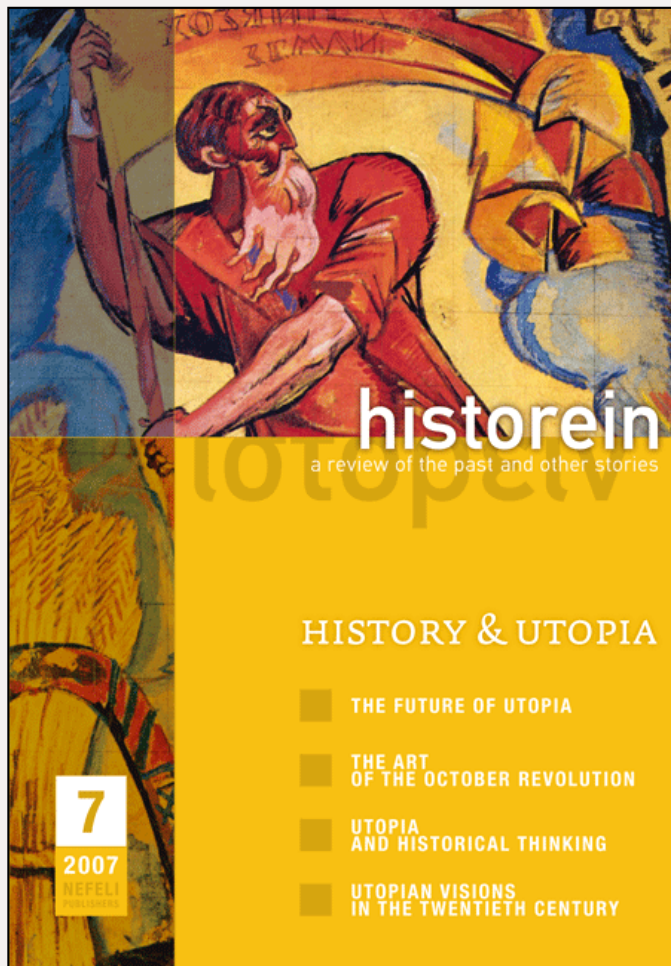


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BOOK REVIEWS

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BOOK REVIEWS

Méropi Anastassiadou-Dumont (ed.)

***Identités confessionnelles
et espace urbain
en terres d'islam***

**Revue des mondes musulmans
et de la Méditerranée 107–110
(2005). 544 pp.**

by Elias Kolovos

University of Crete

Nineteen contributions are included in this volume of the *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée*, which investigates, using different case studies, important aspects of the history of non-Muslim confessional groups in various cities of the Islamic world. The aim of the volume, as its editor Méropi Anastassiadou-Dumont sets out in her introductory note, is primarily to trace common features in the character of the multi-confessional cities of the Islamic world; and secondly, to examine the evolution of non-Muslim groups and their identities vis-à-vis their Muslim neighbours through the late medieval, early modern and modern centuries (9). As far as the first goal is concerned, we should note that it is strongly related to the more general topic of cities in the Islamic world and the methodology of their study in historiography. It is well known that French orientalist 'Islamic urban studies' (Marçais 1928, Sauvaget, 1934 and 1941, Weulersse, 1934 and 1946), as well

as Max Weber's typology in his essay on *The City* (1921), have viewed the 'Islamic city' as an achronic 'non-city', lacking the tradition of civic culture, public space and rational topography, in comparison to European cities. As a result, these and subsequent studies marked out the existence of a strict, modal territorialisation of confessional groups in the urban space of Islamic cities. This notion, however, of the 'Islamic city' came in for strong criticism in recent decades. In a seminal paper Janet Abu-Lughod strongly opposed it, opting rather for a study of the cities of the Islamic world, focusing on the processes of their historical evolution, but not judging them through the results of these processes.¹ A recent volume by Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman and Bruce Masters introduced the criticism of the notion of the 'Islamic city' to the field of Ottoman studies as well.² In this regard, this special issue of the *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* is to be welcomed. Although it does not contain any theoretical discussion on the subject of cities in the Islamic world, it argues, using different case studies, that there was never an absolute, strict separation of the different confessional groups in the urban space of the cities of the Islamic world. "The 'natural' tendency is that of the territorialisation of the communities ... In reality ... the cohabitation presents a visage much more complex and nuanced", Anastassiadou-Dumont comments (10–11).

May Davie's paper on the Orthodox groups of early nineteenth-century Ottoman Beirut shows that, despite the fact that Orthodox religious buildings were concentrated in the Sharqiyyeh, the south-eastern part of the city, the Orthodox actually resided in different

parts of the city, where Muslims also lived; the pattern of Orthodox settlement in the urban space was dispersed and hierarchal, resulting from different historical circumstances. In the area of the port, for instance, the settlement of rich Orthodox merchant families was connected with the opening of Syria to the world economy from the early eighteenth century onwards.

In a similar vein, Brigitte Marino's contribution on the "Christian Quarter" (Makhallat al-Nasara) in mid-eighteenth century Damascus demonstrates, on the basis of an examination of judicial registers, that the quarter of the Christian denominations, distinguished by the luxury of its Christian mansions, was not impermeable for Damascene Muslims, who bought properties and lived there. A century later, as Jérôme Bocquet presents, the same quarter of Damascus, rebuilt after the Muslim riots against the quarter's Christians in July 1860, was a restricted area for the Christian minorities of the city. His sources, the correspondence of Catholic missionaries, emphasise the strict territorialisation of nineteenth-century Damascus until the reforms in the urban space, initiated in the 1930s by the French mandate, took place.

Eyal Ginio's paper on the relations between Muslims and non-Muslims in Ottoman Salonica also shows, using the judicial documents of the city's court, that in eighteenth-century Salonica, where Muslim, Jew, and Orthodox Greek occupied the urban space in, more or less, similar shares, a strict separation of the confessional groups was impossible. Moreover, Ginio reinterprets the competition between the different confessional groups in Salonica, concerning the prisons, or the cemeteries, as an indicator of the existence of a vivid public space in the Ottoman city. In his paper on the Jews of İzmir, Henri Nahum demonstrates than in this case as well, the Jews, who had moved there at the time of the development of

the city into an important port city during the seventeenth-century, were not totally separated from the other confessional groups, at least in the beginning of their presence in İzmir.

In some cases, the distribution of confessional groups in the urban space was the result of a political project, such as in the case of the foundation, by Shah Abbas at the beginning of the seventeenth century, of the suburb of New Julfa in the new Safavid capital of Isfahan, through the deportation of the wealthy Armenian silk merchants of Julfa, who were recognised as a part of the Shah's political household. Ina Baghdiantz-McCabe's study argues, however, that New Julfa was not established as the "Armenian" Quarter of Isfahan. Contrary to earlier belief, most Armenians at that time lived in Muslim neighbourhoods within the city of Isfahan, separated from the wealthy and autonomous silk merchants of New Julfa. "The determining factors of social distinction at the beginning of the seventeenth century were class and wealth, not as might one suppose, place of residence within the capital city, religion or ethnicity" (418). This was also very much the case of the Latin merchants in the Muslim ports of the Mediterranean since the twelfth century, studied by Dominique Valérian.

On the other hand, the ghettoisation of confessional groups in the urban space was also the result of a desire to protect themselves, as in the case of the Bucharan Jews in the decades between the Russian conquest of Turkestan and the Revolution (1867–1917). They were "twice a minority", living under a Muslim majority and the Russians, as the study of Catherine Pujol and Elyor Karimov demonstrates.

Four of the volume's contributions investigate the history of various confessional groups of the Ottoman capital, the megacity of the empire, Istanbul. Stéphane Yérasimos, who has done

pioneering work on the early history of Ottoman Istanbul, traces the origins of the Greek Orthodox of Istanbul and its surroundings from the forced migration policy (*sürgün*) of Sultan Mehmed II. The conqueror of Constantinople and architect of the Ottoman Empire had established a long-term project of development to make his capital a predominantly Muslim city, resettling the majority of the Christian Orthodox in the surroundings of the city. Yérasimos points out that the city's Greek Orthodox specialised in fishing and construction and that the development of the community from the seventeenth century was connected with the migration from the hinterland to the capital, following a considerable population decrease during the first half of the sixteenth century. The history of the Greek Orthodox churches of Pera/Beyoğlu during the nineteenth century is studied by Méropi Anastassiadou-Dumont as an indicator for the development of the Greek Orthodox community of Pera, which mainly consisted of immigrants to the city, and for the development of its confessional identity in the society of late-Ottoman Istanbul, which proceeded from a policy of living inconspicuously to the ostentation expressed by the construction of the monumental church of Aya Triada in Taksim Square. Taline Ter Minassian's paper on the Armenians of Istanbul during the same century, a topic rather neglected by Armenian historiography, which sees the Eastern provinces of the Ottoman Empire as the national historical heartland of Armenians, investigates the geographic and social heterogeneity of the Istanbul community, as well as its role as agents of Westernisation during the nineteenth century. Finally, Elisabetta Borromeo's paper on the Catholics of Galata in the seventeenth century examines how the *Magnifica Communità di Pera*, which the Ottomans acknowledged from 1453 to 1682, gradually lost its legal and social power; at the same time, the quarter of Galata lost its character as a Genovese and Catholic town, as Orthodox, Armenians and Jews settled there.

As already mentioned, a second aim of the volume is to examine the evolution of non-Muslim groups and their identities vis-à-vis their Muslim neighbours. Although the volume lacks a more general discussion on the rise of nationalism in modern times and on the status of minorities in the modern nation-state, some of the papers investigate interesting aspects of this evolution. Alexandra Yerolympos examines the impact of the modernising Tanzimat reforms and the initiatives of the non-Muslim communities which resulted in the rearrangement of the urban landscape during the second half of the nineteenth century in Volos, Kavala, and Salonica. The impact of the Tanzimat reforms on Cyprus, especially for the "European natives" in the port of Larnaca (Tuzla), is discussed by Marc Aymes, who evaluates both Ottoman and consular archives. Bernard Lory relates how the Ottoman authorities of Manastır/Bitola were tacitly involved, for political reasons, in the construction of a large Orthodox church in the town, thus influencing the development of the city's Christian community. Jean-François Pérouse, in his paper on the present situation of non-Muslims in the Municipality of Fatih in Istanbul, highlights the antithesis between the surviving architectural traces of the presence of non-Muslims and their almost insignificant demographic reality, after a century of nation-building and persecution of minorities by the modern Turkish state. It is interesting to note, however, that in recent decades local authorities have begun to appreciate cultural diversity. The impact of nation-building was much more traumatic for the Hindus of Karachi, who, as the study of Michel Boivin shows, changed from being the city's dominant community before 1947, to become a marginalised minority in newly born Pakistan's main city. In another present-day Islamic metropolis, Cairo, the Coptic Orthodox community has found, as Anne-Sophie Vivier's study shows, a way to hold itself together, under the influence of the Coptic revival movement, without ghettoising itself. On the other hand,

in the 'new' Islamic territory of the five former Soviet Central Asian Republics, studied by Sébastien Peyrouse, the relations between the Muslim majorities and the Christian minorities have not been standardised; communities are divided more according to national than strictly religious criteria.

