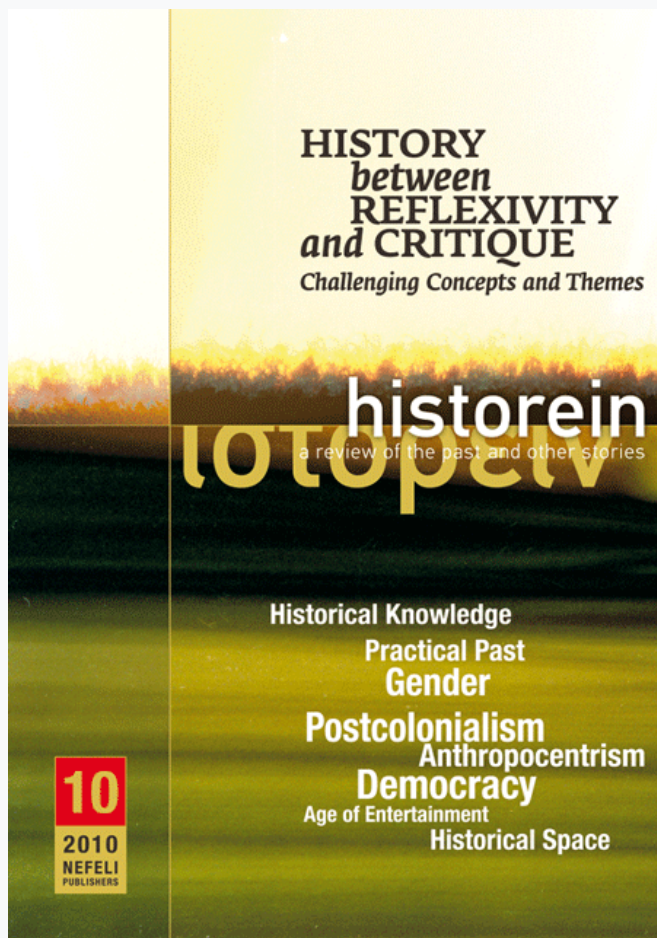


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Margaret MacMillan
***Dangerous Games:
The Uses and
Abuses of History***

**New York: Modern Library,
2009. xi + 188 pp.**

by J. D. Braw

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“History is something we all do,” Oxford historian Margaret MacMillan writes in her latest book, *Dangerous Games*, “even if we do not always realize it.” Perhaps as a result of this, history is often done overwhelmingly badly – sometimes dangerously so.

The subtitle of MacMillan’s book is *The Uses and Abuses of History*; and, much like Nietzsche’s similarly titled critique, it reads mostly like a catalogue of errors. The abuses the historian MacMillan identifies in the early twenty-first century are, however, not the same as those that the philosopher Nietzsche observed among his contemporaries in the nineteenth century. Nietzsche protested against the uselessness of the past in which his contemporaries buried themselves. But we abuse history, MacMillan writes, “when we create lies about the past or write histories that show only one perspective”.

The abuse of the past thus seems to grow directly out of the apparent usefulness and subsequent utilisation of history in the present situation: history offers simplicity when the present seems chaotic; it serves as an escape from the present; it compensates for the shortage of contemporary heroes (as illustrated, MacMillan suggests, by the American cult of Winston Churchill); it strengthens identities; and it is called on to help with our values, “at least in part because we no longer trust the authorities of today”. More generally, there simply is a widespread interest in knowledge and entertainment. For all these reasons, history is widely popular today.

Against the background of the increasing interest in history, MacMillan argues, professional historians could hardly have chosen a worse moment to abandon the field to amateurs. This, however, is what has happened; much historical study today, she writes, is self-referential and theoretical, and historians “have increasingly gone in for specialized language and long and complex sentences”. Historians have also, she suggests, specialised in more and more peripheral issues and subjects, such as the carnivals in the French Revolution or the image of the Virgin Mary in the Middle Ages. In this process, the aspect of history that Leopold von Ranke described as “what really happened” has tended to be forgotten.

The reasons for the retreat into more purely academic history are not dwelt on in *Dangerous Games*, but the consequences are clear. Academic historians have been separated from their original audience, the reading public, with the result that newly won knowl-

edge is not being disseminated adequately. There is, however, no shortage of authors that do adapt their work to the current demands of the history audience. Popular history has perhaps never before been so popular. Yet, "some of it is very good, but much is not," MacMillan writes. Writers of bad history jump to conclusions, make anachronistic assumptions, focus on the sensational, demand too much of its protagonists, ignore nuances, and make sweeping generalisations, and many of the amateurs filling the void left by professional historians belong to this category. This, in turn, creates the opportunity for political leaders and opinion makers to make false claims and legitimate bad policies without being challenged.

Professional historians, MacMillan argues, ought not to have surrendered their territory so easily. "We must do our best to raise the public awareness of the past in all its richness and complexity," she writes. The role of historians, in this context, is however not primarily to provide their audience with other narratives; rather, their role is to point to the ambiguities of the past and challenge the myths and beliefs of the present. Sometimes their raising qualifications will be "intensely irritating". Yet it needs to be done, in the interest of what the British historian Michael Howard has called the adult society.

The obstacles, however, are formidable. MacMillan describes at length the many instances in which history has been and is being abused for economic and political purposes, to enhance group solidarity or to legitimise various claims. History even serves, in secularised countries, as a kind of religion. "History takes on the role of showing us good and evil, virtues and vices," she writes. "It restores a sense not necessarily of a divine being but of something above and beyond human beings."

Because of the close relation between history and collective identity, the notion of sacrilege or blasphemy has also become part of the understanding of history. Historians have been drawn into sometimes violent conflicts for daring to suggest that the beliefs about the past held by some groups have little or no justification. Challenging beliefs about the past is therefore not only likely to be frustrating; it can truly be a dangerous game.



One of the many strengths of *Dangerous Games* is its international scope. All over the world, struggles over the past are taking place between countries or between different groups within them. Sometimes unresolved historical conflicts shape the politics of the present; sometimes present conflicts lead to diverging and polarising understandings of the past. The characters of the struggles differ, though school textbooks, museum exhibitions and buildings are common battlegrounds whose centrality in shaping the understanding of the present is recognised by all. Not least in the school context, the spreading of factual knowledge is combined with the exercise of power, which makes the enterprise of teaching history intensely political.

The struggles over history are being played out at the highest political level, both in democratic countries and in less democratic ones. Former British prime minister Gordon Brown's "Britishness" project was, to a large extent, based on a particular understanding of British history. The idea was explicitly to draw on British history to create and strengthen the collective identity in the present. "We can find common qualities and common values that have made Britain the country it is. Our belief in tolerance and liberty which shines through

British history,” the prime minister said. And Vladimir Putin, being notified that a textbook used in schools cited opinions critical of the present regime, emphasised that history schoolbooks should “foster a sense of pride for one’s history and one’s country”. (The education ministry subsequently said it would work out a “uniform concept that would objectively treat the most critical periods of Russian history”.)

Therefore there is also little likelihood of any dramatic shifts in the way in which history is dealt with. If anything, the factors identified by MacMillan – primarily ideological needs – will probably lead to increasingly intense struggles over the past and even more abuses. Even if professional historians attempted to reclaim some of the ground they have abandoned or lost, the probability of success in changing the terms of the public debate is questionable. MacMillan, to be sure, is optimistic, believing that “a complex picture is more satisfying for adults than a simplistic one”. Yet one of the themes of *Dangerous Games*, one might argue, is that simplicity has consistently defeated complexity in the twentieth century, either for commercial or for political reasons.

Eventually this raises the question of whether the interest in history as it exists today serves any positive purpose at all. Put differently, would we be worse off if we did not know any history at all? MacMillan’s answer is that we “probably” would, which is remarkably modest. History can teach us humility, scepticism and awareness of ourselves, she writes, and if it does, “then it has done something useful”. Yet this only raises a further question, namely whether anyone who does not bring humility, scepticism and self-awareness into the study of the past is really able to develop such characteristics through history.

Jerome de Groot

***Consuming History:
Historians and Heritage
in Contemporary Popular
Culture***

**London and New York:
Routledge, 2009. 292 pp.**

by Anna Maria Droumpouki

University of Athens

The great interest at the present time in new vision and image technologies is associated with the “image revolution” or “cyber-revolution”, which is linked with the historical transition to a postmodern era. New technologies and the proliferation of screen culture seem to contain boundless possibilities. Jerome de Groot’s book *Consuming History* revolves around the idea that we live in a simulation culture. We are already familiar with Jean Baudrillard’s theory of simulations and of de-territorialised hyperreality and this is how our identity is articulated as our existence is in a constant negotiation with images and simulations. We now see the world by means of mediated vision, and de Groot’s book significantly contributes to this by focusing on examples from the media, visual culture and culture industry in general.

History today seems more alive than ever. War history, in particular, has become big

business, especially through visual media. The History Channel and the *BBC History* magazine are some of the examples mentioned in the book. The History Channel in particular is also called the “Hitler Channel” because of its frequent thematic preferences for Hitler and the Second World War, both extremely popular with viewers. The book’s breadth of reference is impressive and the interpretation of the concept of “public history” is key to understanding the methodological approach employed. What we call “public history”, the nonacademic forms of historical engagement, and the influence of cultural studies on historical research are at the core of the analysis. De Groot also pays attention to the ways that new technologies have affected the representation of the past during the last two decades and what has changed regarding the consumption of history, by focusing on contemporary popular culture and mediums that are ignored by academia and professional historians. So, history as a product is at the centre of de Groot’s analysis.

This book is divided into six parts. The first section engages with history and celebrities, the new role of historians in popular culture and the popular television shows that have made the diffusion of history through society possible, outside the limited field of the academic environment. De Groot argues that heritage consumerism might be problematic but has some positive effects, as academic history stays in the limited context and practice of elites, while public, or better popular history, engages with nonacademic audiences and embraces larger parts of society. Two public figures are discussed, Simon Schama and the controversial “public” historian David Irving. This section has to do with the “celebritising” of historians, a term coined by de Groot in order to describe the phenomenon of “star” professors who become television personalities through shows

or trials, as in the case of the Holocaust denier Irving. “History as the new sex” is a slogan that describes the popularity of history shows, and Simon Schama, the only professor of history with eleven Facebook fan groups, as a popular and controversial intellectual, is the evidence for this proliferation of public interest. But also female scholars such as Dorothy King represent a new kind of postfeminist academic who is “proud to be one of a new breed of woman – the PhDiva who wears Manolo Blahniks and also has a doctorate” (20). Columns, articles in big magazines and TV shows are only some of the examples of the so-called “newspaper culture” in academia. Historians choose to engage themselves in discussions with colleagues through the press, sometimes using a fierce vocabulary, as in the case of the famous German *Historikerstreit* (historians’ quarrel) in the late 1980s, which began in an article published in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. In Greece, the past five years has seen a debate carried out in newspapers between historians concerning the Greek Civil War (1946–1949), while TV shows determine whom the public considers the greatest people in history (for example, *Megaloi Ellines* or Great Greeks). All have brought historians into the public eye. The example of the perpetuating interest in royal and historical biographies in Britain and the huge reception for history books and history magazines (*History Today*, *BBC History* or even the German *Der Spiegel*, which publishes many articles concerning historical events) are also proof of the recent popularity of history.

The second section addresses the material aspect of history through artefacts, antiques, personal collections and the internet. The popularity of antique shows on television is de Groot’s main argument for the “democratization of the historical” (72), as history invades the daytime television schedule, providing leisure. Along with genealogy and the various

sites and institutions helping people find their roots and ancestors (the Family Records Centre in the UK, ROOTS-L on the internet, and the You Don't Know You're Born programme on the BBC), a drive to own the past and control knowledge through an intense acquisition of a nationalist identity is portrayed. Even during Barack Obama's campaign there was an attempt to use genealogy in order to prove his unsuitability for the American presidency, as it was revealed by a genealogical website that he is a descendant of slave owners. In contrast to these controversial shows and sites, famous books like Alex Haley's *Roots: The Saga of an American Family* (1976) use genealogy as an analytical tool for discovering one's context in the world, outside the narrow limits of mainstream historical narratives.

On the other hand, the revolutionary impact of the internet is, according to de Groot, for scholars and academia only positive. Fully accessible digital archives, audio files, huge historical databases, online community-based projects for local history or lesbian and gay "unofficial histories" (the Brighton Ourstory Archive, for example), collections of oral testimonies, the digitalisation of collections of famous museums (the example of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum site is indicative), search engines and the collaborative publishing of Wikipedia are only some of the new tools for research, which can change the way that historians work. The traditional role of the historian in the archive is only one aspect of the contemporary, multifaceted role of the scholar, and software such as Zotero help scholars to manage information from this "infinite archive" (94).

The third section of the book portrays history as a performance. Reenactment is a new trend in museums and TV shows, with actors playing the role of some great historical personalities while the reconstruction of historical battles

is popular among players of "history games". History here is a role, a performance that offers historical interaction, something impossible in academic and "official" history. On the other hand, historical series and documentaries such as Simon Schama's *A History of Britain* (2000–2002) or Michael Winterbottom's *A Cock and Bull Story* (2006) and *The Romantics* on BBC2 that mix historical "fact" with music or performance, all lead, according to de Groot, to the desire for a visualisation of the past. This visualisation is also achieved through computer games: Second World War games like *Storm the Beaches of Normandy* or *Defeat the Nazi War Machine* are some of the most popular. This growth of consumer historical culture finds academics reserved and sceptical. De Groot argues that "there is nothing to be learned from this kind of history" (138). The writer also gives examples of reconstructed history in cultural heritage: The first Living History Museum in Stockholm, Skansen, welcomes around one million visitors every year. Skansen, a traditional old village, has been reconstructed in favour of a representation of Swedish rural life and traditions. The reconstruction of Shakespeare's Globe along the same lines as the original theatre demonstrates the importance of location and of the ersatz experience for cultural tourists.

The fourth part of the book again addresses the version of a constructed history through television, but it focuses more on the term of the "democratization of knowledge". De Groot argues that everyone now has access to knowledge and takes the example of the Holocaust: the 1980s television series *Shoah* demonstrated far more efficiently than historical monographs and books the complexity of the past. Again, historians remain sceptical as these popular television series have nothing to do with the methods and tools of history as a discipline – no sources, archives, secondary lit-

erature or research. The result is a superficial and mainstream history. This is also the case with films like *Schindler's List* or *La vita è bella* that, according to the British historian Richard Evans, "involve a degree of simplification or downright distortion" (152). Simon Schama and David Starkey, the historians who brought the research out of the academy and offered it to the many, are the most famous "television historians". This new type of historian is the gatekeeper of the past. This past is accessible to everyone because of the wider globalisation of history through the media. At the end of his analyses, de Groot argues that "reality history" is a process that is artificial even though it interacts with society by achieving a physical understanding of the past.

The fifth section considers the prevalence of the historical as a representational context in popular culture. Again history is a consumable product, created by the media. De Groot seems to pay great attention to historical television and films produced in Germany, Britain, France and Ireland that explore moments of national trauma. Films about the Holocaust and the Second World War in general have won audiences worldwide (*The Pianist* and *Der Untergang*, for example), while films such as *Das Leben der Anderen* (The Lives of Others) or *Goodbye Lenin* present life in East Germany before the fall of the Berlin Wall in a simplistic way and without historical truthfulness. Apart from films, Art Spiegelman's graphic novel *Maus* is the proof that there are some alternative mediums that represent historical events in much greater depth, without eliminating the complexity of such a traumatic event as the Holocaust.

The last section analyses the various forms of heritage industry, and especially museums, as a factor that enriches cultural capital. De Groot's point is that in recent years there has been a shift in the traditional role of muse-

ums as a result of social change and theoretical debates. The new museology has contributed much to these radical transformations in museums.

Overall, some critical points can be made about this book. *Consuming History* is not critical of the popularity of screen culture in the last years. It does not offer the possibility of a wider and more open-ended discussion of the dominant position of vision culture in contemporary societies. De Groot's stance is not one of ambivalence. As the worldwide virtual community has developed new technologies, and as vision is becoming separated from experience and from reality, instituting dissociation from the world, it seems that idealising the new technologies or indicating the importance of vision to the proliferation of interest in public history is a risky undertaking. But through the various examples provided in the book, de Groot argues that the manipulation of history, historical sites and artefacts for economic development verifies the book's title: history today is a product and it is consumed. De Groot, in *Consuming History*, has also questioned the role of academic history and is in favour of a historiography that is more open to society, quoting the words of Hayden White that "no one owns the past, and no one has a monopoly on how to study it" (248). The past has many forms, and this book analyses, to a large extent, the most important historical issues and formats of the postmodern era. It provides an interesting and fresh look at the notion of public history and looks at the competing ways in which history today might work for societies. It illustrates the opening up of access to knowledge and the attention that scholars must give to the ways contemporary societies engage with the past. As history is everywhere today, *Consuming History* is a useful tool for a better understanding of the presence of history in popular culture.

Roderick Beaton and David Ricks
(eds)

***The Making of Modern
Greece: Nationalism,
Romanticism and the Uses of
the Past, 1797–1896***

Farnham: Ashgate, 2009. 270 pp.

by Alexander Kitroeff

Haverford College

This volume includes nineteen essays based on presentations made at an international conference organised in 2006 by the Centre for Hellenic Studies of King's College London and the Institute for Neohellenic Research of the National Hellenic Research Centre, Athens. Coincidentally (or not) both these academic centres made news around the time this volume appeared because both were threatened with severe funding cuts that would have endangered their existence. Thus it is important in reviewing this volume to underline the obvious: its publication is welcome for it provides students of modern Greek nationalism access to a set of uniformly excellent contributions on a wide range of aspects of "the making of modern Greece" in the nineteenth century. In an economic environment adversely affecting scholarly publishing and in which even university publishing houses regard conference proceedings as especially unprofitable and undesirable, the availability

of these essays in print is in fact an important contribution to the field.

The volume consists of an especially broad range of essays. They are divided into seven parts, framed by an introduction and an afterword. The topics covered are diverse: the first part includes contributions by Paschalis Kitromilides, Suzanne Marchand and Henrik Mouritsen that place Greek nationalism in a comparative context, and the second part places Greek national history in a European context, with essays by Ioannis Kourboulis and Margarita Milioti. Parts three and four cover definitions of identity, with Marios Hatzipoulos and Effi Gazi assessing the importance of religion while Yanna Delivoria, Socrates D. Petmezas and Basil C. Gounaris address the divide between "insider" and "outsider" Greeks. In the fifth part, essays by Eleni Calligas and Athanasios Gekas are focused on the experience of the Ionian Islands, which were distinct because they were under British rather than Ottoman rule before being co-opted into modern Greece. The next two segments of the volume include contributions on Greek literature. Peter Mackridge and Karen Van Dyck's essays are on language and national identity. These are followed by five contributions on "the nation in the literary imagination" by Vassiliki Dimoula, Dimitris Tziouvas, Alexis Politis, Michalis Chryssanthopoulos and David Ricks.

In the Afterword, Michael Llewellyn Smith suggests that Greece was created from "many different elements, which explains the varied nature of the preceding chapters" (259). The division of the nineteen contributions into seven different parts is in itself an indication of the varied topics they address. The divisions do help to underline the commonalities, but the reader is left ultimately with the impression that this collection of

essays lacks an overall focus other than the obvious, but far too general, characteristic of relating to the emergence of Greek national identity from the late eighteenth to the late nineteenth centuries. There is a clear difference between the approaches of the historical works and the literary essays, and the two contributions on the Ionian Islands stand apart from the others that address nationalism on mainland Greece. There is, of course, an advantage to this breadth, namely that this volume functions somewhat as a reference work that is useful to readers depending on what exactly interests them about this topic writ large.

The volume, nonetheless, opens by promising a thematic concentration of sorts. In his introduction – which provides an excellent summary of recent works on Greek nationalism – Roderick Beaton raises the problem of Greek “exceptionalism”, namely the distinctiveness of the crystallisation of Greek identity around the core idea of the continuity between the classical past and the present. He correctly points out that the reaction to the claims of Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer that the Greeks were not in fact descendants of the ancient Greeks led to an affirmation of the continuity thesis, embodied by Pappas’ history of the Greeks. In what must be one of the most felicitous and succinct phrases that describes the formation of Greek nationalism, Beaton observes “the ruptures exposed by Fallmerayer would become precisely the ligatures holding together a construction as new and as daring as it purported to be ancient: the *History of the Hellenic Nation*” (5).

This reviewer’s expectation that the essays that follow might, indeed, confront Greek exceptionalism explicitly was encouraged by the opening essay of this book by Paschalis

Kitromilides – based on what was his keynote speech at the conference. Kitromilides, whose work bridges a political science approach with that of the history of ideas and who has produced authoritative works on the Greek Enlightenment, is also responsible for a seminal article that places the history of Greek nationalism within the constructivist framework developed by Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Communities*. Here, he begins by discussing the reasons why the field of modern Greek studies “remains marginal and ‘uncanonized’”, with the exception of the work of some scholars of nationalism who have regarded the Greek case as a more broadly relevant case study. Kitromilides suggests that the institutional basis abroad is not lacking but has not been properly managed, without being more specific. He apports even greater blame to those who control and shape academe internationally and who discount the paradigmatic value of the experiences of small countries. The field can break out of its isolation, Kitromilides recommends, through a fusion of the theoretical approaches adopted by modern Greek specialists abroad and the more empirically oriented studies of Greece-based scholars.

What is being “theoretical” actually means can vary. There are several ways of connecting the Greek case study to a bigger picture. There can be works, for example, that explicitly employ a particular theoretical paradigm through which Greece is examined, the emphasis as much on the theory rather than the case study. One could argue that this is the case with recent works such as Stathis Gourgouris’ *Dream Nation: Enlightenment, Colonization, and the Institution of Modern Greece* and Gregory Jusdanis’ *The Necessary Nation*. Then there are works such as those by Kitromilides which place Greece in a broader theoretical context, as already noted.

