

INTRODUCTION: COMPARATIVE HISTORY, CROSS-NATIONAL HISTORY, TRANSNATIONAL HISTORY—DEFINITIONS

Deborah Cohen and Maura O'Connor

Viewed from the long perspective of European history, studies that cross national boundaries are neither new nor necessarily revolutionary. Although historical comparisons may be as ancient as Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*, it was the philosophers of the European Enlightenment who first set out to distinguish various areas of the world based upon customs, laws, and religions. If the nineteenth century saw the beginnings of national history to accompany nation-making projects, it also fed an unprecedented boom in comparisons, bolstered by the emerging disciplines of ethnology, anthropology, philology, and law.¹ Even the systematic practice of comparative history, as pioneered by Marc Bloch, Henri Pirenne, and Otto Hintze in the era that followed the Great War, can now boast a venerable pedigree.²

What is new today is the pervasive skepticism about national history itself. In an era of globalization—we are told—the traditional “national” approach to history no longer suffices. Critics have registered a number of objections: the claims of empire are pressing, regions cannot be ignored, the old exceptionalisms no longer persuade.³ To take the nation as the focal point, it has been argued, overly restricts the view. Enthroned in most subfields since at least the Second World War, national history, especially of Europe, seems increasingly under siege. To these challenges, historians have sought a solution in the realms of cross-national and comparative work. As conferences advertise for

comparative panels and foundations solicit cross-national proposals, the virtues of venturing beyond national history are often extolled.

But what is largely missing in this enthusiastic rush beyond the nation is any sense of how to tackle comparative and cross-national work. There are, of course, rafts of theoretical, often hortatory, essays on the subject of comparison. We have classificatory typologies galore, most of them bequeathed to us by sociologists in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the years in which comparative historical sociology reached its apogee. Whether the practitioner's aim is the general demonstration of a theory or the illumination of a specific historical context, comparisons have been sorted by genus and phylum down to a dizzying variety of types.⁴ The now-classic typologies developed by Theda Skocpol and Margaret Somers, on the one hand, and Charles Tilly, on the other, help to distinguish the ambitions of the historian from those of the sociologist, a subject that Peter Baldwin takes up in his essay in this volume; however, they shed little light on how one should proceed.

For all of the encomiums to histories that cross national boundaries, practical advice for the would-be practitioner is in short supply.⁵ How to formulate a topic that illuminates both the specific national history and the larger phenomenon, how to address the problem of sources that may reveal more about a particular country's archival practices than the subject at hand, how to craft arguments that impress specialists without doing violence to the historical context—all have been left to the skill (and luck) of the individual historian. The wheel has been reinvented a number of times, usually in isolation. Only very infrequently do cross-national or comparative historians openly discuss the disadvantages and pitfalls of what they do. There are few realistic appraisals of the problems and costs. Basic questions remain not simply unanswered, but even unasked. What sorts of studies are most likely to succeed? What kinds of work should be avoided? What are the benefits of cross-national versus comparative work? When should one approach be chosen over another? What sorts of findings and conclusions should we expect of these types of studies?

Comparison and History brings together scholars who have worked either cross-nationally or comparatively to reflect upon their own research. In chapters that engage practical, methodological, and theoretical questions, our contributors assess the gains—but also the obstacles and perils—of histories that traverse national boundaries. These are essays to persuade, to criticize, to warn, but above all, to advise. Our aim is to provide a much-needed assessment of these

approaches for scholars who are considering embarking upon projects that lead them beyond their national area of expertise. We hope, too, that this book will be of use to students whose historical training is likely to range to several national, even continental, fields. This book, as its title makes clear, is written by, and chiefly for, historians, although some of its chapters may be of interest to other disciplines that have made comparison a stock in trade, especially sociology, political science, anthropology, and literature.

