *Early Modern Things: Objects and their Histories, 1500–1800*, ed. PAULA FINDLEN (London; New York: Routledge, 2013), 125–50; JESSICA KEATING and LIA MARKEY, 'Introduction. Captured Objects: Inventories of Early Modern Collections,' *Journal of the History of Collections* 23 (2011): 209–13.

[9] DAVID MCKITTERICK, *The Invention of Rare Books. Private Interest and Public Memory, 1600-1840* (Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 112.

[10] MCKITTERICK, *The Invention of Rare Books*, 117.



Verzeichniß
einer
auserlesenen Sammlung
von
Naturalien und Kunstsachen,
auch physikalischen Instrumenten,
nebst einer
Tabelle und Erklärung
des
Martinischen Konchyliensystems.

Diese Sammlung wird den 13. Decemb. und folgende Tage durch den Auktionskommissarius Böhme, in dem Wachsmuthischen Hause, an der alten Leipziger- und Wallstrassen-Ecke, öffentlich verauktioniret werden.

Das Verzeichniß wird beym Auktionskommissarius Böhme für 2 Gr. auf Druckpapier, und für 3 Gr. auf Schreibpapier, ausgegeben.

Berlin,
gedruckt mit Bosseschen Schriften. 1773.

Figure 1: Front page of an auction catalogue: information on the distributor. University and State Library Saxony-Anhalt, Ub Halle, Zweigbibliothek Europäische Aufklärung, Friedrich Martini, *Verzeichniß einer auserlesenen Sammlung von Naturalien und Kunstsachen* (Berlin: Bosse, 1773), Pa 2297, http://digitale.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/vd18/content/pageview/3754997.

In his analysis of the history of auction catalogues, McKitterick argues that the catalogues were originally addressed to a very geographically limited audience only. However, when the auction market expanded during the early modern period, the auctioneers responded to the growing need to provide more information by developing new, more detailed object description methods. In other words, catalogues increasingly replaced face-to-face communication among peers and adapted to a growing, increasingly diversified market.[11]

It is plausible that the auctioneers were responding to the boom in consumers at eighteenth-century auctions (during the so-called 'consumer revolution'). Yet, it does not explain why such minimalist catalogues, though in smaller numbers, were still circulating in the eighteenth century. As far as auctions of individuals' 'private' collections are concerned (as opposed to trade stock auctions), the persistence of seemingly careless listing practices can also be explained by the way the collection was intended to be publicised: as documentation of what the collection or household looked like before its dissolution (i.e., due to death, a change of residence or insolvency) and how it was encountered by the people who wrote the inventory report. Indeed, some auction catalogues, such as probate inventories, might have originally served legal purposes and might only have been turned into an auction catalogue later on.[12] This can explain why auction catalogues look a lot like inventories and why many catalogues contain chapter sections that more or less explicitly give the impression that the items are mentioned in a given spatial order.[13]

This order was functional, not only for inventories: booksellers and other auctioneers were known to replace objects with others or to add further items from their own holdings to supposedly closed collections, a practice that was detrimental to consumer interests and therefore repeatedly met with legal restrictions. The minimalist way in which the auction catalogues referred to the objects made the texts appear an authorised, credible record of what the salesman had found there on the day he was asked to sell the collection; a text created on the spot and in the house where the collection had previously been assembled.[14] The description was a way of guaranteeing that no item had been removed or added since the collector had died, moved away or become insolvent, and that there could be no doubt about the provenance. The auction catalogue is thus a medium that closes a spatial and temporal distance (between the inventorying of the collection and the reading of the catalogue) by trying to appear as

[11] MCKITTERICK, *The Invention of Rare Books*, 112.
[12] BLOM, JAGERSMA and REBOUL, 'Printed Private Library Catalogues,' 252.
[13] On inventories: RIELLO, 'Things Seen and Unseen'; JESSICA KEATING and LIA MARKEY, 'Introduction.'
[14] On the epistemic links between catalogues and inventories see also JÖRN MÜNKNER, 'Papierstauraum: Bücher und Objekte in Katalogen,' *Neohelicon* 47 (2020): 393–408.

close to the (supposed) event as possible. In other words: the object list bridged the distance through the fiction of presence.[15]

Normative Text and Performative Materiality

Early modern auction catalogues raise many unanswered questions in terms of their significance for auctions: Were the catalogues used at auctions and did they determine the behaviour of the audiences there? If so, how did their significance in terms of their presence relate to the role of the auctioneers and bidders? What part did the written content (the information they provided) play in the process? How, for instance, did it affect the oral presentation? Did the auctioneers, for example, give a 'lecture' on the objects, by reading out the written object descriptions word by word? Or was it a 'translation' of the text more specifically addressed to the face-to-face situation? With regard to one of the most prominent figures in the history of auctions, James Christie, it has been suggested that an auctioneer's success lay in his oral strategy and ability to seduce the audience and evoke intense emotions – but what did that mean for the catalogue, how far could an auctioneer go with such marketing methods?[16]

Today, catalogues usually serve as a script for the auction, and auctioneers present the items according to the given order of lots. The text defines the temporal structure of the auction business, allowing the bidders to decide whether or not to take part in the whole auction. Also, when attending an auction, buyers can link the textual information on a respective lot number directly to the actual object. In contrast, bidders who attend auctions where the auctioneer deviates from the given order have much more preparation work to do should they wish to compare the lot numbers with the objects.

While this practice is common today, in the early modern period, the catalogue and the auction were less tightly connected to each other: However, so-called interleaved catalogues for eighteenth-century book auctions suggest that catalogues were at least relevant in this context. Interleaved works contain an additional blank page bound in after each printed page. In the case of auction catalogues, these sheets were included to document the respective prices for which the objects were bought. This practice of keeping note of prices, which will be discussed in the next paragraph in more detail, relies on auctioneers calling the lot numbers out in the order given in the catalogue.

Besides this, laws that were imposed on auctions in the eighteenth century, including paragraphs on the catalogues, suggest that they served as 'scripts' for interaction. These determined that catalogues had to contain lot numbers and that the order of the lots had to be followed in the auction. An early book auction ordinance from the university city of Leipzig (1680) stipulates that the 'books must be arranged

[15] On this sociological concept, and how this can be applied to history to better understand social order in the early modern period: RUDOLF SCHLÖGL, 'Politik beobachten: Öffentlichkeit und Medien in der Frühen Neuzeit,' *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 35 (2008): 581–616.
[16] WALL, 'The English Auction.'

according to the order' of the catalogue and that the auctioneer had to announce 'the lot number […] aloud.'[17] Similarly, a book auction decree from the university city of Halle (1704) states that books should be presented 'aloud and audibly,' in the order given in the catalogue. Later, regulations on book auctions explicitly demanded that the proceedings be documented, listing the highest bid and the buyer; the registration of this sort of information required an interleaved auction catalogue (see next paragraph).[18]

However, debates over such procedural rules and the extent to which these limited the auctioneers' rights can be found well into the eighteenth century. After all, by deliberately departing from the sequential method, auctioneers tried to keep visitors interested in the auction itself (otherwise, before attending the auction, the audience would wait until the objects for which they wished to bid were being sold). Such flexibility occurred, for example, when the estate of Clemens August of Bavaria (1700–1761), prince-elector of Cologne, was sold in 1764. The variety of items on offer ranged from livestock (such as dogs and horses), jewels and porcelain, to paintings and other art objects. In this specific case, the auctioneer sold the paintings in alternation with other artistic items. It is very likely that the auction was deliberately staged as such, in order to promote some objects as highlights of the event.[19] And in the book trade too, the debate over the auctioneers' right to freely decide how to organise an auction continued into the eighteenth century, despite the decrees stipulating the contrary.[20] However, in the course of the eighteenth century, auction catalogues provided the structure for auctions and guided the social interaction.

The significance of catalogues for social interaction can be found on other levels too: the texts indicate the names of agents offering to participate in an auction as mediators. The catalogues were thus a form of pre-structured, informal communication, as they were only suggestions to potential buyers and anyone could participate in the auction. Finally, they often contained instructions on how to play, or rather formally take part in, the 'game,' with regard to the scheduling, accepted currencies and payment requirements.

What was the reason for such a normative role? It is obvious that auction catalogues were a key factor to guaranteeing an auction's success. As a procedural handbook for the auction, the catalogue gave guidance, for example, on the collection on offer. It is also important to stress that the auction knew no class boundaries (at least theoretically), but rather levelled out social differences, or, as Cynthia Wall states with regard to late eighteenth-century English auctions: 'The public nature of the auction, as well as its formal structure of competitive bidding, created a spectacle of

[17] *Verordnung, Wie es mit Ver-Auctionirung derer Bücher oder Bibliotheken zu halten* (Georg: Leipzig, 1680).
[18] *Auctions-Ordnung, Wornach bey der Hochlöblichen Friderichs-Universität Zu Halle Diejenigen so der Auction beywohnen, und entweder Bücher hinein geben, oder daraus erkauffen, Sich zu richten haben. Publiciret d. 9. Febr.* ([Halle]: Krebs, 1704).
[19] THOMAS KETELSEN and TILMANN VON STOCKHAUSEN, *Verzeichnis der verkauften Gemälde im deutschsprachigen Raum vor 1800*, vol. 1 (a-hi) (Munich: Saur, 2002), 70.
[20] HANS DIETER GEBAUER, *Bücherauktionen in Deutschland im 17. Jahrhundert* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1981), 78.

commercial and social dynamic […].'[21] Sources suggest that this led to concerns that the commerce could find itself destabilised by conflicts over class and status: the ordinance of Halle (1704), for instance, explicitly responds to this problem when it states that at an auction 'anyone has as much right as anyone else/ without regard to rank/ age or gender.'[22] And referring to the social differences that can be found in an early modern university city: 'The uneducated have the same right to attend the auction as scholars.'[23]

Early modern observers thus paid a great deal of attention to the names and ranks of the people participating in an auction. This can be seen, for example, in an interleaved catalogue from 1798, which will be discussed in more detail in a later paragraph: the catalogue, inviting to a book auction held in Wolfenbüttel, records the highest bids and the buyers' names, including, as was common, their ranks and titles. Among these buyers were (noble) members of cathedral chapters, knights (lower nobility), courtiers, as well as other clerics, university professors and civil servants, even noble women took part. It was, therefore, a socially diverse community.

Significantly, the catalogue did not mention the many agents present; the author was not interested in the agents but in their clients and their bids. To him, the agents did not actively take part in the auction (which also makes this source interesting for research addressing the history of agents at auctions). The author does, however, make a difference between those bidders who were physically present and those who were not. The first group of bidders are recorded by their names. Those clients who sent an agent are referred to as living 'in' a specific town (such as 'Student Meyer *in* Gandersheim'). Clearly, the author's aim was to document the auction not only in economic terms, but also in social terms, by informing the readers about which person could claim to have won which bid.[24]

The public nature of the auction, the competitive bidding in a face-to-face setting and its principle that only one person could take the object home, were unique to auctions and made them very prone to conflict. In this context, object lists were not only products of early modern trading activities; their content also aimed to structure social interaction in various ways, thus contributing to the early modern auctions' political and social success.

Market Guarantee

Using such catalogues, book collectors, coin collectors, natural scientists and other individuals, as well as academies and universities, sought to assemble collections and to document, compare and classify objects circulating on the market in terms of their

[21] WALL, 'The English Auction,' 2.
[22] *Auctions-Ordnung* 1704, § XXVI.
[23] *Auctions-Ordnung* 1704, § XXVI.
[24] *Systematisches Verzeichniß von Büchern, aus allen Theilen der Wissenschaften insbesondere historischen und in französischer Sprache, welche vom 17ten August an zu Helmstädt öffentlich versteigert werden* (Helmstedt: Kühnlin, 1789), Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, DE (HAB henceforth): H: Q 421.4° Helmst., digitally available: http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/q-421-4f-helmst/start.htm (accessed September 1, 2020).

type, provenance and economic value. The owners of collections or those wishing to sell them used catalogues to market them. For example, they gave long introductions to their collections and to the models used to assemble, arrange and describe the objects, as well as providing information on the social networks that had influenced and supported them. The sellers also used auction catalogues to spread their biographical information, and so they also served as memorials. [25]

One reason why auction catalogues were used to convey so much (paratextual) information was that these object lists circulated freely and in an increasingly large market. The auction served as a multiplier for such textual self-representations. At the same time, the auction as a trade business was important for how the readers thought about the content of an auction catalogue, in terms of its credibility. It should be emphasised again that auctions were not a socially exclusive, restrictive business, and that the dissemination of the catalogues could not be controlled. Therefore, the auction was a market-based system. To be true, the commercial aspect did not prevent traders from circulating misleading descriptions: according to one anecdote, the Dutch classical philologist Isaac Vossius (1618–1689) wrote an auction catalogue in which he promoted a small, insignificant tract with the lurid statement that it contained mathematical proof that the pope was an antichrist. Based solely on this description, the book was sold at auction for a much higher price than expected.[26] However, due to the nature of the auction as open, not socially exclusive commerce, it was generally accepted that it was market-regulated (i.e., by the buyers who read the catalogues, circulated them, took part in auctions and bought items, or, in the event of fraud, turned their backs on them). The market-based setting created a framework in which auction catalogue readers were led to believe that false or misleading descriptions could at least not circulate *en masse*. Thus, the auction is yet another field in which early modern commerce contributed to the transmission of knowledge according to its own logic; in this case, the market in a sense vouched for the general credibility of the object descriptions.[27] In other words, the value of the catalogue as an influential order of knowledge was rooted in the social and commercial interaction at auctions.

Interleaved Auction Catalogues: Used Catalogues as a Source for Exploring Social Interaction

Perhaps the most descriptive way to explore printed documents as intermedial objects in social interaction is to take a closer look at used auction catalogues and the material traces that can be found in individual copies. Recent scholarship on the history of knowledge has paid much attention to the appropriation of books through the inscription of manuscript marginalia and similar iconic and paralinguistic components

[25] On book catalogues: WALSBY, 'Book Lists,' 10; BLOM, JAGERSMA and REBOUL, 'Printed Private Library Catalogues,' 252 and 258.
[26] ASTRID C. BALSEM, 'Collecting the Ultimate Scholar's Library: The Bibliotheca Vossiana,' in *Isaac Vossius (1618-1689) between Science and Scholarship*, eds ERIC JORINK and DIRK VAN MIERT (Leiden [u.a.]: Brill, 2012), 281–309. For further examples: Wall, 'The English Auction,' 11.
[27] DÁNIEL MARGÓCSY, *Commercial Visions: Science, Trade, and Visual Culture in the Dutch Golden Age* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2014).

– commentaries, notes, underlining, signs and sketches. Indeed, these marginalia provide information on the knowledge and understandings of individual readers or writers, changes in visual designs and the social interaction that could be had with and through a book.

Research on the practice of binding additional, blank sheets for the purpose of commentary between the printed pages of individual working copies of a text is still in its infancy. Whereas the term interleaving or interfoliate is used in English, other languages make a more specific distinction between the practice of interspersing in general (adding various blank sheets, in diverse places) and interleaving with one white sheet per printed page (*doorschoten* in Dutch or *durchschossen* in German).[28] Finished printed texts could be relatively easily augmented by extra pages. As is well known, prints were usually sold unbound or only very rudimentarily bound together with threads. The interleaving changed the books' appearance considerably, not only as regards their size. It was also not uncommon for the selected leaves to have a different, larger format.