A third category of works acknowledges a particular theory or approach and uses it to justify or merely augment a particular approach or emphasis on the Greek case. For example, as is the case with the essays on the role of religion and Greek nationalism, Anthony Smith's work is referenced in the beginning of those contributions. There is a fourth category of works on Greek nationalism that may be fundamentally empirical in nature but is also explicitly comparative, and in doing so offers a more generalisable – and potentially very fruitful – understanding of the Greek case. An edited volume by Dimitris Tziovas entitled *Greece and the Balkans: Identities, Perceptions and Cultural Encounters Since the Enlightenment* and the work of Christina Koulouri on school textbooks and by Basil C. Gounaris on Macedonia are excellent examples of this approach.

Taken as a whole, this volume does not include explicitly theoretical contributions or ones that directly place the Greek case in a broader theoretical context. Both those requirements are fulfilled implicitly. It includes articles that reference theoretical works and approaches or examine Greece in a comparative dimension. It must be said, however, that all the essays are especially strong examples of carefully researched monographs that shed light on important aspects of the evolution of nineteenth-century nationalism. Anyone concerned about bringing Greece into a broader interpretative framework has the necessary material to make those connections.

Indeed, none of these essays treat Greece as an esoteric, exceptionalist case of nationalist development. The essays that examine Greece through western perspectives place the Greek case in its broader European context through a comparison with Germany

by Suzanne Marchand, a comparison with Italy by Henrik Mouritsen, a juxtaposition with European historiographical trends by Ioannis Koubourlis, and an examination of philhellenism by Margarita Milioti. And the Balkan cooperative dimension is nicely furnished by Basil Gounaris' essay. The rest of the essays, an empirical orientation notwithstanding, are inflected by a theoretical tone. The two essays on religion, by Effi Gazi and Marios Hatzopoulos respectively, do so most notably by referencing Anthony Smith's work that argues that premodern religion forms an important dimension of modern nationalism. Both these authors make a strong case for recognising the role of religion in nineteenth-century Greek nationalist ideology. So does Socrates Petmezas' essay that combines a history of ideas approach with a keen eye for the political context that shaped mid-nineteenth century ideological trends. And Yanna Delivoria, who also examines mid-nineteenth century texts, is explicit about their autobiographical genre and all that it implies. The two essays on Greek nationalism in the Ionian Islands, though quite distinct from the other essays, include a theoretical dimension: Eleni Calligas' essay alludes to national self-determination and Gekas' to the important and often overlooked (in the Greek case) factor of social class.

This leaves us with the "language" and the "literary imagination" sections of this volume. All of the contributors, though focused on their subjects, Greek language and writers, seek to place their work in a broader context of the romantic era. Alexis Politis and Karen Van Dyck provide an important transnational regional focus by examining Greek literary works and language respectively by authors based outside Greece. The other contributors, interestingly enough, reference not only the relevant theoretical works but works

by each other, and this suggests that those studying the literary history of nineteenth-century Greece adopt a shared perspective.

This collection of essays on “the making of modern Greece” manages to break out of the mould of introspective of Greek-oriented and exclusively empirical monographs. And although the theoretical and bigger-picture connections of the individual contributions are indicated but not pursued extensively, this volume confirms the growing qualitative richness of the study of Greek nationalism in terms of both historiography and literary studies. And it enables students of nationalism writ large to take notice of the Greek case and take it into account in conceptualising the trajectory of nationalism in Europe.

Peter Mackridge

Language and National Identity in Greece, 1766–1976

Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009.

xiv + 385 pp.

by Vicky Doulaveras

Historian, Australia

Language and National Identity in Greece, 1766–1976 by Peter Mackridge does not come as a surprise to the academic community; its author has been working on both of these issues, alone and in collaboration with other academics, for over thirty years. His previous studies have included *The Greek Intelligentsia, 1780–1830: A Balkan Perspective*, *Katharevousa (c.1800–1974): An Obituary for an Official Language*, and *Cultivating New Lands: The Consolidation of Territorial Gains in Greek Macedonia through Literature (1912–1940)*.¹ In addition, he has published numerous papers on specific aspects of medieval and modern Greek and has contributed to a comprehensive grammar of the modern language,² as well as offering studies and editions of works by major Greek poets and prose-writers such as Dionysios Solomos, Constantine Cavafy, George Seferis, Kosmas Politis and Yiorgos Ioannou. His new book is a work of synthesis, attempting to explain in what ways and by what stages language issues have interacted with the development of modern Greek national identity.³

Greece is, of course, only one of many countries in which the choice and formation of a national language has been the subject of passionate debate. What has given the Greek case particular intensity is the enormous prestige of classical Greek civilisation and of the ancient language. Classical Greek has been seen as an ideal form of expression, and its distinctness from more recent spoken forms of the language has contributed to a chronic sense of inferiority. Hence the practice, analysed by Mackridge, of using "lexical and grammatical features from older stages of the language in preference to their more recent equivalents" (19).

Until recently, the so-called *glossiko ziti-ma* (language question) has been viewed by scholars primarily as a disaster, a plague which infected all aspects of Greek life, especially education, making school a continual torment for many generations of young students. A common theme has been the politicisation of the language issue from around the second decade of the twentieth century, with strongly nationalist (*ethnikofrones*) and other conservative intellectuals positioning themselves in the purist (*katharevousa*) camp and their liberal and socialist colleagues in that of the vernacular (*demotic*). In addition, until recently, in histories of the Greek language, as well as in studies on the language problem itself, the focus has been placed primarily on the demoticist movement, and this has been the prism through which its purist opponents have been examined.⁴ By contrast, in his treatment of the language debate as a struggle for cultural supremacy, Mackridge tries to give equal space and weight to *katharevousa* and to achieve a more balanced evaluation, despite the comparative lack of serious studies on the major figures (apart from Adamantios Korais) responsible for *katharevousa's* theoretical infrastructure, as well as on the

processes by which *katharevousa* "was developed in practice" (26). We might add that the work of many demoticist intellectuals has also been either overlooked or not properly evaluated. An example is Grigorios Xenopoulos, mentioned several times in this book for his contribution, as a novelist, to the demotic movement. Xenopoulos' contribution is actually far greater in his capacity as a children's writer and essayist, through his numerous "Αθηναϊκές επιστολές" (Athenian letters) in the weekly magazine *Η διάπλαση των παιδων* (Children's upbringing), where for five decades he regularly discussed aspects of the "common" language with his young readers.⁵

Given the complexity of Mackridge's topic, his initial chapter ("Theoretical Background") is of great importance. This is where the author explores various theories relating to the nation and nationalism, to the politics of language and to its ideological role in the formation of national identity. He discusses linguistic terminology directly related to the Greek case, explaining his preference for such terms as *vernacular* over *demotic* for the period up to the late nineteenth century. He discusses the difference in meaning between the terms *national identity* and *national consciousness*, usually regarded and used as synonyms, and gives his reasons for avoiding other terms such as *ethnicity* (14). Mackridge distinguishes between banal, cultural and other types of nationalism, thus providing a conceptual framework for the study of past and more recent phenomena, such the 1990s craze for giving male infants the name Alexandros, or the renaming of airports and streets. He also explains that for him the term *language question* involves "the social and political aspects of the language situation", whereas *language controversy* covers only "disagreements about the Greek written language".

Many commentators on the *glossiko zitima* neglected, he says, to see “the social relationship between Greek and other languages spoken in same region”. According to Mackridge, “the Greek language question includes not only the controversy within the Greek language but also comparative attitudes to Greek and other languages” (4). This statement marks, in many ways, the author’s ideological stance regarding the Greek language debate. In early chapters he presents the role of Greek as the predominant language of Orthodox Christianity, education and commerce in the broader region of the multilingual Balkans. He also touches on the issue of the contribution by intellectuals of a non-Greek-speaking background to cultural developments in the Greek domain from the mid-1760s to the 1820s, and mentions the support of other linguistic groups (Aromanian, Albanian, Bulgarian, etc.) for the Greek national cause, as well as the eventual assimilation of linguistic minorities into the Greek nation. The section “Who were the Greeks?” in Chapter Two (47–66) offers a good picture to those interested in the multicultural nature of the Balkans up to the early twentieth century.

Interestingly, the author finds it necessary to state that his stance in approaching his topic is that of a “sympathetic observer” as well as a “critical analyst” (7). His overall position is that of a scholar whose deep understanding and rich knowledge of the topic and the period enables him to place the Greek language debate in the linguistic, cultural, social and political context of other societies and nations, from the Balkans to China. His treatment of thorny issues, such as religion and the Orthodox Church, is tactful (3), though he is prepared to make observations which some may regard as provocative – for example, that under Ottoman rule the church’s concern was to “preserve the Orthodox tradition” rather than “Greek national consciousness” (34).

The Greek language debate begins in the second half of the eighteenth century, more precisely in 1766, when the philosophical treatise *Λογική* (Logic) by the Corfiot teacher and clergyman Evgenios Voulgaris was published. In his preface, Voulgaris condemns anyone who uses the vernacular to discuss philosophical issues. Mackridge distinguishes two periods in the history of the debate, corresponding to what he calls the “*katharevousa* project” (1760s to 1880) and the “demotic” project (1880s to 1974). Furthermore, the language debate undergoes three “intense phases” at times of “crucial social transition”. The first, which lasted until 1821, is the phase of intellectual revival, during which intellectuals and other influential figures set the foundations for a national revolt against the Ottomans. This is also the period recognised as the Greek Enlightenment, which according to Mackridge actually has more of the characteristics of the European Renaissance than of the Enlightenment, for “[i]t was then that many Greek intellectuals began to see language rather than religion as the primordial defining characteristic of the nation” (11–12). It is generally accepted that a central figure in the period leading up to the 1821 revolution is the Paris-based scholar Adamantios Korais. Mackridge dedicates an entire chapter to Korais and characterises him as the “writer who most systematically made the link between language and national identity” before the revolution (102).

The second intense phase of the language debate begins in the 1880s and lasts until the 1920s. This was a period of progress and modernisation but also of an intense nationalist and irredentist fervour, culminating in the Asia Minor disaster of 1922. In Mackridge’s analysis, the “demotic project” proceeded through two stages in which two individual scholars played a vital role, namely Yannis Psycharis, who like Korais was based

in Paris, and the professor of linguistics Manolis Triandafyllidis, while the purist camp was dominated by the university professor and linguist Georgios Hatzidakis. By the 1920s demotic had become established as almost the exclusive language of creative literature.

Language and National Identity in Greece covers primarily the situation up to 1974, the year that unofficially marks the death of *katharevousa* as an official language, and introduces a new era. The purists' objection to accepting the spoken language as the official one is accurately described: "Just as proponents of colonialism could claim that colonized peoples were inherently incapable of economic and cultural advancement, so some Greek language purists could claim that the Greek vernacular was inherently incapable of being developed to serve all the expressive needs of the Greek nation" (327). However, it is made clear that the participants from both sides of the language debate believed they were doing the right thing for the nation. A positive outcome of the two hundred-year-old controversy has been the enrichment of today's official language with elements of *katharevousa* absorbed into the vernacular.

The third intense phase of the debate (from 1974 to the 1990s) is treated by Mackridge in an epilogue, which is the most succinct presentation of recent developments in the language situation that I have ever read. He notes how the focus of Greek intellectuals has shifted to the survival of the Greek language in the face of the ever-increasing dominance of English.

The issues dealt with in this book have given rise to strident and sometimes violent clashes in the social, cultural and political life of Greece. At the dawn of the twentieth century, a translation of the Gospels into demotic led to rioting (the *Evangelika*) and contributed to transforming the nature of the language debate from a

cultural to a political issue. By chance, *Language and National Identity* reached my hands just when another book entitled *Τι είναι η πατρίδα μας*; (What is our fatherland?) by Anna Frangoudaki and Thalia Dragonas (published twelve years ago), became the focus of intense debate and was intentionally misquoted by nationalists with a clearly political agenda.⁶ At the same time, the thorny issue of giving citizenship to immigrants was brought up in the Greek parliament. Unlike Neofytos Doukas and others who two hundred years ago postulated that a "Hellene" is anyone who speaks the language and accepts its culture, the nationalists' stance on this crucial social issue was that "you are born Greek, you do not become one".

The major aim of this book, to examine the Greek language in terms "of the ways in which it is viewed by its speakers", is achieved with notable success. Through a comprehensive presentation of the Greek language debate, the reader can see Greek scholars' cultural and political thought from the middle of the eighteenth century to the present. A good selection of representative source material, together with a presentation of key participants in the language debate, make this study a very appealing textbook for students at all levels interested in the Greek language controversy and the development of national identity, as well as in broader issues such as the multilingual and multicultural character of the Balkan region of which Greece is an integral part. In addition, postgraduates will benefit from its methodology and systematic analysis. Explicitly or otherwise, *Language and National Identity* poses a challenge to scholars to examine further the many issues such as the relation between language and religion which are highlighted in its pages.

NOTES

- 1 All three studies were published in collaborative volumes: the first in Richard Clogg (ed.), *Balkan Society in the Age of Greek Independence*, London: Macmillan, 1981, 63–84; the second in Marion Sarafis and Martin Eve (eds), *Background to Contemporary Greece*, vol. 1, London: Merlin, 1990, 25–52, and the third in a volume that Mackridge coedited with Eleni Yannakakis, *Ourselves and Others: The Development of a Greek Macedonian Cultural Identity since 1912*, Oxford and New York: Berg, 2009, 175–86.
- 2 Peter Mackridge, David Holton and Irini Philippaki-Warburton, *Greek: A Comprehensive Grammar of the Modern Language*, London and New York: Routledge, 1997.
- 3 The same theme is examined by Mackridge in a brief paper, “A Language in the Image of the Nation: Modern Greek and some Parallel Cases”, in Roderick Beaton and David Ricks (eds), *The Making of Modern Greece: Nationalism, Romanticism and the Uses of the Past, 1797–1896*, London: Ashgate, 2009, 177–88.
- 4 There have been some exceptions; see, for example, Nasia Yakovaki, “Η ευρωπαϊκή συνάντηση με την καθομιλουμένη: οι περιηγητές” [The European contact with the spoken language: Travellers], 942–46; Elli Skopetea, «Αρχαία, καθομιλουμένη και καθαρεύουσα ελληνική γλώσσα» [“The ancient, spoken and katharevousa Greek language”], 958–62, and Antonis Liakos, “Εξ ελληνικής εις την ημών κοινήν γλώσσαν” [From Greek to our common language], 963–71, all in: Anastasios Phoebus Christidis (ed.), *Ιστορία της ελληνικής γλώσσας: από τις αρχές έως την ύστερη αρχαιότητα* [The history of the Greek language: from early to late antiquity], Thessaloniki: Institute for Neohellenic Studies, 2001.
- 5 A few of these “Letters” have been republished in Grigorios Xenopoulos, *Αθηναϊκές επιστολές* [Athenian letters], Athens: Vlasis, 1993.
- 6 Mackridge has defended the book’s scholarly integrity, answering the accusations made mainly by the extreme rightwing Laos party leader Giorgos Karatzaferis (see “Η πλαστογραφία στην υπηρεσία του έθνους” [Forgery in the service of the nation], *Athens Review of Books* 4 (2010).

**Dimitris Damaskos
and Dimitris Plantzos (eds)**

***A Singular Antiquity:
Archaeology and Hellenic
Identity in Twentieth-
Century Greece***

**(= Benaki Museum,
3rd Supplement)**

**Athens: Benaki Museum, 2008.
418 pp.**

by Jack L. Davis

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A Singular Antiquity contains an impressive collection of 25 essays, all but two by Greek nationals and the majority by scholars based in Greek universities or cultural institutions. Oral versions of most were first presented at a conference sponsored by the Benaki Museum in 2007 ("Antiquity, Archaeology and Greekness"). The editors, authors and the museum are to be commended for making the collection available in short order and at a remarkably affordable price (thanks to a generous subsidy from the Propondis Foundation).

An international audience will be encouraged to read *A Singular Antiquity* because all essays are in English. Those readers should not miss the significance of the volume. The di-

verse array of voices and opinions expressed may seem natural to those who are unfamiliar with the course of recent Greek history and politics. Those who have followed the development of practice of sociocultural anthropology and the postmodern critique of nationalism in Greece from outside will, however, be pleasantly surprised. After all, it was not so long ago (in 1974) that Michael Herzfeld, one of the senior contributors to this volume, was declared *persona non grata* by the Greek government and expelled from the country.¹ A decade later Anastasia Karakasidou could be viciously attacked because her fieldwork in Macedonia was deemed unpatriotic. Her contract with Cambridge University Press was cancelled and her doctoral thesis had to be published elsewhere.²

Damaskos and Plantzos in their foreword note that "Modern Greeks envisage their collective past as a cultural commodity: authentic, usable and eternally present." The purpose of their conference was to "investigate and assess the role of antiquity and archaeology in forging a national identity in twentieth-century Greece". The importance of the expression of such ideas perhaps lies not so much in their originality, but in the fact that they are here given a public hearing under the auspices of one of the most prestigious cultural institutions of Greece.

It is hardly possible to pay justice to the richness of the collection. Essays composed in elegant, cleanly edited English exhibit a wealth of contemporary Greek scholarship on nationalism and archaeology. Plantzos' introduction sets the stage. *A Singular Antiquity*, he writes, is not "a book about nationalism, orientalism or globalization, although these issues will emerge in many of its papers". From an analysis of the opening ceremony of the 2004 Olympic Games and of ex-

hibits in the Benaki Museum itself, he teases out the common central theme that lends its name to the book: “archaeology has been conscripted into establishing a new cultural and political identity for a new nation-state, anxious to broadcast its own *singular antiquity* [my italics].” He quotes Hamilakis to the effect that archaeology provides “proof of the continuity of the nation, a key device for its naturalization . . . [while archaeologists] became the arch censors of national aesthetics”. The (in my view ridiculous) “no-posing rule” current in Greek museums reflects the fact that antiquities have become “the recipients of quasi-religious veneration”. Plantzos finds it useful to view the modern Greek state as a “product of the West”, rather than the inevitable outcome of a glorious revolt against the Ottoman Empire.

The book is divided into three parts: “Ways in which Greece dealt with its historical past and the material remains it inherited as a modern state”, “Epistemic strategies and idiosyncratic tendencies through which Greek archaeology emerged as an independent discipline”, and “Interactions between the discourse on Hellenicity and Greek perceptions of its Classical heritage”.

Contributions by two eminent North American-based scholars (both Oxbridge products) lead off Part One. Mark Mazower, a historian, emphasises the complexities and evolving nature of the relationship between archaeology and national identity. Significantly, he emphasises the “basic weakness of archaeologists as a political force”, as opposed to markets and mass tourism;³ these drive the development of archaeological showpieces to the neglect of archaeological heritage writ large. The political elite of Greece finds it difficult to let go of the notion of “Eternal Greece”. Michael Herzfeld, a social anthro-

pologist, challenges the need for maintaining the disciplinary fence separating archaeology from social anthropology and philology. He argues that allusions to a canonical past provide a flexible cover for rethinking important aspects of moral, cultural and political legitimacy in Greece: “The situation of Greece is not unlike that of several other supposedly independent nation-states that have been held to cultural models not of their own making. Among these are Nepal, Ethiopia, and, especially, Thailand.” He challenges Greeks to consider why it matters if they are European or not and why the reclamation of an ancient heritage has been so important to the modern Greek state, “especially one that has been carefully repackaged to reflect Western European ideals?”

George Tolia is first in the section to consider specific attitudes towards antiquities at particular points in the history of the nation. John Gennadius, distinguished book collector and diplomat, as Tolia explains, urged a restricted foreign archaeological presence in Greece – an attitude perhaps ironic in light of his decision to endow the American School of Classical Studies with his collection of rare books. In his treatise on Lord Elgin, essentially a history of the looting of Greek antiquities, he pressed claims on the Elgin Marbles and expressed his view that Greek cultural remains are exclusively a national, not a universal, heritage. Although he valued the work of the foreign schools, he believed only Greeks should determine archaeological policy.⁴

Andromache Gazi and Marlen Mouliou discuss the development of museums in Greece. Gazi describes how in the early twentieth century they were pitched to specialists, rather than the general public, and were primarily conceived as storage areas for archaeological finds, with scant interpretation or attention

to context. Antiquities were presented to visitors as being self-evident in their significance. In fact, in 1908 the prologue to its catalogue of sculptures described the National Museum as “a sacred shrine, within which collected treasures of ancient art . . . are exposed to the adoration and admiration . . . of all those who make the pilgrimage”. Mouliou examines the regeneration of museums after the Second World War, when a vision of the “classical past as linear evolution of art” first surfaced as the dominant paradigm. More recently there has emerged a demand for museums to be more educational and useful to society, and their role in supporting touristic development has long been recognised. Christos Karouzos, the first postwar director of the National Museum, promoted the notion that “all eras had the same value”, that each should be viewed in terms of “what each period wanted and what it had to say”. The National Museum might be the “most important School of Greek education for the entire world”, but the Ancient Athenian Agora and Volos museums, the latter organised by George Hourmouziadis, were more influential in promoting new paradigms. Traveling exhibits now called for “museum displays to abandon their innocence and make various political statements”.

Niki Sakka next turns to the politics of the excavations of the Athenian Agora, emphasising how the Greek state in 1929 privileged the advancement of its ideology over the rights of individual citizens. Daphne Voudouri considers Greek legislation that has restricted the international movement of antiquities and the history of opposition to their sale and loan, based on the notion that both activities demean their value, and the absurd idea that travelling exhibits have been “the chief cause of misfortunes in the organization and academic development of the discipline of archaeology” in Greece. One may cer-

tainly agree that attempts to internationalise cultural property in the end originate from a neocolonialist perspective that supports a one-way flow of antiquities from less to more developed countries.⁵

Delia Tzortzaki and Vassilis Lambropoulos round off Part One. Tzortzaki studies the way that the past has been presented through virtual reality modelling, with particular reference to the digitisation of ancient Miletos by the Foundation of the Hellenic World. In this “edutainment”, as she calls it, she finds a tension between the “experiential” and the “artefactual” that stipulates a geographical and cultural continuity which “brings Apollo and St Nicolas, the Council House of Miletus and the contemporary Parliament, the Gymnasium and today’s school together in the big family of Hellenism”. Lambropoulos explains how the postmodern novel first questioned national history and how, since the 1980s, “has set out to undermine dominant narratives”.

