

how the hospital landscape of Nürnberg became denser in the long thirteenth century. The creation of dedicated plague hospitals that became more common in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, relying on miasma theory, continued to be the norm through the late nineteenth century. In a discussion of a rabies outbreak in Augsburg, Wolff points out the difference between the social and medical responses to a disease with clearly traceable infection patterns, and those to plague, more mysterious and therefore likely to have religious causation attributed to it. Although Wolff points out that miasma theory, not stigma, was responsible for the quarantine of convalescent residents of plague hospitals, she still treats segregation of the leprous as a norm from which Nürnberg departed.

Chapters 5 and 7, bracketing the conclusion, are more clearly linked to each other than to the rest of the book. Chapter 5 provides a brief history of microbiology “from idea to science” (225), via biographical sketches. It asks provocatively what it might mean for a self-consciously future-oriented discipline to look more thoughtfully to its past and to define that past more expansively. However, it occludes the history of the diffusion of ideas in favor of individual researchers and their discoveries. Max von Pettenkofer’s ideas about hygiene are described as making him “a figure between eras” (247–248). This approach to periodization seems to me to limit and undermine some of the work Wolff does elsewhere in connecting ancient and medieval theories and ignoring divisions sometimes made between the medieval and the early modern. This section, in contrast, seems to focus on paradigm shifts despite not locating them in precise historical moments. Chapter 7 argues that broadly based social responses to plague and epidemic disease were more normative in premodern societies than in our own. Wolff avoids direct comparisons between past and present but seems to suggest that the modern quest for certainty in the face of pandemic disease may be less accommodating to the needs of individuals and societies than medieval acceptance of ambiguity was.

As the foregoing aims to make clear, Wolff’s work is conceptually ambitious. And in its case studies using archival sources, it is extremely impressive. But it is weakened in places by its failure to engage with relevant scholarship. Despite the analysis of plague treatises in chapter 3, Ann Carmichael’s work (“Universal and Particular: The Language of Plague, 1348–1500,” *Medical History Supplement* 27 (2008): 17–52) is not cited. In several places, Wolff treats medieval leprosy as an epidemic combated with policies of segregation. Such ideas are far more prevalent in the historiography than in medieval Europe itself, and much valuable work since the influential study of Carole Rawcliffe (*Leprosy in Medieval England* [2006]) has dismantled such narratives. Perhaps most strikingly, in a work centrally concerned with both plague and public health in medieval Europe, neither Guy Geltner nor Monica Green appears in the bibliography. In a field rich with scholarly conversations, this is a perplexing silence.

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Spaces of Honor: Making German Civil Society, 1700–1914

By Heikki Lempa. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2021. Pp. xi + 243. Cloth \$80.00. ISBN: 978-0472132638.

Ann Le Bar

Eastern Washington University

Over the two centuries prior to World War I in the German-speaking lands, honor developed as an emotional practice, civil society was enacted in face-to-face interactions within

physical spaces, and the concept of honor intertwined with emerging civil society, becoming the social and emotional glue binding civil society together. Heikki Lempa advances this complex argument, engaging several rich currents of recent scholarship and contributing case studies of honor being instantiated in spaces of civil society: from ducal lunch and dinner tables, the theater, and the salon, to spas, working-class organizations, strikes, and labor demonstrations. Honor evolved over time in these physical spaces, Lempa argues, from an ambition to be recognized for one's legitimately-earned merit, to the desire for and creation of a culture of emotional belonging. "Civil Society," Lempa states, "was clearly a space of coexisting emotional communities . . . shaped by a sense of honor" (12).

This important book emerges out of Lempa's prior research into the history of emotions, of gender, and of physical education in the later eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. It also directly takes on two major recent debates in German history: one regarding the meaning and role of honor practices in German society, and the other over the development of German civil society. In the introductory and concluding chapters, Lempa lays the theoretical bricks of his argument that the 1700–1914 timespan in German history was "the classical era of honor and civil society" (156). He first challenges arguments that the Wilhelmine-era flourishing of honor practices such as dueling and honor-related lawsuits (*Privatklage*) serves as a measure either "of the modernity or nonmodernity of German society." Though he is indebted here to Ute Frevert and Ann Goldberg, who have shown that honor practices were not holdover traditions sustained by an illiberal, feudalized bourgeoisie, Lempa sees them as more comprehensive than Frevert and Goldberg do, and "more fundamentally embedded in the type of society that Germany had become by the end of the nineteenth century" (2). Likewise, he challenges interpretations of civil society that posit it as a conscious intellectual project of the enlightened bourgeoisie. Again, he sees it as more comprehensive. For Lempa, civil society is an "unselfconscious" space of free association that, in the nineteenth century, was "increasingly embraced by individuals from all classes and walks of life" (9). And Lempa agrees with Nicholas Terpstra and others that the eighteenth century was an important transition point in civil society but not its originating point. That, he argues, lies in medieval corporate, mostly urban spaces such as confraternities, market-places, and guilds.