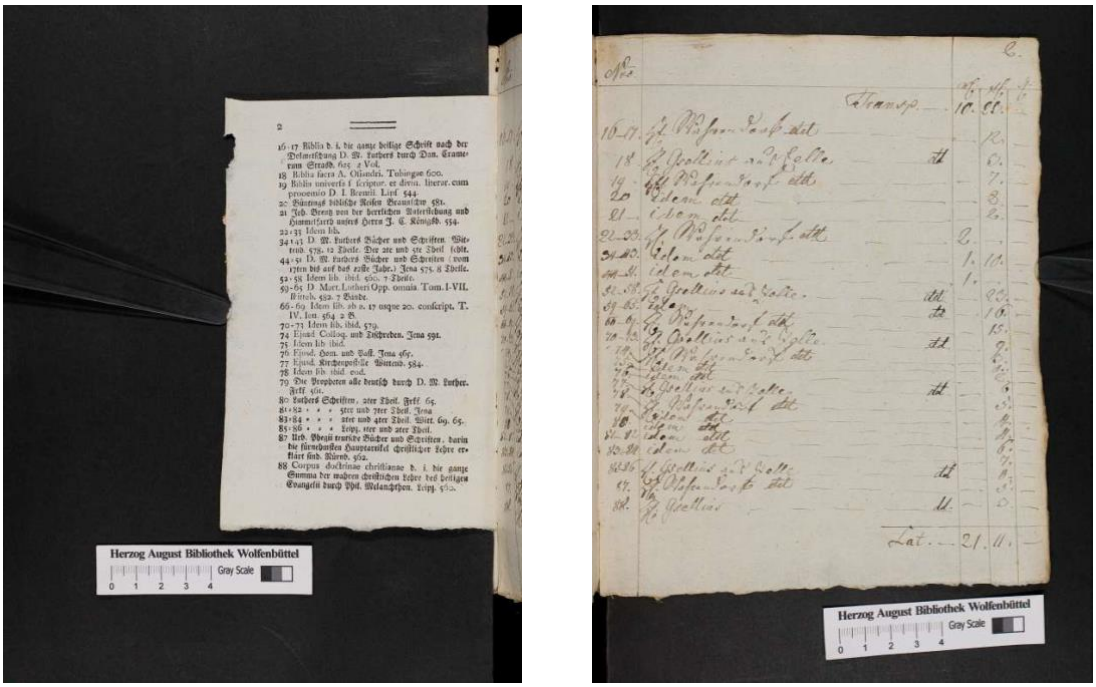


Figure 2: Binding of an auction catalogue: format differences between the printed and interleaved pages, *Systematisches Verzeichniß von Büchern, aus allen Theilen der Wissenschaften insbesondere historischen* (Helmstädt: Kühnlin, 1789), pp. 12 (2), 13, Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, H: Q 421.4° Helmst., http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/q-421-4f-helmst/start.htm.

[28] On the German definition: Arndt Brendecke, 'Durchschossene Exemplare. Über eine Schnittstelle zwischen Handschrift und Druck,' *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 59 (2005): 91–105.

Library catalogues suggest that this practice became increasingly popular in the course of the early modern period. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, publishers offered texts in simple and interleaved formats. A rare books library, the Herzog August Bibliothek in Germany, holds over 800 interleaved copies from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, including calendars, emblem books and textbooks. It is assumed that this practice reached a peak at the end of the eighteenth century, when engraved portraits on blank sheets were also pasted in (a practice known as grangerising). The initial research on interleaved books focused primarily on the writers' knowledge.[29] In 2006, Anne C. Henry expanded the focus in an essay on 'blank' emblems in novels. Moving beyond a marginalia-centred approach, she analyses the interplay of the printed and blank sheet in terms of visual strategies and discusses the role that interspersed texts play in making up our world. Using real and metaphorical 'blank sheets' as examples, she argues that the interplay of print and manuscript can form its own narrative.[30] In recent years, other contributions have turned to epistemic practices too. By aligning avenues of inquiry from the history of science and book history, they scrutinise the juxtaposition of print and manuscript and assess how this advanced knowledge. As Arndt Brendecke, who has analysed interleaved historical tables, puts it, knowledge is not constituted in one medium alone, but always in intertextual and cross-medial interplay.[31]

Auction catalogues have so far received little to no attention in this context. Anne C. Henry mentions 'sales catalogues where prices are added to the blank sheets' in the 'work-related interleaves' category, which she rightly criticises but does not go into any further detail; her interest lies in 'blank' literature.[32] Admittedly, a cursory glance at auction catalogues reveals a rather monotonous appearance; most catalogues only contain names and prices, which may explain why interleaved copies and their story in the history of trade and knowledge has so far been neglected by modern scholarship.

Marginalia in Auction Catalogues and Advancing Knowledge through Interleaved Catalogues

Before dealing with the special intermedial connection between interleaved catalogues and the social setting of an auction, a few preliminary remarks on the appropriation of auction catalogues are necessary. As one would expect given the wealth of information provided by these sources, many surviving auction catalogues contain marginal notes.[33] A case in point is a widely used book catalogue that was

[29] HEATHER J. JACKSON, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 2001), 34.
[30] ANNE C. HENRY, 'Blank Emblems: The Vacant Page, the Interleaved Book and the Eighteenth-century Novel,' *Word and Image* 22 (2006): 363–71.
[31] BRENDECKE, 'Durchschossene Exemplare,' 64. See also PETRA FEUERSTEIN-HERZ, 'Seitenwechsel. Handschrift und Druck in durchschossenen Buchexemplaren der frühen Neuzeit,' *Materialität: Von Blättern und Seiten* 9 (2019): 19–26.
[32] HENRY, 'Blank Emblems,' 365.
[33] On the dissemination of auction catalogues in general see ANDREW PETTEGREE and ARTHUR DER WEDUWEN, *The Bookshop of the World: Making and Trading Books in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 2019).

printed to sell a book collection assembled by a certain religious figure named Cardinal Du Bois (1656–1723). The auction, with its almost 30,000 lot numbers, lasted about two months and is considered the largest of its time. Of the more than 60 copies of the catalogue known today, about a quarter contain marginalia.[34] Many art sales catalogues with and without annotations have survived too, in more than ten, twenty or in some cases thirty copies.[35]

As mentioned above, auction catalogues were also equipped with blank pages for the purpose of commentary: we know of copies containing mere blank sheets to which the planned commentary was not added (even several copies for one work) as well as copies with interspersed pages that contain a rudimentary commentary only. A rare example, preserved by the Herzog August Bibliothek, of an interleaved book sales catalogue with a commentary on the actual text deals with the bibliographical data.[36] However, in the vast majority of cases, the writing space was not created to comment on the individual lots or the history of the collection, but to record the auction, that is, the buyers and prices of the respective lots. For the dealers, the blank sheets were an instrument to counteract the transitory nature of the economically and socially significant event. As the bidders usually paid at the end of the auction, it was important for the dealers to keep exact records of the action in order to be able to successfully enforce financial claims. The high density of marginalia in interleaved copies also proves that a number of people, whether observers, readers or copyists, were interested in capturing this brief snapshot of a publicly conducted trading transaction. After all, it offered the rare opportunity to trace which persons had bought which object and at what price – and thus to acquire not only information on individual lot numbers but also on the object, market and buyer in relational terms too. To be more specific: the auction itself, and the interleaved catalogues even more so, enabled observers at auctions and readers of the catalogues to determine the objects' value. As the objects were sold one after the other, auctions told their audiences which groups of objects fetched particularly good prices (and which did not). In other words, the different price levels were made visible, which, as the research has shown, promoted the formation of taste.[37]

Besides this, the retail business and text could serve as sources providing information on buyer behaviour in terms of which items were bought by which different social groups (e.g., academics, courtiers and aristocrats).[38] Many user traces

[34] *Bibliotheca Duboisiana ou Catalogue De La Bibliotheque De feu son Eminence Monseigneur le Cardinal Du Bois* (The Hague: Johannes Swart & Pieter de Hondt, 1725), see, for example, data in *Book Sales Catalogues Online (BSCO) - Book Auctioning in the Dutch Republic, ca. 1500-ca. 1800*, advisor: Brill (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), https://primarysources.brillonline.com/browse/book-sales-catalogues-online, s.v. "Bibliotheca Duboisiana" (accessed September 1, 2020).
[35] FRITS LUGTS, *Répertoire des Catalogues de Ventes Publiques intéressant l'Art ou la Curiosité, 1, Première période, vers 1600-1825* (La Haye, 1937).
[36] *Catalogus librorum maximam partem nitidissime compactorum rarissimorumque quibus dum viveret usus est Gottfrid. Leonardus Baudis* (Leipzig: Winckler, [1740]).
[37] See, among others, DE MUNCK and LYNA, eds, *Concepts of Value*.
[38] With regard to the social relevance of auctions see also WALL, 'The English Auction.'

contained close to the buyers' names in the catalogues show how important catalogues were as a medium for generating knowledge on certain buyers in relation to others, even in retrospect. The catalogues enabled early modern observers, readers and copiers to compare not only which individuals, but also which collectives, primarily purchased which objects and at what price. This is shown by the above-mentioned catalogue from 1798, which records the bids and the buyer names, including their ranks and titles: abbots, university professors, members of cathedral chapters, knights (lower nobility), courtiers and civil servants among others.[39] On the basis of the data contained in the catalogues, readers could regroup and reorder information on buyers. The catalogues thus opened up ways of producing new knowledge in terms of the social dimension of trade.

Interleaved Interaction

Whereas interleaved prints in general have been described as witnesses of the early modern experience of both reading and writing, auction catalogues can be treated as an intermedial interplay of printing, social interaction and the handwritten accounting or documentation of trade. This interplay becomes apparent in another, so far neglected group of hybrid auction catalogues: interleaved copies containing the auction minutes, that is, the buyers' names and highest bids.

As indicated, eighteenth-century Germany saw a rise in regulations designed to structure auctions and make them transparent. In the case of book auctions, this effort was related to censorship. In general, the decrees also aimed to prevent fraud (on the part of the auctioneers as well as the bidders) and, not least, as will be discussed herein, to guarantee social openness in this face-to-face setting that produced 'winners' and 'losers,' (ideally) irrespective of the person and his rank. Economists of the time, for instance, welcomed auctions as a good thing, as long as they were open to all and the objects were sold at the highest bid; auctions were seen as a way to promote the circulation of goods and money, and, ultimately, not only to boost the economy but also to change society by enabling social mobility. In Prussia, this led to a decree (1756) which appointed an official auctioneer. One of his key duties was to record the bidders' names and bids to ensure, among other things, that there would be no reason for contestation afterwards, as there was a tendency for bidders to dispute the results and the auction to end in turmoil (a subject that was dealt with in almost all of the ordinances).[40]

Another item introduced to auctions was the interleaved auction catalogue, which can be found in auction orders of the University of Halle (1704), the University

[39] *Systematisches Verzeichniß*.
[40] 'No. XLIII. Reglement und Instruction für die Auctionatoren. De Dato Berlin, den 12ten April 1756,' in *Novum Corpus Constitutionum Prussico-Brandenburgensium Praecipue Marchicarum ... von 1756 ... und 1760*, ed. CHRISTIAN OTTO MYLIUS, vol. 2 (Berlin: Königlich Preuß. Akad. der Wiss., 1760), 58–68.

of Göttingen (1737) and the City of Nuremberg (1795), to name but a few.[41] These decrees relate primarily to book auctions, which were more regulated than art and household goods sales. They did, however, also serve as models for other auctions.[42]

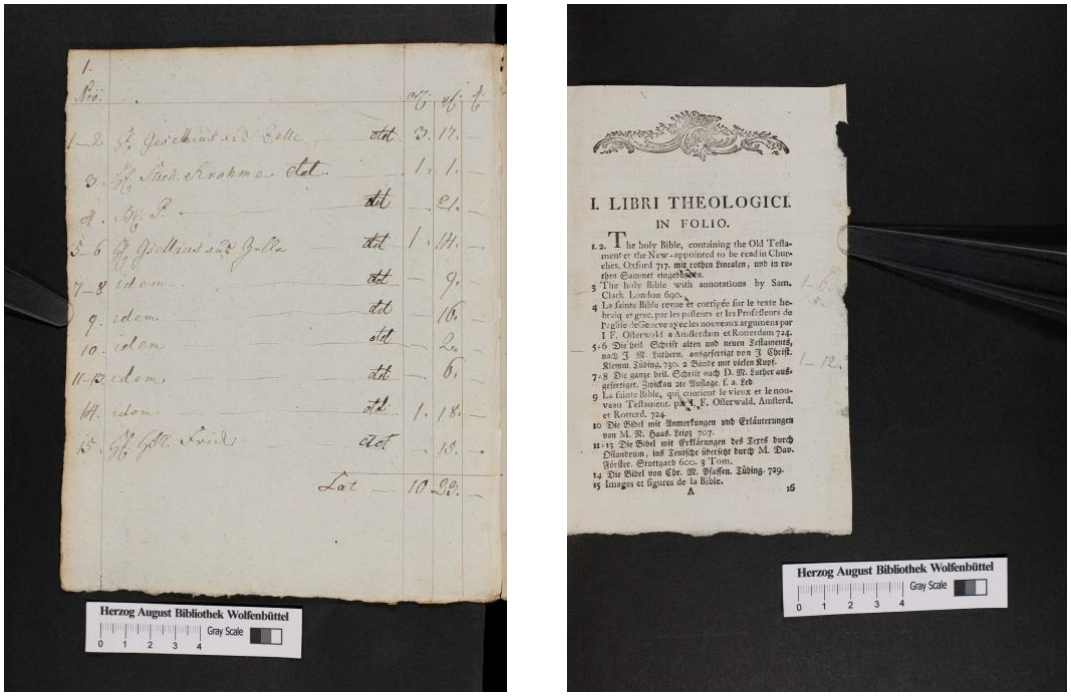


Figure 3: Inside an interleaved auction catalogue: the printed list and auction minutes. *Systematisches Verzeichniß von Büchern, aus allen Theilen der Wissenschaften insbesondere historischen* (Helmstädt: Kühnlin, 1789), pp. 10, 11, Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, H: Q 421.4° Helmst., http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/q-421-4f-helmst/start.htm.

A closer look at these hybrid catalogues reveals that they can easily be identified by the different size of the interleaved writing paper. In many cases, the manuscript leaves also have their own pagination. There are a few pitfalls to consider when analysing interleaved auction catalogues. For example, as many of these manuscripts are unfortunately not signed by the authors, it is difficult to establish whether they were created for personal use (as informal or personal records), or for official use. A case in point is a rare copy from the seventeenth century of an auction catalogue for the private collection of Herman Conring, known for his significant works on German medicine, politics and law

[41] Göttingen 1737; *Verordnung Wie es mit denen Bücher-Auctionen zu Göttingen, zu halten* ([Hannover], 1737); ERNST L. HAUSWEDELL, 'Auktionsordnung der Stadt Nürnberg von 1770,' in *Bibliothek, Buch, Geschichte*, ed. GÜNTHER PFLUG (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 1977), 241–48.

[42] As can been seen for example regarding the city of Gotha's auction decree: 'Vorschrift, welche bey denen in allhiesiger Residenz-Stadt Gotha vorzunehmenden Auctionen zu beobachten ist, vom 19ten Martii 1783,' *Zusatz zum ersten Theile der neuen Beyfugen zur Landes-Ordnung*, ed. Herzogl. Sächs. Regierung, vol. 6 (Gotha, [1804]).

(1694). This catalogue is interleaved with large sheets of paper, containing the names of more than sixty buyers, among these professors from the nearby university of Helmstedt, officials from nearby cities, and other individuals from the Wolfenbüttel court and territorial administration.[43] The neat handwriting and layout suggest that the manuscript was not created during the actual auction but rather ex post, most likely by the auctioneer as a report for Conring's heirs who sold the collection after his death.