Although many of the essays will appeal to a broader audience, we have chosen to focus our book on Europe. In part, this reflects an effort at coherence. By choosing a geographical center, we hoped to provoke the sorts of practical exchanges generally lacking in discussions of comparative and cross-national work. Our focus is an acknowledgment, too, of the relative abundance of both comparative and cross-national research in the European fields, as practiced in the United States, and in certain European countries, especially Germany and France.⁶ As nations that share a number of common experiences, the European countries lend themselves to cross-national scrutiny. European regions demonstrate the persistence of local ties even as nation-states consolidated their hold. The borrowings and exchanges among European states have been as profound as their antagonisms. With the coming of unification, Europe's commonalities and shared heritage, as well as each individual country's distinctiveness, have become subjects of public debate.

Comparison and History explores two crucial alternatives to standard national monographs: comparative history and cross-national history. Of the two genres, comparative history is seemingly the more easily defined. Comparative history is concerned with similarities and differences; in explaining a given phenomenon, it asks which conditions, or factors, were broadly shared, and which were distinctive—a variant on J.S. Mill's classic formulation of the methods of agreement and difference.⁷ The comparisons drawn are most often between nations, although other units of comparison are possible, even (as some of the contributors to this volume argue) desirable. The methodological reference points for comparative history have been the social scientific disciplines, especially sociology and political science, although historians have rarely aspired to the sorts of universal explanations associated with the social sciences. Comparative history has often been

characterized by an interest in causation. However, explaining *why* need not be its principal ambition, as Susan Grayzel and Maura O'Connor discuss in their respective essays.

If the preceding serves as an adequate description of comparative history, it falls short of a definition. For all of the term's ubiquity, there is little consensus about precisely what comparison means for the historian. Marc Bloch termed it a "method," capable, like other scientific methods, of yielding results for verification and falsification. However, those who have followed Bloch have been less certain. If a method requires faithful adherence to a well-defined set of practices, most comparative histories seem too unsystematic to qualify, the "method" itself either too inchoate or, as Raymond Grew has noted, no different from standard historical practice more generally.⁸ Rather than a method or a distinct historical genre, writes Thomas Welskopp, comparison offers "a way of considering" a problem, closer to a mode of analysis.⁹ On similar grounds, others have preferred to think of comparison more modestly, as a tool to provoke thought, or, more lyrically, as George Fredrickson puts it, as an "imagination."¹⁰ For Louis Hartz, impatient with the narrow horizons of American historiography, comparative history served as the "intellectual expression of the new cosmopolitanism" afoot in the early 1960s—less, in other words, a method than a liberation.¹¹

Cross-national history, by contrast, has largely been defined by the researcher's range of inquiry. Whether the subject is the culture of celebrity or the transatlantic slave trade, cross-national histories follow topics beyond national boundaries. They seek to understand reciprocal influences, as well as the ways in which the act of transplantation itself changes the topic under study. As a consequence, scholars who work cross-nationally are often more interested in crossings—whether real or imaginary—than they are in the specific national settings. Their focus is upon the historical contingency that movement itself introduces; the subjects of their studies can be as influenced by events abroad as they are by those at home. Understood broadly, cross-national history includes the history of colonialism and imperialism, which have illuminated both the crucial importance of empire to the European nations, and the European states' often malevolent influences abroad. It also encompasses what American historians have called the "new transnational history," a historiographical project that seeks to transcend a narrow focus upon the nation-state in the pursuit of (to quote Ian Tyrrell) "the international context of national action in all of its manifestations."¹²

As David Armitage points out in this volume's final chapter, the term "transnational" first took root in legal scholarship during the 1950s to indicate "actions or events that transcend national frontiers."¹³ It has since migrated to the social sciences and humanities, defining a realm of interdependence or relation that, by definition, supercedes national sovereignty and boundaries; in this way, it differs from the purely descriptive term "international." For Glenda Sluga, transnational history has helped to conceptualize "an alternative spatial framework to the nation," calling into question, as she puts it, "the units out of which histories are made."¹⁴ In the United States, as in France and Germany, "transnational" history has taken up many of the concerns of imperial history, prospering, too, in the subfields of immigration, environmental, and social movement history. And yet, as a number of critics have charged, the term "transnational" itself involves an analytic limitation: it presumes the extranational quality of the given subject.¹⁵ The cautions that Armitage offers about the teleological character of globalization hold true for the category of the transnational as well; far from inevitable, global interconnectedness was, as Armitage demonstrates, notoriously contingent: "Globalization's histories are multiple and its pre-histories just as various. It would be fallacious to seek a single pre-history of globalization, both because it has had many paths and because none of those paths has been unbroken."¹⁶

