



apothecaries, grocers, and stationers, as well as printers and paper makers. This potential confusion illustrates why it is problematic to work out who did what, when, and how.

Like most source research, the best results come from areas where there is a good corpus from which to gather information, creating patterns of distribution and use to build a more generic picture of the paper trade in early modern Europe. Jean-Benoit Krumenacker's essay, examining the accounts of the Lyon consulate from 1450 to 1525, is not the only one to incorporate a watermark study, but it demonstrates the usefulness of such studies in revealing patterns of use of paper stock and the scale of distribution, with findings that could potentially make connections across different uses of the same paper type. In other highlights, Anna Reynold's chapter on book bindings and the wastepaper trade in early modern England and Scotland is particularly illuminating. Simon Burrows et al. focus their attention on digital and archival sources relating to the business of a single publishing house, revealing its patterns of supply and consumption.

Evidence concerning supply and distribution, availability, cost, quality, and value of paper is also significant for early modern artists and workshops, but is not covered in this volume. Although the geographical paper lineage of early modern drawings is harder to trace, the findings in these essays are a rich font of information on the availability and use of paper, with the potential to provide information on the source of paper for artists and their workshops.

If I have one grumble about this impressive collection, it is the quality of many of the ninety-one images, with some too dark to render them legible. With a wealth of references and a useful bibliography, the essays tell a story of an invaluable commodity, reflecting the global reach of the medium of paper and providing a collection of data that becomes a significant foundation on which to build further.

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*The Rise of the Western Armenian Diaspora in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire.*  
Henry R. Shapiro.

Non-Muslim Contributions to Islamic Civilisation. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2022. xii + 324 pp. \$110.

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Every historian of the late Ottoman Empire is familiar with the artistic and cultural production of Ottoman Armenians from architecture to theater and literature, as well as with the role of Armenian elites in state finance and administration. However, until the early seventeenth century, the demographic and cultural center of the Armenian people had been eastern Anatolia, the historical Armenian heartland from ancient times. How did these communities come to be in the first place?

Henry Shapiro's book tells the story of the creation of an Armenian diaspora in western Anatolia as the result of mass migrations of Armenians from eastern Anatolia, which he calls the Great Armenian Flight, during the disruptive Celali rebellions from the late sixteenth century onward. According to Shapiro, this mass exodus brought about major transformations in the demography and cultural life of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire: new Armenian communities emerged in Western Anatolia and in the Balkans where they had not existed before, and the center of Ottoman Armenian cultural production shifted from Eastern Anatolia to Istanbul. There, new forms of Armenian literature and poetry emerged in a cosmopolitan context characterized by frequent cultural exchanges between Muslims, Jews, and Christians from the Ottoman Empire, Europe, and Safavid Iran. The contributions of Shapiro's well-researched book to the historiography of the Ottoman Empire and Armenian history are numerous. Here I focus on two of them.

First, Shapiro offers the first topical study in English of the Armenian Great Flight, which hitherto was known mostly to scholars of Armenian history (4). Relying on both Armenian literary sources and Ottoman archival documents, he discusses the causes and the consequences of the Celali rebellions on the social and religious life of Anatolian Armenians (chapter 2), and the challenges they encountered in the new loci of settlement (chapter 3). In this way, Shapiro demonstrates the importance of Armenian sources for studying major events of Ottoman history, such as the Celali Rebellions and internal migrations in the empire, and their complementarity with Ottoman ones. Furthermore, by engaging with the works of both Ottomanist and Arminiologist scholars, he bridges the historiographical divide between Ottoman history and premodern Armenian history, which the tragic events of 1915 had contributed to keep as distinct scholarly ventures.

Second, and more important, Shapiro rightly frames the mass migrations of Armenians and their social and cultural consequences as an episode of Ottoman history. The Great Flight and the cultural changes it generated within Ottoman Armenian communities were the outcome of internal developments in the Ottoman Empire in the seventeenth century, from economic and administrative transformations to rising religious tension and new literary trends in Ottoman intellectual circles. This is most clear in chapters 5 and 6, where Shapiro describes the literary production of the Istanbul-born scholar Eremia K'ēōmurchean (d. 1695). For the first in Armenian literature, and like his contemporary Muslim and non-Muslim peers in the Ottoman capital, he wrote first-person narratives, biographies of Ottoman sultans, geographical works, and religious manuals in a colloquial language to address his time's religious disputes. According to Shapiro, Eremia's choices of themes, genres, and language were part of a "broader trend that transcended religion and community" (241) and were the outcome of the "hybrid cultural interaction" (198) between medieval Armenian and Muslim literary traditions and new cross-cultural intellectual developments in the early modern period. The literary output of Eremia and other

scholars of the Western Armenian diaspora did not enrich Armenian culture alone, but, as Shapiro remarks, this output constituted one of the many contributions of non-Muslim communities to Islamic civilization (291).

Overall, by studying the creation of the Western Armenian diaspora, Shapiro introduces a new important topic of research for Armenian and Ottoman history, especially considering the current scholarly interest in mobility and cross-cultural interactions in the premodern world. Hopefully new studies will expand the research started by Shapiro by focusing on different contexts of Armenian immigration and on social and economic interactions between Western Armenians and other Ottoman groups as well as Europeans.

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*Towns on the Edge in Medieval Europe*. Matthew Mark Stevens and Roman Czaja, eds.

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Multiauthored books represent an ever-expanding but widely disparate genre. Their success depends on multiple factors, among which rank clear and attainable objectives, choice of contributors, editorial input, and overall cogency. Not only does *Towns on the Edge* score remarkably high on all of the above, it is conceived and delivered according to a truly collaborative blueprint. It comprises nine chapters, preceded by an introduction and followed by a conclusion. Firmly grounded in firsthand knowledge of the complexities and unevenness of the archival record extant in Poland, Germany, Estonia, and the British Isles, the eleven essays that make up this substantial contribution to the urban history of Europe's medieval peripheries (ca. 1150/1200–ca. 1500) are authored by twelve scholars, ranging from doctoral candidates to full professors. Interestingly, ten of the essays are coauthored and the remaining one is signed by three academics—an unusual feature that the editors, Matthew Mark Stevens and Roman Czaja, have made possible by coauthoring, respectively, five and four contributions. Anna Maleszka cosigns four and Aleksandra Girsztowt two. Focusing on the historical territories of Ireland, Wales, Prussia, Livonia, and Franconia, this book has benefited from the sort of international scaffolding best suited to innovative studies in comparative history. Four academic institutions reappear in the short *vitas* of the contributors: Nicolaus Copernicus University at Toruń (6), Swansea University (3), the University of Gdańsk (3), and Trinity College Dublin (2), with no less than four contributors linked to two of them at some point in their careers.

The endpoint of a longue durée shift from Mediterranean to Northern shores, modern Europe's urban and demographic backbone—the celebrated Blue Banana stretching