Lempa grounds his understanding of honor in the sociological theories of Georg Simmel, arguing that it is a form of cohesion within social groups and, at the same time, a "motivation for individual agency." Since every individual holds membership in multiple groups, "his or her individuality and honor are defined by and as the intersection of these memberships" (5). Simmel articulated the philosophical culminating point in the historical process of intertwining honor and civil society. Christian Thomasius and Georg Friedrich Hegel represent its beginning and midpoints, respectively. Lempa credits Thomasius with decoupling honor from virtue, articulating it as morally neutral (*adiaphora*), an emotional desire for recognition through one's actions, achievable only through social interactions that were, in the early eighteenth century, still effected within a hierarchically structured society. Hegel addressed industrial capitalist society, whose master/slave relations disintegrated social bonds and atomized individuals. Hegel's remedy, says Lempa, was the resuscitation of precapitalist craft and political corporate spaces within which honor—the social emotion of "being-recognized" in one's individuality and vulnerability—could be restored (89).

For Lempa, civil society and honor are both intermediary phenomena. Honor operated separately from personal morality on the one hand and legal norms on the other. Civil society emerged "between the state and its institutions on the one hand, and individual lives on the other" (157). Honor practices diversified over time as spaces of civil society multiplied; they varied by class as well as the physical conditions of the spaces where these practices were enacted. Middle-class honor was affirmed at Bad Pyrmont in the early 1800s through joining with several other people to partake in a card game or country excursion. Working-class honor in late-nineteenth century industrial Leipzig was asserted through

participation in an unsanctioned May Day demonstration, occupying a space near the city center in full view of the local bourgeoisie.

One thing honor was *not* gendered. And though civil society could “launch heteronormative and male-dominated sexual practices” (9), its spaces *were not* exclusively heterosocial. These interpretations are implied in *Spaces of Honor*, but they are not fully supported with evidence. Women are present in some of Lempa’s five brief case studies of spatially instantiated honor practices. However, he acknowledges that restrictions minimized female participation in male-dominated voluntary associations and labor organizations until right before World War I. And in the one female-constructed space examined, Johanna Schopenhauer’s salon in Weimar, Lempa avers “it was obvious that [Johann Wolfgang von] Goethe had assumed the role of gatekeeper whose recognition was needed for [salon] membership, for one’s honor” (78). Most tellingly, Lempa does not address the chasm between male and female sexual honor present in German society over the timespan examined, even though it is a central topic in recent scholarship on honor, notably by Ute Frevert and Elisabeth Hull.

What was “the type of society” Germany became between 1700 and 1914? In less than two hundred pages, Heikki Lempa offers us many insights into the institutions of honor and civil society that made them vigorous and possibly enduring. His case studies point to rich avenues of further research.

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The Invention of International Order: Remaking Europe after Napoleon

**By Glenda Sluga. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2021.
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Matthew Levinger

The George Washington University

The period of European history immediately after Napoleon’s demise is often caricatured as the Age of Restoration—a disappointing bookend to the world historical Age of Revolution that preceded it. In the words of U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, these years witnessed a “reactionary and shortsighted” defense of an old imperial order against “the emerging ‘liberal spirit of the age’” (quoted on p. 3). Glenda Sluga’s study of the invention of international order presents a fascinating and richly variegated portrait of the political and cultural history of this underappreciated and profoundly transformative era.

Sluga’s book builds on the findings of recent works by Paul Schroeder, Beatrice de Graaf, Mark Jarrett, Brian Vick, and others, who in recent decades have led a reassessment of the politics and diplomacy of the post-Napoleonic era. In Schroeder’s judgment, this period witnessed a metamorphosis of “the governing rules, norms, and practices of international politics” that proved more significant than the 1789 French Revolution itself (*The Transformation of European Politics, 1763-1848* [1994], 803). Sluga expands the field of view to emphasize the multiple dimensions of international order, including issues such as the hardening of bourgeois gender norms, the institutionalization of international finance, the shifting relations between European powers and their colonies, the tensions between universalist and Christian moral codes, and the birth of modern humanitarianism.