If transnational analysis presupposes a skeptical stance towards the nation as the chief organizing category of history, we intend "cross-national," by contrast, as a more neutral term to describe the scope of an historian's investigation. Under the rubric of the cross-national, we include the genres of *Transfersgeschichte* and *histoire croisée*, as they have been developed in France and Germany. *Transfersgeschichte*, the history of transfers between nations, owes its origins to the work of scholars such as Michel Espagne, who have sought to demonstrate how knowledge, broadly defined, has traveled across national boundaries.¹⁷ Topics for *Transfersgeschichte* have included, among others, the reciprocal influences of French and German educational systems and the reception accorded Hegel in France. The focus is upon processes, and especially upon cultures; historians of transfer have argued that purportedly "national" cultures instead reflect a wide array of external influences. *Histoire croisée*, as delineated by Bénédicte Zimmermann and Michael Werner, has taken the historian's own positionality as its methodological starting-point.¹⁸ *Histoire croisée* (an imperfect English translation from the French is "entangled history" or connected and

shared history) emphasizes the cultural and social connections between nation-states. *Histoire croisée* demands a self-reflective practice among historians: it asks that historians understand their categories of analysis, as well as their objects of study, as “entangled” products of national crossings; thus methodological approaches, historical evidence, and categories of analysis inherited from the past need to be historicized. Rather than proceeding on the basis of established categories of “nation,” “state,” or “society,” *histoire croisée* orients itself around problems, particularly the “entangled” historical relationships between Germany and France in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹⁹ In demonstrating the *longue durée* of European integration, *histoire croisée* can be understood as a scholarly homage to the European Union. Indeed, the first edited volume on the subject of *histoire croisée* carried a preface by Jacques Delors, former president of the European Commission.²⁰ But perhaps because of the narrow focus of much *histoire croisée*, in the United States and Great Britain, transnational history has all but upstaged its debut.²¹

We have chosen to include essays both about comparison and cross-national research within the covers of one book because, as a number of the chapters make clear, these two types of studies have often been considered as alternatives to each other and in opposition.²² Scholars who practice *Transfersgeschichte* and transnational history have criticized the static conceptions of the nation and emphasis upon national differences that (they claim) plague comparative history.²³ Comparativists have answered, as Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka do in this volume, that without some comparative starting point, how can one really understand the nature of a given transfer? For their part, historians who endorse the genre of *histoire croisée* have maintained (among other criticisms) that comparative history too often verges upon tautology; the argument that a given study wishes to prove is already implicitly embedded in its construction. However, as the essays in this volume demonstrate, the line between cross-national history and comparative history is not necessarily a bright one. Many studies can, and should, accommodate a range of different approaches.

Represented within this book are a variety of different points of view. We have not attempted to harmonize our contributors' opinions, viewing their differences as a fruitful guide to the sorts of questions and decisions that confront the historian. The points of difference about