The eight contributions in Part Two are all unified by their concern with archaeology in the larger sense of the word – the study of past material culture. Kostas Kotsakis considers the role of studies of the Greek Neolithic in “the official discourse of Hellenicity”, with an emphasis on the career of Dimitris Theocharis: he finds that “attempts to introduce an overall assessment of the significance of the Neolithic transformation of humankind to the national curriculum were withdrawn in the face of a wave of reaction against the ‘dehellenization’ of (our) history”. Vangelis Karamanolakis examines the history of the teaching of archaeology at the University of Athens (1911–1932), in particular the shift towards Byzantium from an initial focus on classical antiquity (“the most glorious stage of the nation’s history”) that came with the inclusion of medieval archaeology in curricula of the 1920s

and 1930s. Dionysis Mourelatos discusses the problem of fitting Cretan icons into the national narrative – how in general to deal with the world between the fall of Byzantine and modern Europe. His focus is on El Greco and the evolving vision of Crete as an Orthodox artistic centre and successor to Constantinople. Olga Gratziou also finds inspiration in Crete, in the shifting fortunes of Venetian architecture in light of national attitudes towards Italy: from oppressor to pride in the role played by Venetian Crete as transmitter of Greek culture to western Europe.

The following four papers in Part Two step back from specifics. Alexandra Bounia discusses the intricate relationship between classical texts and material culture. Archaeologists will likely be sympathetic with her view that superior insights into the realities of antiquity can only result from a dialogue between material culture and text. In a closely related chapter, Vangelis Calotychos explores the history of privileging text over context by classical philologists, a “dead hand” (quoting Michael Hendy) that has insisted on “the establishment of a pure text as a pre-condition for serious work”. Plantzos convincingly notes that the maintenance of a linear perception of (art) historical time is a fundamentally political act that is based on Paparrigopoulos’ logic of the nation which links the West to its Greco-Roman “childhood”. Finally, Yiannis Hamilakis’ contribution can be profitably read alongside two other recent publications: his own volume, edited with Aris Anagnostopoulos,⁶ and that edited by Anna Stroulia and Susan Sutton.⁷ He here argues that the decolonisation of Greek archaeology requires a reconnection with prenational archaeologies, for example a validation of the meanings that indigenous Greeks found in their own antiquities and thus an acceptance of diversity and of Greece’s multicultural heritage.

Many of the eight papers in Part Three are by nonarchaeologists, so much the better for the broader perspective they provide on the discourse of Hellenicity in the twentieth century. Dimitris Tsiovas outlines the main ways in which Greek intellectuals have over the past two centuries sought to approach the past – the archaeological strategy being an attempt to bridge the distance between past and present by stripping the latter of postancient accretions. Angeliki Koufou documents how the Greek Left approached issues of historical continuity by emphasising folk culture and the physical form of the landscape, while viewing the Megali Idea as an exploitative strategy benefiting bourgeois and feudal classes in the service of foreign elites. Dora Markatou describes representations of the national character during the centenary of the Greek state (for example, the Greek flag as replacement for the peplos of Athena in a pan-Athenian procession that incorporated Crete into the national narrative), attempts to breathe new life into art that were largely unsuccessful.

Damaskos then considers “the naivety with which photographer Nelly attempted to do her bit towards the ‘Holy Grail’ of demonstrating the continuity in Greek civilization” by comparing modern Greek faces and landscapes with ancient. Elena Hamalidi studies interwar classicism as reflected in the sculpture of Michalis Tombros and the painting of Nikos Hadjikyriakos-Ghikas, in the art of whom can be recognised an “attempt to demonstrate that the necessary quality for any great work of art through the ages are constant characteristics of Greek culture”. Evi Palmer Sikelianos is Artemis Leontis’ subject, her involvement in the Delphi festivals of 1927 and 1930, her fascination with weaving, her attempt to convince modern Greeks to adopt ancient dress, and her Indian lover who could imagine in a “refugee-filled Greek state a unified, complete, and

whole India". Finally, Dimitris Philippides examines the recent "rekindling of this asphyxiating bond between society and its infatuation with ancient Greece" in reference to classicism in modern architecture, while Maria Diamanti explores the characterisation of the archaeologist in modern Greek novels, in all cases a male who defers to a higher foreign intellectual authority.

"In place of a conclusion" to the volume, Damaskos reflects on the contributions, which have spoken with a remarkably common voice from so many different sectors within the humanities. He justifiably returns to Paparrigopoulos, noting that it is no surprise that archaeology aligned itself with the principal ideology and cultural values of the state and that antiquity was, and is, instrumental in shaping modern identity – even as Greece continues to search to define its position in modern Europe. He maintains that contemporary struggles over Macedonia can only be understood in the context of the role that archaeology has historically played in the Greek state and that "contacts with the past are emotive, prioritizing an aesthetic veneration of the past as 'art' and of Greekness as 'landscape'", resulting in a determination by the state to "purge anything that interrupts the line between antiquity and the present day". Damaskos here less metaphorically refers to the line-of-sight between the "Holy Rock" of Athens, the Acropolis, and the New Acropolis Museum and recent attempts to demolish intervening buildings on Dionysiou Areopagitou Street. He also observes that the Islamic section of the Benaki Museum attracts few visitors (failing to mention the still more shocking fact that the Benaki Islamic Museum has no gallery devoted to Arabic Crete or even Ottoman Greece).

Although the authors of *A Singular Antiquity* confront with no reticence many of the same

issues that made Karakasidou's work so controversial in the 1990s, the themes of their essays now seem almost "old hat". Is former controversy in risk of becoming mainstream thought among Greek intellectuals? Public attitudes and policies do change gradually. The houses on Dionysiou Areopagitou still stand. Ottoman studies are taking hold in Greek universities.¹⁴ Current generations of Greek academics are assuming a more public role in promoting the rejection of the stagnant ideas that *A Singular Antiquity* documents, particularly as it has been fossilised in Greece's educational system. All such developments are to the good, since the existing nationalist project is not likely to succeed in integrating the racially, ethnically, religiously and culturally diverse population that constitutes contemporary Greece.

NOTES

- 1 Michael Herzfeld, "Meaning and Morality: A Semiotic Approach to Evil Eye Accusations in a Greek State", *American Ethnologist* 8 (1981): 560–74 (572, n. 6).
- 2 Anastasia Karakasidou, *Fields of Wheat, Hills of Blood: Passages to Nationhood in Greek Macedonia, 1870–1990*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.
- 3 On the latter, now also see Deborah Harlan, "Travel, Pictures, and a Victorian Gentleman in Greece", *Hesperia* 78 (2009): 421–53.
- 4 John Gennadius, *Ο λόρδος Ελγιν και οι προ αυτού ανά την Ελλάδα και τας Αθήνας ιδίως αρχαιολογικόν επιδρομείς, 1440–1837. Ιστορική και αρχαιολογική πραγματεία [Lord Elgin and the archaeological raiders who proceeded him around Greece and in Athens, 1440–1837: a historical and archaeological treatise]*, Athens: Archaeological Society, 1930.
- 5 See, for example, James Cuno, *Who Owns Antiquity? Museums and the Battle Over Our An-*

cient Heritage, Princeton: Princeton UP, 2008.

- 6 Yannis Hamilakis and Aris Anagnostopoulos (eds), *Archaeological Ethnographies (= Public Archaeology 8:2–3 (2009): 63–322)*.
- 7 Anna Stroulia and Susan Sutton (eds), *Archaeology in Situ*, Lanham, Mass.: Lexington, 2010.
- 8 Evangelia Balta, *Ottoman Studies and Archives in Greece*, Istanbul: Isis Press, 2003.

Dimitrios A. Stamatopoulos

Το Βυζάντιο μετά το έθνος: Το πρόβλημα της συνέχειας στις βαλκανικές ιστοριογραφίες

[Byzantium after the nation: The problem of continuity in Balkan historiographies]

**Athens: Alexandria, 2009.
429 pp.**

by Vera Sýkora

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Historians as Nation Builders; The Usable Past; Myth, History and Political Identity and The Nation and its Ruins: it is but a random selection from the abundance of studies exploring the relation between historiography and national thought published in the last few decades. The political instrumentalisation of the past by groups and individuals has been explored in a wide range of theoretical analyses and case studies spanning the globe and the last two centuries. Nonetheless Dimitrios Stamatopoulos – assistant professor of Balkan history at the Department of Balkan, Slavic and Oriental Studies at the University of Macedonia in Thessaloniki – strikes out on new paths and makes an important contribution to the field.

A shared central tenet of all studies referred to above is the conception of the nation as a

social and cultural construct that is to a considerable extent defined through its conception of the past. Defining the nation involves demarcating the “self” from the contemporary “other”, that is *synchronically* shaping “identity” by “what we are not” and drawing the lines between a nation and its neighbours in consciousness as well as space. But at least equally important – and not entirely separable from the latter – is the perception of *diachronic* identity, that is: defining identity by “what we have been and remained throughout history” and establishing a perceived continuity of (the essence of) the nation throughout time. National identity, like any identity, is thus inextricably linked with particular perceptions of the past and a sense of continuity is one of every nation’s most valuable assets.

The nineteenth century, known as “the age of history” and “the age of nationalism” alike, has received a considerable amount of attention in this respect. And within the vast array of particular times and places, the case of nineteenth-century Greek historiography has increasingly drawn attention. That Greece is both particularly blessed and burdened by its past has become almost commonplace, and the ways in which Greek intellectuals and politicians dealt with the problems posed by this “blessed burden” continue to offer a lively field of research. Some of the most fundamental of these problems were, of course, connected to the Byzantine heritage and much has been said on the ways in which this heritage was perceived by Greek history writers in the newborn independent Kingdom of Greece.

The originality of *Byzantium after the nation* lies in two of its main characteristics. One of them is its explicitly comparative approach, addressing not only the Greek case but developments in other Balkan historiographies as well. The rivalling Balkan nationalisms

that emerged from the crumbling Ottoman Empire in the course of the long nineteenth century embarked on many a “history war”. As a shared history of several centuries had to be moulded into clearly separated national strands to provide each successor state with its own unique myths of origin and survival, men of letters from all affiliations turned to the past to appropriate its elements into their particular story through a process that has been aptly described as a historical “gold rush”.

Not only in Greece but all over the Balkans (and beyond) the Byzantine Middle Ages proved to be a point of particular concern in their efforts to establish a narrative of continuity. And thus a true interpretation war developed concerning the issue what Byzantium “really” was. In his book Stamatopoulos explores the various answers raised to this question. He systematically studies the ways in which intellectuals from different backgrounds conceived, shaped and interpreted the multifaceted heritage of Byzantium in their attempts to solve the specific problems of continuity that they encountered within the different contexts in which they were writing during the second half of the nineteenth and the first few decades of the twentieth centuries. In other words: how did Greek, Bulgarian, Serbian, Albanian, Romanian, Turkish and Russian intellectuals approach the medieval past? How did they incorporate or reject the age of Byzantium in their particular narratives, and why? How was their historical outlook influenced by the contemporary political context in which they were writing? Thus – in an attempt to put one of the late Elli Skopetea’s dreams into practice – Stamatopoulos’ book offers a systematic analysis of the ideological uses of Byzantium in the various Balkan historiographies.

Secondly, and this is perhaps the most original feature of Stamatopoulos' contribution, the main focus is not on the respective national narratives that were gradually developed and gaining predominance in the course of the nineteenth century in the different Balkan countries, but on the divergent narratives instead. Thus, through studying deviations alongside canonical schemes, he has set out to bring the tensions, debates and problems in Balkan historiographies more poignantly to the fore and to achieve a better understanding of the intellectual treatment of the past in the context of contemporary politics.

Most of the deviating narratives were inspired by a model of religious ecumenism related to imperial ideology. For the heritage of the Byzantine and Ottoman empires was, of course, not instantly wiped out by the advent of nationalism. It continued to exert its influence on the hopes and thoughts of particular groups of intellectuals – most of them participating in the multicultural and imperial climate in late nineteenth-century Istanbul – who had not yet adjusted to the logic of the nation-state but sought to develop a discourse that could sustain their efforts to preserve the imperial state.

Here the notion of "Byzantium after Byzantium", to which Stamatopoulos refers in his title, comes in. The idea of continuity between the Byzantine and Ottoman empires was summed up in the famous title *Byzance après Byzance* by the Romanian historian Nicolae Iorga in the 1930s. Though Iorga employed this concept in order to solve some particular problems in Romanian national history, a similar idea of a continuous imperial heritage had already inspired deviating narratives in many Balkan historiographies in the course of the previous century. Whereas the specific interpretations of the imperial ecumenical

model differed from a pan-Orthodox (in the Greek and Bulgarian cases) to a pan-Islamic perspective (as in the case of the Albanian deviation), they all sprang from a shared reluctance to part with the imperial past and fully embrace the future presented by the developing nationalist perspectives.

Stamatopoulos, however, does not only provide an analysis of the ways nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Balkan, Russian and Turkish nationalists, on the one hand, and ditto "ecumenicists", on the other, used or rejected Byzantium and thereby invented their respective national middle ages. The ultimate objective of his book is to look beyond these two different strands and trace their mutual relations and the influence of the one on the other. How did imperial ideology influence the formation of the modern Balkan nation states? Or, in other words: how did the narratives of "the continuity of empires" influence the discourses of "national continuity"?

This vast topic is cut down to manageable size by selecting a confined number of specific authors and ordering them in contrasting pairs – one of them representing the canonical version, the other a deviation. Thus, the first chapter explores the case of Greek historiography by comparing the "Helleno-Christian" vision of Byzantium as formulated by Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos – and to a lesser extent Spyridon Zambelios – from within the Helladic centre with the ecumenical interpretation of Istanbul-based Manouil Gedeon. Chapter two addresses the opposing myths of origin of the Bulgarian nation as supported by Marin Drinov and Gavril Krăstevič: are the modern Bulgarians descendants of Vandals, Illyrians or Macedonians; Huns or Slavs? The next chapter describes the "Byzantium of the Slavs" on the basis of works by the Russian author Konstantin Leont'ev and the Bulgarian

Marko Balabanov, who both stressed the decisive role of Byzantium in the formation of a common identity for all Slavic people. Their vision is subsequently compared to later, early twentieth-century conceptions as formulated by the Serbian intellectual Stojan Novaković and the Russian Ivan Ivanovič Sokolov.

The last two chapters comprise an analysis of the Albanian and the Turkish case respectively. The first – Chapter Four – focuses on the works of Şemseddin Sami, known in Turkish philology as the author of the first Turkish novella, and of Sami Frashëri, one of three famous Albanian brothers celebrated for his fundamental contribution to Albanian historiography. Fascinating detail: the two Samis actually were one and the same person. The fifth chapter finally addresses the views of the early twentieth-century historians Fuad Köprülü and Afet İnan and analyses the Turkish case alongside the Romanian example on the basis of the work of Nicolae Iorga. And thus Stamatopoulos ends his sizeable study with the famous historian from whom he drew the inspiration for the title of his latest book.

This more or less neat arrangement in antagonistic pairs results in a clever sample of the selection and ordering of a complex and extensive subject matter into a well-structured and comprehensible book. A question that can be raised, however, is to what extent this leads to a truly comparative analysis? Stamatopoulos does indeed draw comparisons between the authors and views that have been clustered within each of the respective chapters. By drawing parallels and pointing out differences, their “solutions” are located along an axis from outright opposition to minor interpretative difference. But with the exception of the third chapter, which has the inherently transnational topic of “Slavic” views as a point of focus, the various cases subsequently ad-

dressed in separate chapters – the Greek, the Bulgarian, the Albanian and the Turkish (and Romanian) – seem to be less compared than juxtaposed. Indeed, some interesting cross-references and comparative observations are made in both the introduction and the concise concluding section. But the assessment of parallels, continuities and discontinuities among the canonical and divergent versions of the past in different Balkan historiographies remains somewhat unsatisfactory and the exact extent and character of the influence of the discourse of imperial continuity on the diverse national narratives does not become entirely clear.

However, as Stamatopoulos almost apologetically notes in his prologue, no study can prevent a critic from finding flaws and it is only natural that much remains to be done. In *Byzantium after the nation* he certainly shows how much of it can be done. The thorough analyses are based on an impressive amount of literature in an equally imposing range of languages, from Greek, English, French, German and Italian to Russian, Serbian, Albanian, Bulgarian and Turkish. Stamatopoulos has conducted archival research in Athens, Istanbul and Sofia and consulted published archival sources from Turkey and turn-of-the-century newspapers in Istanbul, Athens and Paris. Although the book is devoted to the actual analysis of his selected cases and the theoretical assumptions underlying his approach are only occasionally referred to in passing, Stamatopoulos is clearly building on current theoretical trends such as comparativism and constructivism, the debate on modernist versus primordialist conceptions of the nation and concepts such as the invention of tradition and imagined communities.

All in all, the main objection that can be made against his work concerns the complex and

at times rather long-winded and woolly turn of phrase. For a subject as interesting, wide-ranging and topical as the theme Stamatopoulos has taken in hand, it is only too much of a pity if the style obscures the matter. The “politics of history” and the context-bound character of historical “truths” deserve to reach a broader audience than the confined circle of experts alone. Still, for those who are indeed familiar with historical and historiographical issues in the Balkans and a meta-approach to history and who have the necessary amount of perseverance, there is a wealth of information to be found in *Byzantium after the nation*.

Andreas Lyberatos

***Οικονομία, πολιτική
και εθνική ιδεολογία: η
διαμόρφωση των εθνικών
κομμάτων στη Φιλιππούπολη
του 19ου αιώνα***

**[Economy, politics and
national ideology: the
formation of the national
parties in Philippoupolis in
the nineteenth century]**

Irakleio: Crete UP, 2009. 579 pp.

by Christina Koulouri

Panteion University, Athens

For many uninformed western observers of the recent Yugoslav crisis, the Balkans has been synonymous with nationalist conflict and endemic violence through the centuries. On the other hand, for local historiographies, the existence of rival nations on the same Balkan soil has been a sort of historical fatalism, confirming lasting hostilities and stereotypes about neighbours. Actually, the emergence of new nation-states in the Balkan Peninsula has been a constant feature of regional history since the early nineteenth century. Successively, Greece, Serbia, Romania, Bulgaria, Montenegro and Albania gained independence at the expense of the Ottoman Empire, which finally collapsed to give birth to the Republic

of Turkey. However, the Ottoman Empire was not the only one against which local nationalisms developed. Through a complex combination of overlapping national aspirations, mixed populations and fluid and hybrid identities, the Orthodox millet was “balkanised” into independent and rival nations claiming their own state. The Bulgarian question, which led to the Orthodox schism and the creation of an independent Bulgarian Church, held a central place in this procedure. European powers were also involved in disputing over the solution of the so-called Eastern Question, while the European ideas of national self-determination, liberalism and romanticism were at the same time conquering the southeastern end of the continent.

That period witnessed not only the apex of nationalism; it was also a period of deep economic and social transformations, a period of transition and multileveled crisis. The imposing PhD thesis by Andreas Lyberatos, published by Crete University Press, aims at investigating the different agents and aspects of this transition from the millet to the nation at the microlevel. The now Bulgarian town of Philippoupolis/Plovdiv/Filibe is taken as an illustrative example of the transition to modernity; it is studied as a laboratory of modernisation where the nation plays the role of catalyst. Besides, the intercommunal conflict in Philippoupolis, which the author calls “civil strife”, may be assessed as representative of the major conflict between Bulgarian and Greek nationalism on Ottoman soil.

It was an excellent choice to narrate the dramatic intercommunal conflict on the basis of bipolar confrontations. The main heroes of the conflict are described in such a lively language that the chapters dedicated to their opposite biographies could have been chapters of a historical novel. The first couple are two

families of wealthy merchants and local notables (the Tsalikov and Gioumousgerdanis families), while the second couple are two local intellectuals, authors and teachers (Georgios Tsoukalas and Najden Gerov).

Both merchant families represent paradigmatic cases of Orthodox notables during the Tanzimat period who acted as “bridges” between local societies and central power and developed a Christian Orthodox “Ottomanism”, remaining loyal to the “Ottoman legitimacy” until Bulgaria obtained statehood in 1878 (278). Nevertheless, despite their marital alliances, a ruthless antagonism broke out between them over social hegemony, and they ended up supporting two rival national parties in the late 1850s. The Gioumousgerdanis family were *çelebi* (traditional ruling class) of Philippoupolis, representing the urban guild of *abaci* (merchants of a thick woolen fabric called *aba*, suppliers of the Ottoman army and state) and integrated into the network of the Greek Orthodox mercantile class of the empire. The Tsalikov family migrated to Philippoupolis from Koprivštica and represented the “stock-raising gentry” of the province. They profited from their large network among the Bulgarian rural populations, and they made their way to the top through the collection of *beylik* (Ottoman tax on sheep and goats). Lyberatos emphasises the “cultural Helleno-tropism” of the Tsalikov family (215), which confirms the role of Hellenic culture as a symbol of social status among Christian Orthodox elites of the Ottoman Empire and as an intermediary for European culture. It is noteworthy that the intercommunal conflict and the division of the Orthodox community in Philippoupolis happened over language and culture. Reaction to the teaching of the Bulgarian language in the Greek Central School and the establishment of the Bulgarian Gymnasium (1850) were the reasons for

a dramatic confrontation that led to the creation of a separate Bulgarian community in 1861. In that confrontation, the role of intellectuals was crucial.

The two local intellectuals, vehicles of the two rival nationalistic discourses, were both supporters of the idea of progress and admirers of “civilised” Europe. Born in Zakynthos, Georgios Tsoukalas was a theologian and author of grammar and local history and geography textbooks. He was appointed director of the Central Greek School of Philippoupolis (1832) and also corresponding agent of the British vice-consulate in Adrianople (1849). He considered himself a “missionary” of Hellenism in the Ottoman Empire. Najden Gerov, one of the major figures of the Bulgarian Revival, vice-consul of Russia in Philippoupolis (1857–1877), poet and author of a Bulgarian language dictionary, was inspired by the pro-Russian romantic nationalism of the Bulgarian diaspora. He himself had studied in Odesa. While Tsoukalas remained a local scholar, unknown to Greek national history, Gerov gained a central place in the Bulgarian national pantheon.