It is quite normal for a collective work, especially when, as in the case of this volume, it covers an area from the Mediterranean to Central Asia and the Indus River basin, from the late medieval period to the present, to lack an austere homogeneity. Since the subject of the volume is urban space, however, the reader would appreciate being provided with maps for all the cases of the cities studied; the contributions of Nahum, Anastassiadou-Dumont, Vivier, Lory, Ginio, Baghdiantz-McCabe and Peyrouse do not contain any maps, making it difficult for the reader to follow the explanations provided by the authors. (In the case of Baghdiantz-McCabe's paper a map is announced mentioned on page 432, but it has not been included. In addition, the map which was submitted with Pujol and Karimov's paper on the Bukharan Jews does not feature Bukhara.)

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Janet Abu-Lughod, "The Islamic City – Historic Myth, Islamic Essence and Contemporary Relevance", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 19:2 (1987), 155–175. See also André Raymond, "Ville musulmane, ville arabe: mythes orientalistes et recherches récentes", in J. L. Biget and J.-C. Hervé (eds), *Panoramas urbains: Situation de l'histoire des villes*, Fontenay-aux-Roses: E.N.S. Éditions Fontenay/Saint-Cloud, 1995, 309–336.
- 2 Ethem Eldem, Daniel Goffman and Bruce Masters (eds), *The Ottoman City between East and West*, Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999, esp. 1–16.

Spyros Marketos

Πώς φίλησα τον Μουσσολίνι!

*Τα πρώτα βήματα του
ελληνικού φασισμού*

[How I kissed Mussolini!

*The First Steps of Greek
Fascism]*

Athens: Vivliorama, 2006.

366 pp.

by **Despina Papadimitriou**

Panteion University

This book is structured around nine chapters, plus the introduction and the conclusion. Except for the first, which looks at questions of definition, the other chapters offer a comprehensive history of Greek fascism from its intellectual forerunners at the turn of the century to its apogee in the early thirties.

The author focuses on a theory-driven comparison between the Greek case and Italian fascism as well as other "small fascisms". In order to study the Greek case and examine how fascism varies within different contexts, he has adopted the theoretical approach of the American historian Robert O. Paxton presented in his *The Anatomy of Fascism*.¹ His hypothesis rests on the assertion that fascism was extremely

popular in interwar Greece amongst both the Venizelists (Liberals) and the Anti-Venizelists (Monarchists). In the context of the National Schism, important sections of both rival camps developed fascist practices that were similar to those of the “early fascist movements”. After 1915 several factors facilitated the “development of a mass mobilisation of an unprecedented extension” (103). According to the author, the first fascist regime was installed in Greece by Gounaris’s government (1921–22) at a moment when fascism was striving to take power in Italy. Whilst the Italian fascists were persecuting the Left, the Greek fascists were pursuing the rival bourgeois party. Kondylis’s National Democratic Party was the first fascist one in Greece, while Pangalos’s dictatorship – despite its pretensions – did not install a “real fascist regime”, even though its destruction of democratic institutions showed that it was more than a military dictatorship (241). Marketos claims that Venizelos’s policies were differentiated from fascism only in the domain of foreign relations but not in that of domestic politics and, in particular, labour policy. The circumstances which in other cases helped fascism take root is another central focus of his analysis; these included anti-parliamentarism, which attracted widespread support amidst the ruling classes and the elites, the financial crisis, the intensification of social protest and the collapse of representative institutions. British diplomatic archives, parliamentary debates and the press have been used to shed light on the views of the political personnel, the elections and political atmosphere of Greece during these years.

Marketos’s survey stands out from all other scholarly accounts of interwar Greece by asking challenging questions about the rise of fascism in the country. In doing so, he focuses his analysis on post-World War I national developments in comparison to Italian fascism and

the authoritarian regimes in other European countries. Of central importance in his analysis are two key dates, 1 November 1920 and the 6 March 1933. After these triggering events, the traditional parties could not resolve the crisis, the democratic regime did not work efficiently, opening up, finally, the road to fascism (58).

Whilst Marketos stresses the lack of systematic studies of the history of ideologies in Greece, his approach holds that fascist ideology is of no great importance as “it was put aside whenever power interests prevailed” (317). He affirms the importance of other factors in the basic definition of fascism, such as the pursuit of power, the descent into violence and authoritarian tactics. Ideology for him stands for political doctrine and does not include either myths or action. He argues, thus, that George L. Mosse’s analysis ignores fascism’s “ideological profile” (46). It should be noted that Mosse was the principal theoretical analyst of the fascist phenomenon as a cultural one, basing his analysis on German *völkisch* ideology. Besides, Marketos does not discuss the distinction between the radical and conservative right and denies the anti-conservative element included in various definitions of the generic “fascist minimum”. Roger Eatwell is thus severely criticised for asserting that many of the recruits who were grouped into the special French Charlemagne Division of the Waffen-SS were authoritarian conservatives.² Eatwell rejects the homogenisation of fascism and conservative authoritarianism, such as Francoism, into a single category and claims that fascism sought to create a “new man” who would forge a holistic nation and a radical “Third Way” state.³ Of course, one can argue that the fascist phenomenon consisted of a number different movements and regimes which emerged in Europe after World War I. In the new historiography of fascism, which emerged in the last years of the twentieth century, the image of a univer-

sal, unique and undiversified phenomenon is no longer tenable.

On this basis, while Marketos's intention is to set the theory of fascism within the interwar Greek political context by supplying much evidence concerning domestic politics, his theoretical hypothesis does not square with most of the facts. More specifically, it contradicts the reality of the National Schism and the experience it created for the people who lived through it. The National Schism meant the rejection of the fascist vision of a coherent and reunited nation, as it was built upon the division of the national body and the splitting of the national conscience. Thus, fascism in interwar Greece can only be understood as espousing a "Third Way" beyond the established political creeds of the two rival camps.

On the contrary, fascism in Italy and Germany represented itself as the culmination of the struggle for national unity, typified by the creation of movements such as "Young Italy" or the German fraternities and gymnastic societies. George Mosse argues that we cannot ignore fascism's image as cultural movement. Its intellectual character was based upon a strong and unique revolutionary tradition fired by the emphasis on youth and the war experience. Hence, any comparative study must rely on the analysis of cultural similarities and differences. Social and economic programmes varied widely not only between different countries but within each fascist movement.⁴ Moreover, since Fascism was the most important inspiration for almost all the dictators of interwar Europe, the ideology of fascism is the only homogenising factor on which comparison should be grounded. In effect, if we understand fascism as just a quest for power bereft of ideology and the vision of the creation of a new order and a new civilisation, we run the danger of depriving fascism of its real

character. Dissenting from this conception of fascism, Marketos does not offer a clear idea of what fascism actually is. He refers only to the common sentiments and passions of the fascists (56), including political manifestations of an anti-democratic, anti-communist or nationalist character.

Besides, the need for a generic definition of fascism as well as for a distinction between fascism – strictly defined – and its reflections, has led to projects where the comparison is grounded on concepts such as the charismatisation of leadership.⁵ These types of projects differ from surveys of different strands of fascism in that by focusing on a central concept, point or issue, such as the analysis of how democratic rule was usurped through the charismatisation of politics, they offer a framework for a fruitful comparison within a European context. They also contribute much to the theory of fascism and, more specifically, to the refinement of the conceptual framework for its study.

Moreover, although Marketos does not base his analysis on ideology, the ideological convergence of the bourgeoisie on the question of fascism is suggested but not conspicuously argued. What emerges is an image of interwar Greece torn by the fascist practices of both Venizelist and Anti-Venizelist leaders, as well as by palingenetic forms of populist ultra-nationalism, evident even after the collapse of the *Megali Idea* (48).

Besides, there is an undue emphasis on the spread and the impact of anti-parliamentary ideas on Greek politics. For instance, Kondylis's political influence as reflected in the press is exaggerated, while the appearance of a couple of articles praising Mussolini and strong leadership may be a reflection of partial and selective affinity, it not necessarily evidence that the particular newspaper that published them

fully espoused fascism. As Antonio Costa Pinto and Stein Ugelvik Larsen argue,⁶ the basic structures of democracy, and even ideological support for democracy, changed everywhere in interwar Europe, as even the non-dictatorial regimes sought to strengthen both external and internal security by placing restrictions on the exercise of a number of normal democratic freedoms

Despite these critical comments and suggestions, *The First Steps of Greek Fascism* is a thought-provoking book based on empirical research in several aspects of Greek history in the interwar period and raises new and challenging questions.

Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis (ed.)

***Smyrne, la ville oubliée?
1830–1930. Mémoires d'un
grand port ottoman***

**[*Smyrna, the Forgotten City?
1830–1930. Memories of a
Grand Ottoman Port-City*]**

(= Collection Mémoires/Villes, 121)

Paris: Éditions Autrement, 2006.

256 pp.

by Katerina Papakonstantinou

Ionian University

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Robert O. Paxton, *The Anatomy of Fascism*, London: Allen Lane, 2004.
- 2 Roger Eatwell, *Fascism. A History*, London: Pimlico, 2003, p. 217.
- 3 *Ibid.*, xxiv.
- 4 George L. Mosse, *International Fascism: New Thoughts and New Approaches*, London: Sage, 1979, p. 11.
- 5 See *Charisma and Fascism in Interwar Europe*, a special issue of *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 7:2 (2006).
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 252.

This volume, edited by Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis, aims to bring back into discussion Smyrna/Izmir, a city that in the past attracted the interest of many scholars. The question contained in the title of the book is more or less provocative since the editor mentions that in the last twenty years the interest in the city has been revived. The book presents different aspects of life in the city of Smyrna during the nineteenth century. It is divided into four parts dealing with: the port city of Smyrna as a crossroads of commercial sea and terrestrial routes, the city as a pluralist city of coexistence, the cosmopolitanism and the innovation of the "Small Paris of the Orient", and the ruptures it

endured. Each part points to different aspects of the city's financial, administrative, communal and cultural life. The book's authors provide, more or less, a multiple and complex account, in many instances vividly, of the social life of the city in which many different religious, ethnic, linguistic, cultural groups coexisted.