Suggestions for Further Reading

WORKS OF HISTORIOGRAPHIC, METHODOLOGICAL, OR THEORETICAL INTEREST

- AHR Forum "Bringing Regionalism Back to History," *American Historical Review* 104: 4 (October 1999), 1156–1220.
- Armer, Michael, Allen Day Grimshaw, and the Institute for Comparative Sociology. *Comparative Social Research: Methodological Problems and Strategies*. New York: Wiley, 1973.
- Atsma, Hartmut and André Burguière. *Marc Bloch aujourd'hui: Histoire comparée & sciences sociales*. Paris: Editions de l'Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1990.
- Aymard, Maurice. "Histoire et comparaison," in *Marc Bloch aujourd'hui: Histoire comparée & sciences sociales*, edited by Hartmut Atsma and André Burguière. Paris: Editions de l'Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1990.
- Bagby, Philip. *Culture and History: Prolegomena to the Comparative Study of Civilizations*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1964.
- Baily, Samuel L. "Cross-Cultural Comparison and the Writing of Migration History: Some Thoughts on How to Study Italians in the New World," in *Immigration Reconsidered*, edited by Virginia Yans-McLaughlin. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Benson, Lee. "The Empirical and Statistical Basis for Comparative Analysis of Historical Change," in *Toward a Scientific Study of History: Selected Essays*, edited by Lee Benson. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1972.
- Bloch, Marc. "Pour une histoire comparée des sociétés européennes," paper delivered at the *Sixth International Congress of Historical Sciences*, Oslo 1928 and printed in *Revue de synthèse historique* 46 (1928), 15–50.
- Bloch, Marc. "Toward a Comparative History of European Societies," in *Enterprise and Secular Change: Readings in Economic History*, edited by Frederic C. Lane. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1953.
- Bonnell, Victoria E. "The Uses of Theory, Concepts and Comparison in Historical Sociology," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22 (April 1980), 155–173.
- Breuilly, John, "Introduction: Making Comparisons in History," in J. Breuilly, *Labour and Liberalism in 19th Century Europe: Essays in Comparative History*. New York: St. Martin's, 1991.

- Conrad, Christoph and Sebastian Conrad, editors. *Die Nation schreiben. Geschichtswissenschaft im internationalen Vergleich*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002.
- Cooper, Frederick. "Race, Ideology, and the Perils of Comparative History." *American Historical Review* 101: 4 (October 1996), 1122-1138.
- Cronin, James. "Neither Exceptional nor Peculiar. Towards the Comparative Study of Labor in Advanced Society." *International Review of Social History* 38 (1993), 59-75.
- Daum, Werner. "Fallobst oder Steinschlag: Einleitende Überlegungen zum historischen Vergleich," in *Vergleichende Perspektiven—Perspektiven des Vergleichs: Studien zur europäischen Geschichte von der Spätantike bis ins 20. Jahrhundert*, edited by Helga Schnabel-Schüle. Mainz: von Zabern, 1998.
- Degler, Carl N. "Comparative History: An Essay Review." *Journal of Southern History*, 31(1968), 425-430.
- Detienne, Marcel. *Comparer l'incomparable*. Paris: Editions du Seuil. 2000.
- Dumont, Louis. "On the Comparative Understanding of Non-modern Civilizations." *Daedalus* 104 (1975), 153-172.
- Eisenberg, Christiane. "The Comparative View in Labour History. Old and New Interpretations of the English and German Labour Movement before 1914." *International Review of Social History* 34 (1989).
- Eisenstadt, S.N. "Problems in the Comparative Analysis of Total Societies." *Transactions of the Sixth World Congress of Sociology, Geneva: International Sociological Association* 1 (1966).
- Espagne, Michel. "Sur les limites du comparatisme en histoire culturelle." *Genèses* 17 (September 1994): 112-121.
- Espagne, Michel and Michael Werner, editors. *Qu'est-ce qu'une littérature nationale? Approches pour une théorie interculturelle du champ littéraire*. Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1994.
- Etzioni, Amitai and Fred DuBow. *Comparative Perspectives: Theories and Methods*. Boston: Little Brown. 1969.
- Fassin, Eric. "Fearful Symmetry: Culturalism and Cultural Comparison after Tocqueville." *French Historical Studies* 19: 2 (Autumn 1995), 451-460.
- Flint, John. "Conceptual Translations in Comparative Study: A Review Article." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 18: 4 (October 1976).
- Frederickson, George M. "Comparative History," in *The Past Before Us: Contemporary Historical Writings in the United States*, edited by Michael Kamman. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1980.
- Frederickson, George M. "From Exceptionalism to Variability: Recent Developments in Cross-National Comparative History." *Journal of American History* 82: 2 (September 1995), 587-604.
- Fuchs, Eckhardt and Benedikt Stuchtey, editors. *Across Cultural Borders: Historiography in Global Perspective*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002.
- Fumian, Carol. "Le virtù della comparazione." *Meridiana* 4 (1990).
- Green, Nancy L. "L'histoire comparative et le champ des études migratoires." *Annales, ESC* 6 (November-December 1990), 1335-1350.
- Grew, Raymond. "The Case for Comparing Histories." *American Historical Review*, 85: 4 (October 1980), 763-778.
- Grew, Raymond. "The Comparative Weakness of American History." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 16 (1985), 87-101.
- Guarnari, Carl. "Some Reflections on Comparative and Transnational Histories." NYU-OAH Conference on Internationalizing American History, Florence, Italy, July 6-8, 1998.
- Halperin, Charles J. et al. "AHR Forum: Comparative History in Theory and Practice: A Discussion." *American Historical Review*, 87: 1 (February 1982), 123-143.