The two intellectuals disputed the national identities of the inhabitants of Philippoupolis by using the traditional weapons of nineteenth-century nationalism – the “purity” and “authenticity” of language, the supremacy of culture, the contrast between civilisation and barbarism, and the monopoly of “progress”. They had both links with “external” agents, namely Britain and Russia respectively, and they were inspired by European models of nationalist discourse. The conflict over language and education was combined with a rising protest movement against the Greek Orthodox hierarchy, a legitimacy crisis in the Greek Orthodox Church and the ensuing creation of an independent Bulgarian Church

(Exarchate). Therefore, we cannot ignore that even if nationalism instrumentalised cultural elements such as language and religion, the conflict also had a cultural component and was related to preexisting ethnic identities that were politicised and radicalised.

Lyberatos challenges the simplistic interpretations suggested by the respective nationalist historiographies by showing the historical complexity of that transitional period while, at the same time, offering a paradigmatic study of Balkan history. Managing a wide range of archival material in Bulgarian, Greek, English and French, the author seems to experiment in “total history”. Emphasis on the local dimension and the microhistorical approach belong to the same tradition that flourished under the influence of the *Annales* school in the 1970s and 1980s. In fact, Lyberatos takes a critical stance towards both nationalist historiography and the cultural turn. Although it is not programmatically stated, the author underplays cultural and ideological factors in the conflict. He tries to show that the nationalist conflict had no cultural content but was primarily a social conflict over hegemony in the transitional phase of modernisation and urbanisation. Therefore, he analyses the “civil strife” in Philippoupolis in social and not ethnic terms – as a conflict between social elites of rural or urban origin respectively. The individuals of that transitional phase are presented opting for identities in the vortex of social crisis and of the transformation of power relations in order to serve their own strategies of social hegemony. The division of the ruling elite, who shared the same “high” Hellenic culture until the mid-nineteenth century, into two national parties was, according to Lyberatos, the outcome of economic and social developments.

The main question is how a book about “economy, politics and national ideology” is

situated vis-à-vis the debate about nationalism and national identity conducted by thinkers such as Hobsbawm, Hroch, Smith, Anderson or Gellner. Lyberatos is not interested in nationalism per se; however, his empirical study might serve the theoretical discussion about nationalism. In this respect, he is closer to Miroslav Hroch, who asked for a comparative analysis of national movements in Europe and, also, for the analysis of the construction of nations in the context of social history. It was Hroch who underscored the need to understand the social and political crisis of the traditional status quo, the ensuing social mobility and the "conflict of interests" mirrored in linguistic and/or religious divisions in order to explain the conditions of the emergence of national movements in central and eastern Europe. The Bulgarian case, as analysed by Lyberatos, follows this pattern in a paradigmatic way. Gellner's typology of the varieties of nationalism could also be a reference, especially his analysis of the "classic Habsburg type" nationalism, where the ruling elite controls the high culture, which is also theirs, while the powerless are deprived of education in their language and culture. It is strange that the author discusses neither Hroch's model nor Gellner's theory. It is equally strange that the dramatic changes happening outside the Ottoman Empire (the liberal and national movements in 1830 and 1848, for example, and the conquering political ideology of nationalism), whose echo influenced even the most remote parts of Europe, are not taken into account. Consequently, the emergence of the Bulgarian national movement is analysed but not explained. Actually, Lyberatos explains in a detailed, even fascinating way *how* the Tsalikov family, a strong element in the local elite, were finally driven to political radicalism and nationalism. However, because of his choice to underplay ideology and culture, it is not clear

why the Tsalikov family chose "the cultural programme of the rising Bulgarian national movement" (524). Was it a deliberate decision dictated exclusively by family "interests" and strategies of social hegemony but not related to ethnic identities? In other words, what was the place of cultural bonds and national self-definition in the dramatic transition that took place during the nineteenth century and which shook the traditional status quo? Lyberatos is right in pointing out that "the diffusion of nationalist ideology would be inconceivable without the development and the sharpening of the social and political antagonisms" (528). He is also right that "the "nation" is the result of nationalism as a politico-ideological venture of hegemony in conditions of sociopolitical transformation and entrance of the masses into political action" (530). This approach is essential to most theories of nationalism. Regardless of their discipline, theorists of nationalism accept that the emergence of the nation and of nationalism depends on a wide range of transformations that mark the transition to modernity. However, Lyberatos, responding in an indirect way to the anthropological "fashion" of culturalism, which neglects social conflicts, himself neglects cultural factors that equally exist in parallel with social, economic and political ones. Why does the "Hellenising" middle class of Philippoupolis not opt for a Bulgarian identity in order to regain its social hegemony? Why, instead of integrating into the new local ruling elite, are they being transformed into a diaspora of the Greek nation-state? Certainly, nationalism appears in a context of social and political crisis, but it cannot be fully understood as a mere episode of social and economic history. Lyberatos offers a fascinating analysis of the economic and social conditions that led to the upsurge in Balkan nationalisms but does not study the complexity of nationalism itself.

Maurizio Isabella

***Risorgimento in Exile:
Italian Émigrés and the
Liberal International in the
Post-Napoleonic Era***

**Oxford: Oxford University Press,
2009. x + 284 pp.**

by Silvia Rosa

University of Pisa

As foretold in no uncertain terms by its title, the book addresses three major historical phenomena as experienced by as many groups of Italian nationals: the Risorgimento, political exile and the so-called “Liberal International” of the post-Napoleonic era. The author uses this last term to refer an international community of intellectuals, most belonging to the Italian diasporas in various nations, who shared a distinctive, original perspective on liberalism in the period from 1815 to the late 1830s.

As can also be inferred from the title, the author posits the existence of meaningful links and strong mutual influences among the political-cultural perspectives adopted by these three communities. These links, along with their many meanings and consequences, are explored through examination of the political writings and activities of a set of 35 Italian exiles during the period in question.

As announced by the author early in the introduction, the leading methodological perspective embraced in this examination accords “due weight to ideology, politics and the different forms of freedom in defining the nation”. Isabella thus explicitly distances his work from both the social and institutional historiographical perspective of the 1980s and recent cultural-historiographical trends, which he terms the ‘new cultural history’ on the Risorgimento (5). Accordingly, in analysing the chosen set of sources, he devotes particular attention to the key concepts, themes and subjects familiar to a renewed, but genuinely political-intellectual, historiographical approach. Such an approach is presented in a form enhanced and enriched by a number of suggestions adopted from different cultural trends such as theories on cultural transfer and the postcolonial perspective. In this sense, in considering the exiles’ biographies and writings, the author chooses not to delve into any explicit structural analysis of their social contexts and networks, or a linguistic-rhetorical analysis of their narratives, but instead concentrates his analytic focus chiefly on the specific political content of their writings and actions.

The book is divided into two main parts. The first, entitled “A Liberal International? The Italian Exiles and the Worldwide Struggle for Freedom”, primarily aims to reveal and analyse the role of Italian nationals within the “Liberal International” in different geographic areas – Spain, Latin America, Greece – all interested in different forms of “liberal” uprisings, emancipation movements and revolutions during the 1820s. This section examines the political imaginings of Italian exiles as told in their writings dedicated to the different foreign political situations in which they were involved. The reading unfolds on two levels:

first by comparing specific analyses and responses, one with the other, and second, by comparing their respective points of view on foreign contexts with their perspectives on the Italian Risorgimento. This double comparison aims to identify an ultimate set of ideas and values shared by the different political analyses, plans and designs developed by the exiles, and to eventually recompose them in a hypothetical unique political framework that includes both their common views on the “worldwide struggle for freedom” and their perspectives on the political-patriotic struggle in their homeland. This last point is clearly defined and summarised in the concluding paragraph of this first part, eloquently entitled “Cosmopolitan Patriots: Freedom and Civilization as Global Processes”.

Predictably, the answer to the question explicitly posed by the question mark in the title of this first part is affirmative: although representing a minority both numerically and in terms of its impact on the broader Italian and European audiences, the transnational community of Italian post-Napoleonic exiles is deemed fully entitled to membership in the wider transnational “Liberal International”. In the author’s interpretation, this means, above all, that the exiles were able to weave a common political thread connecting their disparate previous experiences of revolutions in Naples, Milan or Turin with their direct or indirect participation in the constitutional uprising in Spain, in the various struggles for emancipation of the South American colonies or in the cause of Greek independence. And it is precisely in this constant process of interrelating that the patriots of the Italian diaspora, by acting as bridges between the different cultural-political contexts, would reveal the particular nature of their liberalism: an ideology based on a steadfast belief in international solidarity and the interconnectedness

of all movements for emancipation worldwide. This is a cultural-political perspective profoundly rooted in the eighteenth-century cosmopolitan view of the issue of freedom as strictly linked to the general processes of European and global civilisation, and therefore evincing a view of nationalism based on the ability to effectively combine the specific features of one’s original culture and traditions with foreign institutional models into an inclusive, transnational framework. In this sense, the author’s perspective suggests that the liberalism of Italian exiles cannot be dismissively labelled as backward or not up to coeval European standards, as frequently done by the still dominant historiography in evaluating Italian liberalism. On the contrary, although during this period, as the author admits, “Liberalism was an even broader and vaguer category than republicanism, not least because it was precisely in the years following the end of the Napoleonic era that the term came to acquire a new set of meanings and was increasingly employed in political language across and beyond Europe” (25), nevertheless the exiles’ writings and designs reveal a set of “liberal” values fully consistent with their coeval European counterparts, especially in explicit comparisons of their endorsement of international revolutionary causes.

The second part of the book, entitled “England and Italy Compared”, is devoted entirely to an analysis of the political writings of Italian exiles regarding England. Here their different perspectives on various issues, such as the English national character, economic model, political parties and institutions, and the relationship with the Catholic Church are analysed in order to once again highlight a set of shared guidelines orienting the exiles in drawing parallels between the English and Italian contexts and, as a consequence,

in shaping a liberal political design for their homeland.

Once again, the author underlines the typical features of moderate liberalism, which in many respects was politically consistent with its English equivalent, though, in other respects, was originally characterised by intellectual independence from and criticism of its still anglophile Italian advocates. Thus, their opinions on the crucial political functions of public education, their generally, albeit not yet unanimously, appreciative attitude towards the role played by parties in a country's political life, their lay stance on the relationship between church and state and their assessments of English economic thought and development models, suitably adapted by the exiles to the Italian context, could in this sense be considered evidence of the presence of an Italian inflection in the "Liberal International", producing an original, independent view of the Risorgimento.

The last section of this second part is devoted to an analysis of the exiles' counternarratives regarding Italy, issued in response to the "master narrative" of the Grand Tour, and their attempts to shape English perceptions of the Italian question. In this case, the author once again emphasises the exiles' refusal to passively absorb the English narratives and focuses his analysis on their creative reaction that aimed at the construction of a counterdiscourse devoted to dismantling English stereotypes concerning Italy and sensitising English public opinion to the Italian Risorgimento.

In the first lines of the book's concluding pages, the author closes the circuit of his argumentation in the new light cast on the Risorgimento by the inclusive, transnational and dialogical political perspective of the exiles. He,

moreover, calls into question the results of "new cultural history" and issues an explicit challenge to its assumptions on the "nation of the Risorgimento", represented, in his words, "as a community with strong family ties serving to define its inner cohesion, and by a hatred for the enemy invariably viewed as an external threat" (226). If, on the one hand, a dismissive, reductive reading of Banti and Ginsborg's interpretation of Risorgimento nationalism could be easily detected in these lines, on the other, what is actually more interesting and important to note is the implicit reference to the crucial historiographical *enjeu* represented by the difficult comparison between two conflicting interpretations of the Risorgimento. To put it simply, these different readings are the product of two wholly different methodological-historiographical approaches, ideally represented here by Banti and Ginsborg (but chiefly the former), on the one hand, and Isabella herself, on the other. In this sense the author would seem to implicitly denounce a sort of nearsightedness (if not actual blindness) that distinguishes the "new cultural" approach regarding the presence of the intellectual and political communities, no matter how elitist or small in number, that produced and propagated original political interpretations of the nation, including some features barely consistent with the proposed cultural framework of the "new cultural" perspective itself. This is a point well worth some reflection. Indeed, on the one hand, the cultural perspective has in most cases been reluctant to acknowledge the presence of dissonant voices – no matter how weak or few in number – among the grand chorus of the "Risorgimento canon", and thus exhibits a dangerous inclination towards representing the cultural systems as heavy, monolithic, deterministic structures and consequently risking dismissing the crucial importance of the political-cultural differences within a national

discourse. However, on the other hand, the “line of defence” implicitly proposed here by the author, who conversely chooses to dismiss out of hand the cultural perspective in order to enhance the political specificity of his sources, seems to involve proportionate, no less dangerous risks. In fact, by sticking to the strictly political content of the exiles’ writings, he implicitly chooses to downplay in toto the role of the master narratives conveying these contents, along with their sometimes crucial political consequences. Thus, for example, the explicit western ethnocentrism of the narratives on the struggle for Greek independence – a perspective that implies a view of the Ottoman Empire, and more generally of “despotic Asia”, as a barbaric, cruel and uncivilised society – is considered here as an almost necessary byproduct of a globally inclusive, transnational view of the western “Mediterranean sisterhood” as part of a global European solidarity among liberal nations seeking independence. Likewise, the fundamental ambiguity of concepts such as the “democratic dictatorship” of romantic heroes or the “national characters” of nations deserving their independence, or, even more so, the striking observation that in most cases the exiles’ counternarratives to the Grand Tour, were a mere reversal of the original ones, sharing with them the most controversial concepts and issues. All these and many other sensitive, controversial issues are deliberately left in the background in order to enhance the most genuinely liberal features of the exiles’ discourse on the nation. In this sense, even the choice of minimising direct source citations in the book could be seen as a further expression of the author’s desire to get straight to the political core of their discourse by freeing it from the “rhetorical noise” of the most general cultural narratives in which it is embedded.

In conclusion, this rich, challenging and thought-provoking book has, among others, the indubitable, particular merit of casting light on a crucial theoretical and historiographical issue which is definitely more far-reaching than the specific question at stake (a feat which in itself would have been well worth the entire research effort).

However, one major risk involved in such an endeavour is that it may exacerbate the frontal contraposition between two rigid, basically ineffective theoretical frameworks: one promulgating the fundamentally metapolitical essence and persistence of cultural systems (which, as a common denominator, indiscriminately lumps together moderates and democrats, revolutionaries and conservatives); the other maintaining the fundamentally metacultural essence and persistence of political thought (which, likewise, acts by dismissing the complexity of the narratives in which the political concepts are embedded).

Augusta Dimou

***Entangled Paths Towards
Modernity: Contextualizing
Socialism and Nationalism
in the Balkans***

**Budapest and New York: CEU
Press, 2009. xiv + 434 pp.**

by Stefano Petrunaro

University of Padua

Some early Balkan socialists, as Augusta Dimou explains, were convinced to be able to learn, even to have learned, from history – *historia magistra vitae*, thus, in its most rigorous sense. More precisely, the “history” in question was that of the other, western, countries, while the “life” in question was one’s own, i.e., of three Balkan countries: Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece. Dimou investigates the modalities through which some important socialist groups and parties elaborated and put into practice the way of how to animate a socialist plant in Balkan soil. Yet the “transplantation” metaphor is exactly what doesn’t wash, and Dimou succeeds very well in demonstrating it.

The history of Balkan socialism cannot be thought simply in terms of an exportation of ideas and projects from the East and from the West, i.e., in terms of a mere transfer. For every translation, it should be known, involves a

profound modification of the text. This, on the contrary, was generally forgotten in the Balkan historiographies, both communist and postcommunist, albeit for different reasons. Dimou rescues that forgotten, even scorned history, and out of it makes the object of a historiographical investigation that is accurate and methodologically innovative. The starting point is that reception is an active process. More than this: it is “creative”. Far from the stereotypes of an external “imposition” of socialism/communism in those areas, the book shows several socialist ideas at work, embodied in persons, schools of thought and parties. For an understanding of these processes, it is of fundamental importance to know the ideological roots of these movements, and this is something Dimou illustrates well, remaining conscious that the emphasis must then lay on the original interpretation of those roots furnished by the Balkan socialists. The “paths” were in fact different: some wanted, for example, to avoid (western) capitalism, others wanted to accelerate it, yet there were also those wanted to skip it. The paths towards socialism were many, and this sophisticated book contains eclectic reflections of several generations of militants of populist, social-democratic or communist inspiration, as well as composite itineraries of their parties. Of all facts, persons and ideas in the volume, only some of them are chosen in order to be able to offer a more efficient comparison.

The methodological lesson is of great importance: provincialising the advanced western as well as the fecund Eastern-Russian laboratory, the Balkan province becomes the centre of the story told in this book. Not a derivation of some norm, not the diluted echo of inputs deriving from outside, but the space where men (and, in this case, only a few women) think and act, write and dream

– in short, make history. The goal announced in the introduction is achieved: the book describes a comparative history of some original segments of the history of socialism in the Balkans. It is a history of the “reception”, and the investigated subjects are the intellectuals. But these intellectuals were concerned with the “people”, that means the majority of the population, if not explicitly with the peasants: as a consequence, another reception worthy of investigation will occur to the reader, i.e., how the popular classes metabolised the recipes proposed to them by the socialist intellectuals. A reverberation of that reception was the high rates of party membership or the active participation in the mobilisations organised by the parties, but this is not enough: in order to be investigated adequately, popular reception should require a proper history “from below”, which nevertheless falls outside the goals of this book. What we are actually dealing with here is an intellectual history and a history of ideas; but also with something more than this.

The other structural element of this research is contextualisation. This is also conceived in a deep sense: not only placing the actors amid their milieu or generically amid the cultural and political situation in which they lived. Theoretical elaborations and political strategies are, rather, linked to economical and social realities. Why was the Russian populism “amended” by Serbian socialists? Why was German Marxism “revised” by Bulgarian socialists? Generic schematisations cannot answer these questions, typical large dilemmas in the history of world socialism. General coordinates do exist and are useful for the analysis, but one must juxtapose them with the specifics of the particular historical experience. Dimou even investigates three of them, while also taking into account some others (mainly the Romanian case), in what is an

admirable exercise in infra-Balkan comparison. It reveals itself to be of great use, particularly for the Greek case. There are important questions: Why was the Communist Party of Greece not politically relevant between the two world wars? How is it possible to explain its process of Bolshevisation? Answering these can hugely benefit, as Dimou demonstrates, from a comparative approach.

Analogies and differences, parallelisms as well as temporal lags: all these are highlighted. Among all these topics, authenticity is the one that emerges with force: the search for the authentic national people, who are to be integrated along the socialist principles, better, along the coordinates of an authentic national socialism. The national idea, in fact, far from being alien to socialist thinkers, had to be harmonised immediately with the socialist and internationalist utopias. We know something about the contradictions to which this relation led with regards to the socialist experiments of the twentieth century; now, thanks to this book, we know something more about the roots of those experiments. Socialism in many nations – in this case, Balkan nations: how to envisage this dream, which paths to take in order to reach it?

We encounter, therefore, pages thick with doubts and contradictions, where some Balkan thinkers endeavoured to respect their own ideals but, in addition and above all, the reality they were living in. How to apply a theory developed for industrialised countries in a place where factories did not exist? How to found a proletarian party without proletarians? They had then to locate original and partly alternative paths in order to establish a dialogue both with popular culture and with that “modernity” which awaited them, a modernity that seemed to them to be halfway between a dream and a night-

mare. In the book, modernity is a vague concept, which pervades throughout, constantly appearing with a different face. True: not only were the “paths” plural and entangled, but the imagined “modernities” were also different, overlapping, shaded. We are therefore plunged into the cultural atmosphere of the book’s protagonists, who were trying to gaze into the unclear horizon in order to measure its distance from the present.

Quite solid thinkers and politicians, they were often decisively pragmatic. In order to explain their ideological evolutions and political choices, Dimou took the correct decision to take into consideration the socio-economic context. Therefore, this book confirms the importance of having at one’s disposal solid case-studies that represent the irremissible foundation of every comparison, infra-Balkan ones too. We are not dealing with antithetic or competitive approaches: they are different gazes on the past, which highlight different aspects. The author demonstrates the possibility of making excellent use of the local historiographical traditions, carrying on a fruitful dialogue with them. Comparison is a hard enterprise, but when it works, as in this case, it delivers outstanding results.

“Pragmatism” is a category used frequently by the author: it is functional in order to explain not only the evolution of the Radicals in Serbia, or the conceptual elasticity of the Broads in Bulgaria, but also the actors in the liberal field, i.e., the perspicacity of Venizelos, who won his “war of position”. Politicians more equipped with “realism” were able to gain the support of peasant masses and to domesticate the intellectuals. What we have to do with are modernisation programmes with strong etatist and nationalistic traits, able to contemplate serious civil wars, which cut the society vertically, putting aside class

questions: a further brake for every socialist movement, but also for a collective reflection on values such as social solidarity, the dignity of labour and social justice.

The Balkan “entangled paths” reconstructed by Dimou are fascinating, involving ideas, persons and writings that travel in all directions. When they make a stop and became “operative”, i.e., when they acquired a certain social and political relevance in one of the investigated countries, the author examines them. If she is therefore far from some culturalist approaches that disjoin culture from the socio-economic context, this does not mean that she fails to give the ideological level the centrality it deserves. Theoretical debates were not mere epiphenomena of something else (personal animosities, economical structure) but expressed the genuine effort of these intellectuals to elaborate a good analysis of reality. They were looking at the past and the present in order to condition the future.

Here the book becomes touching. Reading it, one can feel the initial enthusiasm of the early Balkan socialists and the power of utopia over them, which was perhaps “nostalgic”, i.e., looking at the past as an inspiring source but always with the goal of building a better future. “Back to the future”, one person said, “progressively to the future”, somebody else proposed, while “directly to the future” was the prescription of another. When you reach the end, you cannot but close the book with a sigh.