In the first part of the book Elena Frangakis-Syrett provides a good overview of the economic history of the city since the eighteenth century, when the developments that would make it the major port and the second biggest banking centre of the Ottoman Empire began. She underlines the main characteristics of each period, highlighting the main traces and the turning points in the city's economic history. Smyrna was the port from where the extensive agricultural produce of the hinterland was exported and the final destination for the caravans of Persia and China. In the nineteenth century the construction of the railway and telegraph lines provided easier and better connections from the city-port to its trading partners in the interior. The new technologies and the commercial treaties signed between the Ottoman Empire and European countries gave a strong impulse to its economic role in the Empire. Frangakis-Syrett provides an insight into the many aspects of the city's economic, social and cultural life, which are dealt with in greater detail in the articles that follow.

Smyrna, a city of multinational character where various religious and ethnic communities lived peacefully side by side, changed in the late nineteenth century. As a city of coexistence it died alongside the major part of its buildings in the fire of September 1922. Even during the period of coexistence various conflicts and periods of disorder provoked problems in the social life of the city. Problems between the different groups and difficulties within each religious and ethnic group at the end of the nineteenth century

reminded its inhabitants that coexistence was a fragile or even artificial state.

Even the picture of homogeneous religious or ethnic groups is unstable, as a number of articles indicate. The second part of the book comprises of contributions on the different religious groups of nineteenth-century Smyrna, a demographic composition which gave rise to the name "city of the infidels". Its most prominent inhabitants were non-Muslim and often non-Ottoman. Fikret Yilmaz's contribution, written in the form of an interview or a discussion, deals with the city's Muslim population. The author explains the origin of the Muslim population and describes the social diversification within the Muslim community, the homogeneity of which is disputable. Smyrna's Muslims came to the city at different times and under different conditions; religion in this case being the only common factor that united them in one group. But religion was a characteristic of old Ottoman society; in the late nineteenth century ethnicity and national identity became the factors that bound people together. To this end, the Muslim population had to invent its common national identity.

The case of the Armenian community is dealt with by Anahide Ter Minassian in her article. The members of this community were in the main wealthy merchants. Belonging to different religious groups, however, fragmented the group. The presence of the Greek army in Smyrna in 1920 changed that situation; the Armenian community found unity in its support of the Greek army. This was the reason for its disappearance from the city after 1922, along with the Greeks and old Smyrna.

The Greek community, presented by Vangelis Kechriotis, seems to have been by and large homogeneous, although the author refers frequently to the problems within the community

during the nineteenth century. Religion was a connecting factor for the Greeks, but the existence of the Greek state on the other side of the Aegean Sea represented an ethnic and political pole. While it appears that the Greek community was religiously and ethnically homogeneous, its members were differentiated from each other on the economic level.

Henri Nahum uses a family photo as a motive for the search for the familial, communal and social aspects of the city's Jewish population. In his paper he brings to the fore issues relating to the internal differentiation of the Jewish community created by the different economic and professional status of its members. He underlines what is common to all ethnic and religious communities of the city: its internal diversification.

Oliver Jens Schmitt's paper focuses on the Levantine society of Smyrna, comprised by the European merchants who settled permanently in the port-city in the nineteenth century, enhancing it in their own particular way. The Levantines were Catholic, were the wealthiest traders of the city, had their own quarter, and maintained commercial, financial but also cultural links to Europe. They represent a supranational group living in a national era. The existence of the Levantines ceased with the multinational port-city of Smyrna in 1922.

The book's third part overturns the view that the different religious and ethnic groups living in the city had little contact with each other. The papers discuss the terms "Small Paris of the Orient" or, alternatively, "Gavur İzmir" (Faithless İzmir) used for Smyrna. The city's population coexisted, communicated and was in contact in various ways.

Cânâ Bilsel discusses the transformation of the urban space of Smyrna in the second half

of the nineteenth century, when a number of works and innovations changed its appearance, among them a new quay in the port, a railway connecting Smyrna to its hinterland and the interior, and gas and electricity networks. Ottoman administrators were interested in the city's infrastructure and undertook measures to facilitate trade and commerce. At the beginning of the twentieth century Smyrna resembled more and more a Western city.

In her contribution on culture, literature and recreation in Smyrna, Basma Zerouali raises the crucial issue of how Western influences on the city's social and cultural life competed with its oriental background. The author discusses the term cosmopolitanism, but prefers the term *metis* (intercourse), because social life in Smyrna was characterised, as in any other port-city of the Eastern Mediterranean, by extensive intercourse between its inhabitants. She investigates this intercourse in music, especially in the case of the nineteenth-century Smyrniot *amanes*, songs incorporating a mixture of various influences from Western Europe and Anatolia.

In her paper, Sibel Zandi-Sayek sheds light on the ceremonies of the city's communities. She presents the case of the Catholic Fête-Dieu (Corpus Christi) procession, full of strong political symbolism related to the place of the Catholic community in the city and Empire, in which members of the Catholic community, led by the French consul, were presented to Ottoman authorities by a Muslim escort. During the nineteenth century the Ottoman state changed the way it regarded itself and its subjects. This development was reflected in the case of public festivities and ceremonies which slowly came to be organised in a particular place in the centre of the city, enjoying the participation of all the city's population, different social groups and ethnic communities.

Smyrna changed face in the nineteenth century as regards its interior, organisation, security, lighting, and condition of its roads. Although improvements were made in many quarters the picture remained the same for many others, which contained dirty, dark streets; only the Armenian quarter changed rapidly in line with the Levantine quarter. Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis charts these changes and innovations in the city.

Evangelia Achladi, in the fourth part of the book, presents the ruptures in the history of twentieth-century Smyrna, provoked by the First World War, the Greek occupation of the city from 1919 to 1922, and the rise of nationalisms in the area. Focusing mainly on the Orthodox population during the turbulent years between 1917 and 1922, the author provides a picture of the social and political life in the city and the changes that resulted from different military events.

Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis, in her second contribution, provides a step-by-step account of the city's last days before the conflagration that destroyed a crucial part of it. The fire was a result of the war, but its most important consequence was the interruption of Smyrna's existence as it was known. The city after 1922 could not compete with the previous city.

One of the aims of the book, as presented in the preface, was to follow the history of the city from 1922 to 1930. Candaş Bilşel outlines the reconstruction of Smyrna according to the plans of three French city planners: Henri Prost and René and Raymond Danger. She follows the effort of reconstruction and discusses the creation of public and open spaces in the city that gave a different character than it had in the years before 1922.

Alp Yücel Kaya concludes the volume with his contribution on twentieth-century İzmir. He de-

scribes the political and financial position of the city in Turkey and in the Eastern Mediterranean. He seeks the new character that the city had to adapt after the serious changes in its urban landscape and its population after the population exchange of 1923. İzmir in the second half of the twentieth century underwent a series of financial changes as a result of the many alterations brought about by the departure of its financial leaders and the imposition of a new political environment. But, as the title of the paper indicates, the city has followed its inhabitants, because the traces of the pre-1922 city did not disappear. The new city lives with the memory of its old grandeur.

This volume provides a bright and vivid picture of the city that was Smyrna. Its contributions underline the multiethnic character of the port-city, and how its flourishing commercial life enabled its inhabitants to share a rich cultural, social, literary and artistic life. This vivid city gave way to a new city with a different character after 1922.

**Roger Griffin, Werner Loh and
Andreas Umland (eds)**

***Fascism Past and Present,
West and East: An
International Debate on
Concepts and Cases in the
Comparative Study of the
Extreme Right***

**(= Soviet and Post-Soviet
Politics and Society, 35)**

**Stuttgart: ibidem-Verlag 2006.
520 pp.**

by Nikos Papanastasiou

Historian

The intensification of academic interest in the fascist phenomenon, characterised by significant comparative works, dates back to the late 1960s. Since then this interest has renewed itself continuously. Lately there has been a significant contribution by Oxford-based scholar Roger Griffin, who for his post-war fascist and neo-fascist studies is justifiably held in great renown in the Anglophone world. His rich academic skills are reflected in numerous publications, particularly *The Nature of Fascism* and *Fascism*, where he has been promoting his view of generic fascism.¹ Griffin's new ideas and approaches has

earned him a reputation that has perhaps elevated him above many of the grey eminences in this field (such as Stanley Payne, James Gregor, and Renzo de Felice), although German academia has repeatedly rejected his invitation to unite under his "command" to "push-start a car that has got stuck in the mud" (244). Werner Loh, editor of *Erwägen Wissen Ethik* (EWE, Deliberation Knowledge Ethics), seized the opportunity of a new (unifying) approach by initiating a debate between the two sides in 2002 on the basis of a leading article by Griffin, commented on by 29 (quite) prominent German and English-speaking experts (David Baker, Jeffrey M. Bale, Tamir Bar-On, Alexander De Grand, Martin Durham, Roger Eatwell, Peter Fritzsche, A. James Gregor, Klaus Holz/Jan Weyand, Siegfried Jäger/Alfred Schobert, Aristotle A. Kallis, Melitta Konopka, Bärbel Meurer, Philip Morgan, Ernst Nolte, Kevin Passmore, Stanley G. Payne, Friedrich Pohlmann, Karin Priester, Sven Reichardt, David D. Roberts, Albert Scherr, Robert J. Soucy, Mario Sznajder, Andreas Umland, Leonard Weinberg and Wolfgang Wippermann).

The main topic of this volume is the theory of (generic) fascism and its relevance to contemporary democracy. The debate includes many interrelated secondary topics such as the evaluation of the Third Reich from a comparative perspective, the adequate conceptualisation of actual rightwing extremist tendencies and their comparativeness with interwar fascism. In focus, also, is the value of the neo-fascism terminus in the analysis of present-day ultranationalisms in Europe and Asia, including the interpretation of anti-democratic ideologies in post-Soviet Russia.

In the second chapter Griffin takes up the challenge to respond to his deprecatory German counterparts who are allowed the right to respond for a second time. The debate is concluded with a final response by Griffin, which

allows him to make his point as clear as possible. An appendix at the end contains a different but related debate between A. James Gregor and Andreas Umland on the question of whether the Russian nationalist Aleksandr Dugin may be classified as a “fascist”.