In the eighteenth century, this practice became more common, and increasingly, the documenting took place during the actual event. A manuscript bound in a catalogue called the 'Systematic Book List from All Fields of Science,' also kept in Wolfenbüttel and published in 1789, contains corrections made to the text in a hasty script, giving a better impression of the dynamic nature of an auction.[44] The collection, with about 9,000 lot numbers, is listed on 369 pages. The total number of pages is 770, because it contains an extra page in a larger format after each printed sheet. As is also the case of the Conring catalogue copy, we do not know for sure who created this hybrid object list or who recorded the minutes. Most likely it was the auctioneer, as the record also notes that the bids were paid. We know for sure that this was the case regarding another hybrid catalogue, which was put together and signed by an appointed officer in charge of auctioning the collection of a deceased lawyer.[45]

Other copies seem to be of a more private, individual nature. A case in point is a copy of a catalogue from 1737, which, like its more official counterparts, records the bidders' names and the highest bids. In contrast, however, it does not include information on whether the bids were paid and instead deviates from the normal pattern. Its main interest lies in the bidders and the bids. What is more, it explores the behaviour of one particular bidder, a university professor at the university of Helmstedt, Johann Nikolaus Frobese, in detail (the author underlines his name throughout the copy). Frobese had only recently been awarded a chair in metaphysics, and ranked at the lowest end of the professorial scale. He still had to work his way up in the academic order, which could explain his eagerness to buy books and the interest the author (the same Frobese perhaps?) shows in this ambition.[46]

A further difficulty concerns the structure of the medium as such. In most cases we cannot say with certainty whether the blank sheets were inserted before or after the

[43] *Catalogus Bibliothecae Conringianae* (Helmstedt: Hamm, 1694), HAB: H: Q 42.4° Helmst., digitally available: http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/q-42-4f-helmst/start.htm (accessed September 1, 2020); on this collection see PAUL RAABE, 'Die Bibliotheca Conringiana,' in *Hermann Conring (1606–1681). Beiträge zur Leben und Werk*, ed. MICHAEL STOLLEIS (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1983), 413–34.

[44] *Systematisches Verzeichniß*.

[45] *Bibliotheca Kochiana: Wolfenbvttelae D. XXXI. Avgvsti MDCCLXVII. Lege Avctionis Vendenda; Accedit Appendix Librorvm et Nvmismatvm ([Wolfenbüttel]: Literis I. W. Bindseil, [1767])*, HAB: Cod. Guelf. 171 Noviss. 2°.

[46] M: Bc 96 *Johann Gothofried Lakemacheri Prof. LL. Oriental. in Acad. Julia Quondam Ordinarii et Celeberrimi Selecta Bibliotheca Philologica, Libros in Qualibet Philologiae Parte Insigniores Aeque ac Rariores Complectens; Quae Publicae Auctionis Ritu Helmstadii Anno MDCCXXXVII. Die XIX. Januarii et Sequentibus Horis ... Pro Parata Pecunia inter plus Licitantes Distrahetur* (Helmstedt: Drimborn, 1736). HAB: M: Bc 1182. Digitally available: http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/bc-1182/start.htm (accessed September 1, 2020).

auction. Some regulations stipulated that the interleaved copies had to be prepared before the auction. According to rules in Göttingen, for instance, the secretary directly recorded the names of the bidders and highest bids in an interleaved copy of the catalogue. However, the extra pagination of the minutes seems to show the opposite. It rather indicates that, to begin with, the minutes were individual objects and were merged with the printed text into one medium at a later stage; this was clearly more practical for the person who took the minutes, as he (or, less likely, she) could lay the paper flat out in front of him (her).

Why were auctions recorded in this sort of catalogue? How could this new method of merging print and manuscript have contributed to structuring the auction and guaranteeing transparency and equality in this socially diverse and, due to its public nature, performative setting? Besides serving as a way to document, collect and constitute knowledge on buyers, interleaved auction catalogues were functional in that they forced the auctioneers and bidders to follow procedural rules. As I have mentioned, we cannot say with certainty that the interleaved copies were used at the actual auction. However, with regard to their organisational principles, it did not make a big difference whether or not the interleaved copy had been prepared previously. What was crucial for the procedure was that the catalogues would at some point (if not during the auction then later) serve as an archive. In order for this to work, two preconditions had to be met: Firstly, the print had to be available to the person taking the minutes so that he knew which lot numbers to document on which page (so that the minutes' layout would fit that of the print). Secondly, the given order in the catalogue had to be strictly adhered to; any deviation from it would have made it impossible for the auctioneer or secretary to record the bids. Thus, this new method put the catalogue at the centre of the auction and turned it into its script, thereby limiting how the objects could be sold and the way in which the attendants could interact. This did not only impose restrictions on the auctioneers, who could not freely choose which objects to present when or respond to the dynamics of the face-to-face setting. It also reduced the bidders' chances to refuse bids they did not – or, in view of their ranks – could not accept by claiming procedural irregularities.

This is the final development towards defining the catalogue as a 'script.' As a result, the auction, a socially dynamic event, was placed on a firmer footing. These hybrid prints also raise questions that pertain to the social and cultural history of the auction in general, which can only be hinted at herein. In line with the scholarship on interleaved rare books, I would argue that the interplay of print and manuscript creates its own epistemic perspective or narrative. The auction minutes provide evidence for the catalogues, in the sense that their contents gain greater credibility; the buyers' names and prices make these catalogues particularly 'trustworthy' trade documents. But, more to the point of this paper, how did the interplay impact the perception of the public nature of auctions? In accordance with Cynthia Wall's claim that eighteenth-century English auctions exhibited 'the changing possibilities of social boundaries,' one could argue that the documentation and notes kept of the bidders' names, interlinked with the auction

catalogue, shaped the social and cultural power of auctions as spectacles that could potentially change the social order.[47]

Though further research is needed on when these hybrids were used and by whom, their relevance is undisputable. This can be shown, for example, by the fact that in the early modern period auction catalogues were seen as important sources for academic teaching; both the catalogues and the marginalia they contained were widely discussed in journals of the time.[48] These sources suggest that due to the social openness of auctions, these catalogues were not only considered to be easily accessible but were also deemed 'public' sources, just waiting to be exploited in terms of the object knowledge they provided. For instance, in a journal article from 1783 on book prices and how best to contain what the author considered the growing greed among booksellers, price lists recorded in auction catalogues were introduced as an overlooked source and solution to this economic and social problem. According to the author, such records could be used to establish an average book price for every book ever to have been published, thereby largely ignoring any differences in size, edition or other individual features a book might have. The writer's two main assertions were that auction catalogues containing such data were easily accessible (although it is not said where) and that, due to their competitive nature, auctions rarely sold overpriced objects. According to this argumentation, the article claimed that the model could also be used to assess general education or erudition (*Gelehrsamkeit*), as it provided comparable data of how much people of a certain region were prepared to pay for any given book.

In this argumentation, bizarre as it may seem today, the author treated auctions, at large, as open market sales that guaranteed fair trade. Neither the social conflicts that the catalogues initially aimed to limit, nor the social context that impacted both the bidding process and the prices at which objects were sold, were considered in this late-eighteenth-century model, but the trade data, produced by a supposedly public market.[49] On the whole, this model shows the relevance that was attributed to these hybrid auction catalogues for social and economic questions that could lie beyond the object trade. At the same time, it contributed both to shaping a view of the auction as socially inclusive and as culturally powerful in terms of its potential to change societies, and to disseminating an understanding of the social interaction that took place there.

Indeed, these hybrid catalogues also raise questions pertaining to the social interaction that took place at auctions, for example: What new concepts did auctioneers invent to market things when, due to an increase in rules regulating auctions, these printed documents were upgraded to scripts and functioned as templates for the auction? Or, in terms of the catalogue's position in the auction business: What effect did it have

[47] WALL, 'The English Auction,' 6.
[48] GEBAUER, *Bücherauktionen*, 68 and 81. With regard to art catalogues: STOCKHAUSEN, 'Formen des Ordnens,' 99; FLEMMING SCHOCK, 'Bücher in Bewegung. Bibliotheken und Buchauktionen in den gelehrten Journalen des 18. Jahrhunderts,' in *Wissen in Bewegung. Gelehrte Journale, Debatten und der Buchhandel der Aufklärung*, ed. KATRIN LÖFFLER (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2020), 75–90.
[49] 'Ueber die Kenntniß der mittlern Auctionspreise von Büchern,' *Wittenbergisches Wochenblatt 12 (March, 28, 1783), 89-94 and 14 (Paril, 11, 1783)*: 105-108.

on these printed documents that the conditions for holding auctions had changed? These documents indicate that their potential use as scripts for social interaction at auctions (for the bidding procedure) was taken into account when they were made. This can be seen in the order of the page breaks: in many (especially later) catalogues every new page starts with a new lot number. Each printed page thus forms a textual unit. In a sense, this is a concession to those who wished to fill the printed copies with extra sheets for individual use. Thus, interleaved catalogues allow us to refocus attention on intersections between different media (print and manuscript). At the same time, these hybrids call for research on this interplay which takes into account the social interaction that accompanied and produced it.

Conclusion

This paper advocates an approach that includes the praxeological dimension of auctions in the study of auction catalogues. It argues that, in order to better understand their characteristics, we need to look more closely at the specific social setting at which they were aimed, which, in turn, affected how they were used and what they tell us about the objects. The first paragraph serves as a framework for this approach: as explained in detail with regard to the fictional dimension of auction catalogues, the lot number descriptions often appeared to be a close account of the former life of a collection (the former practice of collecting) and did not necessarily aim to provide a comprehensive overview of the collection. Also, though not initially intended to be the heart of the actual event, auction catalogues gradually began to serve as 'scripts,' structuring and enabling the social interaction in various ways (in a performative role). Finally, on a more general level, this contribution considers how the open market and the social interaction at auctions impacted the dissemination of these orders of knowledge. A closer look at interleaved auction catalogues not only confirms the complex relationship between catalogue and event, by explaining in more detail how (and why) the auction catalogue gradually became a template for auctions, it also shows the potential for further research on how catalogues in turn responded to changes in terms of their make-up.

Thus, the aim of my essay is to suggest an approach to auction catalogues that looks beyond object provenance, trade routes and market data. By refocusing on these sources as usable and used objects, it draws attention to their relevance for social interaction and, in turn, their origin in trade activities. On a more general level, this contribution also seeks to rethink the (mercantile) history of knowledge, going beyond an inner view to trace its social dimensions. In recent years, scholars have expanded their focus on the making of knowledge, in terms of the material preconditions for it (printing, miscellaneous orders, etc.) on the one hand, and social ties and networks on the other. This is furthered by attempting to embed these practices in social and commercial interaction. In order to fully understand early modern (object) knowledge and trade, we need to look more closely at how they were shaped by cross-media interplay.

Historians and Their Craft

An Interview with Giancarlo Casale

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Giancarlo Casale is Chair of Early Modern Mediterranean History at the European University Institute in Florence, as well as a permanent member of the history faculty at the University of Minnesota. His new book, *Prisoner of the Infidels: The Memoir of an Ottoman Muslim in Seventeenth-Century Europe* will be released in summer 2021 from the University of California Press. Casale is also the author of award-winning *Ottoman Age of Exploration* (Oxford, 2011), and since 2010 has served as executive editor of the *Journal of Early Modern History*.

When we both started studying Ottoman history, this was not the most obvious choice of subject, especially for someone without a personal connection to the region. How did you get interested in Ottoman history and what have been the encounters, influences, personal choices and also fortuitous events that have shaped your intellectual and personal itinerary? Being an Ottoman historian, was it your 'kismet'?

Complete *kismet*. Retrospective *kismet*, if there is such a thing. The truth is that I had no background at all in Ottoman history before beginning my PhD. I was originally a physics major as an undergraduate, but I failed out and ended up choosing history because I had already accumulated some credits, so it was a way of getting a degree without losing too much time. Of course, I could say that I was interested in physics because of a fascination with space and time and relativity, and was attracted to history as a way to study the same things without the math. There is some truth in this. But in the end, it was essentially a practical choice.

My subsequent encounter with Ottoman history was completely fortuitous too. When I decided to apply to graduate school, I had an astonishingly poor understanding of what doing a PhD might involve. I didn't even really grasp, for example, that you were supposed to have a topic to propose as a dissertation! But it happened that my eventual advisor, Cemal Kafadar, was at that time planning to start a research project in Italy and thought it would be interesting for somebody who knew Italian and had a background in Mediterranean history to be studying with him. I was actually living in Padova, Italy, at the time, working odd jobs and because this was before email had really taken hold, in my application I had given my mother's US phone number. Kafadar called my mother and the two of them more or less worked out the details on their own. I accepted without really knowing what I was getting into and, once I began,

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because my funding was based on the requirement of learning Arabic and Turkish, there was no turning back. I was like the Wizard of Oz on the balloon.

Another element of personal *kismet* is that, when I was born, because I have a relatively swarthy complexion, my grandmother called me *u saracineddu*, which means 'the little Saracen' in her dialect. Ever since, people have often assumed, from the way I look, that I am from the Middle East. So, who knows, maybe unconsciously this had something to do with my later choices in life.

This brings us directly to the next question. What do you think is the role that chance and serendipity play in your historical research and historical research more in general?

Historical research for me is almost completely serendipitous. This is not true for everyone. I see that for some of my colleagues and students, their idea of research is much more bureaucratic. You start by identifying a collection of documents, then you go and read the documents, and then you decide what sort of argument you can make based on that particular collection. But I never really have been able to do that. I always come across something by chance and, for some reason, it catches my attention. Later something else comes up that intersects with it and then I follow the lead. Maybe this is not a very good way to work, but...

As you know, this section of* Cromohs *is entitled 'Historians and Their Craft.' What is your personal definition of the historian's craft? And what is the connection that you see between the craft of the historian and the contribution that historians can or should give to the understanding of the world we live in?

I think, first of all, that history is a very powerful discipline, much more powerful than we typically realise. At a fundamental level, everyone thinks about the world and tries to make sense of it, in terms of a story. This is just the way human beings' minds work. So, whenever people ask really big, important questions, these questions are predetermined, consciously or unconsciously, by the stories about the past that they carry in their heads. And so, in the most general terms, the historian's craft is to identify these stories and anticipate the way they predetermine the questions we ask about the world. And then, to the extent that it's feasible, to open the door to asking questions in new ways, by changing the direction of these underlying stories.

I also think that Ottoman history is an incredibly interesting and challenging field for doing precisely this. As you know as well as I, over the course of our careers there has been a complete transformation in the way that people think about history in the part of the world that used to be the Ottoman Empire. You could even say that, until a couple of decades ago, Ottoman history didn't really exist at all, in the sense that it was understood as a *period* of history instead of a *field* of history. One could study the Ottoman period of Bulgarian history, the Ottoman period of Turkish history, the Ottoman period of Egyptian history, and so forth, but there was very little sense that all these countries had a shared history as a result of once belonging to the same political entity. On the other hand, the one thing that almost everyone, working in all

of these different national traditions, could agree on about the Ottoman past was that it was a failure, or a humiliating 'dark age' that should probably best be forgotten.

This perception has changed so dramatically, and so quickly, it's almost breath-taking. Today, in most places that were once part of the Ottoman Empire, the relationship with the Ottoman past is now understood as an extremely active and evolving project, and one that deserves constant scrutiny and discussion. Of course, there is a dark side of that too, which is that the stakes have become much, much higher. I am sure you and I both have the same number of friends who have been politically blacklisted, or who can't go back to their countries as a consequence. But if this is happening, it is precisely because history means so much more now in the public sphere than it did, say, twenty years ago.

Going back to the craft of the historian, there are lot of specific challenges that Ottomanists face and special skills that they have to acquire. In which way do you think those skills and those challenges are different from the skills that other historians use and the challenges that they face?