**Lorans Tanatar Baruh and
Vangelis Kechriotis (eds)**

***Economy and Society on
Both Shores of the Aegean***

**Athens: Alpha Bank Historical
Archives, 2010. 547 pp.**

by Alexandros Lamprou

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This edited volume contains sixteen papers by Greek and Turkish scholars all presented at the “Economy and Society on Both Shores of the Aegean” seminar series, held at the Ottoman Bank Museum in Istanbul between 2004 and 2007. Placed within the context of the rapprochement between the two countries since the late 1990s, the expressed aim of the seminar organisers and volume editors is to support the dialogue between academics from both countries and the increasing numbers of scholars and students engaging in the study of the “other” on the opposite shore, as well as to contribute to the development of the “Greek–Ottoman” area of studies (15, 17).

The chapters are divided into four parts. The first, entitled “Community and Subjectivity”, consists of five chapters. Stephanos Pasmazoglou presents Skarlatos Vyzantios’ three-volume work on Istanbul, published in Athens in 1851. He briefly presents the content of the 1,830-page work, situates it within the intellectual scene of nineteenth-century Ath-

ens and pinpoints its significance for scholars studying Istanbul and the early Tanzimat era. Sia Anagnostopoulou’s paper attempts to situate Helleno-Ottomanism in the Ottoman late nineteenth century and views this “quasi-ideology” as an attempt by the patriarchate and “neo-Phanariot” circles to legitimise their rule over the Rum millet during the transformations of the Tanzimat reforms. Placed within the framework of Ottomanism and the broader context of the transition from empire to nation-state, she concludes that, by utilising the terminology of Helleno-Ottomanism, both elite circles ended up retrospectively reinforcing the forces they were otherwise intending to contest, i.e., the nationalism of the Greek state. Part of an ongoing research project on conversion and apostasy in the Ottoman Empire from 1839 to 1918, Selim Deringil’s contribution draws on Ottoman state documents to present a preliminary account of conversion and apostasy within the framework of the Tanzimat reforms and the increasing European interference in the internal affairs of the empire. He argues that, while in the early Tanzimat period, Ottomans had a more tolerant view on conversion, by the late 1890s the Ottoman government was fearful that in many areas the population might convert to Christianity due to missionary activity. Engin Berber focuses on the everyday life in the district of Foça during the Greek occupation of western Anatolia (1919–1922). Based on interviews with Muslim witnesses, Berber provides a description of the living conditions and the clashes between the communities during the occupation. Based on fieldwork in Athens, İlay Romain Örs’ chapter presents and defines a very distinct “diasporic community”, the Greek Orthodox people who originate from Istanbul. For Örs, the “Rum Polites” compose a distinct cultural community possessing a “supra-ethnic, supra-religious, supra-national identity of the city” (194).

The second part, entitled "Institutions", is composed of four chapters. Dimitris Stamatopoulos' contribution investigates the evolution of the ecumenical ideology in the Orthodox millet in the nineteenth century alongside the rise of nationalism, the split within the Orthodox millet and the emergence of the political dilemma whether to opt for old imperial schemes or nation-states. His argument is that the ecumenical ideology cannot be seen solely as a product of the period of pan-Islamism but has to be explored in the period between the Greek Revolution and the end of the Crimean War. He argues that the ecumenical ideology was "a renegotiation of the place of the clergy within a secular landscape during the era of nationalism" (220), "an attempt to reconnect the imperial perspective with the Pan-Orthodox one" (241), both already outdated by the end of the First World War and the collapse of the Ottoman and Russian empires. Haris Exertzoglou's article addresses the construction of poverty as a social category in nineteenth-century Istanbul. Drawing on Greek sources, he situates the emergence of poverty at the intersection of the medical and what he terms "social" discourse, forcefully arguing that both discourses, which signalled the appearance of poverty as a social category, are related to the emergence of a network of health institutions and new forms of charity, new policies of surveillance and control, as well as to "the very process of creating a middle-class identity" (268). İpek Yosmaoğlu's paper dwells on practical aspects of the reform of the Ottoman gendarmerie by European officers, starting in 1903, such as the difficulties in provisioning, the tensions between the gendarmerie and regular army troops, and the mistrust of the Christian population of Macedonia towards the gendarmes. Elçin Macar presents the changes in the administration of the minority foundations during the single-party period,

especially after the promulgation of the law on foundations in 1934, and the complaints arising from the imposed single-trustee administration system.

The third part, "Economy and Society", consists of five chapters. Maria Christina Chatziioannou's chapter addresses the issue of sources, methods and interpretations in the study of the preindustrial Ottoman-Greek merchant. She argues that a microhistory approach on the study of economic behaviour including cultural investigations and biographical approaches can be fruitful in conjunction with more "classical" approaches to the study of the growth of capitalism. Melttem Toksöz's contribution dwells on the rise of migrant-merchant families in relation to the emergence of port cities at the second half of the nineteenth century, exemplified in the case of Mersin and the study of the Mavromatis family firm. Socrates Petmezas attempts to make a detailed comparative use of Ottoman and Greek agricultural statistics for Macedonia for the first two decades of the twentieth century, namely the 1907 Ottoman agricultural census and the 1914 Greek agricultural statistics. He argues convincingly that the combined use of statistics from the Ottoman and inheritor states can form series of comparable data that can be used to multiply but also make improved estimates and corrections of initial data sets. Based on the 1907 census, Meropi Anastassiadou attempts to reconstruct the Greek Orthodox households of Istanbul at the turn of the nineteenth century, focusing on the Greek Orthodox community of Beyoğlu. She stresses the importance of immigration and the loosening of traditional family patterns observed in Greek rural societies, attributing this evolution to the deep economic changes marking Ottoman society of the period. Based on oral sources, Arzu Öztürkmen's article is part

of a wider ongoing project on the historical ethnography of Tirebolu, a Black Sea town, and explores women's narratives of memory from a small-town perspective that focuses on "locality and power networks". Although her contribution to this volume does not correspond easily with the rest of the chapters, her article and her work in general offer a perspective greatly needed in the history of Turkey, i.e., women's narratives of the past and local concepts of change.

The first of the two articles of the fourth part, entitled "Urban Planning", is Alexandra Yerolympos' chapter on the transformations of the cities in the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire between 1840 and 1912. Focusing on the examples of Ioannina, Volos and Thessaloniki, she studies the spatial dimension of the changes in habits, attitudes and patterns of life between 1850 and 1900, linking them with the rising polyethnic bourgeoisie and the "shift of the archaic-oriental Ottoman society to modern (Western) attitudes and lifestyles" (477). Finally, Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu's paper aims at introducing the various elements of the urban fabric and the architectural styles of the Tanzimat era. She examines the new laws and regulations of the era, the new building types and institutions, as well as the social spaces of the new bourgeois (parks, gardens, apartment blocks and new neighbourhoods), all constructed by architects from various backgrounds and exhibiting various architectural styles, from neoclassical and neo-Gothic to eclectic, art nouveau and neo-Ottoman.

At the end of the volume, Christos Hadziiossif provides an afterword surveying "two possible ways out of the national history trap" (530), namely comparative history and the study of the Rum as a common space of reference. Finally, he suggests a third possible

option, the enlargement of the angle of observation beyond the limits of the two states, given that both shores have been integrated into larger systems.

The majority of the chapters cover the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a period roughly commencing with the proclamation of the Tanzimat and ending with the demise of the empire. Macar, Örs and Öztürkmen deal with a later period, but their contributions touch on issues that are, in a sense, inherited from this era of change. Broadly speaking, most contributions converge in their attempt to diverge from the narratives of nationalist historical traditions. Anagnostopoulou's attempt to study the Rum within the Ottoman context and not as part of Greek history is a case in point. Similarly, most of the chapters by Turkish scholars attempt to deal with issues that are still considered sensitive (the "other" within or "embarrassing" moments in a common past and geography) and, in that sense, their contributions should be seen as a part of a very recent trend in Turkish academia that addresses hitherto taboo issues. Greek scholars have equally started to address questions relating to the common past and its inheritance in the postimperial age.

Moving away from this promising interest from both shores in a common past and geography and in the remnants of the imperial past within the nation state, the question whether and how we can move, in Hadziiossif's words, to the "delimitation of a common ground to be jointly tilled by historians irrespective of nationality" and "pass from parallel monologues to an alternative common approach to both societies" (528) is important. The history of the Rum as a common space of reference is definitely one of the ways to move towards such a direction. Nevertheless, an enlarged frame of reference within which

the “Greek–Ottoman” space can be incorporated and converse with other alternative cases of transition from an imperial past to the national present offers further advantages. An enlarged frame of reference is helpful in evading the restraints imposed by an approach or perspective solely confined to the limits of two nation-states and developments in the respective Greek and Turkish schools of history.

With the proliferation of similar joint endeavours between the two shores and an increasing number of studies, we can only hope that their critical examination will, in the near future, become a legitimate topic of prospective research in itself and will further contribute to the expectations raised by projects such as the current volume.

**Giorgos Antoniou and Nikos
Marantzidis (eds)**

***Η εποχή της σύγχυσης:
Η δεκαετία του '40 και η
ιστοριογραφία***

**[The age of confusion: The
forties and historiography]**

Athens: Estia, 2008. 583 pp.

by Dimitris Kousouris

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The troubled 1940s have probably been the most explored field of modern Greek history as well as the most popular and controversial subject of the ongoing public historical debates. This collective volume is the fruit of an ambitious project that aims at providing the first overall account of the relevant research. Accordingly, the book moves in a double direction, as the editors point out on the back cover: its aim is not only to assess the current state of the art by presenting “the bibliographical developments” but also to define “in a dispassionate, scholarly spirit” the limits between academic and ideological debates, scholars and laymen, so as to overcome the “pathology” of a polarisation that “incubates Manichean discourses within the scholarly community”.

In order to achieve these goals, the volume invites a plurality of viewpoints. Its thirteen

essays (including the 42-page introduction), written by fourteen scholars and researchers from different academic environments, are organised into four main parts. The first two assemble essays presenting the evolution of the research from an international and a Greek point of view, respectively. Under the title "Individual and Collective Subjects", the third part contains three essays discussing the emergence of collective memories and the subsequent development of scholarly interest in Greek Jews, political refugees and women in the Greek Civil War. Finally, a fourth part reviews two "special issues": the representations of the civil war experience in literature and the question of the sources for the military struggle of 1946–1949.

As suggested above, the book can be read in two ways, depending on its different recipients. As a snapshot of the present state of research, it provides an introduction to the Greek 1940s for students and nonspecialists. As an effort to map out and to circumscribe the limits of scholarly discussion, it is an intervention in the current public "debate on history". One would certainly miss the point disregarding either one of those two dimensions, even more since there is an implicit, though apparent, division of labour between texts of a somewhat more analytical than programmatic scope and vice versa.

Most of the texts developing a descriptive and analytical perspective are interestingly written by female writers and are gathered in the second part of the volume. Tasoula Vervenioti reviews a very little investigated topic, i.e., women's first-hand accounts. The limited corpus of texts written by women on the winners' side is juxtaposed with the most extensive and diverse accounts of women belonging to the defeated camp. The writer argues that the study of those accounts may enhance

our understanding of the gender dimension and permit us to regard the Greek Civil War as a "social phenomenon". Next comes another case of repressed memory, the issue of the political refugees. Through an extensive, albeit not complete, summary of the recent bibliography, Katerina Tsekou holds that the limited (scholarly or literary) bibliography on the subject is due to the belated realisation of the refugees' claim for return as well as to the political conditions of the host countries. Next, through a 70-page account of the major novels and their reception by literary critics during the first three postwar decades, Maria Nikolopoulou reiterates Alexandros Kotzias' pattern of the "thirty year war of ours", presenting the ways in which literature continued the battle of interpretations.

A common feature of these essays is their effort to relate the diverse historiographical trends and corresponding interpretations to their ideological contexts. This becomes even more visible in the periodisation provided by the last text of the volume. David Close meticulously describes the available accounts for and documentation of the military struggle, distinguishing two major turning points: the fall of the colonels' junta in 1974 and 1989, the year in which the Greek state acknowledged officially that a civil war had taken place in the country between 1944 and 1949. Before commenting on Giorgos Margaritis' history of the civil war,¹ the most comprehensive approach of the military conflict to date, Close also assesses the impact of the end of the Cold War on the recent international bibliography on the matter.

Another attempt at integrating the Greek scholarly debate into its international context is Odette Varon-Vassard's essay on the deportation of Greek Jews. Through a comprehensive review of the literature and first-

hand accounts investigating “the dialectics of memory and oblivion”, the writer notes that, compared to France and other European countries, Greek scholarly interest in the question has emerged with a delay of twenty years and argues that this corresponds to the time needed to overcome the repressed memories inherited by the post-civil war authoritarian regime.

The essays in the first part invite into the debate four different academic and ideological traditions of the research on the 1940s in Greece. Despite some omissions or biases, they offer a remedy against language barriers and the particularisms abiding in the Greek debate. Stratos Dordanas distinguishes three main phases of the (West) German bibliography on the subject: the immediate postwar memoirs of former officers denying guilt and responsibility for wartime crimes; the anti-communist years in which scholars, mainly jurists and political scientists influenced by the official state ideology and Borkenau’s theory, contested the legitimacy of resistance movements; and finally, the gradual development of academic historical research by the 1970s. Iakovos Michailidis and Konstantinos Katsanos open a window to an even less accessible academic debate: they may not exactly review the “Yugoslav Historiography on the Greek Civil War”, as promised by the title of their short essay, but they do examine the question of ethnic conflicts in Macedonia in the Macedonian and the greater Yugoslav bibliography. Tassos Hatzianastassiou describes two different phases and faces of the Bulgarian research on the question, during and after the communist regime: the earlier phase was shaped in accordance with the antifascist narratives on Balkan peoples’ solidarity against Nazism and/or domestic leaderships, whereas the later was characterised by an effort to revive old irredentist vi-

sions and to rehabilitate the prewar regime of Tsar Boris. Mobilising his erudition on the subject, John Iatrides makes a global account of the debate on the Greek Civil War in Britain and the United States. Considering the various interpretations of the different trends of the American debate, he distinguishes a) the “traditional” approaches, more or less aligned to the official US views on the causes of the Cold War, b) the “revisionist” ones, contesting those views, most usually coming from the left of the intellectual spectrum, and c) the “realist” (or postrevisionist) current, developing in a more inclusive, balanced and better informed way, growing stronger towards (and after) the end of the Cold War period.

This classification is adopted as well by the introduction of the volume. However, while Iatrides cautiously separates the Cold War from the Greek Civil War bibliography and insists that it is all about three distinct currents and not successive phases of the debate,² the editors use the same terms to designate three main periods for the overall, Greek and international, debate on the Greek Civil War. Thus, exploiting the polysemy of revisionism in different academic and intellectual frameworks, the volume seeks to introduce into the Greek debate on the 1940s another use of a term that has hitherto been employed exclusively in its “European” sense, i.e., to qualify approaches doubting the national antifascist narratives that dominated in the country for almost three decades after the fall of the colonels’ junta in 1974.³ Launching the “American” use of the term, the editors propose a periodisation that may be synthesised as follows: the half-century that followed the end of the civil war has been divided into two consecutive, almost equal parts, each one dominated by the ideological views and discourses of the winners first (“traditionals”), and then of the defeated (“revisionists”). According to

this pattern, we would now be in the midst of a third period, characterised by the emergence of dispassionate scholarly approaches, unbound from Cold War ideologies.

This line becomes clear through three quite unequal essays in the second part, presenting the “Greek viewpoint”. In the first one, Nikos Marantzidis reviews the research on the varied local dimensions of the civil strife, through an instructive survey of methods and conceptual tools borrowed from sociology and anthropology. The author chooses to discuss criticisms according to which the insistence on the local dimension may lead to a relativism of interpretations, qualifying them as fossils of Cold War ideologies. Maintaining that the local dimension promotes the autonomy of historical research, he pleads for a pluralism of interpretations. Stathis Kalyvas makes a critical review of three collective series on the Greek 1940s published during the 2000s, providing in fact a polemic essay on “official” public history. Arguing that those “historical encyclopaedias” are full of stereotypes, lack documentation and promote a romantic vision of the national past, he assesses their scholarly value as below par and qualifies them as a mere failure. Finally, Evanthis Hatzivassiliou gives an account of the bibliography on a number of minor Athenian organisations and spy networks not affiliated to the procommunist resistance. Tracing their potential and limits, he puts forward what he calls a retrospective “wish”, actually a counterfactual hypothesis, according to which those groups represent the “lost chance” of a liberal alternative, sandwiched between the two extremes of the political spectrum.

Despite their different scope and focus, these three essays take a common stand in the ongoing public debate on history. While their starting point is an outright rejection of all

Cold and Civil War ideologies, their criticisms are aimed exclusively at the “left-wing” or “progressist” reconstructions of the 1940s, and their sympathies go for the liberal or conservative forces and viewpoints, then and now. In other words, by defending a pure, “cold-blooded”, ideology-free history against ideological uses of the past, they take sides without assuming that they do so. However, as everybody has known for over a century in the social sciences, there is no “pure” or “objective” approach undetermined by the social and intellectual context of its production. This is not only a weak link of the argumentation developed in the introduction and in the essays of the second part. To the pity of the variety of approaches, it also guides certain key elements of the volume, such as the choice of the subjects covered and the remarkable gaps in a seemingly balanced 40-page selected bibliography.

Instead of a conclusion, we could attempt to do what the editors implicitly avoided: assess the volume’s impact by taking into account the Greek and international intellectual context that determines its guidelines. To do so, let us be guided by what seems to be the critical stake of the whole endeavour: the concept of revisionism. The term has been used as a reproach against the effort to reintegrate the rightwing or collaborationist narratives into the national community of memory. As advocates of this current, some of the main contributors of this volume apparently sought to counteract it. Thus, the title of the volume (that no one even takes the time to justify) begins to make sense: the project must have been to extend the meaning of the Brechtian bloody confusion⁴ from the period under discussion to the present meanings of revisionism.

Subsequently, one may indeed classify the editors’ position as “revisionist” and, at the

same time, its contrary, depending on the viewpoint adopted. In terms of the American debate on the Cold War, it announces a withdrawal to more “traditional” positions, analogous to the return of notorious “postrevisionists” to one-sided approaches blaming the Cold War on communism and ideology.⁵ Meanwhile, from a European point of view, it epitomises a typically revisionist effort to delegitimise the antifascist national narratives. This current, launched against the “revenge of the defeated” (in the civil war),⁶ appeared some twenty years later than in other western democracies. As a matter of fact, the thirty-year delay for the admission of the resistance into the official history cast a heavy shadow over the Greek debate on the 1940s. And, after all, as concerns the volume discussed in this brief review, whereas some of its essays present insights and methods that opened up new perspectives for scholarly research, notably by the 1990s, its main position seems to block these perspectives, circumscribing the limits of a new (neo)liberal and conservative orthodoxy that, unlike its claims, does not transcend the good old ideological divisions.

NOTES

- 1 Giorgos Margaritis, *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού εμφυλίου πολέμου 1946–1949* [History of the Greek Civil War], 2 vols, Athens: Vivliorama, 2001.
- 2 Commenting on the American debate, Iatrides considers as erroneous any periodisation based on those categories as well as the designation of “realists” as “postrevisionists”, 70–82.
- 3 For the current debate on revisionism (mainly in Europe), see Domenico Losurdo, *Le révisionisme en histoire: Problèmes et mythes*, Paris: Albin Michel, 2006, and Michael Haynes and Jim Wolfreys (eds), *History and Revolution: Refuting*

Revisionism, New York: Verso, 2007.

- 4 Seemingly, the title is borrowed by Bertolt Brecht’s *The Exception and the Rule*: Let nothing be called natural / In an age of bloody confusion / Ordered disorder, planned caprice / and dehumanised humanity, lest all things be held unalterable!
- 5 Such as John Lewis Gaddis. On this issue, see, as a case of example, the review essay of Melvyn P. Leffler, “The Cold War: What Do ‘We Now Know’?”, *The American Historical Review* 104:2 (1999): 501–524.
- 6 This expression is borrowed from the homonymous article, “Η ‘ρεβάνς’ των ηττημένων” [The revenge of the defeated], by Giorgos Mavrogordatos in the special issue of *To Vima* newspaper marking the 50th anniversary of the end of the Greek Civil War, 17 October 1999, B6–7.

K. E. Fleming

Greece: A Jewish History

Princeton: Princeton UP, 2008.

271 pp.

by Gabriella Etmektsoglou

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When Eva Hoffman wrote that the “Holocaust is the most documented event in history”,¹ she was probably unaware of the many silences, lacunae and taboos that still surround public discourse and scholarship on this topic as well as on the more general history of the Jews of Greece within Greece. Greece is of course not the only country where conflicting ideas about victimhood and responsibility and the controversial challenge to redress the past by delving into available sources pre-occupy just a handful of scholars as well as some survivors and their descendants. But what makes Greece unique to a degree is the fact that we can observe a Holocaust fatigue even though the topic was only introduced into school books two years ago. Alongside this indifference is a governmental pseudo-empathy that should be understood within the context of the growing centrality of the Shoah in Europe’s collective identity, the discourse on human rights and the repudiation of genocide. Yet, while public commemorations of the Shoa in Greece follow a politically correct European Union line, anti-Semitism is upheld as a valid “perspective”, most recent-

ly even by a court ruling.² A spate of recent attacks against synagogues in Volos, Corfu, and, most recently, Chania, as well as against Holocaust monuments and the Jewish cemeteries of Athens and Ioannina, has intimidated the 5,000 Jews who live in Greece today. Two-thirds of the archive of the Jewish community of Chania, whose material covered 2,500 years of Jewish life on Crete, was destroyed when the restored Etz Hayyim synagogue and museum was attacked twice by arsonists in January 2010.

Who are the Jewish citizens of Greece today? How did Salonica, the “Jerusalem of the Balkans”, “the sweet Salonica” still loved and remembered by Sephardim Jews now living in Israel, become a Greek city when it was annexed in 1912? How did its Sephardic community, which had come from the Iberian peninsula at the end of the fifteenth century, experience the Second World War and its aftermath? How was Athens consolidated as the home of Hellenised and secularised Romaniote (Roman) Jews, most of whom survived the Holocaust? What was Greek Jewry’s sense of their Greekness in an environment that did not tolerate multiple, overlapping identities, and how did this sense change during and after the Holocaust?