- Hartz, Louis. "American Historiography and Comparative Analysis: Further Reflections." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 5: 4 (July 1963), 365–377.
- Haupt, Heinz-Gerhard. "La lente émergence d'une histoire comparée," in *Passés recomposés: Champs et chantiers de l'histoire*, edited by Jean Boutier and Dominique Julia. Paris: Edition Autrement, 1995.
- Haupt, Heinz-Gerhard and Jürgen Kocka. "Historischer Vergleich: Methoden, Aufgaben, Probleme," in *Geschichte und Vergleich: Ansätze und Ergebnisse international vergleichender Geschichtsschreibung*, edited by Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka. Frankfurt; New York: Campus, 1996.
- Haupt, Heinz-Gerhard and Jürgen Kocka. *Geschichte und Vergleich: Ansätze und Ergebnisse international vergleichender Geschichtsschreibung*. Frankfurt; New York: Campus, 1996.
- Hill, Alette Olin and Boyd H. Hill. "AHR Forum: Marc Bloch and Comparative History." *The American Historical Review* 85: 4 (October 1980), 828–846.
- Hintze, Otto and Gerhard Oestreich. *Soziologie und Geschichte; gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Soziologie, Politik und Theorie der Geschichte*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964.
- Hradil, Stefan and Stefan Immerfall. *Die westeuropäischen Gesellschaften im Vergleich*. Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 1997.
- Immerfall, Stefan. *Einführung in den europäischen Gesellschaftsvergleich*. Passau: Rothe, 1994.
- Iriye, Akira. "Internationalizing International History," in *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*, edited by Thomas Bender. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
- Jacob, Margaret C. "Science Studies after Social Construction: The Turn Towards the Comparative and the Global," in *Beyond the Cultural Turn: New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture*, edited by Lynn Hunt and Victoria Bonnell. Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999.
- Kaelble, Hartmut. "La recherche européenne en histoire social comparative." *Actes de la recherche en Science Sociale* 106–107 (March 1995), 67–79.
- Kaelble, Hartmut. *Der historische Vergleich: Eine Einführung zum 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. Frankfurt: Campus, 1999.
- Kaelble, Hartmut, editor. *Transnationale Öffentlichkeiten und Identitäten im 20. Jahrhundert*. Frankfurt: Campus, 2002.
- Kaelble, Hartmut and Jürgen Schriewer, editors, *Diskurse und Entwicklungspfade. Gesellschaftsvergleiche in Geschichts- und Sozialwissenschaften*. Frankfurt a.M.: Campus, 1999.
- Kocka, Jürgen. "Comparative Historical Research: German Examples." *International Review of Social History* 38 (1993).
- Kocka, Jürgen. "Comparison and Beyond." *History and Theory* 42 (2003), 39–44.
- Kolchin, Peter. "Comparing American History." *Reviews in American History (The Promise of American History: Progress and Prospects)* 10: 4 (December 1982), 64–81.
- Lamont, Michèle and Laurent Thévenot, editors. *Rethinking Comparative Cultural Sociology. Repertoires of Evaluation in France and the United States*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Mahoney, James and Dietrich Rueschemeyer. *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Matthes, Joachim, editor. *Zwischen den Kulturen?: die Sozialwissenschaften vor dem Problem des Kulturvergleichs*. Göttingen: O. Schwartz, 1992.
- Mazlish, Bruce. *Conceptualizing Global History*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993.
- McGerr, Michael. "The Price of the 'New Transnational History.'" *American Historical Review* 96: 4 (October 1991), 1056–1067.
- McMichael, Philip. "Incorporating Comparison within a World Historical Perspective: An Alternative Comparative Method." *American Sociological Review* 55 (June 1990), 385–397.