During my very first Ottoman Turkish class, my *rahmetli* ('late') Ottoman Turkish professor, Şinasi Tekin, told us that to learn Ottoman Turkish, we had to follow what he called 'Mickey Mouse Rules.' The first Mickey Mouse Rule was this: 'If somebody, anybody, tells you they know Ottoman Turkish, it is *bullshit!*' He said this last word with particular emphasis, pounding his fist, and then explained: 'You cannot learn Ottoman Turkish, you can only learn to use the dictionary!' Then he moved on to his second Mickey Mouse Rule, which was perhaps even more alarming: 'If you see a word you don't know, look in the dictionary. If you see a word you *do* know... look in the dictionary!' And again, the pounding fist.

I am very grateful to Şinasi Bey for teaching me these rules, above all because they prepared me for something that is extremely difficult for people not already trained as Ottomanists to appreciate: the basic act of reading something, almost anything, in Ottoman Turkish is just so difficult. And the result, for so many of us, is this perpetual feeling of charlatanism. I can't tell you how many of my colleagues, even some of my teachers, have privately admitted to having the same feeling I do whenever I sit in front of a new Ottoman document: that first moment when you are looking at it, and you are trying to make sense of it, and you just feel so devastated – because it's your job to understand, but you don't! It's such a challenge at the basic level of comprehension.

Of course, this is something that is gradually changing over time, in part because of technology. We now have access to digital catalogues of archival collections, we can do keyword searches in the archives, more and more critical editions of manuscripts are being published, online dictionaries are becoming quite sophisticated, and so forth. All of this is transforming research, making it possible to absorb and to process sources much more quickly than used to be the case. But it is still true that the basic bar for

entry in Ottoman studies, in the sense of just being able to understand what a source is saying, remains extremely high.

Compounding this is another factor, that you might call 'pressure from the outside.' By this I mean the rising interest in Ottoman history by scholars who are not specifically in the field. This is a quite recent development and overall a welcome one. But the fact is that scholars more familiar with, say, early modern European history, or contemporary global history, have expectations about the availability of sources and about the possibilities of doing research, that are simply not realistic in Ottoman history. The result is often a kind of embarrassment at not being able to fulfil these expectations, and a temptation to close yourself off in the little world of people who share the same challenges and difficulties, and can fully appreciate your work. This is, I think, something that you can see continually playing out in Ottoman history, this unresolvable tension between wanting colleagues from outside the field to pay attention, but at the same time resenting their basic lack of comprehension. At some level, I imagine this is an experience shared by specialists in most fields of non-Western, pre-modern history – fields which most Ottomanists haven't tried hard enough to engage with, in my opinion.

On the other side, in Turkey, and not only, there seems to be a general craze for all things Ottoman. In recent years we've seen an explosion of Ottoman themed 'dizi' ('Turkish TV serials'), historical novels, films, reconstructions, and video games, whose historical accuracy is often quite dubious. What do you think about these media and about unorthodox ways of dealing with history? Is it possible to convey historical research differently?

I think this evolving media ecosystem is changing the way we think about narration fundamentally, and by no means only for Ottomanists. The old idea of a self-contained book – which you, as an author, have control over, obliging your reader to follow you from the beginning to the end – that model just isn't operative anymore. Now, rather than reading a book from cover to cover, most people read a bit of something, they stop to google a word, they see a link and click it, this takes them to a video they decide to watch. Then, if you're lucky, maybe they go back to your book. Like it or not, this is the way people experience and absorb information. And so, it only makes sense that we should try to rethink the way that we work as historians with this in mind. Expectations are fundamental to the way that we present our historical research. If we can't work with people's expectations, they won't understand what we're doing – another version of the same problem we just discussed with respect to our non-Ottomanist colleagues.

To this end, I'm in the middle of writing a short article with a colleague, Nicolas Trépanier, on what videogames can teach about history. For me, the entry point is the realisation of just how important video games have become for my own students' developing understanding of history. And while some might see this as a problem, I see it as the source of all kinds of new possibilities. To give just one example: when I

first started teaching, there was clear expectation that the further away from 'here and now' you went in time and space, the less interesting and meaningful history would be for students. And you could see this clearly in hiring practices and in the way that academic departments were structured, especially in the United States. Almost everybody was doing twentieth-century history and all the classes were about identity, politics and contemporary topics that students didn't have to work very hard to connect to. Recently, however, I can see a very different trend emerging: the *further away* in time and space you go, the more students are curious and engaged. And I think that video games have a lot to do with that, because they really help you to see long sweeps of history, to reconstruct realities of the past vividly and immersively, and to test counterfactuals in very sophisticated ways. That kind of experimentation is inherently fun, but especially when it takes place in completely new, distant, and unfamiliar environments. It's another way to travel in space and time, to go back to the counterfactual physicist Casale from the beginning of this interview.

Of course, there is another important element to consider here, which is that the 'real world' outside of videogames doesn't feel quite as real as it used to – a feeling that has been accelerated by COVID, but was already very present beforehand. The first time I travelled to Istanbul, for example, in 1997 – and you were there too, Rosita, so I'm sure you remember – we were completely immersed in that reality. There was no iPhone that you could carry around in your pocket. No GPS to help find your way. No translating app. There wasn't even anything to watch on TV besides Turkish shows, or anybody to talk to that wasn't a Turkish person. And that was, for me, the most intense intellectual experience that I have ever had: the experience of being in an unfamiliar place, completely cut off from everything that I knew, and forced to somehow make sense of the world. But that kind of experience just doesn't exist anymore. I have since led groups of my own students on study abroad, and they have spent the whole time texting with their friends back home, sending selfies back to their parents, and so forth. It's like they are physically present in a foreign country only in a very partial and attenuated way. But ironically, when they play a video game, they are completely *in* the video game. A good game is too absorbing to stop and text your friends or take pictures of yourself. So, it turns out real life isn't immersive in the same way that a video game is. I find that completely fascinating and something that needs to be taken seriously.

Your writing style is very captivating, accurate, and rich. It is also very entertaining and, sometimes, you include unexpected personal details, such as references to some not entirely flattering reviews you have received. Should history writing be entertaining? Or is there a risk of not being taken seriously?

It absolutely is a risk. In fact, someone once said this to me directly. I was, I think, in Germany, giving a lecture and, as soon as I finished, somebody raised his hand and said: 'Well, thank you for this talk. It was very enjoyable. In fact, it was so enjoyable that I feel it must somehow be wrong.' So there absolutely is an idea that the more boring something is, the more credible it is. And this makes a certain amount of sense,

because if you're trying to get attention, then the obvious way to do that is to sacrifice accuracy for entertainment value, to tell people a good story without worrying about whether it's true or not.

In this respect, history writing is a kind of spectrum. On one end of the spectrum is a historical novel, which is trying to be evocative and compelling without a claim to factual accuracy. And the opposite end of the spectrum would be, I guess, a bunch of documents that bore you to death. Neither of these extremes counts as a work of history, yet every historian has to wrestle with where to come down on the spectrum that lies between them. And this is a choice that has particular implications for Ottoman historians, due to one of the dirtiest secrets of the field: a lot of Ottoman documents are boring, really boring. When you stop to think, it's almost cruel: millions of documents that are unspeakably difficult to read, but when you finally manage to understand them, they bore you to tears.

Now, why exactly are most Ottoman documents 'boring'? I would say that it's because, in a systematic way, they avoid recording individual lived experience. This is a reality that was made extremely clear to me while doing research for my book about the Indian Ocean, for which I divided my time between the Ottoman archives in Istanbul and the Torre do Tombo archives in Lisbon. In Istanbul, I was mostly reading the *Mühimme Defterleri* ('Registers of Important Affairs'), in which were copied all of the important orders issued in the Sultan's name and sent out into the world. Day after day, you can look through these registers and essentially read the Sultan's outgoing mail. Often, you also have references to letters that are coming in, from which you can see that people are continually writing from all over the place. But these letters are not recorded: only the bureaucratic response of the central government was considered worthy of being entered into the record. The Portuguese archives, meanwhile, are almost the opposite. In the *Corpo Cronológico*, for example, you have literally thousands of letters from people stuck in some God-forsaken fort somewhere, trying to convince the central government to do something. They write about the things they have seen and done, the rumours they have heard, their hopes, their regrets. It's all about self-presentation as a way of activating the attention of the people who make decisions.

For the most part, Ottoman archival sources just aren't like that. There are, of course, exceptions. But as a system – at least when speaking about periods before the nineteenth-century – the Ottoman archives seem to resist recording information in this way. Take, for example, the *sicil*s, or Ottoman court records. There are thousands upon thousands of these from throughout the early modern period, and recently they have garnered a great deal of attention, and generated lots of excitement, because of all the possibilities they offer for new kinds of historical research. And they are, indeed, extremely rich sources with all kinds of applications. But compare a *sicil* with a case file from a typical early modern European court of law, or a related source like an inquisition file, and you immediately realise that you are dealing with documentation of a completely different order. In a typical *sicil,* you have almost no actual testimony, or opposing versions of events offered by the litigants, or theories of the case

presented by advocates. Instead, you essentially have a brief synopsis composed by a judge or a scribe, summarizing the case, with barely a trace of the individual litigants' voices. This is a huge limitation on an empirical level. But just as important, I don't think that, as Ottomanists, we have thought enough about why, exactly, our archives are built this way.

Could the acknowledgment of such a limitation benefit Ottoman historical research?

Yes, absolutely. Plenty of other fields have richly benefitted from a heightened awareness of the archive and its limitations. Postcolonial studies, for example, was essentially born out of a recognition that, in places like South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa, there really weren't any archives except for those built by foreign, colonial empires. And this recognition posed the problem of how to write history without reproducing the perspectives and the hierarchies that the colonial authorities had inscribed into their archive – leading to a critical re-evaluation of the very nature of historical research, the need to read sources against the grain, and so forth.

In Ottoman history, this didn't really happen. Instead, the attitude has sort of been 'Wow, that's too bad for those poor South Asians and sub-Saharan Africans, who don't have their own archive. Luckily for us, our archive has 100 million documents!' So, there is this fetishisation of documents and this idea that the 'completeness' of a historical study is in direct proportion to the number of archival sources one puts in the footnotes. I find this attitude extremely frustrating, although I'm also encouraged by some recent work by a younger generation of scholars who are clearly moving in new and different directions.

This brings us right to your latest work,* Prisoners of the Infidels: The Memoir of an Ottoman Muslim in Seventeenth-Century Europe*, which is a study and full English translation of the remarkable autobiographical account of Osman Agha, enslaved during the Ottoman-Habsburg Wars. Who was Osman Agha? And what was it about him that made you shift your attention, until now deeply rooted in the sea and sea exploration, towards central Europe?

As you say, Osman was a young Ottoman soldier who was taken prisoner and held captive by the Habsburgs for more than a decade. In this respect, he was no different from thousands of other Ottoman prisoners of war. But for some reason, after his safe return home, Osman got the idea of composing a full, book-length account of his experience abroad, including his impressions of his captors and their country, the details of his escape, and even his struggles to reintegrate to life back home.

For someone unfamiliar with Ottoman historical sources, this might not seem particularly unusual. There are, after all, literally thousands of first-person accounts by early modern Europeans who travelled to the Ottoman Empire as captives, or merchants, or diplomats, and there is a basic expectation among European historians that the same must be true in reverse. But it really isn't. There are only a handful of very short Ottoman captivity narratives that predate Osman's and none of them have

anything approaching the narrative voice or the level of detail and introspection of Osman's account.

Just as important, Osman's memoir is more than a captivity narrative, since it recounts his entire life from the time he was born until well into the 1720s, more than two decades after his safe return to Ottoman territory. In this sense, it is a *bona fide* autobiography, and a very sophisticated one at that. It is earthy, and funny, with more than its share of plot twists and moments of high drama. But it also addresses extremely profound questions about the fragility of personhood, self-discovery through alienation, and the impossibility of ever truly 'returning home' after enslavement.

In short, Osman's memoir is a precious source in its own right, but doubly so because it provides what the Ottoman archival record so often *resists:* an account by an individual, who records in his own words his experiences, his observations, his feelings, and his aspirations in the form of a completely coherent narrative. And who knows? Maybe some of the things in his memoir didn't actually happen, but were included just for the sake of a good story.

As you mention in your introduction to Osman Agha's memoir, this text has already been translated in several languages. Besides making it available to an English-speaking audience, why did you decide to present a new translation of the text? And, more generally, what do you think is the role of translation in historical practice? Is the importance of translation often overlooked?

I believe translation is one of the most creative intellectual activities that exists. If you think of the Renaissance, this basically started as a translation movement. The same could be said of what we used to call 'Islamic Civilization,' which began, again, with a massive translation movement. And yet, historians have a conflicted relationship with translation. On the one hand, anyone who works as a historian, except for a few colleagues focused narrowly on their own national history, necessarily has to use sources in different languages. Despite this, there is a deeply held belief that translation is not really creative work – a machine could have done the job just as well. In fact, this belief is embedded in the professional structures of our discipline: If you paraphrase or summarise a group of historical documents, adding some notations and a bit of analysis, no one would question this as an original work of history. But if you carefully translate the same documents, again with some notes and analysis, you're likely to get no professional credit at all! Frankly, I find this outrageous. Translation is one of the deepest ways of engaging with historical sources: a complex process through which we recognise that words from a different time and place do not have quite the same meaning that they have for us, requiring us to re-insert them into a rich historical context to fully understand. That's the very essence of history, from my perspective.

As for my specific interest in translating Osman Agha, I obviously wanted to make his writing more accessible and to encourage readers to think about his memoir as a really creative and original work of literature, rather than simply a 'source.' But

that was really only one small part of the motivation. I was just so curious to try to learn how someone like him, with essentially no cultural models to guide him, could have written such a complex and sophisticated autobiographical text. So I decided to try to understand his writing as completely as possible, and the most obvious way to do that was to go through it meticulously and grapple with it word by word. Finally, I have to say that I also just really like the guy. You have to enjoy spending time with somebody to translate their writing.

I will confess one more thing about my reasons for doing a translation. Over the years, I've lost a little bit of confidence in my ability to communicate through historical narrative, partly from the experience of having some of my arguments systematically misunderstood by colleagues. To be clear, I'm not necessarily referring to critics: sometimes, it was rather the people who were ostensibly my most enthusiastic supporters that I could see attributing things to me that I hadn't actually said, or at least not in a way that I had intended. And somehow, I felt that a translation could perhaps be less open to misunderstanding. In other words, by helping somebody else to communicate with his readers across a distance of several hundred years, it made me feel less ambiguous about my own ability to make a historical contribution. So, absolutely, we should be translating more and we should all get more credit for doing it.

What are you currently working on?

For more years than I can count, I have been 'finishing' a book about the connections between intellectual life in the Ottoman Empire and the thought world of the Italian Renaissance. The book basically involves a series of biographical chapters focused on different people who lived in the Ottoman Empire between the middle of the fifteenth and the end of the sixteenth century: a Greek philosopher, a sea captain, a judge, an architect, and so forth. What connects them is that all were engaged in various ways with the idea that the Ottoman Empire was the 'new Rome' and to that end were either translating texts, or writing histories, or describing monuments, or engaging in various kinds of mapping. I focus systematically on architecture and maps alongside texts, because these are two media that can be used to communicate very sophisticated ideas, particularly about time and space and sovereignty, between people who don't necessarily share the same language.

One of my last chapters is about an Ottoman madrasa professor who compiled an encyclopaedia of world geography toward the end of the sixteenth century. It is, to be honest, about the most unoriginal and intellectually cowardly book you could possibly imagine, in which he describes the state of knowledge about the world in his time as if it were unchanged since the fourteenth century: no discovery of the New World, no circumnavigation of Africa, etc. He clearly knew better, but he apparently wrote what he did in the hopes of pleasing his superiors so they would give him a promotion – and they did. But then he spent the next fifteen years rewriting his book not once but twice, each time introducing progressively more radical ideas about the

world and how the understanding of it was being transformed. Eventually, he was fired from his academic position and shipped off to work as a provincial judge. Thereafter, the last and most innovative version of his book was forgotten, while the earliest version was recopied hundreds of times, such that he was later remembered for having written only that one.