Fortunately, there is a significant body of historical information on the basis of which the history of Greek Jewry can be written. However, little scholarly attention has been paid to this dimension of Greek and Jewish histories to date. Katherine Fleming’s *Greece: A Jewish History* thus represents a significant contribution to the study of Jewish identity and nationality, one that traces the experiences of Greek Jews within modern Greece as well as in the concentration camps and in the diaspora of survivors and their descendants in the United States and Israel. Fleming, a professor of

history and Alexander S. Onassis Professor of Hellenic Culture and Civilisation at New York University, where she also serves as associate director of the Remarque Institute, has written the first comprehensive English-language history of the Jews of Greece. Her history successfully avoids reducing them to the rigid categories of the persecuted and the survivors but rather eloquently reviews the evolution of their identity from the breakup of the Ottoman Empire to the present by examining their various experiences within the broader context of Greece's political, military and social history. *Greece: A Jewish History* has so far won the 2008 National Jewish Book Award, the 2009 Runciman Award, sponsored by the Anglo-Hellenic League, and the 2010 Prix Alberto Benveniste. It is a well-written story of a people who represented different ethnic origins and cultures (Romaniote, Sephardic and Ashkenazi) and who began to emerge as a nationalised collective in the 1920s and 1930s in response to the homogenisation demands of the newly founded Greek nation-state, on whose territory their fragmented communities resided. Tragically, and paradoxically, their Greekness was concretised outside Greece's borders. This process, termed by Fleming "extranational nationalization" (8), largely took place as a result of their deportation from that territory to Nazi concentration camps and of the exile of survivors to Palestine and the United States. It was in these foreign settings that their Greekness was emphasised as it had never been in Greece, where their religion and culture had set them apart from Orthodox citizens, who persistently doubted their allegiance to the Greek state. Surrounded by heterogeneous Jewish populations, first in Auschwitz-Birkenau and later in exile in Palestine/Israel, Romaniote, Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jews from Greece were seen by others and gradually by themselves first and foremost as "Greek".

As Fleming points out, "the Jewish history of Greece is a fleeting, elusive, and phantom one" (51). "Until the twentieth century there was no such thing as a Greek Jew" (6) among the ten thousand Jews who lived in Greece, no matter their citizenship. When Salonica was annexed by Greece in 1912, the number of Jewish Greek citizens increased to eighty thousand and the process of their Hellenisation intensified. This process had begun a century earlier, when Ottoman Jews of heterogeneous backgrounds and identities were challenged to renegotiate a space in Greek nationalised territories. Conflicting Jewish attitudes towards the increasing consolidation of Greek nationalism partly reflected a lack of unity among highly diverse Jewish communities. While, for example, Greek-speaking Romaniote loanniote Jews were philhellenes and fought alongside Orthodox Greeks in the Greco-Turkish War of 1897, the Ladino-speaking Sephardim of Salonica could not imagine becoming Greek citizens and thus fought on the side of the Ottomans to prevent Greek domination. Paradoxically, it was this least Hellenised but most numerous and economically dominant group of Jews that came to be synonymous with the category of Greek Jewry after Salonica was incorporated into the Greek state. Many of its members rejected the categorisation of "Greek" while others developed complex, hybrid identities. Some supported Zionism and others assimilationism while the working classes embraced communism and socialism.

Fleming retains an ambivalence about the nature of Greek anti-Semitism in her analysis of tensions between Jews and Christians in inter-war Salonica. These increased in 1917, when a fire ravaged much of Jewish economic and cultural property and displaced fifty thousand Jews. Soon thereafter, the settlement in Salonica of 100,000 Christian refugees from Asia Minor, political instability, economic difficul-

ties, anti-Semitic policies of Hellenisation in the early 1920s and the Campbell pogrom in 1931 drove a great number of Jews to emigration. Those who remained were viewed by their compatriots as “foreigners, Communists, or proxy Bulgarians [...] unpatriotic traitors and enemies of Hellenism” (99). But Fleming also suggests that the emphasis placed in the historiography on Greek xenophobia in the 1920s paints an inaccurate picture. “Life under Greek rule,” she argues, “also presented the possibility for a new, more modern and integrated Jewish existence” (109). Thus, when in the spring of 1943 Salonica’s Sephardim were deported to the Nazi death camps, they had existed as a nationalised collective only for three decades but some of them understood themselves as Greeks.

Fleming devotes a large segment of her book to the experience of occupation and deportation and to life in the camps. Her primary reliance on Italian and British documents as well as on testimonies and interviews of Holocaust survivors, whom she often treats as professional witnesses, results in a story that, among other things, underestimates the extent to which Greek authorities assisted in the enforcement of Nazi occupation policies, including anti-Jewish measures.³ For example, a close reading of Greek and German unpublished archival material suggests that the destruction of the 400-year-old Jewish cemetery of Salonica was instigated by the governor general of Macedonia, Vasilis Simonidis, and not by the Nazi administration. Greeks also participated extensively in the looting of Jewish properties that the Germans passed on to the Greek state, which was appointed as their “caretaker”.⁴

Between 80 and 90 percent of Greece’s 70,000 Jews were annihilated by the Nazis. Less than five percent of Salonica’s Jewish popu-

lation escaped deportation in 1943, compared with 50 percent in Athens a year later. Athenian Jews were more difficult for the Germans to identify. They spoke Greek, did not live in a specifically Jewish quarter, and were integrated into Greek Orthodox society, which regarded them as fellow Greeks and actively participated in their rescue. Their Greek identity was a crucial factor in their survival, which was made possible mainly by the actions of their community leaders. Unlike the rabbi of Salonica, the chief rabbi of Athens destroyed all community records and made a deal with the leftist resistance to offer Jews safety in the mountains in exchange for monetary and other support. Assimilation did not work to the benefit of the Jews of Ioannina, however, the oldest Greek-speaking community in the country and one of the oldest Jewish communities in Europe. Their leadership complied with German orders, with the result that most of the community’s 2,000 members were deported to Birkenau and gassed.

Upon arrival in the camps, most Greek Jews were sent to the gas chambers. Those selected for labour, medical experiments or work in the Sonderkommando were regarded by the mostly Ashkenazim inmates as “the most coherent national nucleus”.⁵ The majority of Greek Jews spoke Ladino and knew no Yiddish; they looked exotic, “gentile”, were athletic and ingenious, sang Greek army songs, and were fiercely patriotic. Their Greekness became a mark of prestige after their participation in an uprising in Birkenau. This outside gaze of others, mostly Jews, reinforced their own acceptance of their Greek identity with the result that many Greek Jews died as Greeks. For the few who survived, the process of accepting an ethnic identity was again reinforced through the outside gaze of others, in new diasporic places like Palestine/Israel and the United States.

Ironically, in postwar Greece the term Greek Jew “scarcely had a referent” (166). Less than ten percent of the prewar Jewish population had survived. Greece proved an unwelcoming home to returnees. Especially in Salonica, Greek Jews faced great hostility and obstacles when trying to reclaim their homes and businesses despite legislation designed to return Jewish property to rightful owners. They were able to regain only eight percent of their property. Moreover, in the context of the Greek Civil War (1946–49), Jews were tarred as communists and were imprisoned by rightist governments because of their participation in the Greek leftist resistance movement during the Second World War which exposed them to suspicions of treason. The relocation of survivors to Palestine was the preferred solution promoted by the Greek government and, indeed, given the political pressure at “home”, by 1950 more than half had moved to Palestine/Israel, Africa and the United States.

The final chapter in the Hellenisation of the Jews of Greece is the story of how the Jews of Greece became more Greek than Jewish in Israel. Today “the Greek [Jew] as a cultural type has taken on large dimensions in the modern-day Israeli cultural imagination” (195). Greek Sephardic identity is reduced to simply “Greek”, related to playing the bouzouki and drinking ouzo, while Romaniote identity hardly receives attention. This “Greekness”, Fleming points out, has taken the form of a stereotype, one that overlooks the subtleties of Greek Jewish identity as it evolved in interwar Greece. By contrast, members of the congregation of the Kehila Kedosha Janina, on Broome Street in New York, feel both “fully Greek and fully Jewish” (4) and are freer to experience both “halves” of their identity than are Greek Jews living in Salonica. The latter are still in the process of reconceptualising their identities in an environment that

remains suspicious of both their Greekness and their Jewishness. The latter is invariably conflated with Zionism and associated with the politics of Israel against the Palestinians. Jewishness is thus seen as illegitimate, if not outright odious, by a large percentage of non-Jewish Greek citizens, half of whom have anti-Jewish attitudes, according to polls.

Greece: A Jewish History attempts to tackle the “slippery” meaning of Greek Jews. The book is also a history of multiple, hyphenated identities and cultures in transition. We learn how Fleming uses the term “cultures” in footnote 25 (216), but there is no reference to the epistemology and methodology she employs in her study of identity formation. She underplays the importance of internally located choice-making mechanisms to focus on the interrelated social-structural level where identity is also shaped, and discusses the importance of political experience and socialisation in identity building.⁶ According to her, the Jews of Greece “were converted” (6) into Greek Jews in Salonica in the 1930s, in Auschwitz, on Broome Street, in Israel and other topoi. Their behaviour was mostly determined through “outer” social structures (forced assimilation, marginalisation, ghettoisation, resistance, deportations, rescue, survival, migration, etc.). Decisions made by diverse external agents, such as the Greek, Italian, Israeli or American states or the Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece and Yad Vashem, are seen as having directive influence on the formation of the Greek Jew. The book would have benefited had she also analysed self-identity and social identity from the perspective of psychoanalysis, sociology and literary criticism. Still, *Greece: A Jewish History* merits a careful reading by everyone who is interested in the history of the Jews of Greece as well as in the Holocaust and its consequences.

NOTES

- 1 Eva Hoffman, *After Such Knowledge: Memory, History, and the Legacy of the Holocaust*, New York: Public Affairs, 2004, 192.
- 2 I refer here to the infamous case of Kostas Plevris, author of *Οι Εβραίοι: Όλη η Αλήθεια (The Jews: the whole truth)*, Athens: Ilektron, 2006, who denies the Holocaust, promotes Nazi ideology and incites anti-Semitism and racial hatred in his writings. The book contains such arguments as “This is what Jews want. This is the only way to understand. Within 24 hours to the firing squad.” (742, my translation). In April 2009 a Greek appeals court decision overturned a 2007 conviction, acquitting Plevris of inciting racial hatred.
- 3 In her excellent study of testimonies written by Greek Jews, Tullia Santin observes that references to episodes of Greek anti-Semitism are omitted by contemporary witnesses. By painting a positive picture of their homeland, Greek Jews were emotionally more open to experience their own Greekness while their claim for a place in Greek life and culture felt more secure. *Der Holocaust in den Zeugnissen griechischer Jüdinnen und Juden*, Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2003, 195.
- 4 For example, see the lengthy, summary report on the activities of the Service for the Disposal of Jewish Property (YDIP, a special administration that was established by the Greek Ministry of Finance to manage all confiscated Jewish assets), dated May 1945 and signed by the former director of the YDIP, Ilias Douros; Archive of the Jewish Museum of Greece.
- 5 Primo Levi, *If This Is a Man*, trans. Stuart Woolf, London: Vintage, 1996, 85, quoted in Fleming, 149.
- 6 See James E. Cote and Charles G. Levine, *Identity, Formation, Agency, and Culture: A Social Psychological Synthesis*, London: Psychology Press, 2002.

Mark Mazower

***Hitler’s Empire: Nazi Rule
in Occupied Europe***

New York: Penguin Press, 2008.

xxxi + 726 pp.

by Flora Tsilaga

Historian

In May 2010, the outdoor Topography of Terror exhibition opened to the public in central Berlin at the site that once housed Hitler’s Gestapo as well as the command of the Nazi party’s paramilitary unit, the SS. Essentially an empty site with only some ruins – a few fragments left over from the war – the Topography of Terror testifies negatively to the Nazi horror and atrocities, bringing visitors to the place where the crimes of Hitler’s regime were designed. The outdoor exhibition contextualises the void space, giving an overview of what happened not only there but also across Germany and Europe during the Third Reich. Walking around the site, the void of the horrific past, depicted in the surrounding emptiness, blends with the personal dimension viewed through the exhibition’s material and photographs, leaving a strong impression on the visitor. Similar themes and effects unfold in Mark Mazower’s book titled *Hitler’s Empire: Nazi Rule in Occupied Europe*.¹

Mazower’s subject in this book is the Nazi empire: the area that came to be governed

by Germany was larger than Napoleon's empire, while at the zenith of its power Germany controlled nearly half the population of Europe. His attempt to explore this in one single volume is an ambitious challenge, to say the least. The main question that appears throughout the book is the kind of empire that Hitler and his followers envisioned. Based on a rich secondary bibliography, which he uses in a remarkable manner, Mazower manages to weave historical analysis and facts with personal stories and anecdotes, turning his insightful book into a great read. His strategy is very successful one. Instead of examining each country individually, something that would have resulted in a slower pace and a more repetitive text, Mazower combines chronology, geography and theme. In this way, he offers an account that is not only rich in detail and analysis, but it is also captivating as a story, something also indebted to the contrapuntal use of anecdotes.

Following his past endeavours that dealt with twentieth-century European history² and the history of the Balkans since the end of Byzantium,³ Mazower focuses here on both these areas with a special emphasis on eastern Europe. The overwhelming numbers of civilians that died in the East during the Second World War – essentially a war against civilians – turns eastern Europe into a focal point of his account of the Nazi empire. Although Hitler's empire has been perceived as a European one, Mazower argues to the contrary from the very beginning (4). Throughout the book it becomes obvious that life under Nazi rule varied enormously between East and West. For example, the invasion of Denmark was over in a few hours. The country remained formally independent and the parliament continued to function to the extent that free elections were held in 1943; the Danish Nazi party won a mere two percent of the vote. Norway

and the Netherlands shared a disoriented form of German occupation, with the heads of state fleeing to London and friendly civilian administrations running the country. France, the "big prize" as Mazower characterises it, was a different story. The country was divided into an occupied and an unoccupied area with the French government nominally sovereign in both, while arrangements for strengthening "healthy racial elements" and weakening French nationalism were left to the future.

The occupation in the East was a significantly different story, where the Nazi empire was harsh and brutal to an unprecedented scale. Rations were short on the grounds that "a lower race needs less food" (92). Cruelty was commonplace as the Nazis believed that they were fighting "sub-humans", thus treating the population accordingly. Mazower, however, demonstrates that even occupations in the East were marked by profound differences. For example, the case of Poland was much more brutal than that of neighbouring countries. A programme of eviction and expulsion was implemented by the General Government of the former Polish territories, fuelling the momentum towards genocide; Poland had ceased to exist and was to disappear as a term. At the same time, a vast project of population engineering, led by Heinrich Himmler (Reichsführer of the SS), brought in hundreds of thousands of Germans as colonists. The story of humiliation and despair of a woman who was evicted from her house in Gdynia after being forced to clean and prepare it for the German colonists, illustrates in a strong manner some of the victims' experiences (82). This is one of Mazower's gifts and admittedly one of the book's strongest virtues: the combination of all the different and apposite stories amid the narration provides an insight into the diverse experiences of the people involved. Unlike the Poles, the Slovaks were allowed to govern themselves: in the Protec-

torate of Bohemia and Moravia the Germans ruled through a Czech bureaucracy. These diverse experiences are well-illustrated in an episode with Hans Frank, the General Government's notorious chief, whose vicious traits are featured throughout the book. During a visit in Prague, Frank saw a poster announcing that seven Czechs had been shot. His thought that if he was "to hang a poster for every seven Poles, all the forests in Poland would not suffice in order to produce the paper necessary for the posters" is indeed very telling (75).

Mazower explains in detail the combination of reasons that led to a different treatment of the occupied peoples. The Third Reich's commitment to racial theory as the basis of law and administration is, of course, a primary one. As far as the East was concerned, it distinguished between different groups of Slavs, while in the case of Poland it spoke about the "unbridled Polish character". Another reason is attributed to personality. For example, the governor of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia was not a Nazi but an old-fashioned conservative. Hence, a more moderate course of occupation was followed, compared to the atrocities of the General Government; the fact that the Czech Academy of Arts and Science continued to exist is one out of several points offered here that highlight this difference in treatment. However, probably the most important reason offered by Mazower is the fact that the Germans did not have any coherent plan of occupation. Throughout the book the author demonstrates elaborately that Nazi rule was improvised and disorganised, with no ideological programme, aside from the enduring goal of racial mastery. As a result, the Nazi empire was left vague, unsettled and full of contradictions.

Mazower makes clear that Hitler gave much greater importance to plundering the con-

quered regions of resources and crushing any resistance. Issues of governance were not dominant in his thinking, but appear to have been secondary. In this context, even the essence of "Lebensraum", as well as the aim to "Germanize" the East proved to be an absurdity, even on the racial terms he and his racial scientists were trying to set. There were simply not enough ethnic Germans available or willing to populate the vast territories conquered by the Third Reich. At the same time, the question of who was considered to be German was in constant flux. The set of instructions for screening ethnic Germans in order to choose the "best" and "soundest blood" that would colonise the new eastern borderlands was complicated enough. It hindered the implementation of the whole resettlement programme that aimed at depopulating the conquered areas by getting rid of natives. In the absence of sufficient numbers of "Germans", the Nazi regime retreated from its insistence on biology as a criterion of nationality, tolerating some degree of assimilation. Yet, even in the areas where German governors were convinced that the population "was already German" – whether the persons in question realised it or not – Mazower persuasively illustrates that the "war for nationality had its ridiculous side", with the rigorous racial selection that Himmler envisaged giving its way to "onomastics". One Nazi official asked ironically whether "in the face of total war" the fact that a certain Charpentier should be called Scharpenter or simply Zimmermann' was decisive for the outcome of the war (200f.).

Mazower's assertion at this point is important: Germany "could have racial purity or imperial domination but it could not have both". In the end, it ended up having none. The ensuing Cold War not only put a decisive end to Hitler's goal to create a "great" German

state, an empire. It also divided Germany into two states, a division that is still felt among its people. Walking around the Topography of Terror, one is confronted with this recent past not only through the nearby Checkpoint Charlie – a vulgar tourist destination in itself – but mainly through one of the few remaining sections of the Berlin Wall in front of the Topography of Terror as a bleak reminder of the partition of Germany that followed the collapse of Hitler's regime.

NOTES

- 1 In Greek: *Η αυτοκρατορία του Χίτλερ: Ναζιστική εξουσία στην κατοχική Ευρώπη*, trans Kostas Kourmenos, Athens: Alexandria, 2009.
- 2 *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century*, London: Allen Lane, 1998.
- 3 *The Balkans: A Short History*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2000.

**Iordanis Psimmenos and
Christoforos Skamnakis**

***Οικιακή εργασία των
μεταναστριών και κοινωνική
προστασία: η περίπτωση των
γυναικών από την Αλβανία
και την Ουκρανία***

**[Female migrants' domestic
labour and social welfare:
The case of Albanian and
Ukrainian women]**

Athens: Papazisis, 2007. 447 pp.

Katerina Vassilikou

***Γυναικεία μετανάστευση και
ανθρώπινα δικαιώματα: μια
βιογραφική έρευνα για τις
οικιακές βοηθούς από τα
Βαλκάνια και την Ανατολική
Ευρώπη***

**[Immigrant women
and human rights: A
biographical study on
domestic workers from the
Balkans and Eastern Europe]**

**Athens: Academy of Athens,
2007. 200 pp.**

**Evthymios Papataxiarchis,
Penelope Topali, Angeliki
Athanasopoulou**

*Κόσμοι της οικιακής
εργασίας: φύλο, μετανάστευση
και πολιτισμικοί
μετασχηματισμοί στην Αθήνα
του πρώτου 21ου αιώνα*

**[Worlds of domestic labour:
Gender, migration and
cultural transformations in
early twenty-first century
Athens]**

Athens: Alexandria, 2008. 430 pp.

by Pothiti Hantzaroula
University of the Aegean

These three books on migrant domestic workers published in Greece appeared at a point when issues of social and labour rights and new forms of recruitment in cleaning jobs in the public sector have come to the centre of public debate after the attack against Konstantina Kouneva. Kouneva was secretary of the Panattican Union of Cleaners and Domestic Staff (Pekop) and worked as a cleaning worker in the Athens and Piraeus Electric Railway Company (Isap) under the system of subcontracting. In December 2008, after having being regularly threatened for her union activity, assailants attacked her, dousing her in and forcing her to swallow sulphuric acid. Several demonstrations took place in Athens

and other cities and solidarity movements were established; yet, once again, domestic work remained concealed from the public eye and its treatment as a private and family issue dating from the nineteenth century was perpetuated.

All three books focus on domestic workers, their perceptions, experiences and practices, and approach domestic work as a relationship between employer and employee. Furthermore, Iordanis Psimmenos and Christoforos Skamnakis' and Katerina Vassilikou's books analyse the formation of migrant domestic workers' subjectivity in relation to social and human rights respectively. Evthymios Papataxiarchis, Penelope Topali and Angeliki Athanasopoulou's book explores the impact of domestic work on middle-class domestic space.

Psimmenos and Skamnakis' book situates migrant domestic labour within the framework of social policy, examining the accessibility of domestic workers to welfare and protective policies and with their expectations and perceptions around issues of social welfare and social solidarity. This is a little-researched topic in European scholarship, and Psimmenos and Skamnakis' research constitutes the first systematic investigation of contemporary perceptions of social welfare by migrant domestic workers. It is only recently that scholarship on migration has treated the female migrant as a worker, due, on the one hand, to the shift to the feminisation of migration and, on the other hand, to the focus on the gendered dimension of the experience of migration in feminist scholarship. Furthermore, the treatment of the female worker as the object of social policy is an innovative approach, as the scholarship on social policy and welfare has, up to now, mainly been centred on the gendering of social welfare and on ap-

proaching women solely as wives and mothers. Recently, scholarship has shifted the focus to the status of migrant female workers in social policy.