- Meritt, Richard L. and Stein Rokkan, editors. *Comparing Nations: The Use of Quantitative Data in Cross-National Research*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1966.
- Middell, Matthias. "Kulturtransfer und historische Komparistik. Thesen zu ihrem Verhältnis." *Comparativ* 10 (2000), 7–41.
- Mill, John Stuart. "Two Methods of Comparison" (excerpt from *A System of Logic* 1888) in *Comparative Perspectives: Theories And Methods*, Amitai Etzioni and Fred DuBow, editors. Boston: Little Brown, 1969.
- Mitchell, Allan. "Caesar's Laurel Crown—The Case for a Comparative Concept: Reply." *The Journal of Modern History* 49: 2 (June 1977), 207–209.
- Osterhammel, Jürgen. "Sozialgeschichte im Zivilisationsvergleich: Zu künftigen Möglichkeiten komparativer Geschichtswissenschaft." *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 22 (1996), 143–164.
- Osterhammel, Jürgen. "Transnationale Gesellschaftsgeschichte: Erweiterung oder Alternative?" *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 27: 3 (2001), 464–479.
- Osterhammel, Jürgen. *Geschichtswissenschaft jenseits des Nationalstaats. Studien zu Beziehungsgeschichte und Zivilisationsvergleich*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001.
- Paulmann, Johannes. "Internationaler Vergleich und interkultureller Transfer: Zwei Forschungsansätze zur europäischen Geschichte des 18. bis 20. Jahrhunderts." *Historische Zeitschrift* 267: 3 (December 1998): 649–685.
- Pirenne, Henri. "De la methode comparative en histoire," in *Compte rendu du Ve Congrès international des sciences historiques, Bruxelles, 1923*, edited by Guillaume Des Marez and François Louis Ganshof. Brussels: M. Weissenbruch, 1923.
- Pocock, J.G.A. "The Origins of Study of the Past: A Comparative Approach." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 4: 2 (January 1962), 209–246.
- Przeworski, Adam and Henry Teune. *The Logic of Comparative Social Inquiry*. New York: Wiley-Interscience, 1970.
- Ragin, Charles C. *The Comparative Method: Moving beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.
- Rokkan, Stein, editor. *Comparative Research across Cultures and Nations*. Paris; The Hague: Mouton, 1968.
- Rossi, Pietro, editor. *La storia comparata. Approcci e prospettive*. Milan: Il Saggiatore, 1990.
- Rusen, Jorn. "Some Theoretical Approaches to Intercultural Comparative Historiography." *History and Theory* 35: 4 (December 1996), 5–22.
- Salvati, Mariuccia. "Histoire contemporaine et analyse comparative en Italie." *Genèses: Sciences sociales et histoire* 22 (March 1996), 146–159.
- See, Henri. "Remarques sur l'application de la methode comparative a l'histoire économique et sociale." *Revue de synthèse historique* 36 (1923), 37–46.
- Sewell, William H. and Thrupp, Sylvia L. "[Marc Bloch and comparative history]: Comments." *American Historical Review*, 85: 4 (October 1980), 847–853.
- Sewell, William H., Jr. "Marc Bloch and the Logic of Comparative History." *History and Theory* 6 (1967), 208–218.
- Skocpol, Theda and Margaret Somers. "The Uses of Comparative History in Macrosocial Inquiry." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22: 2 (April 1980), 174–197.
- Smelser, Neil J. *Comparative Methods in the Social Sciences*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1976.
- Spiliotis, Susanna-Sophia. "Das Konzept der Transterritorialität oder Wo findet Gesellschaft statt?" *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 27: 3 (2001), 480–488.
- Steiner, George. "What is comparative literature?" An inaugural lecture delivered before the University of Oxford on 11 October, 1994. Oxford: Clarendon, 1995.