Griffin summarises the whole range of key arguments, familiar to anyone who has read his extensive writings on the subject over the past fifteen years, in which he has been promoting his view of generic fascism. As a result, he repeats the policy declaration that “the basic question to be asked about any definition of ‘fascism’ therefore, it is not whether it is true, but whether it is heuristically useful” (38). At the same time he reiterates the widely held view that an accurate understanding of what constitutes the “fascist minimum” can enable us to recognise its definition. Griffin considers this his “ideological core”. Hence “generic” fascism “is no longer defined primarily in terms of style (e.g. spectacular politics, uniformed paramilitary forces etc.), ... pervasive use of symbols such as the Fasces and the Swastika ... or organisational structure (e.g. charismatic leader, single party, etc.) but in terms of ideology” (39).

Griffin accuses both Italian and German non-Marxist historians of Fascism and Nazism of insularity and “dogmatism”, which has prevented them from appreciating the usefulness of the generic term altogether. Within this context he proves himself rather overoptimistic about the “growing explicit (theoretically formulated) or tacit (pragmatic) acceptance by Anglophone academics” based on Weberian idea-typical conceptualisation: “Fascism is a political ideology whose mythic core in its various permutations is a palingenetic form of populist ultra-nationalism” (41).

Knowing that the ultimate proof of his approach lies in the degree to which it is “heuristically

useful” to the study of both the “post-fascist” and “fascist” areas, Griffin undoubtedly seeks a compromise on the lowest common denominator to announce the “emergence of a new consensus” (40). However despite his almost uncompromised status, at least among Anglophone scholars, very few have responded to this theory in an unreservedly laudatory manner.

In particular, Stanley Payne, one of the grey eminences of post-war fascist studies, is utterly convinced of the usefulness of Griffin’s approach. Hence he has no difficulty in recognising the exceptional status of Griffin, “since 1991 he has contributed more to the historiography of fascism than any other scholar, with the exception of Emilio Gentile”. He is also eager to accept Griffin’s formulated “new consensus”, which probably includes most of those who in the past two decades “have done comparative work on fascism ... mainly but not exclusively in the English-speaking world”. Although accepting Griffin’s definition and typology, Payne emphasises the fact that “a precise agreement about an exact definition or precise description of generic fascism” remains a desideratum. He also expresses doubts about Griffin’s taxonomically inaccurate terminology in the broad way in which his concept interprets the “new faces of fascism”, taking for granted “that the most significant forms of neo-fascism may not present the same specific predominant characteristics of historical fascism, and may indeed seem quite different” (176–77).

Payne’s findings prove beyond any doubt that Griffin’s emphasis on idea typicality, ideology and the concept of palingenesis has had, from the outset, a major impact on the thinking of a key group of Anglophone scholars, most notably Walter Laqueur and Roger Eatwell. Although Eatwell has expressed serious doubts about the methodology and the claimed “con-

sensus”, he also reiterates the heuristic usefulness of Griffin’s concept of fascism, since as it has already been stressed, his concepts derive from very much the same conceptual and methodological mindset as Griffin’s (especially his thoughts on the relationship between theory and concept). Griffin’s fascism definition is praised, down to its fundamental characteristics, by Aristotle A. Kallis, who emphasises the need for a distinction between those who see fascism as a “concept” and those who see it as a historical and geographical context.

Kevin Passmore, on the contrary, remains unconvinced that Griffin’s criteria represent the “core”. Hence Griffin’s claim that the core features of fascism actually explain the histories of individual fascist movements – “as if once a regime is named it becomes that name” (169) – is considered inexplicable and as unfruitful as the Marxist claim to have discovered the “core” of fascism as the defence of capitalism (174). According to Passmore, Griffin’s mistake is to suggest that his definition represents “the only way to understand the movements he categorises under his heading” (173).

At any rate, it should not be considered as chance that those who put up a sturdy resistance to Griffin’s approach in the Anglophone world (such as Robert Paxton, Ian Kershaw, and Michael Burleigh) do not take part in the debate; the sole exception is A. James Gregor, who renews the critique he has expressed in the past (115–22).

The fact that most German academics are not very keen on a broad and unified position is no secret. Nevertheless, Griffin’s missionary eagerness and combative stand in promoting and defending his thesis against alleged naivety and inward-looking preoccupations of German academia alienates him further, as he considers the non-collaboration of his

counterparts as self-evident, stemming from a narrow ethnocentrism and focus on mastering the (traumatic) past (*Vergangenheitsbewältigung*). As could be expected, Griffin’s angry introductory remarks were confronted by responses that range from the rejective to the vitriolic.

The prevailing polarisation is kindled by Friedrich Pohlmann, outraged by Griffin’s arrogance and ignorance of the diverse scientific background of both parties, culminating in direct accusations covering the whole range of German comparative fascist studies (179, 360). The German scholar remains furious at the contempt Griffin has shown towards Ernst Nolte, whom Griffin denies any recognition as a pioneer in comparative fascist studies, but also at the ironic remarks he has expressed for those who treat him as the “father (or Godfather)” of this field (30). In fact Pohlmann, like Nolte (161), considers Griffin’s leading article to be a sustained critique of Nolte’s legacy, despite the fact that Nolte was the father of the taxonomic categorisation of fascism and typological differentiation of the “fascist minimum” (180–81).

Katrin Priester criticises the fact that he reduces all sorts of fascisms to a common leading idea (“*idée directrice*”) (188–89). Her argumentation points to the fact that fascism was not constituted as an ideology but had practical aspects that should also co-define the “fascist minimum”. Hence, she argues that he is ignoring, or rather underestimating, the imperative nexus of aims and (institutional or political) means. She finally defends the quality of contemporary German scientific research in the field of “right-wing extremism and radicalism, neo-fascism, rightwing populism”.

Sven Reichardt’s calmer reaction, on the other hand, is considered by Griffin to be a major

contribution to the “new consensus”. He indeed welcomes the “generic fascism” approach although he has four minor points of criticism of his own. Unorthodoxly enough, however, instead of defending Griffin’s thesis openly, he constantly name-drops Griffin’s supporters (198–99) to avoid getting in the line of fire of either side.

Wolfgang Wippermann, in contrast, is unready to abandon his own phenomenological fascism definition, which is based on the Italian “ideal-type” (239). Therefore no consensus with Griffin can be reached, not even on the empiric analysis of contemporary rightwing/neo-fascist tendencies, and his “biological” terminology, i.e. metaphors (rhizomes und myxomycota mushrooms), which he considers to be unnecessary and to foster “imprecise” thought. He also rejects the central claims that post-war fascism (a terminus, which according to Wippermann, should be defined) is (or has provoked) a “groupuscularisation” with “rhizomic attributes” and that Griffin’s definition can be applied to the very diverse “new faces of fascism”.

Overall there is no clear evidence that the few compromises German scholars are willing to make will terminate German “exceptionalism”. Regardless of the fact that some consider Griffin’s perspective legitimate, they would probably all agree that his definition is not so much incorrect as it is incomplete, since their objections do not emanate from their adherence to the “totalitarianism” thesis according to which the interwar dictatorships of Left and Right were simply different specimens of a new phenomenon of totalising power. Additionally, had all contributors written in English rather than German this would allow the avoidance of some misunderstandings, while considerably broadening the readership.

Griffin’s approach compresses and restructures

the main research data on the fascist phenomenon. At the same time it redefines the content and borderlines of the relevant terminology, based on a solid theoretical background. As has rightly been pointed out, however, the ultimate proof of Griffin’s model surely lies in the degree to which his palingetic “ideal type” is “heuristically useful” in the study of both the “post-fascist” and “fascist” eras. It will require a much wider and deeper application of his conceptual model to empirical studies of putative and actual fascist organisations, movements and individuals. Although a considerable number of Griffin’s counterparts think that “madness in his method, than method in his madness” prevails, he seems quite happy with the fact that he enjoys the tolerance, if not the support, of the majority: “Of these, fifteen (five German) consider my approach overall to be heuristically worthless (several utterly, and three repellently so), twelve give it a welcome, while two might be said to have reacted with almost unqualified enthusiasm” (246).

FOOTNOTE

- 1 Roger Griffin, *The Nature of Fascism*, London: Pinter, 1991, and idem (ed.), *Fascism*, Oxford: Oxford UP, 1995.

**Kostas Kostis and
Socrates Petmezas (eds)**

***Η ανάπτυξη της ελληνικής
οικονομίας κατά τον 19ο
αιώνα (1830–1914)***

**[*The Development of the
Greek Economy in the 19th
Century*]**

Athens: Alexandria 2006.

500 pp.

by Yiorgos Stathakis

University of Crete

The main aim of this book is to challenge the predominant paradigm concerning the economic history of Greece in the nineteenth century. This ambitious research project is announced in the book's title. The use of the word "development", without any additional adjectives, such as 'dependent', 'peripheral', or any other, implies that development is perceived here in a positive way, as something real, not allowing for any kind of ambiguity. The title practically announces the end of the established paradigm that perceived Greek society as a peripheral economy, with a weak private sector, an over-expanded and ineffective state, with a rather peculiar class composition and a fragile

democratic political system. This paradigm, as the volume's editors state in their introduction, was formed under the influence of Marxist or semi-Marxist ideas, very popular in the European academic world of the late 1960s and the 1970s, which in the hands of Greek historians and sociologists became the dominant approach. However, according to the editors these theoretical approaches were lacking in theoretical coherence and, what is more, used poor and crude statistics in order to make the data fit the model.

The dominance of this paradigm for such a long period of time, despite its deficiencies, is explained through the discontinuities of historical studies in Greece. A very creative and productive period (1970–1990), when the science of history was practically established, was followed by a period in which few significant works of research were produced. History is still part of the traditional Schools of Philosophy of Greek universities. In addition, most research examines Greek themes in isolation from wider perspectives involving parallel developments in the Balkans and Europe. Economic history in particular never really engaged in any dialogue with economic science, be it the dominant school of neoclassical economics, or even with the long tradition of political economics, Marxism included. Thus its theoretical record remains extremely poor.

The volume includes thirteen papers, all written by historians who have left their impact on their specific areas of research. These papers cover the macroeconomic aspects (macroeconomic indices, fiscal economics, monetary policies, economic thought), the economic sectors (agriculture with three papers, industry and shipping), population and employment (demography and waged labour), and two specific papers on the diaspora and entrepreneurs. The papers are all well written and it is certain that this book will

remain a standard reference for students and researchers for years to come. Yet with respect to the main aim of the book, that is the establishment of a new paradigm for economic studies of the nineteenth-century Greek economy, it seems that there is a hurry to produce new results. Such a paradigm shift requires much more – theoretical research, more elaborate statistical work, and much more comparative studies – in order to be sound.