This might tell you something about the way I'm thinking about my own work, and how I expect to be remembered in the future.

Transcription of the interview by Wesley Lummus

Book Reviews

The Invention of Papal History
Onofrio Panvinio between Renaissance and Catholic Reform

Stefan Bauer
(Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2020)
(Oxford-Warburg Studies)
[ISBN 9780198807001]

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Somehow betrayed by this provocative title, the reader would expect that Stefan Bauer's book suggests a new interpretation of papal historiography along the lines of a post-modern revision of its purposes. Nothing could be further from Bauer's intentions. In his view, papal history was invented in the second half of the sixteenth century because only then historians started to reconstruct the Roman past through the skillful use of a large amount of sources and by posing 'hard questions about the reality of change in the Church's past' (15). This change of pace would be the consequence of the so-called Catholic Reform and Counterreformation, two phenomena that, especially in the realm of historiography, appear hard to separate neatly from each other. As a matter of fact, papal historians cautiously navigated between both these poles. On the one hand, they presented themselves as the champions of the Counter-reformation in the most literal sense of the term: their work constituted the Roman riposte to the new Protestant versions of Church history. On the other hand, they were personally involved in the process of internal renewal that the Catholic Church was experiencing. Through their works they no longer aimed to legitimate curial and papal power as it was, but sought to forge a new 'self-perception of the papacy' (2) and hence to propose a different view of the Church. As Bauer keenly points out, modern historians have usually searched for the roots of this new image of the Papacy in the works of art that papal patronage promoted throughout the early modern period. Historical writing shows another facet of this grandiose project. Bauer's book not only shows how history was written in the early modern Rome, but also intends to point out the innovative role that historical writing played in shaping a new representation of the Catholic Church.

Bauer does not formulate clear definitions and avoids methodological and terminological discussions. The introduction offers little more than a summary of the book and some preliminary remarks on the main character of the book, the

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Augustinian friar Onofrio Panvinio (1530–1568). Chapters 1 and 2 provide a detailed biography, with the goal of updating the one published in 1899 by Panvinio's confrere Perini in a rather 'uncritical and erroneous' way. Here the reader is introduced to the different milieus in which Panvinio received his education and took his first steps: the cloisters of the Augustinian order, the influence of Girolamo Seripando, and finally, in Rome, the support of Alessandro Farnese.

In the papal Curia the Augustinian immediately gained financial and political support from several powerful figures. The histories of noble families that he wrote under commission in these first years show a certain proclivity to satisfy his patrons' desire for social aggrandizement, regardless of any other historical considerations. This methodological unscrupulousness is hardly a surprise: after all, as Bauer emphasizes, in the humanistic context of the time, forgeries were another method through which scholars could show their ability to imitate the ancients. In proposing these unbelievable genealogies, Panvinio revealed for the first time his ability as a historian, capable of combining antiquarian methods with historico-chronological notes that attest to a profound knowledge of the historical sources. Sophisticated philological skills and a critical analysis of original sources soon became the benchmark of Panvinio's works on Church history and Roman antiquities. When the Augustinian died in 1568, he was one of the most productive scholars on papal history that the Curia had known in many years. This production, ranging from the study of Roman republic to the constitutional history of the German Empire, came at a cost, however. In 1569, Pius V banned Panvinio's books, forbidding their publication. Bauer cannot find the motivations behind this surprising decision, but apparently, by using a refined source criticism, Panvinio was unveiling the weaknesses of the traditional accounts on papal history. Since then Panvinio's legacy remained primarily confined to a few connoisseurs, who had access to his handwritten works.

In Chapter 3 Bauer reduces the gaze of the analysis and examines one of Panvinio's learned treatises: the remarkable work *De varia creatione Romani pontificis* (I ed. 1559; II ed.: 1563), until today the first complete history of papal elections. A fine-grained investigation of the different versions of the book allows Bauer to draw from this work important conclusions on Panvinio's working method and on his understanding of the Papacy as a whole. In particular, the Appendix placed at the end of the volume provides an example of Panvinio's text-criticism: here the Augustinian discusses the authenticity of the well-known decree of 1059 on the papal election and searches for a solution through a detailed investigation of the sources.

It is worth noting that *De varia creatione* gives a view on the historical development of the papal office characterized more by change, diversity and chaos than by continuity and harmony. Panvinio in fact pinpoints eighteen different forms ('modes') of papal elections from St. Peter's times to the sixteenth century. The election with the exclusive participation of the cardinals represents the last mode, the one observed during Panvinio's lifetime—and which is still in use today. Within such

a thorough examination, Panvinio does not show much interest in the origins and evolution of the complex ceremonial procedures practiced during the elections. He instead primarily aims to determine who exerted influence on the choice of Peter's successors throughout the long history of the Papacy. In describing the subsequent reforms of the papal elections, the Augustinian never casts doubt on the legitimacy of these regulations, which were always enforced and approved by the popes themselves. The goal of Panvinio's narrative is instead utterly 'political' and 'reformist': the *De varia creatione* at the very end shows that the Papacy took its historical shape thanks to an ongoing and legitimate process of reform.

Bauer convincingly explains the risks and consequences of such a narrative, which implicitly discriminated between the church as it should be and the church as it actually was. This approach was not devoid of dangers, as Roman censors immediately noted. Chapter 4 is devoted to highlighting the conflicts that historical writing provoked at a moment of particularly strong confessional tensions. In the eyes of Roman theologians, Panvinio's works, especially his *Historia ecclesiastica* and the continuation of Platina's prestigious *Lives of Popes*, appeared more harmful than helpful to the papal cause. After all, Panvinio's thorough research had led him to describe rather than to apologize unfortunate events of Church history. The *De varia creatione* similarly fell victim of such a meticulous (and unsympathetic) analysis of Panvinio's works. One of the most vocal critics of this book was the famous canonist Francisco Peña, whom Bauer identifies as one of the anonymous censors of Panvinio's work. Peña's severe reading of *De varia creatione* focuses on the political aspect of the treatise, which in his eyes seems much more attached to the Empire than to the Holy See.

In the epilogue, Bauer affirms that Panvinio wrote in an 'open and imaginative phase of history-writing' (212), in a transitional period between the late Renaissance and the age of Catholic Reform, when the confessionalization of ecclesiastical history had not taken place yet. Only from the 1580s, theological concerns started to dominate the historical discourse and to make Panvinio's works no longer viable for Catholic readers. As a result, Bauer's book not only offers the portrait of an outstanding historian but also sketches the profile of a whole epoch, during which historical writing took up new dimensions and challenges.

It remains highly problematic to decide whether Panvinio's works really 'invented' papal history. Bauer's book seems to suggest that the invention merely consisted in a deep change in methodology and narrative techniques. A few questions are however left open: which were the breaks and continuities with previous historiography? Was this new methodological consciousness really connected with a new understanding of Church history? In other words, in which form did Panvinio's work contribute to forging a new self-perception of the Papacy?

Despite the scholarly subject, the volume is highly readable and provides information to the less experienced reader (an example among many others from

page 80: 'The Kalends were the first day of every month'). Furthermore, the book publishes a good selection of sources in translation, giving the original text in the footnotes. In addition to the extensive bibliography of archival and printed sources, a catalogue of Panvinio's works and the several versions printed and not would have also been beneficial.

Encounters Between Jesuits and Protestants in Asia and the Americas

Eds Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, Robert Aleksander Maryks, and Ronnie Po-chia Hsia
(Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2018)
[ISBN 978900435768-6]

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This edited volume contains the proceedings of the third Symposium on Jesuit studies, which took place in June 2017 in Boston. The book is published for the Institute for Advanced Jesuit Studies at Boston College, and Jesuits are the main focus of every essay. The three introductions and thirteen papers study different kinds of "encounters" between Jesuits and Protestants, in Asia and the Americas. Some of them were direct, some others were cultural confrontations happening in different times. These exchanges were not 'negative' or 'positive,' but simply inevitable: Jesuits were the first Christians in many missionary fields, and a few centuries later Protestants had to necessarily deal with their (often substantial) legacy.

The editors are three. In the general introduction 'Protestantism and Early Jesuits,' Robert Aleksander Maryks explains how the commonplace of the Society of Jesus as 'a sort of papal troop to combat Protestantism' (1) is not acceptable anymore and lacks any documentary foundation. Not only did Ignatius of Loyola (c. 1491–1556) and Martin Luther (1483–1546) never meet, but Luther did not know anything about Ignatius, and Ignatius never mentioned Luther as an enemy he planned to fight with his new order. If Ignatius and his followers started to be seen as 'anti-Protestant character*s*,' it was mainly because his biographers wanted to clear the new-born order from any 'suspicion of heresy' (3). The myth of Jesuits as anti-Protestant agents, however, became quite common after Ignatius' death, and moved on the same routes missionaries (both Jesuit and Protestant) used to take.

In doing a thorough examination of the Asian situation, the third editor Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia also introduces to the essays of the first part of the book. He notices how the presence of the Society of Jesus in many countries was inextricably intertwined with the Portuguese crown, culture and agenda – even if Jesuit missionaries did not represent only that nationality. Po-Chia Hsia underlines the importance of this volume, which shows in what ways the Jesuit legacy survived in Asia until today. Erroneous prejudices and diffidence, however, prevented many historians to acknowledge the relevance of this religious and cultural contribution.

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In Japan, Christianity lived a century of alternate fortunes (1549–1639); after that period, the only foreigners allowed on the archipelago were Protestants, namely Dutch merchants. Haruko Nawata Ward focuses on the Japanese persecutions against the cult of saints as witnessed by members of the Dutch United East India Company (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie, VOC). Once the Japanese empire reopened after the *sakoku* ('closed country'), the religious people arriving there from the 1850s could not ignore this Christian past, at the same time trying new ways to proselytise in a country in such a rapid transformation. Makoto Harris Takao studies the relations between Protestants, French Catholics and the Society of Jesus in Japan at the turn of the nineteenth century.

Moving then to China, Sophie Ling-chia Wei gives a historical overview of the use made by Jesuits and Protestants of vernacular Chinese as part of their *accommodatio* policies. The Society of Jesus established its first missions in China in the 1590s, while the Protestants arrived there more than two centuries later. The latter had to deeply draw from Jesuit sources and methodologies. Hui-Hung Chen focuses on the introduction in China of the Marian devotion as made by the Jesuits. She analyses a Chinese-style copy of an Italian painting and contextualises its 'discovery,' made by anthropologist Berthold Laufer (1874–1934) in a particularly hectic time for Chinese Christianity (1910). Steven Piergastini investigates the relationships between Jesuits and Protestants in Jiangnan. The respective missions faced not only spiritual difficulties, but of a national, financial, and political nature as well.

The two last Asian essays are set in India. Délio Mendonça's article concerns the public debates among Jesuits and Protestants of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; they never happened face-to-face, however, but 'through the medium of print' (137). They constantly criticised each other's methods, real goals and empires / kingdoms. Michelle Zaleski shows how the contribution of Jesuit linguists to the study of Tamil were ignored and despised by Protestants until the late twentieth century, because they were considered inseparable from the 'excessive, extravagant, and even inaccurate' (159) 'Jesuit essence' they represented.

The first editor, Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, guides the reader to the second part of the book, about the Americas. He criticises how Protestant cultures 'created a narrative in which science, entrepreneurship, and commercial freedoms were viewed as a form of liberation from the oppression of late medieval Iberian Catholicism' (179). The Society of Jesus was, in this old-fashioned perspective, enemy of all those early modern and liberal values. The contrary is true: as recent historiography and the chapters of this volume also testify, the Ignatian order was an active part of all those transformations.

This section focuses on specific people: the first essay is about José de Acosta (c. 1540–1600). Cañizares-Esguerra follows the literary fortunes of the author of *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (Seville, 1590): a first-generation Jesuit, he was known to a wide public thanks to dozens of Anglican and Calvinist translations. Acosta

became part of a Protestant canon, while the Jesuit order almost forgot his work for centuries. Anne B. McGinness presents the fascinating case-study of Manoel de Morães (b. c. 1596). Born in Brazil, he became a Jesuit, and fought against the agents of the West Indies Company with an indigenous army. He then convinced this same army to pass on the opposite side (against the Catholics), became a Calvinist, and left for Europe. He finally went back to Brazil and died as a Catholic. The third Jesuit here taken into consideration is Antoine de La Valette (1708–67): Steve Lenik follows his life and deeds in the 18th century Caribbean. His controversial financial activities (risky slave trade and management of plantation) "accelerate*d* the process leading to the order's dissolution" (182–83). Nonetheless, historical and archaeological investigations testify the permanence of a strong Jesuit heritage in this territory, which became a British colony in 1763.

Catherine Ballériaux argues that, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the policies of Catholic and Protestant missionaries in New France and New England presented more similarities than differences. Both closely depending on their kingdoms' agendas, they had to employ different strategies while operating in moving and disputed frontiers. Robert Emmett Curran focuses on the idea of 'Jesuit' as 'the epitome of what it meant to be un-American' (303), as theorised by 'nativism' in the nineteenth and twentieth century. Only after Catholic Americans proved themselves loyal to the American cause, Protestant Americans started to allow them religious freedom and included them in their same bigger picture. In the last essay of the book, Steven Mailloux investigates the use of the terms 'Jesuit' / 'Jesuitism' as synonym of negative, rhetorical, and insincere. A great writer like Fyodor Dostoevsky (1821–81), for instance, described in his diaries and novels the 'stinking Jesuits' as 'lies, casuist, lies, lies, lies,' nothing more than 'a Roman army' which 'stands outside of humanity, outside of citizenship, outside of civilization […] a *status in statu* […] let everything that does not agree with them die - civilization, society, science!' (329).

This whole book clearly shows that these ideas are outdated and do not correspond to reality. The collection of essays covers almost all the years of the Jesuit endeavour, from the sixteenth century until contemporaneity, recognising successes and limits of its confrontation with the Protestant counterpart in Asia and the Americas. The publication is enriched by ca. thirty illustrations, and includes an updated bibliography which can be profitably consulted by readers of different fields. The *leitmotiv* of it all is how, even if Jesuits and Protestants brought with them their own 'European' prejudices and had different policies, in many periods and places their destinies were inseparable. They had to learn how to cooperate and take advantage of their respective ways of proceeding.

Alfonso Vagnone's Tongyou Jiaoyu *(On the Education of Children, c. 1632)* *The Earliest Encounter Between Chinese and European Pedagogy*

Giulia Falato
(Boston-Leiden: Brill, 2020)
[ISBN 9789004430501]

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This volume focuses on the book *On the Education of Children*, written by the Italian Jesuit Alfonso Vagnone (1568–1640) and printed around 1632 in Jiangzhou (Shanxi). After analysing the earliest treatise of European pedagogy known to the Chinese public, it also includes its first annotated translation.

The Introduction briefly explains the importance of Vagnone's *Tongyou jayou* and his editorial vicissitudes. Falato, who is currently a lecturer in Chinese Studies at the University of Oxford, had to choose among different printed and manuscript copies of a book written by a Jesuit who, following the examples of Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) and Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606), successfully practiced *accommodatio* (accustomising to local languages, practices, food, clothing etc.) and made Western learning known to a Chinese public.

The first chapter ('European Education and the Society of Jesus in the 15th and 16th Centuries') concerns the history of education in Europe. Falato starts from the Greek and Latin origins of pedagogy, following its adaption during the Christian centuries and the Middle Ages, until the Jesuit re-elaboration as planned by Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556). As the *Constitutiones* and the *Ratio studiorum* clearly show, the founder of the Society of Jesus kept the focus on Latin and rhetoric, and always with an international approach and global ambitions. This humanistic approach was particularly appreciated in the Chinese empire and became a precious tool in the hands of Jesuit missionaries like Vagnone.