- Stoler, Ann L. "Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies." *Journal of American History* (December 2001), 831–864.
- Sturmer, Michael. "Caesar's Laurel Crown—the Case for a Comparative Concept." *The Journal of Modern History* 49: 2 (June 1977), 203–207.
- Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. "Connected Histories: Toward a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia," in *Beyond Binary Histories: Re-imagining Eurasia to c. 1830*, edited by V.B. Lieberman. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1997.
- Swierenga, Robert P. "Computers and Comparative History." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 5: 2 (Autumn 1974), 267–286.
- Thrupp, Sylvia. "Editorial." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 1: 1 (October 1958), 1–4.
- Thrupp, Sylvia L. "The Role of Comparison in the Development of Economic Theory." *The Journal of Economic History* 17: 4 (December 1957), 554–570.
- Tilly, Charles. *Big Structures, Large Processes, Huge Comparisons*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1984.
- Tipps, Dean. "Modernization Theory and the Comparative Study of Societies: A Critical Perspective." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 15: 2 (1973), 199–226.
- Triebel, Armin, editor. *Gesellschaften vergleichen. Erträge des Gesellschaftsvergleichs*, vol. I. Berlin: Freie Universität, 1994.
- Triebel, Armin, editor. *Die Pragmatik des Gesellschaftsvergleichs. Erträge des Gesellschaftsvergleichs*, vol. II. Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 1997.
- Tyrrell, Ian. "American Exceptionalism in an Age of International History." *American Historical Review* 96 (October 1991), 1033–1038.
- Vallier, Ivan and David Ernest Apter. *Comparative Methods in Sociology: Essays on Trends and Applications*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.
- van den Braembussche, Antoon. "Historical Explanation and Comparative Method: Towards a Theory of the History of Society." *History and Theory* 28 (1989), 1–24.
- Walker, Lawrence D. "A Note on Historical Linguistics and Marc Bloch's Comparative Method." *History and Theory* 19: 2 (February 1980) 154–164.
- Walton, John. "Standardized Case Comparisons: Observations on Method in Comparative Sociology," in *Comparative Social Research: Methodological Problems and Strategies*, edited by Michael Armer and Allen Day Grimshaw. New York: Wiley, 1973.
- Welskopp, Thomas. "Stolpersteine auf dem Königsweg: Methodenkritische Anmerkungen zum internationalen Vergleich in der Gesellschaftsgeschichte." *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 35 (1995), 339–367.
- Werner, Michael. "La place relative du champ littéraire dans les cultures nationales." *Qu'est-ce qu'une littérature nationale: Approches pour une théorie interculturelle du champ littéraire*, edited by Michel Espagne and Michael Werner. Paris: Edition MSH, 1994.
- Werner, Michael and Bénédicte Zimmermann. "Vergleich, Transfer, Verflechtung. Der Ansatz der Histoire croisée und die Herausforderung des Transnationalen." *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 28: 4 (2002), 607–636.
- Werner, Michael and Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Penser l'histoire croisée: entre empirie et réflexivité." *Annales HSS* (January–February 2003), 7–36.
- Wirz, Albert. "Für eine transnationale Gesellschaftsgeschichte." *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 27: 3 (2001), 489–498.
- Woodward, C. Vann, editor. *The Comparative Approach to American History*. New York; London: Basic, 1968.
- Zelditch, Morris Jr. "Intelligible Comparisons" in *Comparative Methods in Sociology: Essays on Trends and Applications*, edited by Ivan Vallier and David Ernest Apter. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.