The volume follows two general strategies in order to challenge the dominant paradigm. Firstly, it produces new statistical data that provides a much more elaborate picture of economic developments. Secondly it re-examines the ways in which the Greek economy adjusted or adapted to the wider changes in the world economy and how it changed some of its very basic structures through such adjustments.

The volume includes some of the best statistical series (by Yiorgos Kostelenos and others), that refer to the GNP, public expenditure, and the money supply. In addition there are many new estimates on the production of agriculture in physical terms (by Socrates Petmezas), the tax burden and the service of the public debt (by Kostas Kostis), some indices of exports (by Alexis Fragiadis) and the revaluation of the existing demographic indices (by Violeta Chionidou).

There is no doubt that the new statistical data, despite some problems of accuracy that it might have, provides an improved picture of economic developments. Yet, it does not produce any radical shifts. Macroeconomic data reassures that economic growth was attained throughout the nineteenth century, something in the range of an annual rate of one to two per cent. As expected the fluctuations of the Greek economy, as a typical rural economy, were milder than in other European counties, where the extent of industrialisation and international trade pro-

duced a more severe economic crisis. Yet the Greek economic crisis followed similar phases of the world economy; and the 1840s and 1890s were two decades of economic crisis. Public expenditure and money supply remained relatively stable during the century, with very intensive periods of expansion related in most cases to war events. Agricultural production and animal breeding were quick to adjust to market challenges, whether it was new areas of exports or changes in the national market. This implied that capital, labour and land had to adjust to the patterns of commercial agriculture, which they did, although this development was based on fragile conditions, as the current crisis made evident. Concerning the new data on fiscal developments, it is evident that there are three distinct periods. Firstly, the Othonian period, when a huge loan, which was never paid back, was absorbed by the building of the new administration. Secondly, the post-Othonian period, when state loans were primarily drawn from the internal market, which had many contradictory consequences on the fiscal and monetary system. Finally, the last two decades of the century, when the state began borrowing money from the international market, which resulted in the state famously being declared bankrupt. Concerning the demographic data, it seems that practically few adjustments have been made to the pioneering work of George Valaoras.

The second strategy is the most significant. The main issue is to analyse the ways in which the Greek economy responded to the drastic changes of the world economy under the impact of industrialisation and the successive technological revolutions. At the end of the century the 'northern Atlantic' economy was formed as a result of the huge expansion of trade, the movement of capital and the massive emigration from Europe to the United States. In a parallel development, a number of countries

entered the industrialisation phase (such as Germany, Italy, Sweden, and Japan). During this period Greece was a country of changing borders, with a typical rural economy. The adjustment to the international demand for raisins, and the adjustment to the commercialisation of the national economy were compatible with small-scale family farming which was actually strengthened during the century through successive rural reforms. In effect entrepreneurial agriculture never took off. Yet despite the economic crisis and the 1890s bankruptcy, certain developments in industry and the banking sector, the dynamic growth of shipping and the new role of the state in the economy, indicate that the Greek economy had undergone significant changes by the end of the century.

The best index for the integration of Greece into the international market is its export performance. Apart from raisins, there are no other export goods worth mentioning. The relevant paper in the volume describes how this trade was organised: a hierarchical system, topped by the international market which was run from London, reached into the towns and villages of Greece. The currant trade was important for Greece in three major ways. It provided income to a rural population that was in desperate need of commercial activities; the exports paid for the imports of food that were not produced in adequate quantities in Greece and were crucial for sustaining the population. Finally, the currant crisis forced the Greek state to undertake a number of initiatives in order to contain the negative impact of the crisis, and in so doing, established new institutions and encouraged the development of industry. The currant surplus could only be used internally as inputs to industry.

The two papers in the volume on agriculture (Yiorgos Fragiadis, Socrates Petmezas) discuss

these issues in detail. Yet they do not avoid comments of valuation. Fragiadis considers the specialisation in currants as being compatible with the comparative advantage theory of classical political economics and views such specialisation as being, in all respects, positive for the Greek economy. Petmezas is more careful. After a rather impressive analysis of agriculture, he examines why entrepreneurial agriculture failed. He underlines the lack of options, the morphology of the land, and the competitive advantage of European agriculture. Finally, he examines the labour systems in large-scale estates, which, instead of allowing a capitalist type of accumulation, reproduced the organisational structure of family farming. Yet there is little doubt that family farming was behind the persistence of primitive techniques of production up to the 1950s, its extreme labour intensive nature, and its functioning within a very traditional system of trade and finance arrangements. To what extent a process of socio-economic differentiation was present within the rural sector from the nineteenth century onwards is a question that will have to be discussed more adequately. In any case, family farming remained dominant for over a century, and despite its commercialisation, was highly self-sufficient. Probably half of the production was intended for self-consumption, an issue not discussed in the two papers.

The institutional framework of agriculture indicates how strong this pattern of family small-scale production was. Evi Karouzou's paper, in a very systematic fashion, analyses the changes in legislation concerning the ownership of land, and in the taxation system. As regards the former, she shows how such arrangements practically prevented the establishment of a proper market for the land, which would allow land to change hands and form larger units. In relation to the latter, she indicates how the system moved gradually from one inherited from

the Ottoman period to one based on money payments and indirect taxes. The emergence of the latter form coincided with the shift from the rural and towards the urban population as the major source of taxation.

The papers on the various sectors of the economy tend to support the conflicting elements that were dominant through the nineteenth century, which prevented the economy from moving in any coherent direction. Christina Agriandoni examines industry in an excellent paper. Firstly, she addresses how in recent decades economic historians have changed their perspectives on nineteenth-century industrialisation in European countries. After this theoretical introduction she identifies three periods in the Greek case (1830–1870, 1870–1890, 1890–1912), each one having a different mix of ideas and policies. Yet the main conclusion is that industry lost “in many fronts its bet in legitimising its presence in Greek society” (228).

This same bet was won by shipping. Gelina Charlavti’s paper, very well documented as usual, indicates how the growth of the merchant fleet was related to local shipbuilding and the impressive economic development of the islands. It all came to an end with the transition to steamships. The new emerging class of Greek shipowners moved their business activities to London and Piraeus and the dominant form of organisation was the family firm. The link to their islands of origin remained, but functioned primarily as a means to attract their crews. The dynamic expansion of Greek shipping constitutes the only sector to gain international specialisation in the emerging world economy. Charlavti’s arguments are less convincing with respect to the impact that this phenomenon had on the Greek national economy. Crew salaries, the shipping profits that moved in and out of the country, the parallel development of insurance and banking

activities, and at a later stage, the successive waves of investment in construction, industry and services, may have all contributed to the growth of the national economy. Yet such contributions may not be exaggerated. Shipping at its peak in the nineteenth century employed something in the range of 30,000 people and, while the dynamics of the Greek shipowners and their international networks may have been impressive, at the same time they remained constrained by the specific requirements of their specialisation.

To some extent, this scepticism concerning the diffusion of international Greek successes into specific benefits for the national economy is expressed by Vassilis Kardasis in his paper concerning the Greek diaspora. He focuses on European trade with the Ottoman Empire and southern Russia. The specific trade produced the Greek diaspora communities which specialised in trade and shipping and which had a strong political and cultural impact in that it was identified with rise of the Greek Enlightenment. In economic terms, though, the positive impact on the economy of the newly formed Greek state is less evident. Similar evidence arises in Ioanna Pepelasi-Minoglou’s paper on entrepreneurship, which focuses on the most dynamic element, the Greek commercial houses of the diaspora. Entrepreneurship within the borders of the Greek state remained rather undeveloped until the end of the nineteenth century, with most activity taking place in the service sector. Things started to change gradually after the turn of the century.

Then there are the crucial issues of the Greek state and economic policy. Kostas Kostis attacks the thesis of the over-expanded Greek state by examining the very nature of public expenditure. He establishes that, in the first phase, it served the over-expanded “palace” and its emphasis on the establishment of public ad-

ministration. Then, in the second phase, it was devoted to the expansion of military expenses related to war developments, and was financed by internal borrowing. In the third phase, public expenditure funded the state's new initiatives in developmental efforts, which were financed by external loans. The service of these loans, along with other factors, resulted in the well-known bankruptcy of the state.

As regards monetary issues, Yiorgos Stasinopoulos analyses, from an anti-monetarist perspective, the contradictory elements of monetary policy. He examines the orthodox policy during the Othonian period, the conservative policies of the National Bank of Greece, which had a monopoly position in the banking sector, the delayed implementation of the Latin Monetary Union, and the successive periods of recession and growth that followed the relaxation of the strict monetary policy through massive state borrowing. After the bankruptcy the stabilisation policies of the International Economic Committee produced a recession. Yet, the banking system was reorganised, new banks were established, and the National Bank changed its policies.

Michalis Psalidopoulos's study of nineteenth-century economic ideas indicates that the initial dominance of liberal ideas and the distrust of protectionism did not put an end to any systematic application of these ideas in state policies. Gradually the German historical school gained momentum and provided space for an increased role of the state. In reality, though, the policies of prime ministers Trikoupis and Deligiannis were based on pragmatism and the economic demands of specific economic groups. Dominant ideas in the academic world, in journalism and among merchant groups never gained any actual political influence. The dominant political ideas were those of the Great Idea, the geographical expansion

of the Greek state. The economic strategy of such an expansion prevented any serious attempt at the autonomous use of technological, educational or other policies. All such initiatives, and Psalidopoulos lists quite a number of them, ended up in failure.

In conclusion, the book involves a very delicate balancing act; moving away from the dominant approaches of the dependency theoretical tradition, it is aware that the new paradigms, primarily in theoretical terms, have yet to be developed. It is obvious that studies providing a wider perspective are needed. Yet this book has taken a great step in challenging the existing paradigms and opening up the space for new research. Readers will appreciate it.

Nasia Yakovaki

*Ευρώπη μέσω Ελλάδας.
Μια καμπή στην ευρωπαϊκή
αντισυνείδηση, 17ος–18ος
αιώνας*

*[Europe via Greece:
A Turning Point in European
Consciousness, 17th–18th
Century]*

Athens: Hestia, 2006. 479 pp.

by Olga Augustinos

Independent Scholar

The European, stated Paul Valéry in his essay “The European” (1922), is the product of marvellous memories and immediate hopes. His memories, emanating from his knowledge of the past, were collectively gathered and selectively assimilated. They stimulated the present to create its own innovations, which in turn generated immediate hopes for the future. These ameliorist projections were the products of the human will and imagination, the European believing in his ability to transform his ‘mode of existence’.