Chapter 2 ('Chinese Pedagogy during the Song and Ming Dynasties') gives in parallel a historical overview of the Chinese pedagogic culture, during the Song (960–1269) and Ming (1368–1644) dynasties. The nature of children and their role in the society has always been of the utmost importance for Chinese authors. The first Jesuits arrived in the Ming empire in 1583, immediately recognizing the high literacy of its people. Missionaries also understood that Europeans could not impose their own

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learning (like they could try to do in different contexts), but had to mediate and discreetly complement it with what Chinese were very used to: printed books.

In chapter 3 ('The Making of *Tongyou jiaoyu*: A 17 Year-Long Journey'), Falato recounts the genesis of *Tongyou jiaoyu*. Vagnone worked for more than fifteen years on what 'can be considered the oldest proof of a Sino-Western exchange in the field of the education of children' (52). Not only Vagnone had studied the classics of European pedagogy (Cicero, pseudo-Plutarch, Quintilian) but, during his permanence at the Jesuit college of Saint Paul in Macau, he corroborated and updated his knowledge of the subject by making use of the Chinese and Western sources available at St Paul's college. The instruction of children was, in fact, an extremely relevant issue for missionaries. The aim of *Tongyou jiaoyu* was to introduce Chinese readers (who came from different cultural strata, and also included women and children) to European and/or Christian pedagogy. The main targets were obviously educators (parents and teachers), and not exclusively converts or religious people.

Chapter 4 ('Sources of *Tongyou jiaoyu*: An Open Debate') deals with Vagnone's sources, both Chinese and European. Jesuits were very committed to what are usually described as "translations," but are more "adaptations," of European books into Chinese. This literary operation required a three-fold collaboration: a Jesuit author/collector, his native collaborators (usually converts), and the revisions/censorship by both European and Chinese experts. Vagnone's background allowed him to compose 'a unique combination of classical, Renaissance, and Chinese philosophical precepts' (67). Unfortunately, he never left notes or allusions in his epistolary on the sources he employed.

The final chapter before the edition of the treatise ('Into the Text: A Study on Vagnone's Language and Style') is one of the most important and innovative elements of the book. Falato studies the language and style of Vagnone, who was aware of the importance of written words in China and put all his efforts in persuading them rhetorically, drawing from different traditions. These adaptations and compromises affected not only the contents, but the form itself: what kind of words had to be used to transmit the new message without risking misunderstandings or heterodoxy? The most famous example was the translation of the term "God," addressed in this section. The main choices for "transwriters" were four: 'phonemic loans, semantic loans, loan translations, or the creation of pure neologisms' (101–2). Falato follows the development of all of them, also thanks to five explicative comparative tables.

The Appendix finally provides the reader with a full English translation of the *Tongyou jiaoyu*. The footnotes contain the explanations of linguistic issue and indication of the sources used by Vagnone: biblical references, other Jesuits' works, Neo-Confucian classics etc. When Vagnone died, in 1640, he left a relevant human and cultural legacy: a flourishing community of eight thousand Christians and twenty-one publications. The Conclusions briefly underline the importance of his *Tongyou Jiaoyu* as one of the first books of ethics adapted to a Chinese public.

In the last few years, *Tongyou jiaoyu* was the focus of another scholar's research. At the end of 2017, Thierry Meynard, a Jesuit sinologist operating in Sun Yat-sen University, published an annotated edition of Vagnone's work and a collection of essays in Chinese by scholars from different fields.[1] Falato's publication, which is based on her revised doctoral dissertation (written between 2014 and 2017) clearly shows the author's desire to offer a complete study on *Tongyou jiaoyu* from the perspective of a Western sinologist and presents a stronger focus on language and translation strategies.

The biggest challenge while dealing with early modern Jesuits operating in the Eastern territories, is being able to reach their linguistic fluency and cultural expertise. Even if Vagnone was not a polymath (like, for instance, his famous contemporary Athanasius Kircher, 1601–80), he was a typical man of the Italian Renaissance, and left for the Ming Empire after having received an extensive education at the best Jesuit colleges. Once arrived in the Chinese empire (1604), Vagnone had not only to learn a new and different idiom and writing system, but to familiarize with totally new cultural practices. The Jesuit deeply studied the Confucian classics, and could take advantage of his native collaborators and patrons. For a scholar today, it is almost impossible to acquire a comparable erudition, if not after decades of application. This notwithstanding, the richness and originality of Falato's work is incontestable. Managing sources in seven languages, Falato put at disposal Vagnone's treatise world-wide, and analysed it from multiple perspectives. This edition will be a reference for other scholars working on Jesuit pedagogy and on the relations between East and West during the early modern period.

[1] ALFONSO VAGNONE (高一志), *Tongyou jiaoyu jinzhu* (童幼教育今注), annotated by Thierry Meynard (梅謙立), collated by Tan Jie (譚杰) (Beijing: Commercial Press 商務印書館, 2017); Sher-shiueh Li and Thierry Meynard, *Jesuit Chreia in Late Ming China: Two Studies with an Annotated Translation of Alfonso Vagnone's Illustrations of the Grand Dao* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2014).

The Trials of Thomas Morton
An Anglican Lawyer, His Puritan Foes, and the Battle for a New England

Peter C. Mancall
(New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2019)
[ISBN 9780300230109]

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By the time English travellers set foot on North America, the Ninnimissinouk, who inhabited the southern area of what would later become New England, had developed a sophisticated knowledge of the region, creating in those lands a sustainable economy. Archaeological excavations have yielded practices such as the use of fish as fertiliser, or the singular habit of keeping canoes underwater to protect them from the winter frost. In his work *A Key to the Language of America* (1643) the linguist Roger Williams argued that, before the arrival of the English, the locals referred to themselves as *'Nínnuock*, *Ninnimissinnûwock*, *Eniskee-tompaūwog*, which signifies *Men*, *Folke*, or *People*' (232). The Ninnimissinouk, who spoke a form of Algonquian dialect, had devised topographic maps of the region. These were not cartographic representations on paper according to European fashion, but toponyms related to the geological features of a given place. Thus, Connecticut indicated 'on the long tidal river,' while Massachusetts meant 'at the big hill.' The gods worshipped by the natives were thirty-seven in total, as Williams himself reported, though the Algonquians did not claim any religious monopoly: they very well knew that other deities existed. For the Ninnimissinouk, nature was the result of the interaction between several forces and energies, human and nonhuman. Likewise, it would prove far too easy for the English to see in native deities no less than the devil. So did Edward Winslow, one of New Plymouth's first settlers, towards Hobbamock, the deity who appeared to the natives as they slept and knew how to heal diseases and wounds.

References to the mores, the religion and the material culture of the Algonquians are part of the latest work by Peter C. Mancall, professor of history and anthropology at the University of Southern California and author of the acclaimed book *Hakluyt's Promise: An Elizabethan's Obsession for an English America*.[1] The author's ethnographic information, who cites seventeenth-century publications and recent anthropology

[1] PETER C. MANCALL, *Hakluyt's Promise: An Elizabethan's Obsession for an English America* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007).

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works, enriches this interesting and meticulous research, dedicated to the figure of Thomas Morton and his controversial colonial philosophy. Across six chapters, the volume considers how Morton attempted to create a promised land, quite different from the one envisioned by the Puritans, fostering positive relationships between newcomers and natives, and promoting indigenous values in the early New England society. Through the story of his picaresque life, the study highlights the crucial features of the first overseas colonies' experience: the Puritans' ideology on the one hand, and the importance of the legal framework provided by charters on the other. A fine lawyer, trained at the Inner Temple in London, Morton challenged the Puritans from a legal point of view and resorted to the power of the written word to achieve his political ends.

The first chapter ('Homelands') looks at Morton's formative years in England and his first North America experience in 1622. It shows how accounts of travel represented a vital source to learn about the abundant resources available on the new continent. However, Morton's knowledge of North America was also the result of direct observation and numerous conversations with the natives. The English, he wrote, could show them the use of salt as a mean to preserve food ('a chiefe benefit in a civilized Commonwealth') (30), but the natives too had many things to teach. In their commercial transactions, Morton noticed that the Algonquians employed the so-called *wampum* (beads made of river shells) as currency, and he correctly understood their value: the violet ones were equivalent to gold, the white ones to silver. He discouraged English readers from making forgeries because the natives had remarkable eyesight and could recognise imitation wampum. The chapter offers an analysis of the impressions that Morton developed about the local population, whom he deemed worthy of admiration and whose trust he was able to gain, establishing a profitable fur trade in 1624. A few years earlier, in furs and fish, Captain John Smith had identified a 'refuge' (40) if any attempt to hunt whales and locate gold and copper mines did not succeed. Smith, who explored the area from Penobscot Bay to Cape Cod in 1614, concluded that only people incapable of fending for themselves would fail in such a prosperous land. The territory seemed much more comfortable to colonise than the Chesapeake Bay, where the Virginia Company was striving to preserve its settlement since 1607. The chapter traces the adventurous history of the first explorations of the Atlantic coastline from the Piscataqua River to Nova Scotia, highlighting the characteristics that most attracted investors: the abundance of fish and the theme, which became recurrent, of the 'medicinable climate' (37). The region promised riches equal to those of the Venetians and the Dutch. It also offered the opportunity to convert the natives and save them from Spain's 'adulterated' faith.

By exposing the Puritans' salient values by antithesis, Peter C. Mancall seems to follow the path indicated by Patrick Collinson. The great historian of English Puritanism saw in the movement 'not a thing definable in itself but only one half of a

stressful relationship,'[2] and the Maypole episode, which angered the Puritans of New England, exemplifies this relationship. In the volume, the tall wooden pole (which Morton erected at Ma-re Mount to dance and sing merrily with the natives, drawing upon himself the accusations of bacchanal excesses and the title of 'Lord of Misrule') becomes a symbol of two different ideas of society. The episode may also be read as an allegory on the future character of New England: the challenge between 'grisly saints' and 'gay sinners,' as the writer Nathaniel Hawthorne put it (187). Such was the Puritans' disposition towards Maypoles that a few years earlier, in the *Book of Sports* (1618), James I made it plain that Maypoles were a harmless recreation and Puritans were not to punish these sorts of amusements. The second chapter ('Partners') introduces another relevant figure alongside the Puritans, the military commander Ferdinando Gorges. Largely forgotten today, Gorges was Morton's strongest supporter and the most bitter enemy of New Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay's settlers. His true desire was to convert the natives and long before Morton arrived in New England, he had been cherishing ambitious dreams of colonising the region. Gorges, who was well aware of the colonisation schemes circulating among Bristol merchants, concentrated his efforts on New England, known as Northern Virginia until Smith's book publication in 1616 (*A Description of New England*). In 1620 Gorges' petition to the king led to a patent for a group of forty men based in Plymouth to create a colony to be called New England. The patent specified that the land stretched from 40 to 48 degrees north latitude from the Atlantic across the continent. Gorges, who had direct knowledge of some indigenous Americans, was in the best position to organise a settlement, but he would need partners, 'on the ground, on the seas, and possibly in courtrooms to advance his claims against other contenders' (79).

The third chapter ('Exiles') looks at Morton's American experience and the beginning of the colonial enterprise in New England. While there is a tendency to imagine the English settlements as isolated outposts, in reality, as the author points out, each village was connected to the others: ships plied between Virginia and New England, carrying individuals and information. For their part, news travelled even faster on the newcomers' shallops, thus reproducing the communication network of the natives. As the author writes, the English knew that survival chiefly depended on three factors: good relations with the Algonquians, constant ties with England to ensure the supply of goods, and the ability to live peacefully in the colony. However, for the Pilgrims, it was above all a matter of founding a society different from the one, in their eyes corrupt, they had left behind. In November 1620 they signed some principles of self-government, the so-called Mayflower Compact. The colonial beginnings in the New World, first in New England and then in Pennsylvania, were greatly influenced by the doctrine of the covenant, which the historian Perry Miller described as the 'marrow' of Puritan communities in America.[3] The challenge for the

[2] PATRICK COLLINSON, *The Birthpangs of Protestant English* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1988), 143.
[3] PERRY MILLER, 'The Marrow of Puritan Divinity,' *Puritan New England. Essays on Religion, Society, and Culture*, eds ALDEN T. VAUGHAN, FRANCIS J. BREMER (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977), 44–65.

Mayflower passengers, as William Bradford knew, was of unprecedented magnitude: there were no friends to give them a warm welcome, nor there were inns or houses to take shelter. The 'mighty ocean' separated them from 'all the civil parts of the world' and, in addition to the freezing winter, the greatest threat was represented by the indigenous population, 'these savage barbarians,' in the words of Bradford himself (86–88). Luckily for the Pilgrims, there was plenty of clean water, a significant advantage over Jamestown, and furs to pay off their debts. Through the experience of Morton, who in 1624 began to weave close relations with the natives, selling them guns and obtaining furs in exchange, it emerges the fragility of New England early settlements, still far too weak to tolerate a figure so openly hostile to their values. In Morton's vision, the Puritans had to drop all their claims, since they had abused the charter's authority: English and Algonquians could still live side by side learning from each other. Consequently, the Puritans, afraid of losing all the advantages they had secured, shipped Morton back to England in 1629.

The fourth chapter ('Cutthroats in Canaan') considers Morton's tools to undermine the New England colonies. Morton's experience in America gave a fresh stimulus to Gorges' aspirations. As soon as he had landed in England, Morton allied himself with Gorges to deprive the Massachusetts Bay Company Charter of its legitimacy by relying on the *quo warranto*. This doctrine, which the author examines drawing on documents found in the National Archives, admitted the possibility of questioning the royal authorisation granted to a corporate body, provided there was evidence of an abuse of authority. Charles I lent a willing ear, and Morton was victorious in the Privy Council. But his success was not decisive and, following the protests of the Massachusetts General Court, the physical charter was not returned. Morton decided to pursue his cause with a real 'literary assault,' as the author writes (131), and in 1637 *New English Canaan* was published in Amsterdam by Jacob Frederick Stam. The book's purpose was to make English readers understand that New England could head towards a different future. Morton discredited the Pilgrims, portraying them as false heroes, devoid of humanity: a 'Sect of cruell Schismaticks' (148), for whom the *Book of Common Prayer* was an idol, and all that used it idolaters. The chapter explores the most salient and original aspects of Morton's work, also underlying the canonical features of travel narratives (such as presenting oneself as a trusted observer). Morton gave earnest attention to the customs of the natives and held their physical appearance and intellectual capacities in reverence. Worthy of note is the idea that the Algonquians should not be laughed at but emulated or the claim that cod was after all preferable to Spanish gold. Morton placed his observations in a trans-European perspective, paying particular attention to French and Dutch actions. Above all, he did not interpret the devastation against the natives as a divine signal but saw it as the human tragedy of a world doomed to perish. It is argued that Morton did not isolate the indigenous population in their misery, but entirely placed their story in the history of humanity. The next chapter ('Acomenticus'), dedicated to Morton's return to New England in 1643, until his death in Acomenticus in 1646, looks at the destruction of the Ninnimissinouk. The author analyses the Puritans' rhetorical arsenal, for whom

divine action had intervened to pave their way. As part of a cynical and sanctifying rhetoric, the epidemic of 1616 to 1619, the violent Pequot wars, and even the Mystic massacre, were nothing but proofs of the grace that God had bestowed upon the colonists.