The book examines the perception of two groups of domestic workers, Ukrainian and Albanian, but also the perceptions and practices of front-line civil servants in the institutions that provide social services. The focus on the different understandings and practices of both domestic workers and civil servants aims at delineating the status of social services in Greece and registering the obstacles faced by domestic workers in accessing social services in the domains of health, social insurance and preschool education in order to inform policymakers about the relation of migrants to social welfare. Thus, the study moves beyond a legalistic approach which holds that the bestowment of rights is a remedy in itself to the exclusion of domestic workers and shifts the focus on the practices and feelings of those who are entitled to implement welfare provisions. What is even more important for the authors is to investigate the impact of the encounter of migrant domestic workers with social services on their subjectivity and on the development of alternative strategies and resources in order to cope with the frustrations of this encounter. As the authors argue, the structures that deny migrant domestic workers accessibility to social services form “the conditions of life, [the] ways of dealing with conditions of inequality, cultural values and attitudes towards the state and its social forms of solidarity” (19). Considering the accessibility to social services as an indicator of the integration of migrant populations in receiving societies, the book examines the levels of integration of migrant domestic workers in Greek society by investigating their accessibility to and consumption of social services, namely

health, insurance, and preschool education. Yet, integration is not viewed as a static process but as a procedure that is affected by the place domestic workers occupy in social policy and in the labour market as well as by the expectations and frustrations that shape and reshape migrant subjectivity.

The first part of the book situates domestic work in the models of postwar social and migration policies, illuminating the policies and restructurings that gave shape to the international division of reproductive labour¹ and led to welfare marginalisation. The concept of welfare marginalisation serves as an interpretative tool in order to investigate the effects of their incorporation into a system of division of labour that is organised along racial, gendered and class inequalities. Welfare marginalisation concerns the positioning of migrant domestic workers at the fringes of social security and social rights. It relates to the accessibility and use of social services by domestic workers and the meanings of personal and social security.

Migrant domestic labour is characterised by new forms of slavery and bondage based on an emotional relationship between the employer and employee, the absence of social provision, and on a working culture that maroons workers in the black economy and reproduces forms of welfare marginalisation. The informal conditions of work as well as the restriction of civil and social rights shape a culture of low expectations which gives emphasis to informal social networks and interpersonal relationships. Psimmenos and Skamnakis trace a black economy culture that is forged by social and economic insecurity, which leads to the shrinking of confidence in the state, services, rights and the collective fight for rights. Albanian domestic workers relegate social rights to husbands

or to private insurance companies, while for Ukrainian domestic workers, insurance is vested in registration offices. Ukrainian women are forced into illegality due to the denial of employers to pay social security benefits and to low wages that make self-insurance schemes impossible to sustain.

The second part of the book analyses the social and demographic characteristics of Ukrainian and Albanian domestic workers. The migration of Albanian women is individual, and its aim is the reunification with husbands. Ukrainian domestic workers migrate on a tourist visa. The cultural meanings of domestic work refer to what Helma Lutz has defined as “business as usual” whereby domestic workers perceive their work as an extension of their womanly skills and the relationship with employers in gendered terms. For Albanian domestic workers, who work as cleaning workers for different employers, work is connected with feminine skills and this is what binds employer and employee. The employer’s house is a place of appeasement for personal problems and a place for the flourishing of social relationships. For Ukrainian domestic workers, who specialise in elderly care, the working relationship is basically an emotional relationship, and here the notion of intimacy is an important component of the working process and crucial to the analysis of the employer–employee relationship. Yet, the low status of domestic work in Greece is reflected in their division between “servant” and “human being”: “I am not only a servant but a human being also” (140). Contributing to this image are not only the low wages and the long working hours but also the informality of the labour contract, which entails the lack of social security. Social and labour rights are important components of self-esteem and self-value.

The chapters that follow analyse the problems of the accessibility to social security services, health, education and preschool care of children, migration policy and the entry of migrants to domestic work. Their encounter with domestic work and migration policy has shaped domestic workers as a group that experiences poverty and social exclusion. Furthermore, they have been transformed into subjects with low self-esteem and their lives have been deprived of social meaning. Psimmenos and Skamnakis describe them as “socially dispossessed”, without any projections for the future.

In the last three chapters, the perceptions of civil servants are examined in two dimensions. Firstly, the authors examine the formal framework of welfare provisions by social institutions and, secondly, the informal practices that underlie the treatment and implementation of social policy. The treatment of all users of benefits and services without discrimination appears the common line of defence. Yet, informal practices show that civil servants treat aliens as problematic and privileged users that put Greek recipients in an inferior and disadvantaged position. The study concludes that, contrary to a common line that stresses the universal character of social security, groups of migrants constitute, in the discourse of civil servants, a distinct group that puts further pressure on a system that is already undergoing deregulation. Concerning access to preschool education and social services, the children of migrants are put in a framework of temporary residence in the country. Hopefully, the new bill on citizenship will finally put an end to the precarious position of migrant children in Greece. The outcome of the study is that overall the social policy system cannot function as an integration mechanism for new groups of eligible receivers.

Katerina Vassilikou uses the biographical method and analyses the life-stories of immigrant women who arrived since 1990 from the Balkans and Eastern Europe to work as domestic workers providing care services for children and elderly people.

The first part of the book provides an overview of migration policy and legislation in Greece since 1998. The prevalence of racism and xenophobia in Greek society, as it is also documented by the European Observatory and various organisations and inquiries, is reflected at the institutional level in the positioning of migrants in a state of perpetual temporality and insecurity. An important dimension of Vassilikou's research is the focus on international law and human rights as well as on European regulations on migrant workers. Greece has not ratified the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and of Members of their Families (signed by the United Nations in 1990, it entered into force in 2003). The European Convention on Human Rights and, in particular, protocol 12, although it extends the principle of nondiscrimination in human rights, emphasises that the area of its application is restricted to the encounter with civil authorities and not private persons. The recognition of migrants' rights is limited to the school education of children and in the health service, especially maternity care. The status of domestic workers is defined by an absence: they are not protected by international treaties.

The study attempts to trace the routes of migration and networks of women trafficking for domestic service. Although there is not enough evidence of such trafficking networks, the study asserts the existence of structures for the moving and receiving of migrants who are directed towards domestic work. The ma-

majority of women arrive on tourist visas. Upon their arrival in Greece, the women seek employment through agencies.

The organising hermeneutical tool of Vassilikou's research is vulnerability, which is perceived in dual terms: Firstly, as a condition that threatens the very existence of migrants and is related to the dangers of migrating. Secondly, as a condition "that characterises the everyday life of women which is signalled by depression, confinement, loneliness, tiredness or weariness, separation from loved ones, [and] labour without social recognition" (145). The dominant characteristics in the life-stories of migrant women are the deterioration of the standard of living, the vulnerability and precariousness of their living conditions of living, the formation of a new identity and the central role of their family as an identity-constructing pole.

Migration is perceived as a process of identity formation. An important dimension of this process is an embedded ambiguity in their subjectivity between their status as workers without rights and as mothers without a family. Another ambiguity is observed in their identification with the status of the migrant. This ambiguity is related to their distancing from the category of domestic servant and from their ethnic group (127). Reasons for the ambiguities in identification are their sense of humiliation and stigmatisation as domestic workers but also their downward mobility in employment and social status. Most of Vassilikou's interviewees are overqualified for the jobs they hold in Greece and they have experienced a loss of employment status.

Vassilikou argues that the difficulties in identification are not so much the outcome of a category and a call that stigmatises, but the impasse entailed in the undertaking of new

identities. The denial to adopt the category of the servant or migrant is a form of resistance to the degradation from a higher position that women held in their own countries and the belief that their subordinate position in Greek society is temporary. As is shown in Psimmenos and Skamnakis' work, depersonalisation, not to be oneself anymore, is a dominant feature of their subjectivity. Thus, being in a process of becoming is not a positive situation for the interviewees. For Vasilikou, a remedy to the subordinate position held by migrant domestic workers' would be their recognition as workers and their gaining access to the social security system. This recognition, according to the author, has also to take into account women's particularity as women, especially in what concerns the area of emotionality, because the suppression of those issues has led to a further worsening of the position of migrant women. Yet, one has to bear in mind that it was western constructions of femininity and affect that entrenched the connection between women and domestic work and established the incompatibility between domestic labour and valued/productive labour.



Evthymios Papataxiarchis, Penelope Topali and Angeliki Athanasopoulou's study places domestic work within a comparative perspective. It focuses on three groups of domestic workers, Greek, Albanian and Filipina, and investigates the formation of an ethnocultural division of domestic labour shaped both by the structural factors of domestic work and migration processes in late twentieth-century and early twenty-first century Greece but also by the relationship of workers to their employers, their strategies and culture. The aim of the study goes beyond the description of domestic work in twenty-first centu-

ry Greece. Arguing that migrant domestic labour is a crucial parameter in the shaping of domestic space and, in extension, a parameter of sociocultural change, the authors explore various dimensions of the effect of domestic work in the organisation of the Greek household and domestic space.

Crucial to the exploration of the impact of domestic work on Greek domestic space are analytic concepts such as domesticity and household. Domesticity relates to the perceptions of domestic tasks, domestic space as well as the gender identities that are constructed around this space. Domesticity has to do also with the construction and functioning of the domestic group. Household is approached as a key symbol of hegemonic discourses about gender, kinship and domesticity. The aim of the study is to investigate the meanings and constructions of households as they are shaped by the performative actions of their members and their encounter with domestic workers.

The study employs a microanalysis of domestic space and explores the impact of domestic work on domesticity, the interaction between the culturally defined strategies of domestic workers and domestic space, and the interrelation between the employers' class and different versions of domestic work. It leads to the conclusion that the multiple dimensions and culturally defined versions of paid domestic labour transform domestic roles and create multiple domestic worlds and microcosms of domestic labour.

The study is situated in the contemporary academic production on domestic work and provides an overview of migration policies that gave shape to the international division of reproductive labour and of the specificities of regulating domestic labour in European

countries, the US as well as in postcolonial countries. Domestic work is approached as a meaningful practice shaped by notions of what constitutes work in a cultural setting, by the gendered division of labour and by the cultural meanings that migrants attribute to work.

The methodological specificity of the study lies in the combination of qualitative with quantitative research. The questionnaires investigate socioeconomic, demographic and cultural characteristics of the three ethnic groups. The combination of quantitative research with the microanthropological approach has both advantages and disadvantages. When the demographic and educational characteristics of the groups or their socio-cultural practices, such as networks of socialisation, participation in migrant communities and religious groups, are the focus of quantitative analysis, it contributes greatly to our knowledge of the structural characteristics of domestic work in Greece and of the different patterns of socialisation of the three groups. When it is applied to attitudes towards employers as well as to the subjective attitudes and value systems that constitute the content of domestic labour, the anthropological sensitivity of the qualitative approach of the second part of the book is betrayed. Questions of class and race relations as well as of social status and hierarchy lose their analytic import when handled as descriptive and quantifiable categories of social analysis.

The study investigates the patterns of domestic employment for the different groups: Greek and Filipina domestic workers work for one employer. Filipinas work as live-in domestics while Greek domestic workers are concentrated in cleaning jobs or childcare. Albanian women work for several employers as live-out domestic workers. The majority

of workers have no social security, and they do not get the Christmas, Easter or summer holiday benefits that other workers receive. Domestic work remains strongly embedded in the black economy.

Concomitant with recent scholarship on paid domestic work that focuses on the intimate and personal character of domestic work, the authors investigate the micropolitics of the relationship between employer and worker. Workers use informal mechanisms for negotiating the working relationship and cultivate personal relationships as strategies of managing their working conditions. Employers strategically cultivate a hierarchical yet personal relationship as a mode of power. Greek domestic workers, the majority of whom are above 45 years old, organise their narrative around the notion of suffering. They share an understanding with their employers of a difficult and hard working life that does not permit them the same efficacy in work as in the past. A life of suffering and hard work allows them to negotiate the working conditions. Besides, constructing their employers as being in a state of dependence on them symbolically reverses the highly hierarchical conditions of their employment but also creates a moral obligation for providing more domestic work out of mercy. Although the majority of Filipina domestic workers have a formal contract and security rights, this neither provides security from severe violations of the agreement nor improves their negotiating power with employers. Consent rather than resistance to the rules set by employers characterises the employment relationship. As live-out domestic workers working for several employers during the week, Albanian women try to acquire control of the work process and to establish a strict schedule by being paid by the hour.

The authors use the biographical, albeit fic-

tional, narrative to investigate the experience and meaning of domestic work. The notion of landscape becomes an organising principle of the narrative which denotes the “house” as a central symbolic category through which the whole way of life of domestic workers is infiltrated. The “house” is a living entity inhabited by the past, present and future and in which domestic workers make their own lives.

The last part of the book concentrates on the construction of middle-class domestic space and domesticity in twenty-first century Greece through the meanings attributed to it by its main agents, domestic workers and mistresses. The relation of Greek domestic workers to middle-class domestic space is organised around notions of the “needy” and “deficient” mistress while their identification with “houses” evades questions of hierarchy and class. Their perception of middle-class domestic space is shaped by their own understanding of the role of wife and mother and distinguishes between “old” and “young” mistresses. The “kinship model” of domestic service common throughout much of the twentieth century in Greece still serves as a dominant mode of dealing with live-in waged domestic work and seems to be applied by employers to new categories of workers such as migrants. How do the kinship model and its content interact with the new domestic worker? Filipina live-in domestic workers respond to the constant violation of the labour contract with the abrupt withdrawal from the contract and the breakup of an imaginary mother–daughter model of relationship that employers try to establish. As this kinship model is based on control and demand rather than reciprocation, it meets with resentment from the “invisible” Filipina domestic worker, who just disappears from the employers’ household. Albanian domestic workers concentrate on live-out work, and

their work ethic is organised around practices of professionalisation and standardisation of domestic work. Middle-class domestic space and domesticity is transformed, according to the authors, through Albanian domestic workers’ main strategy of controlling the work process, which leads to an internally differentiated space. Cleaning and the meanings attributed to it through the organisation of the work process becomes a central issue in the relationship between Albanian domestic workers and Greek employers.

The study draws important conclusions on the importance and impact of domestic work on the organisation of domestic space in twenty-first century Greece. It argues that the culturally specific versions of paid domestic work in Greece create distinct microcosms in the domestic space that inform and reinforce not only the socioeconomic divisions of domestic groups but also roles and identities in the domestic space. The outcome of this complex interaction which is organised around the multiple ethnic backgrounds of domestic workers shapes a culturally differentiated and multiple domestic space in twentieth-century Greece.

All three books provide systematic and astute analyses of the structure, experience and meaning of paid domestic labour in early twenty-first century Greece. Psimmenos and Skamnakis’ book analysing the access of domestic workers to social welfare provides much needed evidence for the specificities of the neoliberal structuring of the international division of reproductive labour. Vassilikou’s book explores the relationship between human rights and the experience of domestic work by migrants from the Balkans and Eastern Europe. Papataxiarchis, Topali and Athanasopoulou’s book offers an analysis of an ethnocultural division of domestic labour

and its contribution to the restructuring and production of multiple bourgeois domestic spaces.

The organisation of evidence and clarity of arguments make all three books appropriate reading for both academic scholars in the field but also for a wider audience as their investigations and implications of their study go beyond the field of domestic work and touch on issues connected to migration policy, welfare restructuring, perceptions of migration and work, class and race relations, domesticity and identity. They also provide comprehensive theoretical and bibliographical introductions in the field of migrant domestic labour from an international perspective.

NOTE

- 1 Rhacel Salazar Parreñas, *Servants of Globalization: Women, Migration and Domestic Work*, Stanford: Stanford UP, 2001.

Faidra Papanelopoulou, Agustí Nieto-Galan and Enrique Perdiguero (eds)

Popularizing Science and Technology in the European Periphery, 1800–2000

Farnham: Ashgate, 2009. 304 pp.

by Spyros Tzokas and Eirini Mergoupi Savaidou

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This volume of essays on the popularisation of science and technology highlights the particularities of the social and cultural contexts in which scientific knowledge was circulated and communicated between 1800 and 2000 in the European periphery. The book is the third publication of the STEP (Science and Technology in the European Periphery) group, encompassing the results of the fifth STEP meeting, which took place in Minorca, Spain, in 2006. STEP is an international research group established in 1999 by historians of science from a number of countries of the European periphery – Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Greece, Turkey, Italy, Russia, Sweden and Denmark – and, since then, it has been constantly expanding. Its aim is to study the relation between ‘centre and periphery’, a topic that has been developed by economics, political science and sociology.¹ Discus-

sions conducted within the group have shown that from the perspective of the history of science and technology, the distinction between centre and periphery is not static, since centres and peripheries are historically and geographically redefinable.

As Jonathan Topham mentions in the introductory article of the volume, sociologist Edward Shils has pointed out that “periphery is defined not primarily by geography but by distance from a central zone in which authority is invested” (1). Following the artificial distinction between “popular science” and “science proper”, Topham argues that “similarly, the history of science popularization has often seemed to be secondary to the history of ‘science proper’” (1). Based on this distinction, the positivist “diffusionist model” viewed the popularisation of science as a one-way process of simplification and diffusion to a passive lay public of the scientific knowledge produced by scientists. Nevertheless, in recent years, historians of science have elaborated more sophisticated historical approaches to popularisation, regarding it as part of a wider process of the communication of science. The new historiographical trends focus on the multifarious roles and functions of the various actors, pursuits, strategies, modes and sites engaged in the many processes of popularisation that took place in different national, social and cultural contexts in the last two centuries. So far, historians of science who have developed these trends have used case studies which focus on *milieux* that were regarded once as scientific “centres”.² This volume could be seen as a complement to the popular science studies, since it expands the discussion on the popularisation of science from the perspective of the European peripheries.³

Faidra Papanelopoulou, Agustí Nieto-Galan and Enrique Perdiguero, who are the edi-

tors of the volume, have tried to cover a wide range of national and cultural contexts, time-periods and topics on popularisation, selecting nine representative case studies and two historiographical essays from those delivered at the fifth STEP meeting. In his paper “Rethinking the History of Science Popularization/Popular Science”, Jonathan Topham makes clear the need for the “historicization” of the concept of the popularisation of science.⁴ He suggests that historians abandon the “diffusionist model” in order to deal with the popularisation of science not as a neutral analytic category but as a historically formed concept. He indicates the linguistic and conceptual changes that the terms “popular”, “popularization” and “science” have undergone through time in different cultural and national contexts of the European centre (England, France, Germany). He also argues that the historicisation of the concept of popularisation would lead to a better understanding not only of popular science itself but also of the whole scientific enterprise (16). In fact, he rejects the idea of the contradiction between popular science and “real” science and notes that the “various activities conceived of as ‘science popularization’ at different periods and in different places cannot be detached from the rest of the practice of science as the diffusionist model implies that they can” (19). Following the British historian of science James Secord, Topham suggests that the popularisation of science should be incorporated into the broader notion of the “communication” of science, and the history of popular science should be seen as part of a wider history of “knowledge in transit”.⁵

The contributors to this volume embrace the latest historiographical discourse on popular science and popularisation, as this has been developed within the discipline of the history of science, and also employ various tools

from social and cultural studies. Paola Govoni's historiographical article "The Historiography of Science Popularization: Reflections Inspired by the Italian Case" points exactly to this direction. Govoni opts for the use of interdisciplinary tools in order to study the popularisation of science, technology and medicine in the long run.

Furthermore, the essays included in the book employ the concept of "appropriation", a historiographical tool that has been extensively used by STEP historians to comprehend the scientific and technological phenomenon in the peripheries. In contrast to interpretational schemes used by "transmission studies" and "reception studies", which promote the idea that peripheral countries "introduce" and "receive" passively the science and technology that is being "transferred" automatically from the centres, appropriation emphasises the particularities of each local frame in specific historical periods. It also puts forth the role of local actors in the transformation of the scientific and technological knowledge, ideas and practises of the centre and the subsequent integration into their multifarious cultural traditions.⁶ In the STEP context, the popularisation of science can be seen as part of the process of science communication and also as a mode of the appropriation of science and technology in the European periphery.

The case studies of this volume offer a number of perspectives on the popularisation of science as a historical enterprise. The contributors refer not only to different cultural contexts and time periods, but also to diversified modes and primary source materials through which the discourse of science and technology became part of popular culture. Moreover, they put forth varied actors and strategies, distinct audiences and many uses of popularisation – as an educational enter-

prise, as a rhetorical tool for the construction of (national and scientific) identities, as an ideological mechanism, as a way of commercialising science – which all functioned within the common context of modernity.

Essays on nineteenth-century Belgium, Italy and interwar Catalonia examine the use of the popularisation of science as a vehicle for the construction of national identities and the constitution of the emergent local scientific communities. Geert Vanpaemel and Brigitte Van Tiggelen explore the concurrent processes of the building of the nation-state and the rise of the scientific community through two Belgian encyclopaedic works of the 1840s, which mixed nationalist with scientific discourse. Their essay also detects the seeds of the rhetoric of modernisation as it was incorporated into the scientific discourses of the following decades. Paola Govoni argues that the popularisation of science in the final third of the nineteenth century in Italy was an enterprise that was carried out by Italian scientists and which served contemporary national pursuits, i.e., the modernisation of the state and the "making" of Italy. For Govoni, scientists who addressed their publics propagated science as "the driving force behind progress, modernity and hopefully the new nation" (30). Furthermore, Enrique Perdiguer, José Pardo Tomás and Àlvar Martínez Vidal demonstrate the different functions of the *Mono-grafies* of Catalan physicians in interwar Spain: as an instrument of scientific communication between professional and non-professional physicians, as a tool for legitimisation of new medical specialities, as a weapon of political agitation and national construction.

The articles of Josep Simon and Stephan Pohl-Valero employ paradigmatically the concept of appropriation as a hermeneutical tool for the understanding of the communi-

cation of science in the centre and the periphery. Simon uses the popular textbooks of a French physicist in order to show how French physics was appropriated and communicated in nineteenth-century Britain to create a new international “thought-style”. Stephan Pohl-Valero examines treatises, books, textbooks and articles to demonstrate the configuration of a new science (*energetics*) that came out of selective readings of thermodynamics and evolution theory. The ascendant bourgeoisie of late nineteenth-century Spain appropriated the new science and incorporated it into its communication strategies, while members of the university community and religious institutions popularised it to wide publics.