A paean to European civilisation, this essay encapsulated its tenets as they had evolved

and fashioned European identity over the previous two centuries. Valéry distinguished three constituent elements: Roman law, Christian morality and Greek disciplined intelligence. The first established public order and extended citizenship to the multifarious peoples of its dominion; the second replaced the bonds of citizenship with those of inner consciousness and moral thought; the third was primarily an aesthetic and intellectual force, which refined the arts and disciplined the ‘Mind’ by relating all things to man. Science, Valéry noted, was created by the Greeks’s rigorous pursuit of knowledge. *Evropi meso Elladas* (Europe via Greece) focuses on the third component, which in this study’s temporal and conceptual framework became a vital force in the formation of European self-consciousness (*aftognosia*) as a secular society free from the strictures of Christian dogma.

While Rome and Latin Christianity had a conterminous territorial framework, Greece initially inhabited the minds of Europeans because it reached them as a nexus of textually propagated ideas and then as a physical presence. The separation of the image from the object it represented, that is of ideational from territorial Greece, was expressed as early as the twelfth century in Chrétien de Troyes’s romance *Cligès* (1176). “Our books”, he wrote, “taught us Greece was extolled, both first and most prestigiously, for learning and for chivalry.” In his work Greece, the place, was a distant fantasy land which served as the backdrop for his heroes’ western educational voyage.

Even at this early stage Greece was seen as a source of “book learning” that commanded respect and made its knowledge a coveted possession. This “knowledge”, Chrétien de Troyes claimed, had already travelled

“to France, where God had ordained ... that it may be retained”. Yakovaki’s study is to a large extent the tracing of the complex path of the reconnection of the image of Greece with its spatial anchorage actualised in the seventeenth century and of its entry into Europe as an integrated presence in the eighteenth. It was then, Yakovaki argues, that nascent Europe, engaged in the formation of its modern secular identity, developed its “selective affinity” with renascent Greece.

This encounter was not a spontaneous fusion. The impetus for the discovery of antiquity’s physical remnants by travellers and the infusion of its legacy into European ‘self-consciousness’ had their roots in the textual reservoir created mainly by the Renaissance humanists who had collected, established and disseminated its literary and philosophical works. The corollary of the revival of the classics was their admiration and imitation particularly in literary productions. This harmonious parallelism, however, was disrupted by the *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes* (Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns) which erupted in France at the end of the seventeenth century. While admiration continued almost unabated, the unquestioned imitation of all things classical was rejected because it fettered progress and innovation.

This development, which Yakovaki considers a foundational moment for the formation of ‘Europe’, did not entirely stem the emulation of textually transmitted ancient prototypes. Most of them had become accessible through translations undertaken by humanist scholars, mainly in Latin but also in the vernaculars. One of the most famous translations was Jacques Amyot’s *Vies de Plutarque* (Lives) completed in 1559. It brought to life renowned Greek and Roman figures and made their virtues as well as vices eternal lessons

of morality that inspired and delighted readers from Montaigne to Rousseau. The latter made it his lifelong companion, “the first reading of my childhood ... and the last of my old age”. The cult of great men in eighteenth-century France encouraging the emulation of illustrious Frenchmen portrayed in collective biographies was an extension of the canon of great men reaching back to the Greeks and the Romans and immortalised by Plutarch, who entered the European historical imagination during the Renaissance. This is one instance where the *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes* did not obviate the legacy of humanists.

One of their lasting contributions was the art of translation, of which Amyot’s work was a prime example. Translation is above all a cultural modality based on the belief that knowledge can be transmitted across linguistic frontiers. It can be either a diverting exploration of difference or a utilitarian and instructive medium serving as a stimulus and guide to cultural renewal and linguistic enrichment. The humanist project to reconstitute the corpus of ancient Greek letters by gathering its fragments and by making it more widely accessible was not merely a work of preservation but also an act of rejuvenation through translation. At the end of the eighteenth century, representatives of the Greek Enlightenment felt a similar need for cultural renewal and used the translation of European works as a conduit for revival, a process Korais referred to as “*metakenosis*” (decanting). Although this practice was not a direct application of the humanist paradigm, it was nonetheless an espousal of the validity it had granted to intercultural transfers as models and stimulants to intellectual revivification.

Greek and Roman literary works were fonts of mythological themes, heroes and literary

devices adopted by poets and dramaturges in the seventeenth century, the 'classical' era of French literature. The classical principles of composition were codified in Nicolas Boileau's *L'Art poétique* (1669–1674). In it the author asserted that it was through the irreducible simplicity of expression patterned as close as possible on the models of antiquity that inspiration could be channelled without being stifled. Thus, Boileau stated, through the imitation of the classics the ephemeral becomes permanent and the perfection of the form ensures the eternity of the work, lending universality to both of them.

This was a fragile equilibrium, however, because the authority of the Greeks and the Romans collided with the emerging counter current of progress through change and historical evolution. The reaction against the authority of the ancients was articulated by the *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*, the collective manifesto of the modernists. They argued that civilisation is a cumulative process of becoming, with each stage advancing in the temporal continuum. "Sound ideas", wrote Charles Perrault in his *Digressions sur les Anciens et les Modernes* (1688), "will always incorporate the preceding ones." Saint-Évremond's dictum in his *De la tragédie ancienne et moderne* (1672) that "nothing is so perfect as to regulate all nations and all centuries" was an early expression of the modernist critique, which differentiated admiration from imitation. This distinction was pointedly stated by Charles Perrault in his poem *Le Siècle de Louis-le-Grand* (1687) where he declared: "I look at the ancients with unbent knee/For though truly great, they are men as we." The new spirit, which drew strength from Descartes's liberating doubt and from the gradual disengagement of scientific inquiry from religious dogma, granted the moderns an equal if not superior status to the ancients. Voltaire in his *Essai*

sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations (1769) went as far as to assert that "reasonable men who have just finished reading Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* would ask Plato to go to his school".

The cognitive distance from antiquity advocated by the Moderns made the integration of Greek thought into European identity a dialectical process between laudatory proximity and critical differentiation. No longer valuing the linear transfer of ancient models of the previous century, eighteenth-century thinkers nonetheless did not renounce their common roots in the humanist tradition. Voltaire, not an infrequent critic of the Greeks, acknowledged the double indebtedness of his century to them and to the Renaissance that brought their legacy to the fore. "Since the time of the renaissance of letters", he wrote in his *Essai sur la poésie épique*, "when the ancients began to be used as models, Homer, Demosthenes, Virgil, Cicero, have in a way unified the people of Europe and have formed out of so many nations a single republic of letters." Thus, though the humanist representation of Greece was refracted by the remonstrance generated during the *Querelle*, it was not entirely effaced.

While this dispute was unfolding, another Greece was being revealed by travellers, the Greece of physical space. This Greece, however, did not enter the debate between the Ancients and the Moderns because theirs was a Battle of the Books. Nowhere in their writings did Greece appear as a spatial entity. It was primarily in the eighteenth century that the dual path to Greek antiquity through text and image, through ruined monuments and living people, intertwined at times in consonance, at others in dissonance.

Yakovaki correctly argues that this integrative process was not an attempt to revive Greek

antiquity as a defined and unchangeable civilisation but a selective absorption of classical elements suitable to Europe's "historically formed collective consciousness". Her stated purpose is to demonstrate that by "studying European letters in reference to Greece, including travel accounts, behind the face of Greece ... we meet ... the face of Europe". The main focus of her account, however, is the obverse. Her book *Europe via Greece* is divided into four parts. In the first, the author examines the evolution and construction of the idea of Europe, positing four constituent elements: severance from its Christian past, progress, a stance of superiority and power over other cultures, and a defined geographical locus co-existent with a universal transcendence. Its unifying force was 'civilisation' and its dynamic thrust secular modernity.

The second part is an examination of Greek letters in the Latin Christian West, followed by their increased presence and cultivation during the Renaissance. In the author's view, this expanded interest was at best tangential to the organic assimilation of Greece into European consciousness. The reasons for this exclusion were threefold: Europe as a self-defined civilisational entity had not yet come into being; ancient Greece was still under the shadow of Rome; and the Latin West, still dominated by the Christian world view, saw no Hellenic elements in the schismatic Greeks. Since Athens, the quintessence of the Greek spirit, was outside the purview of Renaissance travellers to the Levant, Greek antiquity was a 'mosaic' in the Roman-Christian-Ottoman triptych. Thus, the author argues, "the Renaissance is not responsible ... for the 'discovery' of Greece".

Full credit, the author asserts, for the triumph of "Greek greatness ... [which] embodies the state of civilisation" that is the

common ground between Europe and antiquity, belongs to the eighteenth century. Greece's rise was the product of the decline of the Judeo-Christian tradition as well that of Rome's influence. The latter suffered a double fall: the loss of its theological authority as well as the credibility of its mythological origins. Important as these factors were, the key to Greece's integration into eighteenth century Europe was "the new perception of Greek space as a distinct, recognisable and simultaneously European space". Greece in this context was represented by Athens, at once its distillation and embodiment. In Yakovaki's account "the discovery of Athens [and by extension of Greece] by Europe" did not complement and reify its ideational presence but displaced and replaced it.

Parts three and four are largely a detailed, in-depth examination of this momentous event and its perceived reverberations in eighteenth-century Europe. The author, who sees intellectual and cultural changes as chronologically defined signposts, places the discovery of Greece, the authentic Greece in her view, in the year 1670. This is when Jacob Spon, the doctor-antiquarian from Lyon, arrived in Athens. At this point, the focus of the study shifts from the making of the European identity in the eighteenth century to the dawn of the Europeanisation of Athens as a synecdoche of Greece in the seventeenth. Another contributor of lesser importance to this process was Georges Guillet or Guilletière, a contemporary of Spon and the author of *Athènes ancienne et moderne* (1675) and of *Lacédémone ancienne et moderne* (1676). Unlike his compatriot, he had never set foot in Greece and his works were skilful compendiums of material garnered from travel accounts and of historical facts and fantasies. This hybrid genre demonstrates that Athens had already made its presence in the travel accounts and

other eyewitness observations that Guillet used as his sources.

It was largely Spon, however, who put Athens on the European map at the very inception or even before the crystallisation of the “use of the term ‘Europe’”, which the author places in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Spon was indeed the first modern traveller to Athens because he applied his textually gathered knowledge to measure and identify its standing monuments, thus transposing it from the realm of immaterial ideas to that of material space. Yet, the very state of its physical remnants made its absence more poignant. At the conclusion of his *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce, et du Levant* (1678), he mused: “One could simply say ... that Athens is no longer anything more than a big poor-house, which contains as many wretches as there are Christians under the Turks domination ... Time has finished off what wars have spared.” Voltaire, whose image of Greek space derived from travel accounts, reached the same conclusion. In a passage from his *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations*, cited by Yakovaki, he noted: “The beautiful ruins of the Stadium evoke reverence and sadness ... and allow us to surmise that there was once Athens.”