The final chapter ('Legacies') evaluates Morton's political and literary legacy. After the American Revolution, much was done for the rehabilitation of his character. In the nineteenth century, Morton became more the hero, an object of admiration, and less the villain, the obnoxious miscreant vilified by Bradford, Nathaniel Morton, and John Hancock, who chastised his 'wicked and insufferable Behavior' (180). From a historical perspective, as the author points out, Morton's legal and literary challenge was destined to have far-reaching effects. He left the colonies more conscious of their mission and aware of the importance of a certain degree of legal autonomy. Furthermore, the value of Morton's story, and Peter C. Mancall's fascinating study, is that of restoring a polyphony of voices to the history of New England, providing an opening into the worldview of the Ninnimissinouk. Through a plurality of observation points, the author introduces vibrancy and nuances to the monolithic narrative of the Pilgrims and underlines how, in the first decades of the American experience, more than one colonial vision existed. The last chapter also considers *New English Canaan*'s publishing history, up to the scholarly edition produced by Charles Francis Adams Jr. in 1883, who worked on the copy kept in the family library. These are most compelling pages, as Adams' accurate editorial work testifies to the book's complexity and richness. Adams involved the flower of Boston's intellectual milieu and Harvard University. He consulted Latinists, historians, jurists, bibliographers, geologists, ornithologists, ichthyologists, and linguists such as James Hammond Trumbull, author of a *Natick Dictionary* (later published in 1903) and expert in the Massachusett language, now again spoken and known as Wôpanâak.

Publishing for the Popes: The Roman Curia and the Use of Printing (1527–1555)

Paolo Sachet
(Leiden: Brill, 2020)
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In *Publishing for the Popes*, Paolo Sachet describes the Roman Curia's attitude towards printing in the period that falls between the early Reformation and the major Catholic shift towards censorship that occurred in the second half of the sixteenth century. During this period, and against conventional wisdom, the Church did indeed engage in a series of editorial programmes, but focussed mostly on the publication of learned texts, particularly from the Vatican Library. The driving force behind these projects was Cardinal Marcello Cervini (1501–55), who thus plays the main role in the Author's analysis.

The volume is divided into eight chapters: the first and last two provide the reader with 'Introduction,' 'Prelude,' 'Epilogue' and 'Conclusions,' while the main body, comprising four chapters, rotates almost entirely around Cardinal Marcello Cervini's printing enterprises (1539–55): (3) 'Portrait of a *Cardinale Editore*'; (4) 'Cervini's Greek Press'; (5) 'Cervini's Latin Press'; (6) 'Cervini's Editorial Activity after 1544.' Finally, the book contains two useful documentary appendices: (A) 'The Greek Partnership Accounts,' and (B) 'Short-title Catalogue of Books Sponsored by Cervini.' In the 'Introduction' (1–10) the Author lays out the aim of the book:

> to provide the first comprehensive insight into the complex relationship between an increasingly powerful governmental institution, the mid-sixteenth-century papacy, and a relatively new medium of communication, printing by means of moveable type. In particular, [...] how this nexus took shape at the very heart of the Catholic Church, in Rome, where several attempts were made by the Curia to publish books, often in connection with other Italian printing centres, such as Venice, Florence and Bologna (1).

In short, the notion that, in order to contrast the Reformation, the Roman Curia limited its action to book censorship was outdated and had to be rectified with a comprehensive study of Catholic printing initiatives. Further, the Author explains his decision to focus on Rome as a case study to analyse the whole Catholic response to Reformed propaganda in light of the unique layout of power structures inside the Catholic world, with Rome effectively acting as the uncontested leader, at least with

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regards to institutional policies and strategies (4–5). In the 'Prelude' (11–39) the Author then assesses the early experiments and the cultural and political preconditions that brought Cervini to envisage a deeper Catholic engagement with the printing medium. Further, he analyses in particular the decade following the Sack of Rome of 1527, that is, the period between one of the most traumatic events in early-modern Catholic history, and Cervini's early experiments with the press in 1539. Among these, the Author identifies and combines three points in particular: i) the experience of Gian Matteo Giberti (1495–1543), bishop of Verona from 1524 to his death, who oversaw an important forerunning reformation project in his diocese and who, crucially, gave great relevance to learned printing as a means to achieve his reforming goals; ii) the mostly unheeded pleas by the few German Catholic scholars (Johannes Cochlaeus and the bishop of Vienna, Johann Fabri, in particular), and their insistent requests that Rome invested in supporting the printed production of Catholic controversy in its fight against Reformers, often highlighting the hardships that Catholic authors in Germany had to endure to get their works published and distributed; iii) the early steps in the development of the figure of the *stampatore camerale*, i.e. the official printer of the Roman Apostolic Chamber, a position that took years to become formally recognised, touching upon figures such as the printer Francesco Minizio Calvo and the rising star Antonio Blado. While discussing the much-debated topic of the creation of this role within the complex bureaucratic machine of Catholic Church, the Author takes the opportunity to remind the reader to resist the temptation to generalise and extrapolate, projecting later notions retrospectively onto past events (28–29), as too many reputed scholars have done with regards to the *stampatore camerale*. The element that connects these three apparently distant realities is the shared commitment to develop printing strategies aimed at reassessing the papal primacy and safeguarding Catholicism against the Reformation.

After the 'Prelude', the Author begins weaving together the many threads that make Cardinal Cervini one of the most complex and fascinating figures of the Roman Counter-Reformation: in the central part of the volume, 'Portrait of a *Cardinale Editore*' (chapter 3, 43–65) tackles Marcello Cervini's career exploits up to his management of the first phase of the Council of Trent and eventually his exceedingly brief papacy, but focusses particularly on his scholarly formation, in Siena and Rome, and his solid ties with Catholic humanists, contextualising some of the motives behind Cervini's subsequent cultural activities. Indeed, as the Author declares,

> we are now more aware of him as an astute politician, pious bishop and efficient inquisitor, as well as an erudite patron, generous man of letters and passionate bibliophile. How these various aspects of his activity and personality come together remains an open question; Cervini's attitude towards printing can offer a revealing point of convergence.' (47)

In 'Cervini's Greek Press' (chapter 4, 66–90), the Author addresses Cervini's first experiment in his printing patronage, a partnership between Antonio Blado, Benedetto Giunta, Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio and Nikolaos Sophianos and known as the

'stamperia dei greci' (69). The Greek press was active in Rome for little over three years, between late 1540 and late 1543, and issued only two learned commentaries, Eustathius on Homer and Theophylact on the Gospels, and one pamphlet (a short treatise by Sophianos on the astrolabe) before it fell apart due to disagreements between the partners as well as poor sale figures. This chapter in particular is closely linked to, and meticulously based on, Appendix A, 'The Greek Partnership Accounts' (215–224), the first full transcription of this crucial document, currently held in the Archivio di Stato di Firenze, *Cervini*, vol. 51 (fols. 128bis–136bis). These accounts are a most valuable document for the history of booktrade, since they provide details on print-runs, expenses, sales and individual roles within the partnership. And the Author has put them to excellent use, leading to a much-improved contextualisation of the dynamics of the Greek press, and of the reasons of its eventual demise.

Months after launching the Greek press, in 1541 Cervini engaged in a second, distinct project, and the subject of chapter 5, 'Cervini's Latin Press' (91–133). While the Greek press inevitably required individuals with advanced knowledge of Greek, leading to an enlarged partnership, this latter endeavour was entrusted to Francesco Priscianese, a Florentine teacher and a skilled Latinist, capable of handling the publication of Latin Christian literature that Cervini wished to see in print. It succeeded in publishing nine editions: Nicholas I's *Epistolae*, Arnobius's *Disputationum adversus gentes*, Innocent III's *Decretalium*, Bessarion's *Orationes*, Oribasius's *De aquis*, the *Aegidianae constitutiones*, Ludovico Sensi's *Conciones quinque* and two pamphlets by Henry VIII: *Assertio septem sacramentorum* and *Literarum ad quandam epistolam Martini Lutherum exemplum*. The latter two editions, both issued in 1543, are particularly interesting and only apparently an odd choice, since they clearly represent Cervini's intention to use Henry VIII's early writings against Luther as a subtle political weapon. Yet, despite a potentially larger audience for learned Latin editions – compared to the Greek ones, that is – this venture too lasted just over three years, and folded in 1544.

'Cervini's Editorial Activity after 1544' (chapter 6, 134–84), finally, describes a parallel and certainly more enduring approach adopted by Cervini in his pursuit to contrast the diffusion of Protestantism. This second path, that effectively predates the foundation of the Greek and Roman presses and indeed survived even beyond Cervini's own death in 1555, is defined by a flexible use of different printers. In this case the promotion of learned editions, either direct or indirect, relied on a variety of editors and printers, mostly in Rome and Venice, but also in Bologna, Florence and, in Europe, in Cologne, Basel and Paris. The publications described in this chapter are not all openly linked to Cervini's patronage; however, by highlighting the vast web of his connections within both the Church and the scholarly communities, and, most importantly, thanks to a meticulous knowledge and use of his epistolary, the Author often manages to argue convincingly in favour of Cervini's influence. 'Appendix B' (225–40) conveniently gathers all these editions in one place, listing them by city and by printer, including a number of publications that may be considered part of Cervini's 'publishing heritage' after his death. Further, it offers a very useful list of projected

editions that never saw the light but, at one point or another, were considered for publication (236–40).

The 'Epilogue' (chapter 7, 185–206) somehow mirrors the 'Prelude,' in that it discusses some developments, late in Cervini's life, more or less directly inspired by Cervini's publishing endeavours: among others, the institutional recognition of a permanent *stampatore camerale*; the press established in Rome by Olaus Magnus, the last Catholic archbishop of Uppsala in exile; and the relevance given to printing by the newly-founded Society of Jesus. Finally, in the 'Conclusion' (chapter 8, 207–12), the Author wraps up the results of his analysis, highlighting, in particular, i) the number of scholars and members of the clergy who gravitated directly around the papal court and were also regularly involved in printing projects (208); ii) several elements of continuity in the Catholic effort to stand up against the Reformation by means of publishing projects (208–09); iii) that these editorial programmes were mostly limited to Greek and Latin Christian authors, probably in an attempt to rid themselves of 'the "pagan" dimension of the Italian Renaissance' (210) and, much less predictably, that polemical works were almost completely absent; iv) that these editions were most likely intended to target the learned secular and regular Catholic clergy, in an effort to provide them with the tools to prevent the spread of Protestantism in the lands that remained Catholic – taking for granted, that is, that most of Germany and Northern Europe were already *de facto* a lost cause (210).

One might not necessarily agree with the statement that '[t]his book was undertaken in response to the lack of scholarly interest in the sixteenth-century Catholic Church's use of printing as a means of communication in the wake of the Reformation' (207), since the lack of scholarly interest in the subject is, to say the least, debatable. Not only is there interest: there are also a few studies on the subject (as, indeed, the volume's extensive and punctual bibliography shows), though certainly not as many as a subject of this importance would deserve. The Author's claim is however true with regards to English-speaking scholarship (a doubt should probably be raised, at this point, on the quality of scholarship produced by people who work professionally on this subject and cannot read neither Italian nor Latin, something that only a few decades ago would have been unthinkable). Further, the magnitude of the scope might have hindered earlier attempts to produce an overview of this kind, yet the Author has abundantly succeeded in this.

In conclusion, the Author has delivered an authoritative overview and an excellent tool to explore the Roman Curia's attitudes towards printing in the wake of the Protestant Reformation. Like all good scholarship, this book leaves the reader with as many questions as answers: it is clear that the Catholic response to the overwhelming assault of Reformed propaganda was almost entirely defensive, based on censorship and on small-scale publication programmes of learned Christian texts, and that these approaches could only have a limited impact against the Protestant storm. From the standpoint of propaganda, the Catholic Church remained ultimately defenceless against the biting and relentless attacks of Protestant polemicists. Indeed, the

Reformation enjoyed a powerful intellectual momentum, and its lack of a rigid hierarchical system had all the advantages of guerrilla insurgency against a regular army in what quite evidently was an instance of asymmetrical cultural warfare. Still, the question remains: why was the Catholic Church so devastatingly slow and ineffective in understanding the dangers, but also the potential, of printed propaganda? One can only hope that the Author will tackle this question in a future study.

Borders and Freedom of Movement in the Holy Roman Empire

Luca Scholz
(New York: Oxford University Press, 2020)
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In the autumn of 1653, Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III passed through Mühldorf, an exclave of the Prince-Bishopric of Salzburg within the Electorate of Bavaria. The passing of such a remarkable traveller took the form of a safe-conduct procession: the emperor marched up to Mühldorf under the protection of a Bavarian escort and was received on the city's border by the sheriff of Salzburg. The sheriff chose to greet the Bavarian delegation some fifty paces from the city gates, along a contested borderland between the two polities. Though the handoff took place without problems, Bavarian officials later wrote to Salzburg asking them to state that the sheriff's actions had not represented an encroachment on the Bavarian territory. The Salzburgians responded in kind. The event left a hefty paper trail of reports, interrogations, and even two maps: one from Salzburg and one from Bavaria, each containing visual distortions meant to enhance their respective territorial and political claims. This episode (98–103) is but one among many fascinating cases discussed by Luca Scholz in his *Borders and Freedom of Movement in the Holy Roman Empire*.

Borders and Freedom of Movement is Scholz's first book and an admirable one at that. This text is the culmination (or, perhaps, a new beginning?) to a vein of scholarship, popularised in English some twenty years ago by John Torpey, that focuses on the attempts of early modern states to secure a monopoly over the 'legitimate means of movement.'[1] Scholz is also in dialogue with recent scholarship on mobility that stems from Mediterranean studies,[2] transnational history,[3] securitization studies,[4] and global

[1] JOHN TORPEY, *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship, and the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). See also JANE CAPLAN and JOHN TORPEY, *Documenting Individual Identity: The Development of State Practices in the Modern World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).
[2] CLAUDIA MOATTI, ed., *La mobilité des personnes en Méditerranée de l'Antiquité à l'époque moderne: Procédures de contrôle et documents d'identification* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2004).
[3] GUNILLA BUDDE, SEBASTIAN CONRAD, and OLIVER JANZ, eds, *Transnationale Geschichte: Themen, Tendenzen und Theorien* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006).
[4] GADI ALGAZI, 'Sperrzonen und Grenzfälle: Beobachtungen zu Herrschaft und Gewalt im kolonialen Kontext zwischen Israel und Palästina,' in *Staats-Gewalt: Ausnahmezustand und Sicherheitsregimes: Historische Perspektiven*, eds ALF LÜDTKE and MICHAEL WILDT (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2008), 309–46; BARRY BUZAN, OLE WÆVER, and JAAP DE WILDE, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1998).

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imperial history.[5] Interestingly, perhaps the most fruitful perspectives that influence Scholz's book come from historians, sociologists, and scholars of international relations investigating mobility and state formation in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[6] *Borders and Freedom* draws crucial insights from these scholars, including the premise that states are generally unable to control mobility and instead work towards 'channelling' it in useful ways (4). Scholz's book builds on this concept by focusing on what he calls the 'enclosure of mobility,' the processes through which early modern administrations large and small toiled, with mixed successes, 'to transform transit rights on public roads into excludable and therefore fiscally exploitable goods' (129). Combined with his impressive archival research, this approach allows Scholz to reconfigure the conversation about monopolising the legitimate means of movement along innovative lines.

Scholz's entry point into the study of mobility is a remarkably versatile medieval and early modern institution designed to protect travellers and channel movement: the safe conduct. His choice of the early modern Holy Roman Empire as a setting is also not by chance. Countless and often overlapping borders crisscrossed the Old Reich's political and territorial landscape. Its particular 'political density and culture of conflict' made questions of mobility, transit, and safe conduct a vital component of everyday life across the empire (27).

Within this context, Scholz asks one central question: did borders matter in the Old Reich? He answers that borders 'played a subordinate role in the channelling of moving goods and people until the mid-eighteenth century' (4). The crucial structural element for the channelling of mobility before that time was, instead, the thoroughfare (230–31). Scholz unfolds his central argument and several sub-arguments connected to the different scholarship veins he is conversing with throughout six rich chapters. Each chapter refutes strictly diachronic narratives in favour of a spatial and theme-based approach grounded in diverse sources such as notarial records, diplomatic correspondence, court cases, legal treatises, contemporary and early modern maps.