The new public places for sciences in the late nineteenth-century appear in the essays of Rikke Schmidt Kjærgaard and Gábor Palló, who investigate also the “trade” between peripheral countries and the European centres to which they were attached. Schmidt Kjærgaard focuses on the popularisation of science and technology which took place in exhibition sites, and attempts to see how the paradigm of pavilions, museums, zoos and botanical gardens in central cities such as London and Paris was appropriated in Danish cities. Palló, on the other hand, analyses the organisation and the scope of the Urania scientific theatre in Budapest, which was built as an imitation of the Berliner Urania. He also investigates the efforts of the Urania Association in Budapest to spread scientific knowledge to the middle class and the lower social strata.

Palmira Fontes da Costa, Johan Kärnfelt and Matiana González-Silva put forward alternative views of primary source material in order to explore the popularisation enterprise in different milieux. Fontes da Costa analyses the botanical poems of the Marquise of Alorna

that were published in early nineteenth-century Portugal and explores the social network in which these poems were circulated and the specific audiences that they addressed. Kärnfelt consults the private correspondence of Swedish astronomers in order to trace their real motives in contrast with their outspoken aims in respect to the popularisation venture in early twentieth-century Sweden. Finally, González-Silva uses the newspaper as her main primary source material in order to show how the local scientific community and scientific journalists influenced the public opinion on human genetics in the last quarter of the twentieth century, when the so-called “transition to democracy” took place in Spain.

This collection of case studies from countries of the European periphery contributes particularly to the understanding of the specificities of various local contexts. However, “periphery” can further be approached through comparative studies. In such studies, the particularities of various localities as well as the transnational communication of science and technology can underline not only the convergences and divergences but also the grey zones that are formed in the peripheral contexts *vis à vis* the occasional centres. In this vein, the book can be regarded as a first step for future comparative analyses. This is also a direction the editors mention in their concluding remarks, where many historical questions on the communication of science in local and peripheral contexts are indicated for further discussion.

Conclusively, this volume offers many perspectives on the history of science and also on other historical fields. As the editors mention, “perhaps the history of science and technology in the European periphery is mainly the history of the communication practices – teaching and popularisation – of local ex-

perts, who appropriated the great names and ideas from the centres, communicated their knowledge through local publishers in their local contexts and constituted our main primary sources for science and technology" (241). Moreover, the book provides case studies on different social and cultural contexts of the last two centuries that reveal the multiple ways through which the scientific and technological phenomenon has inspired, interacted with and shaped modern societies. All the above, together with many historiographical approaches followed by the authors and a large, select bibliography, are useful tools for historians in their study of modernity.

NOTES

- 1 Kostas Gavroglu et al., "Science and Technology in the European Periphery: Some Historiographical Reflections", *History of Science* 46:2 (2008): 153–75.
- 2 See, indicatively, the contributions in the "Focus" section on "Historicizing 'Popular Science'" in *Isis* 100:2 (2009): 310–68, where most of the historical and historiographical references on popularisation of science are included.
- 3 This topic has been covered in other works that have been produced by STEP historians. See Josep Simon and Néstor Herrán (eds), *Beyond Borders: Fresh Perspectives in History of Science*, Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2008), and the works on science and technology in the daily press produced by Spanish, Greek and Danish STEP historians in *Centaurus* 51:2 (2009): 89–173. For other works on the communication and popularisation of science from both centres and peripheries, see Arne Schirrmacher (ed.), *Communicating Science in 20th-Century Europe: A Survey on Research and Comparative Perspectives*, Berlin: Max Planck Institute for the History of Science, 2009.
- 4 See also Topham, "Introduction", in the "Focus" section on "Historicizing 'Popular Science'" in *Isis* 100:2 (2009): 310–18.
- 5 James A. Secord, "Knowledge in Transit", *Isis* 95:4 (2004): 654–72.
- 6 Gavroglu et al., "Science and Technology", 159.

Quentin Skinner

**Θεωρήσεις της πολιτικής:
Σχετικά με τη μέθοδο**

**[Visions of Politics:
Regarding Method]**

Athens: Alexandria, 2008. 351 pp.

by Alexandros Manolatos

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Philosophical texts have a very definite goal, to come up with abstract and universal concepts and principles. This is what philosophers strive for when they produce a philosophical theory or system. And this is the usual way to treat a philosophical text, to analyse its method and its logical structure. But the pursuit of an eternal and universal view is carried out by passionate individuals in specific historical societies. This tension between the abstract philosophical ideas and the historical context in which they are created leads to serious methodological and interpretative puzzles. Quentin Skinner has devoted much of his intellectual life in the elucidation of these puzzles.

Skinner, a member of the Cambridge school of intellectual history, is a remarkably copious intellectual. Over the past thirty years he has published several books in the field of the history of ideas, concentrating in the formation of republican political theory in the

Renaissance and the seventeenth century, the prehumanist Machiavelli, the idea of the state and the work of Thomas Hobbes. Skinner is interested in the connection of classical texts with the broader intellectual environment, revealing the “use” of their language and not the soundness and structure of their arguments. The philosophical bedrock of this approach is founded in the works of Ludwig Wittgenstein and J. L. Austin, echoing the notorious implication that “words are also deeds”.

The first volume of the *Visions of Politics* trilogy, translated into Greek by Giorgos Karabelas, concentrates in the methodological premises of Skinner’s work. It includes ten articles written over a period of forty years. Although it is hard to find an apparent continuity in a collection of articles, the volume is definitely not just an array of “forgotten” contributions. In Wittgenstein’s terms, there is an “organic unity” among the various topics and themes that are presented in this volume. The reader will find the tools to interpret Skinner’s historical texts and the other two volumes of the series. It is interesting though that Skinner himself rushes in the prologue of the book to give a much more weighted account about the “organic unity” of this volume. The first volume must sketch, articulate and explicate Skinner’s distinct view on the interpretation and study of historical texts. And in the introduction he gives a more convincing account of the unity of the ten articles and why they were selected. They are concerned with three aspects of the sceptical challenge that indisputable facts are in fact a myth. In chapters two and three, the central theme is whether there can be factual knowledge independent of our judgments. In the next four chapters, Skinner focuses on the main subject of his research, the interpretation of philosophical texts and their

“objective” meaning. In the last three chapters Skinner investigates the rhetorical aspects of language and its use as a medium to acquire power.

The idea that history is the aggregate of undisputed, absolute facts is held by many historians. According to this empiricist trend, the duty of a historian is to collect the evidence and extract the truth from it, operating like a “practitioner of a techne”. The facts are all there is and they are restricted to “a financial account, or the record of the court case, or one of the material relics of the past, such as a house” and the actions of the government. The interpretation of facts and the valuable conclusions do not need the aid of philosophy and other branches of the social sciences. In his article “The Practice of History and the Cult of the Fact”, Skinner follows this approach in history to show that it leads to an intellectual dead end, turning historical research in a technical craft. Skinner argues that facts are always interpreted; they do not stand as self-evident truths. And facts cannot be interpreted unless they are connected with an explanatory schema provided by philosophy and not by practicing historians.

The interpretation of facts is the subject of the article “Interpretation, Rationality and Truth”. Skinner raises the problem of the interpretation of beliefs of past societies and their relevance to our beliefs. Can we “bracket” the truth when we want to explain the beliefs of a past society or we should take into account our present beliefs and what we accept as a fact? Skinner criticises the idea that we have to take into consideration the “truth” of the beliefs we want to interpret. He thinks that, instead of the concept of “truth”, we should use the concept of rational acceptability. What is important for the explanation of beliefs of past societies is

not whether they are true according to our present beliefs but whether they appeared rational for the people who held them. If we find that they are not rational, then we will have to come up with some additional explanations. According to Skinner, what is rational depends on the totality of somebody’s beliefs and in the historical period he is living. However, he does not deny the concept of “truth” altogether but only for the purposes of historical research.

The main part of Skinner’s work is his approach towards the interpretation of classical texts. Chapters four, five and six present the basic elements of his method. The criticism of the idea that classical texts contain a “dateless” wisdom and clarify “fundamental concepts” and “abiding questions” is the starting point of Skinner’s distinct view. The usual procedure to approach classical texts, he says, is to concentrate on what each great thinker believes about some “dateless” and “universal” questions. This approach has a distinctive danger, to attribute to a thinker a belief that we expect him to hold but which he could not have held. Skinner refers basically to three fatal mistakes: textualism, contextualism and the history of ideas. Textualism makes the error of restricting the analysis to the meaning of the text. Contextualism believes that classic writers reflect the cultural characteristics of the society they were living, representing the spirit of their time and place. The third mistake is to depend on a naïve synoptic history of thought where every thinker was a necessary step for the next one. One way to surpass these problems is to concentrate on what the writers try to do when they say something.

Skinner’s main thesis is that when we want to interpret a classical text, we should try to

reveal the intentions of the writer. When a philosopher writes something, he wants to achieve a certain goal; he has the intention to achieve something. If we want to reveal the meaning of a text, we have to understand the intentions of the person who wrote it. Skinner refers to the philosophy of Wittgenstein and Austin to support his view about the intentions of a writer. We have to understand texts and their arguments as part of a language game. We have to understand phrases as "deeds". If we think along these lines, we can associate the intentions of a writer with the idea of the illocutionary force of a speech act. When we issue an utterance, we perform illocutionary acts such as "promising, warning, entreating". When a writer states something, we have to understand whether he is "attacking a particular line of argument or criticizing a particular tradition of discourse". We can understand that by analysing the meaning of the utterance and by finding the way it connects with other relevant utterances.

In chapters eight, nine and ten, Skinner analyses the meaning of conceptual change and how we can use it to understand social change. Skinner challenges the idea that the task of the historian of ideas is to discover the fixed and timeless concepts that lie beneath the ideological and theoretical controversies. He denies that the goal of history should be the discovery of settled meanings. On the contrary, a historian of ideas must be interested in the way concepts change because a change in the vocabulary we use is not only a reflection of a change in social and moral thinking but is one of the ways in which we can actually achieve such a change. From this perspective, the study of conceptual change is useful for the understanding of the formation of ideologies. Skinner gives as an example the slave ideology in the genealogy of morality. A set of characteristics that

were regarded as vices were successfully transformed into virtues. This was succeeded by a change of vocabulary and the formation of the slave ideology. The slaves managed to persuade themselves and all the rest that a set of practices and beliefs that were previously condemned are actually valuable and noble. Skinner refers to this procedure as rhetorical redescription.

Peter Burke

***Popular Culture in Early
Modern Europe***

**3rd. ed. Farnham: Ashgate, 2009
[1978]. xvi + 456 pp.**

by G. Plakotos

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This third edition of Peter Burke's classic *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* marks the thirtieth anniversary of its first publication in 1978. This edition includes an updated bibliography and some revising of the text, with the addition of new examples based on subsequent research without any modification, however, of the original lines of argumentation. The "Introduction to the Third Edition" seeks to provide an overview of the methodological challenges pertinent to the study of "popular culture" that came to the fore in the 1980s and 1990s and to summarise recent trends in the study of "popular culture". This review is an occasion both to recall Burke's major theses and to briefly assess the development of the study of early modern "popular culture" in those thirty years.

Back in 1978, the publication of Burke's work was the first attempt at a survey of European-wide "popular culture" in the early modern period, geographically encompassing diverse areas from European centres to the continent's fringes. At the same time, the work re-

flected a burgeoning interest in the study of preindustrial European "popular culture" dating back to the 1960s by historians associated with the *Annales* such as Robert Mandrou or later by Carlo Ginzburg, Natalie Z. Davis and E. P. Thompson.

Burke drew on the material gathered in the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century "discovery" of popular culture by antiquarians and early folklorists and on the reports of an implicit "ethnographic" style produced by early modern ecclesiastical and state officials. The nineteenth-century "discovery" of popular culture and the highly mediated texts it produced as sources to that culture are discussed in chapters 1 and 3. As Burke rightly recognises, the nature of these texts renders the historian's approach to popular culture an "elusive quarry". However, Burke argues that an oblique approach might overcome methodological obstacles and distortions innate to these documents. The value of the oblique method is bound with Burke's view on the nature of popular culture and its relation to elite culture. Burke proposed a modified form of Robert Redfield's two-tier model of the "great tradition" of the educated few and the "little tradition" of the rest with an asymmetrical communication between the two cultural traditions of the early modern period. For the majority of the population the "little tradition" was the only culture, but the elite were culturally and linguistically "amphibious", sharing popular culture as a second culture and having privileged access to the "great tradition" (Chapter 2). Thus, the permeability between the two cultures and the two-way flow typifies the value of "oblique approaches" since "popular" and "elite" elements can be discerned in the texts produced by certain members of the elite who communicated with both traditions.

“Popular culture” was largely residual (outside the world of classical tradition, humanism and theology) and is mainly cast in Gramscian terms as the culture of the “subordinate classes”, mainly identified with craftsmen and peasants (Prologue). The homogeneity and unity of “popular culture” that this perspective suggests is modified, on the one hand, by particularising subordinate classes with socially, occupationally or regionally defined groupings (countryside–town, itinerants, craftsmen, miners, shepherds, etc.), whose culture is conceived as a “sub-culture” or even “counter-culture”, and, on the other, by mapping out the channels and transmitters (“popular artists”, “amateur” tradition-bearers) through which “popular culture” was propagated (Chapters 2 and 4).

If “popular culture” exists and it is approachable on the basis of the documentation that has been passed on to us, what sort of cultural forms can be examined and what do they tell about the “shared meanings, attitudes and values” of early modern craftsmen and peasants? Burke primarily locates “popular culture” in “objects” (images, ballads, plays, folktales) and “practices” (singing, dancing, acting in plays, delivering sermons, festivals, including rituals, notably Carnival and ritualistic expressions of popular violence which took place in a “carnavalesque” atmosphere, such as the charivaris) (Chapters 5 and 7). The enquiry into cultural “objects” reveals common patterns or variants of the same tales in the form of “heroes, villains and fools”, which open a window to the fundamental attitudes and values of craftsmen and peasants of early modern Europe. Fatalism, moralism, traditionalism, radicalism and millenarianism dominated the “popular” outlook of the period, which can be described as “conservative” or “traditional” (Chapter 6). Why were the “subaltern classes” of the early

modern period unable to “conceive of alternative social worlds”? For Burke their mental outlook was socially determined and defined by structural shortcomings. The “vertical solidarity” of patron and client precluded a “horizontal solidarity”, and life was saturated with fear “given the mortality rate and the dangers of war, famine and plague” (233–34).

Between 1500 and 1800 “popular culture” did not remain unchanged. On the contrary, during these three centuries “popular culture” underwent dramatic transformations, which Burke dubs as the “reform of popular culture”. When the book was first published, Burke’s thesis on the “reform of popular culture” was on par with, or rather a moderate formulation of, the so-called acculturation thesis, put forward by Jean Delumeau and more notably Robert Muchembled.¹ The reform movement unfolded in two phases. From 1500 to 1650 reform initiatives were in the hands of Catholic and Protestant reformers, mainly clergy, despite their fierce antagonism. Certain aspects of “popular culture” were condemned either as pagan survivals or as susceptible to immorality and the pleasures of the flesh. It was a battle between what Max Weber termed “worldly asceticism” and a “culture of popular laughter” and spontaneity as described by Mikhail Bakhtin. After the mid-seventeenth century, with the rise of Jansenism and Pietism, lay reformers became more active. The reform impetus was now grounded more on morals, respectability and aesthetic considerations (Chapter 8). Thus, between the early sixteenth and late eighteenth centuries the European elites – the clergy, the nobility and the bourgeoisie – with their internalised restraint and self-discipline distanced themselves from and finally rejected the culture they shared with the “subordinate classes”. The past common culture was gradually viewed as “popular culture”, before its nine-

teenth-century “discovery” as an essentially alien culture but with idealised overtones.

Following the book’s first publication, studies in the 1980s and 1990s of early modern “popular culture” witnessed a proliferation, which was followed by a later, relative decline, as Burke notices in the Introduction (2). The interest in “popular culture” was accompanied by a growing concern over the basic principles underlying the general field of enquiry, including the very concepts of “popular” and “culture”.² As early as 1981, Stuart Hall expressed his doubt over the general idea of “popular culture”: “I have almost as many problems with ‘popular’ as I have with ‘culture’. When you put the two terms together, the difficulties can be pretty horrendous.”³ One is tempted to consider the subject as a particular discourse overburdened with a nineteenth-century outlook. Less sceptically, historians of the early modern period debated the social setting of “popular culture”. For instance, Piero Camporesi and Carlo Ginzburg some years earlier saw in agrarian culture an autonomous entity and the most original form of Europe’s “popular culture”. Camporesi criticised Burke for identifying “popular culture” mainly with urban settings.⁴ In a similar vein, the social definition of plebeian and patrician culture, their boundaries and porosity and their relation became steady features of the debate. With significant modifications, “popular” and “elite” retained their analytical value. The “popular”/“elite” model occasionally still informs conceptualisations of early modern societies,⁵ although in recent years it has been tacitly abandoned.

Against a prevailing essentialised notion of “popular”, Roger Chartier’s “cultural appropriation” appeared a promising line of enquiry.⁶ His argument stands as a caution against the methodological implications involved in

the treatment of existing sources that appear to give access to “popular culture”. A danger lurks in reading the “popular” in what the authorities sought to regulate or eradicate, thus equating the “popular” solely with reform. The “reform of popular culture” was a selective process. For instance, as Martin Ingram has demonstrated, charivaris or “skimmington rides” in the English context were not seriously targeted by the authorities since these ritualised parades of folk justice served to sustain shared values of proper gender hierarchy.⁷

The gender perspective on “popular culture” was one of the most striking shortcomings of Burke’s work. As the author notes, few studies existed when working back in the 1970s (81) and still are relatively sparse (2), which is misleading. If defined as the female “contribution” to “popular culture”, Burke’s assertion may hold true, but from a wider perspective it overlooks the burgeoning literature on gender conceptualisation of early modern societies including the recent interest in the manifestations of masculinity in the formation of hegemonic and subordinate identities.⁸

A question of scope lies at the heart of the enquiry into “popular culture”. Burke adopted a narrow definition of culture, as he recognises in his Introduction to the third edition (17), by focusing on objects and activities. However, a wider perspective came to dominate later, informed either by anthropological notions, for example the Geertzian “webs of significance” and “thick description”, and anthropological exploration of ritual, or by an interest in the *quotidien* as exemplified in the works of Henri Lefebvre and Michel de Certeau.⁹ This shift to the “poetics” of the everyday typifies the downplaying of “popular culture” as an analytical category, without, however, altering the content of the enterprise, and offers a number of methodological advantages. It em-

phasises a fuller contextualisation and more nuanced exploration of what Natalie Z. Davis has called “the social creativity of the so-called inarticulate” in terms of plebeian agency and self-identification.¹⁰ Both prompt an understanding of the complexities involved in what Burke dismissed as the inability of early modern “subaltern classes” to “conceive of alternative social worlds”.

Changes and modifications macrohistorically conceptualised in terms of Burke’s “reform of popular culture”, Norbert Elias’ “the civilizing process”, Foucauldian “discipline and power” or Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling’s “confessionalisation” get enhanced analytical value with the interactive and negotiatory involvement “from below” coming into perceptible. In this view, it is perhaps legitimate to envision a more integrated approach of “popular” and “elite” by deciphering both “popular” and “elite” hegemonic and non- or counter-hegemonic cultural and social modes.¹¹

The study of “popular culture” has come a long way since the first publication of Burke’s work. However, it is still the only work offering a European-wide view. This updated, third edition remains a valuable reference point for those interested in early modern European societies.

NOTES

- 1 Jean Delumeau, *Le Catholicisme entre Luther et Voltaire*, Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1971; Robert Muchembled, *Culture populaire et culture des élites dans la France moderne, 15e–18e siècles*, Paris: Flammarion, 1978.
- 2 Many of these concerns were illustrated in Steven L. Kaplan (ed.), *Understanding Popular Culture: Europe from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century*, Berlin and New York:

Mouton, 1984.

- 3 Stuart Hall, “Notes on Deconstructing the ‘Popular’”, in Raphael Samuel (ed.), *People’s History and Socialist Theory*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981, 227–40.
- 4 Piero Camporesi, “Cultura popolare e cultura d’élite fra medioevo ed età moderna”, in *Storia d’Italia*, vol. 4, *Intellettuale e potere*, Turin: Einaudi, 1981, 79–157.
- 5 See, for instance: Andy Wood, *The 1549 Rebellions and the Making of Early Modern England*, Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007.
- 6 Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, Princeton: Princeton UP, 1987.
- 7 Martin Ingram, “Ridings, Rough Music and the ‘Reform of Popular Culture’ in Early Modern England”, *Past and Present* 105:1 (1984): 79–113.
- 8 See, for instance, Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen (eds), *English Masculinities, 1660–1800*, London: Longman, 1999.
- 9 See, for instance, Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual: An Interpretation of Early Modern Germany*, London and New York: Routledge 1997; Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1988; Guido Ruggiero, *Binding Passions: Tales of Magic, Marriage, and Power at the End of the Renaissance*, New York: Oxford UP, 1993.
- 10 See, for instance: Thomas V. Cohen, “A Long Day in Monte Rotondo: The Politics of Jeopardy in a Village Uprising (1558)”, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 33:4 (1991): 639–68; Alexandra Shepard, “Poverty, Labour and the Language of Social Description in Early Modern England”, *Past and Present* 201:1 (2008): 51–95; Dave Postles, “The Politics of Address in Early-Modern England”, *Journal of*

Historical Sociology 18:1–2 (2005): 99–121.

- 11 “Elite culture” has received considerably less attention than “popular culture”. Recent works have demonstrated that it was less homogenous than one might assume. See, for instance: Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1997; Kenneth Borris and G. S. Rousseau (eds), *The Sciences of Homosexuality in Early Modern Europe*, London and New York: Routledge, 2008.