Pioneering though and instrumental in the emergence of Athens as Spon’s undertaking was, his goals were modest. “[T]he greatest object of my research”, he noted in the Preface of his account, “has been the knowledge of ancient Monuments of the countries that I saw on this Voyage and that has been my strongest inclination.” Yakovaki sees him as the prime agent not only of the re-Hellenisation of the equation Athens–Greece, but, more importantly, of this incorporation into Europe because “the location and the description of Athens function as a foundational act for the

emergence of Greece as a *modern country*” (338).

Does this mean that the Europeans viewed the monistic union Athens–Greece as “a modern country” at a time when there was no such entity and when they were elaborating their own modernity? Or is it a retrospective assertion positing the confluence of Europe and Greece’s entrance into modernity? Yakovaki’s extensively researched study addresses these complex issues. She concludes that Greece entered the European stream of consciousness as a unified spatial and civilisational force, thus minimising the duality between ancient and modern Greece. Nevertheless, this duality was a leitmotif in travel accounts from Thevet to Chateaubriand and beyond. Her reinterpretation of these sources challenges the standard connection Greece–Europe. In her account, instead of ancient Greece being the mediating zone between Europe and modern Greece, modernity is now the common link.

Penelope Papailias
Genres of Recollection.
Archival Poetics and Modern
Greece

New York: Palgrave Macmillan,
2005. 320 pp.

by Effi Gazi

University of Thessaly

Fascination with the past is an age-old preoccupation in Greece. Yet, it normally refers to glorious ancestors and hated enemies. There have been, over the past three decades, several attempts in the fields of history, literary studies, anthropology and sociology to reconsider the construction of the past and its multiple uses in the Greek context. In this vein, *Genres of Recollection* is a most welcome contribution, even more so when one considers the contemporary salience of memory and heritage “crusades” worldwide. The cultural life of the past in the present and the many ways of performing cultural memory in contemporary Greece are at the centre of Penelope Papailias’s book. By juxtaposing four case studies, the author discusses thoroughly critical moments in the formation of contemporary Greek society: urbanisation, the flight of refugees, the Civil War and transatlantic migration. State policies, institutional initiatives and dominant perceptions

are studied alongside with subaltern views and alternative interpretations of the past. Papailias constructs her analysis around the concept of “archival poetics”. She argues persuasively for the validity of the “archive”, rather than the “collection”, in her approach which prioritises the referential gestures, textual constructions and cultural mediations of historical documentation (3–6). Focusing on the “archive” as both a physical and imaginative site, a conceptual space of changing meanings and as a cultural model, the author explores the discursivity of classifications and the processes of “social editing” in the production of the past.

Local producers of the past and amateur historians in the city of Volos attract the author’s interest in the first chapter. Papailias does not restrict herself to an analysis of the tensions between professional and amateur historians or local and national history. On the contrary, she succinctly discusses the many conceptualisations of the city’s present *through* the past. Nostalgia for lost (bourgeois) glories, disputes over the city’s “newcomers”, ranging from the “peasants” of the Thessalian plain to the Asia Minor refugees, and uncertainties about “alternative” heritage such as that of the city’s Jewish community or of the working classes, emerge in Papailias’s sensitive analysis of the multiple layers of local pasts. The second chapter of the book is perhaps the most thoroughly elaborated of the entire study. The author focuses on refugee memory and experience as constructed within the institutional framework of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies in Athens. As Papailias points out, “the history of the centre has only been viewed through the prism of Melpo Logotheti-Merlier’s persona and her programmatic writings about the research” (112–3). Moving away from this restrictive frame of reference and analysis, the author turns her attention to the processes of research, the field reports of the researchers, the witnesses and the con-

struction of witnessing. The outcome is a superb historical ethnography of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies, its people and material, its perspective and aims over the course of time, and its archival poetics. Drawing upon Derridian perceptions of the ways archiving *produces* as much as it *records* the facts of history, the author puts under scrutiny the features of a project aiming at documenting the life of Greek Orthodox populations in Asia Minor as well as the refugee crisis. In this context, important points are made about the processes of scribing and authoring as carried out by different people, the practices of research aiming at “resurrecting” an “originary” Asia Minor heritage through turning witnesses into ideal representatives of specific homelands, as well as about fieldwork reports constructed as first-person narratives that reify the informant. From this perspective, the dislocation and displacement of the Asia Minor refugees appears in a new light through the process of their relocation and replacement within national boundaries. The ways individual informants are turned into historical subjects whose oral testimonies complement written documents are revealing examples of the process of incorporating the “Asia Minor Catastrophe” as well as the “Asia Minor refugee” into the post-Civil War version of national history. This specific version conveniently avoided disturbing references to disputes between metropolitan Greeks and refugees as well as to the links of refugees with communism. *Orthokosta*, a controversial novel about the Civil War by the notable author Thanassis Valtinos, provides the material for the book’s third case-study. Papailias rightly argues that the debate about the novel “was symptomatic of struggles over the representation of 1940s violence and radicalism in the first decade after the ‘end of communism’” (140). In this vein, she discusses Valtinos’s “documentary fiction” vis-à-vis the frustration, reservations and critique it provoked in an attempt to unravel the “memo-

ry work” of the Civil War in Greece. The author is clearly aware of the complexity of the topic especially with reference to the historicisation of violence (156, 176). She also pays attention to the specific political, ideological and cultural parameters within which the controversy about the novel and the violence of the Civil War occurred (258, note 2). Hence, her argument about the way Valtinos contributed to the enactment of “a new way of mourning the war” (177) might have been tempered had the novel been discussed not as an autonomous text but within the larger context of fiction, memoirs, testimonies and autobiographical narratives about the Civil War which have been published in Greece in the last decade or so. In her last study, the author focuses on an autobiographical text by Yiorgos Mandas, a Greek migrant to the United States who returned to his homeland. Papailias approaches the text as a “creative product of his transnational experience” (181), viewing it at the same time as an act of mourning and as “a way of coping with survival” (189) given that Mandas turned to writing after his sons’ early deaths. In this respect, this important autobiographical text offers Papailias the opportunity to reflect on the plethora of ways one’s own history is constructed in a trans-generational and trans-historical mode of witnessing.

Genres of Recollection is a beautifully written and engaging book. Moving from one case-study to the next, the reader questions – together with the author – major assumptions on history making and unmaking while s/he is given a unique opportunity to reflect on the complex processes of thinking about and feeling the past. Papailias has successfully combined anthropological and historical insights in a study that sheds new light on the performative reconstruction of the past. This is a thoughtful and original piece of work which constitutes an important contribution to the historical ethnography of modern Greece.

Stefan Collini

***Absent Minds:
Intellectuals in Britain***

Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006.

x + 526 pp.

by Georgios Varouxakis

Queen Mary, University of London

Stefan Collini was arguably the person best placed to write a book as ambitious as this. His outstanding contributions to date to the intellectual history of Britain in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are a guarantee that what he does, he does well. What has always been striking about his work is the combination of sharp critical analysis with a remarkably readable style, replete with subtle wit. It is impossible to read even a short article by Collini and not to go away remembering a few of his eminently quotable, memorable phrases. Many people write well when it comes to narrative history; but this is as far from narrative as it gets. Collini's works are always highly analytical, theoretical, and critical, and yet a delight to read. And he does not study 'texts' or 'ideas' or 'opinions' in the abstract. He combines thorough research in – and use of the methods of – the history of ideas, literary studies, and social, cultural, and intellectual history.

All these qualities are manifested amply in his

new book. It is not a general intellectual history. He has done a lot of that, marvellously well, for both the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. But his book is focused particularly on one issue: "This book is about the *question* of intellectuals in twentieth-century Britain. That is to say, it examines the ways in which the existence, nature, and role of intellectuals have been thought about and argued over, including claims about their absence or comparative insignificance (1). And it has some strong and eloquently defended arguments. It sets out to challenge the hackneyed cliché that there are no intellectuals in Britain, or at least (as the argument immediately collapses when challenged) that there are no 'real' intellectuals in Britain, or that, if there are any, they are insignificant and powerless compared to other countries, and so on. 'Compared' is the crucial word here, for the whole edifice of the clichés and stereotypes about the absence or irrelevance of intellectuals in Britain is based on a purported comparison with various idealised 'elsewheres', where intellectuals are supposedly thriving (or have thrived, if the 'elsewhere' in question is an idealised past, a lost 'golden age'). The geographical 'elsewhere' most popular with the champions of the stereotype Collini calls 'the absence thesis' is, as one would expect, France. 'Intellectuals begin at Calais', in the eyes of most British commentators, not least commentators in the media. Thus, Collini set out to write a 526-page long book about a subject that is not supposed to exist, so to speak. But the book does much more than demolish the "absence thesis" by showing that there has existed – and still exists – a thriving culture of intellectuals and intellectual activity in a country that sees itself as uniquely inimical to them. It also explains the roots of the stereotype, exposes them relentlessly in a typically Collinian fashion, and, what is much more, identifies and analyses in depth a great number of features and structural factors that

characterise the condition of intellectuals in general, not just in Britain, but anywhere.

The book starts by problematising the term 'intellectual' itself. In so doing it exposes a great number of confusions and fallacies. Collini distinguishes at least three different senses in which the term 'intellectual' is used. First, there is the sociological sense of 'intellectuals', identifying them as a distinct occupational category, consisting of academics, journalists, and teachers, etc. Second, there is the subjective definition: being 'intellectual' in the sense of being interested in ideas, books, the life of the mind; it is the sense in which one describes oneself as an 'intellectual' or is described by one's friends as 'a real intellectual' because of his/her genuine interest in ideas for their own sake. Third, there is the cultural sense. The latter focuses on those who are regarded as possessing some kind of 'cultural authority' in the sense of deploying an acknowledged intellectual position or achievement in addressing a broader, non-specialist public. The intellectual is someone who has attained to a position of acknowledged expertise or achievement in some specialised field which gives him or her a degree of cultural authority, a claim to be recognised, and who then capitalises on this degree of deference or recognition he or she has earned by addressing a broader (non-specialist) public eager for general guidance – addresses them, that is, on issues beyond his or her expertise. To give some examples, the university professor of history who writes history books for specialists, articles for academic journals and addresses audiences of colleagues at conferences and seminars is not an 'intellectual' in this 'cultural' sense. Similarly, the high-profile journalist that everybody knows from her or his television show as well as her or his newspaper column and who pronounces on all sorts of things is not an intellectual; she or he is a celebrity, but not an 'intellectual'. On

the other hand, if a professor of history, law, or psychology, or an acclaimed playwright or a successful novelist decides to 'speak out' on broader issues beyond those involved in the immediate domain in which they gained distinction, then they can be called intellectuals in the 'cultural' sense. But, crucially, their entitlement to address this broader public (or publics), their claim to the authority to do so, is dependent on their distinction in a more specialised field, in which they have gained the respect and recognition of their peers.