Chapter 1 ('The Ordering of Movement') introduces early modern mobility regimes, the Old Reich, and safe conduct. The chapter first notes that 'old regime societies made consistent efforts to promote, restrict, and channel different forms of mobility' (14), and then discusses the attempts by late medieval and early modern rulers to channel trade flows through tariff and non-tariff barriers (15–16). Scholz then focuses on the Old Reich, not only setting the stage for his arguments but also making a case for the comparative relevance of this European region, the spatial orders of which 'were just as complicated and underdetermined as those in other parts of the

[5] LAUREN BENTON, ADAM CLULOW, and BAIN ATTWOOD, eds, *Protection and Empire: A Global History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

[6] DARSHAN VIGNESWARAN, *Territory, Migration, and the Evolution of the International System* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2013); VALESKA HUBER, *Channelling Mobilities: Migration and Globalisation in the Suez Canal Region and Beyond, 1869-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); JOEL QUIRK and DARSHAN VIGNESWARAN, *Mobility Makes States: Migration and Power in Africa* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).

early modern world' (37). The final part of the chapter addresses the genesis of safe conducts. Scholz describes the transformation of this institution from a purely protective instrument to a political and financial tool and details the different forms of safe conduct existing in the Old Reich. He concludes that 'while safe conduct always maintained a protective function, at the hands of the Empire's territorial authorities it became a powerful political, fiscal, and symbolic tool' (49).

Chapter 2 ('Theatres of Transit') and 3 ('Boundaries') are the core of *Borders and Freedom*. They begin by exploring safe-conduct processions. This practice consisted in the escorting, sometimes with great pomp, of important travellers (from emperors to merchants) across the roads and waters over which a prince claimed territorial superiority; that is, among other things, the right and duty to protect travellers in exchange for transit duties (50–51). Rulers used these 'highly public events' (76) to reaffirm the boundaries of their dominions symbolically (66–67). Scholz reconstructs several, sometimes violent, disputes stemming from safe-conduct processions and concludes that 'the fear of diminishing one's political and social status' (85) and of 'setting a precedent against the legal titles of their respective rulers' caused these controversies (89).

However, as Scholz examines the incident between Bavaria and Salzburg mentioned at the start of this review, he notes how 'a boundary that was fiercely, even violently, defended during a safe-conduct procession could have no significance whatsoever when crossed by a commoner' (109). Scholz further shows that, from the perspective of most travellers, 'practices and infrastructures for controlling movement were not anchored at the outer border of a territory for much of the early modern period' but were instead distributed along major thoroughfares (109). The book reinforces this point with several 'punctiform' (89) maps that plot safe-conduct and customs stations across various territories of the Old Reich (111–15 and 121–22). This effective deployment of digital humanities is crucial for visualising *Borders and Freedom*'s conclusion that the thoroughfare is the 'appropriate spatial framework for understanding the topography of most forms of governed mobility' in the early modern period (110).

Chapter 4 ('Channelling Movement') and 5 ('Protection') rely on case studies to explore the instruments and strategies through which early modern polities attempted to enclose everyday mobility along crucial thoroughfares. Scholz first examines the tools deployed for these purposes: letters of passage and toll station tickets (135–46); the practice of distinguishing between legitimate roads with toll stations and illegitimate ones without (146–54); 'agents of enclosure,' the officials responsible for channelling mobility on the ground (154–68). In each case, Scholz is keen on exploring 'the difficulties that authorities faced in their attempts at channelling movement' rather than their tentative successes (169). Territorial rulers might contest the validity of imperial passports or those of other rulers (141–42). Toll officers and other players in charge of regulating mobility often had high social and economic stakes in the

negotiations that they enacted with travellers, which made the enforcement of any policy piecemeal and wildly dependent on the reality on the ground (155–56).

In chapter 5, Scholz further notes that early modern traffic flows were more likely to shape state infrastructure and policy than the other way around. He thus follows the city of Bremen's efforts to secure control over a crucial commercial thoroughfare, the lower River Weser. Scholz shows how Bremen and its agents shaped their military, diplomatic, and administrative interventions in the region around the contested goal of becoming the ultimate provider of protection and safe conduct along the river (174). Taken together, chapters 4 and 5 support Scholz's conclusion that 'flows of goods and people shaped the geography of the state more than the state could shape these flows itself' (157).

Borders and Freedom's last chapter (chapter 6, 'Freedom of Movement'), though interesting, stands out for seeming relatively disconnected from the rest of the text. Here, Scholz focusses the discussion on a corpus of thirteen early modern German dissertations and legal treaties that address freedom of movement, as well as on the works of well-known authors such as Grotius and Pufendorf. The goal is to 'complement earlier chapters […] by examining how learned contemporaries made sense of the very practical problems encountered by escorts, merchants, carters, and travelling noblemen' (210). The analysis shows yet again that concepts such as freedom of movement, though characterised by what other scholars have described as a 'fairly obvious pattern of free movement'[7] (205), was a contested arena that developed in sync with the discussions taking place on the ground.

This chapter shines when it establishes direct connections to the rest of the book. Scholz shows that legal theorists concentrated their discussions on the 'arteries' of mobility like roads and rivers, not on borders, as the reader might expect having read his previous arguments (214). However, this example is one of the few direct connections to previous chapters. In some cases, these missing connections can lead to confusion. In chapter 4, Scholz had explained that when letters of passage mention the right to travel 'freely,' this usually entailed exemption from 'paying tolls and duties' (137). Is this definition the same one implied by the legal scholars in chapter 6? Or are the jurists referring to a more general conception of free movement? This point remains unclear, except in the section that addresses Pufendorf (226–27).

In sum, *Borders and Freedom* is a significant achievement. Its main conclusion about the importance of thoroughfares over borders may not come as a complete surprise to scholars of early modern mobility, but Scholz argues his point effectively and with great nuance. His book has the great value of combining multiple source typologies, including innovative maps, and of providing the reader with a multiplicity of perspectives ranging from the commoner forced to take part in a safe-conduct procession to the legal scholar defending free movement. This feat is not merely a

[7] Here Scholz quotes from JAMES NAFZIGER, 'The General Admission of Aliens under International Law,' *American Journal of International Law* (1983): 804–47, quote at 809.

technical achievement. Thanks to it, and thanks to his solid theoretical background, Scholz shows that the real question at stake is not if borders mattered in the early modern world but rather when, how, why, and for whom they mattered. Thus, rulers and their agents might fight fiercely over borders during the highly performative safe-conduct processions; conversely, thoroughfares, toll stations, and local officials, as well as the diverse forms of negotiation that these institutions entailed, were critical for everyday travellers. Many early modernists struggle to provide a similarly nuanced analysis of the connections between what was intended in theory by administrations and what took place in practice on the ground. Scholz provides an admirable example of how to address this challenge, moving beyond sometimes abstract claims that the nature of power in the early modern world was negotiated or contested.

One possible weakness of Scholz's overall excellent book lies in some of his text's comparative aspects. In chapter 1, Scholz establishes a tentative comparison between mobility regimes in the Old Reich, the Ottoman Empire, South East Asia, and early modern Japan (35–37). Each of these comparisons is rather summary and rests upon a limited, though influential, set of references.[8] These sections' goal, which has some recurrences in other chapters (for example, in chapter 4, 147), is admirable. They mean to open the history of the old Reich to scholars with different regional expertise. However, the curtness of these comparisons is notable. We should not fault Scholz for not delving further into the comparative aspects towards which he hints. He is a scholar of the Holy Roman Empire with an admirable command over his topic. However, the limitations of these sections highlight the significant challenges faced by scholars of mobility, a topic which by its very nature is not bound by rigid regional distinctions, when attempting to establish parallels between areas of expertise.

Regardless of this limitation, *Borders and Freedom of Movement in the Holy Roman Empire* is impressive, especially considering it is Scholz's first book. Far from being a stopping point, this text leaves the reader with many productive questions. Does it suggest, perhaps, that the concept of monopoly over the legitimate means of movement is limiting the study of mobility? Scholz never pushes that far, though he is keen on clarifying that 'there is no one linear direction in which the politics of mobility developed over the three early modern centuries' (14). In fairness, even Torpey had not described monopolisation processes as linear. It is also true that Scholz's narrative essentially ends in the eighteenth century, which is where Torpey's mainly begins. Nevertheless, Scholz's approach is so successful in highlighting the complexities and contradictions inherent in all attempts to enclose mobility, not just in the Old Reich but in contemporary settings as well, that his work begs the question: would it be productive to eschew the use of concepts such monopoly over the legitimate means of movement in favour of ideas more capable of capturing the historical dynamism of

[8] For the Ottoman Empire, see PALMIRA BRUMMETT, 'Imagining the Early Modern Ottoman Space, from World History to Piri Reis,' in *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire*, eds VIRGINIA H. AKSAN and DANIEL GOFFMAN (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 15–58; SURAIYA FAROQHI, *Pilgrims & Sultans: The Hajj under the Ottomans* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014).

mobility regimes? Scholz already favours terms such as channelling and enclosing over controlling. Hopefully, other scholars, or perhaps Scholz himself, will continue this trajectory in the years to come.

Collecting and Empires
An Historical and Global Perspective

Eds Maia Wellington Gahtan and Eva-Maria Troelenberg
(London and Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2019)
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The study of collecting practices, in conjunction with Museum Studies, are among the sectors of Art History that, in recent times, have benefited most, and at an international level, from a growing interest on the part of the scientific community, confirmed by their consolidated presence also in the curricula of the Social Sciences and the Humanities. These studies have had important political and social repercussions, beyond the borders and academic cultural dynamics, in the definition of national and supranational identities, at the interface of organizations such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the International Council of Museums (ICOM), but also within the framework of regional and national policies for the redevelopment of urban profiles, at a global level (think for example of the Museum of Islamic Art in Doha, Qatar, or the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, Spain).

In close analogy with the international affirmation of the study of collecting practices and Museum Studies, the study of empires, too, within the analysis of transnational or global networks and forms of 'connected histories,' is currently one of the more expanding fields of historical analysis in university curricula.

The evident merit of the sumptuous volume edited by the art historians Maia Wellington Gahtan (Lorenzo de' Medici Institute, Florence) and Eva-Maria Troelenberg (Utrecht University) is to have brought together and integrated these three disciplinary fields of historical enquiry – the History of collecting practices, Museum Studies and the History of Empires – by taking into consideration a very broad diachrony, from Antiquity to the twentieth century, in a global geographical framework.

The volume has its origins in the research activities coordinated by the curators at three institutes located in Florence, the Lorenzo de' Medici - The Italian International Institute, the Florentine branch of the Marist College and the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, which resulted in a conference that was carried out in 2017 also with the support and within the framework of the Max Planck

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Research Group 'Objects in the Contact Zone. The Cross-Cultural Lives of Things' (2012-2018).

Eighteen essays, written by an international group of renowned specialists, preceded by a substantial theoretical and historiographical introduction ('Collecting and Empires: An Historical and Global Perspective') traced by the two curators and followed by an 'afterword,' 'The Imperial Style of Collecting,' by Krzysztof Pomian (Director of the Scientific Committee of the Museum of Europe, Brussels, and emeritus research director at the CNRS), guide the reader on a path that unfolds from antiquity to the twentieth century.

For the ancient period, the practices of amassing and collecting artefacts in the Near Eastern World (Alain Schnapp), in the empires of Mesopotamia (Zainab Bahrani), in the context of the imperial expansion in Western Han China (Michèle Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens) and the Roman Empire (Caroline Vout), are taken into consideration. The medieval period is addressed through the study of the emblematic collections of Latin epigrams in Papal Rome and the Holy Roman Empire (Nadia Cannata and Maia Wellington Gahtan). The Mexica Empire (Enrique Florescano), the Mughal Empire (Ebba Koch), the Habsburg Empire (Thomas Da Costa Kaufmann) and the Dutch colonial empire (Michael North), all together draw an impressive picture of the plural forms of collecting in four imperial contexts from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century.

The foundation of the Musée Napoléon (the Louvre) as an imperial project (Dominique Poulot), the cross-cultural collecting in early colonial India (Tapati Guha-Thakurta), the foundation of the Swiss Cottage Museum, Osborne House, the royal children's private world during the Victorian rule (Ruth B. Phillips), a critical reassessment of the foundation of the Ottoman 'Museum' inaugurated in 1891, forming what is now known as the Istanbul Archeological Museums (Edhem Eldem), the forms of imperial collecting in the Russian Empire, the attempts of their systematic destruction in the revolutionary framework, followed by projects for their museumization (Katia Dianina), and the foundation of Berlin as a major hub of museums, in competition with London, Vienna and Paris (Eva Maria Troelenberg) define an equally rich portrayal of the plural forms of collecting and their transformation into museums, eventually, in five coeval imperial contexts, from the eighteenth to the twentieth century.

In the concluding part, the volume takes into consideration some more recent forms of Art collecting, firstly in the Third Reich, including the raiding of the so-called 'Degenerate Art' by the Nazi regime (Christoph Zuschlag), then in post-colonial France, in relation to the definition of the Other, since 1960 onward (Daniel J. Sherman), finally the development of Islamic Art museums, from their foundation within the frameworks of the European Imperialisms to the current 'global empire of capital' (Wendy Shaw).

The scope and eclecticism of the themes dealt with in this volume are happily balanced by a common sensitivity towards 'de-centering' the analysis from a strictly Eurocentric perspective to spatial and cultural areas that encompass the whole world, by integrating the nation-state perspective with that of the empires as well as other supranational scales of analysis. Furthermore, in writing their essays, the eighteen authors followed a common intellectual grid that includes the following four clusters of questions: 1. How and in what political contexts did objects travel across the empire? What kind of objects? What constitutes a collection? 2. What is the relationship between objects, power, and knowledge in the empire? 3. What were the most important secondary results/collateral effects resulting from the collections formed and disbanded in the empire? 4. What is the legacy of the collecting practices in the empire with respect to contemporary society and its imperial tendencies, considering both direct/indirect impact and possible parallels? This structure, recognisable in most of the interventions, facilitates readers in the construction of a complex and in-depth comparative framework.

Alongside the unquestionable scientific merits of the volume, made evident by the heuristic breadth of the topics analysed, three further fields of analysis, integrated with each other, could have further enriched it: the analysis of the forms of collecting in the context of the Spanish and Portuguese empires (the first two empires of a literally global reach), the collecting of *naturalia* and the foundation of institutions aimed at their fruition and development, in particular, the botanical gardens. The case of the Iberian empires is exemplary for articulating forms of collecting that did not give rise to the foundation of museums, but which, precisely through the collection of *naturalia*, greatly contributed to the expansion of botanical gardens, in Europe and in the colonies or former colonies in South America. Furthermore, it would be promising to reconsider a well-known and studied case, that of the Medici collecting from the time of the *Principato*, and the subsequent creation in Florence of specific loci of aggregation and exhibition of the collections, in relation to coeval imperial projects. From this perspective, one could study the mutual reverberations between different practices and tastes of collecting at different political scales, from the very lowercase one, but with moments of absolute excellence in Florence, to the much greater political scales of the Spanish, French or Ottoman courts and empires. Through these lenses, the possible osmosis between collecting practices in imperial contexts and those developed in local political realities and vice versa could be observed and analysed. Far from being a criticism to the splendid volume *Collecting and Empires*, this observation is more intended to identify an area of expansion and development for future research in this promising field of enquiry. From a material point of view, the work has a very elegant graphic design, also accompanied by 115 black-and-white images that make it an editorial product of great value and aesthetic impact, which gracefully matches with the scientific one.