After defining his terms, Collini makes clear that his book is focused on this third, 'cultural' sense of 'intellectual'. It is divided into five parts. Part One traces the history of the word 'intellectual' and its range of meanings. Collini offers his readers a rigorous account of how the term first emerged, what meanings it had in the nineteenth century, how it acquired some of its current meanings not least through the Dreyfus Affair in France, and how the terms 'intellectual' and 'intelligentsia' came to be used in English. His comparisons with other countries (France, the United States, Spain and Russia) are fascinating. Part Two then examines what the author calls a distinctively British 'tradition of denial', addressing some of the ways in which the question of the intellectual has been addressed across the twentieth century. Part Three sets this history in a comparative international framework and exposes many of the mutual misconceptions which have affected the understanding of the place of intellectuals in British and other cultures. (Thus, it is quite revealing to read how Britain, while seeing itself as a country particularly inimical to intellectuals, was held as the model of a thriving intellectual culture by American and other intellectuals and commentators.) Part Four discusses in detail individuals whose writings about intellectuals were particularly influential "or whose performance, or lack of it, in the role

were particularly expressive of the tensions at work in the 'paradoxes of denial'" (12). T. S. Eliot, R. G. Collingwood, George Orwell, A. J. P. Taylor, and A. J. Ayer are subjected to Collini's critical glance. And Part Five deals with some aspects of recent debates on the topic as seen (as everything in the book) through the historian's long-term perspective.

One of the book's many recommendations is that, exemplifying superbly the critical spirit he talks about, the author does not mince his words. His dissection of the confusions and contradictions manifested in the late Edward Said's portrayal of the role of the intellectual in his hotly-discussed June 1993 BBC Reith Lecture¹ is a good case in point (422–32). (I hasten to add that Collini has great respect for Said's overall work and has defended him against unfair attacks both in this book and earlier. His criticisms refer specifically to the Reith Lectures.) His castigation of what he calls journalistic "laziness" (referring to concrete and eponymous examples of it) is relentless.

When all is said and done, is Collini right? I think he is. He makes a number of nuanced claims, and backs them up with masses of evidence. He shows that the cultural pessimism involved in the complaint that there are no "real" intellectuals "here and now" has always existed in different forms and guises, and explains that it is the very nature of the role of intellectuals and the social and psychological needs they cater for, that gives rise to that attitude. Regarding the widespread belief that the economic, social and technological changes of the last decades will lead to the impoverishment or death of intellectual life he responds that, every time a new medium has come to the fore, such a barrage of pessimistic comments and predictions about how it would stifle intellectual life has usually followed. This included such eminently intellectual-friendly

media as the radio (his chapter focusing on the BBC's Third Programme – later renamed Radio 3 – is extremely interesting). Collini argues that new media offer new opportunities for intellectuals.

With regard to the claim that the ever-increasing specialisation of academic life will kill off intellectual activity, Collini shows compellingly that such complaints not only have existed from at least the mid-nineteenth century, but, moreover, are constitutive of the role of intellectuals (the need for 'intellectuals' arises out of a sense of fragmentation of the domains of knowledge, science, and learning that goes with specialisation).

And his last (twenty-first) chapter, dealing with the claim that today's 'celebrity culture' is bound to kill off intellectuals as we know them, offers a number of sharp insights into what is involved in the relationship between celebrity and authority and shows that things are more complex than most people think.

Collini concludes with a polemical defence of the role of the intellectual in the twenty-first century and an assessment that those who predict the final demise of intellectuals are exaggerating in their pessimism. He maintains that "there are good reasons to believe that the role to which the cultural sense of 'intellectual' refers is not about to disappear, whether or not that particular word continues to be used to identify it" (503). He offers some strong argument in corroboration of his claim.

But it is a less pretentious, less glamorised and rather more humble intellectual that Collini envisages for the future. He proposes that the role of intellectuals should be seen as 'ordinary': "above all, ordinary in the sense that carrying on the activities characteristic of intellectuals should not be seen as exceptionally

heroic or exceptionally difficult or exceptionally glamorous or ... even exceptionally important. Important, yes, but not exceptionally important. Perhaps it's time to stop thinking of intellectuals as Other People, and to try not to fall so easily into the related tabloid habits of demonizing and pedestalling" (505). Now, when, during one of the public discussions that took place to launch the book, Collini was asked if he himself was or considered himself an intellectual, he replied along the lines "from time to time, yes". It is clear that if anyone exemplifies the 'ordinary intellectual' he is advocating, it is Collini himself. He performs the role of a sharp and straight-talking cultural and social critic admirably while all the way retaining the humility implied in his notion of the 'ordinary' intellectual.

This book is based on impressive research, and displays, once more, the sharp critical capacities Collini is known for. It cannot be sufficiently stressed that this book should be compulsory reading for anyone interested in the question of intellectuals and intellectual activity *in any country*, both historically and in the contemporary context. It is not just relevant to the British case. It makes some extremely significant contributions to the history of intellectuals and to any theoretical debate about the role of intellectuals in the past, present, and foreseeable future.

FOOTNOTE

- 1 Edward W. Said, *Representations of the Intellectual: The 1993 Reith Lectures*, London: Vintage, 1994.

Elisabeth Kontogiorgi

***Population Exchange in
Greek Macedonia: The Rural
Settlement of Refugees,
1922–1930***

Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006.

370 pp.

by Jane K. Cowan

University of Sussex

The large-scale population movements of the 1920s into and out of northern Greece were among the most painful birth pangs of a new post-imperial Europe. Given their momentous consequences for Greek society, it is striking that a handful of remarkable, now 'classic' works, including contemporary accounts by Stephan Ladas and A. A. Pallis, and the historical analyses of Dimitrios Pentzopoulos, Giorgios Mavrokordatos, and Areti Tounda-Fergadi, written from the 1960s to the 1980s, continue to provide the major orientation for our understandings of these events. Nevertheless, a new generation of historians has been working since the 1980s on diverse aspects of the political, economic and social history of Macedonia (and of the region more broadly defined) that, even if not addressing the population movements directly, bear significantly on our grasp

of those processes. Anthropologists, too, have been contributing to a more nuanced understanding of the nature and consequences of these various population movements through social historical research using a combination of oral histories, published works and archival sources, as well as through ethnographic studies of communities that include resettled refugees and their descendants.

While the debate has thus deepened and intensified in recent years – in the process, becoming more complex and interesting – it has remained scattered across disciplinary boundaries, languages and physical sites, making Elisabeth Kontogiorgi's masterful synthesis all the more welcome. Kontogiorgi's text impressively draws together this wide-ranging literature to provide a clear, easy-to-read yet subtle and detailed picture of numerous aspects of the population exchanges in Greek Macedonia. Her sources are many and varied: apart from the wide secondary literature in Greek, English and French, she has consulted primary sources and certain secondary materials that, although not unavailable, are sometimes tricky to obtain (partly because they involve extensive international travel and depend on negotiating institutional access): League of Nations internal reports, British Foreign Office papers, US State Department files, Greek government statistics, ministerial files and transcripts of parliamentary debates, contemporary newspapers and local periodicals, and unpublished masters' and doctoral theses from Greek, American, British and Dutch universities.

Kontogiorgi frames her text in terms of the theoretical literature on refugees and the displacement of people. She defines her topic as "population exchange", signalling her focus on intentional, reciprocal, bureaucratically organised transfers. Despite the narrower conceptual rubric, she situates the Greco-Turkish compul-

sory exchange of populations dictated by the 1923 Lausanne Treaty within a larger regional, historical and theoretical context of large-scale population movements. Drawing on the work of scholars such as Aristide Zolberg, Claudena Skran, Michael Marrus and Hannah Arendt, she stresses that Macedonia's population movements, like numerous other such movements across Europe in these first three decades of the twentieth century, were both direct and indirect consequences of the demise of pre-national empires (in this case, the Ottoman Empire) and their replacement by national states. Attempts by nationalist leaders to transform existing political entities into specifically *national* states (or nation-states) – as opposed to *pre-national*, *multi-national*, *post-national* or *non-national* entities, as a new sociology of states would have us distinguish – occurred over an extended period both before and after formal achievement of statehood. In the southern Balkans in this period, that process of striving for internal national homogeneity all too frequently involved, particularly in early stages, a combination of forced expulsions and massacres of communities that had come to be defined as politically dangerous, nationally threatening or just ethnologically out-of-place 'aliens'. The transition to national states involved, equally, profound alterations to the concepts of personhood used in processes of governance. Foucault long ago alerted us to the modern state's preoccupation with human beings under its control, conceived now in a biopolitical framework as 'populations'. The nation-state form thus entailed, if not an entirely novel *invention*, then, with the League of Nations' minority and refugee regimes, at least a politico-legal *formalisation* that was also a subtle *reformulation*, of the (sometimes overlapping) population categories of 'refugee', 'minority' and 'stateless person'. Although she does not set it in Foucauldian terms herself, Kontogiorgi's study allows us to see some of

the details of the everyday unfolding, dynamic evolution and concrete effects of these practices of population categorisation in the crucial first decade of this fundamental biopolitical reformulation.

The Macedonian case is exceptionally fascinating, for all kinds of reasons. Not least, Macedonia exemplified the 'mixture' of populations that hardly disturbed imperial authorities but which advocates and ideologists as well as leaders of nation-states found deeply problematic. In Macedonia, however, this was not a question of a mixture of only two distinct populations, one that a reciprocal 'exchange' between two states could 'fix'. Rather, Macedonia was a place of multiple languages, religions, ethnic origins, national consciousnesses, class locations and political convictions. Ironically, one could find quite a lot of 'cultural' commonality – what Paschalis Kitromilides has called a shared 'Balkan mentality' – across these many differences, with class and rural/urban distinctions much more *distinguishing* than anything 'ethnic'! Precisely because of its 'mixed' character and the consequent ambiguity over who it should belong to (and who belonged to it), Macedonia had been fought over by numerous bitterly opposed state and state-seeking rivals, and had seen wave after wave of refugees, both departing and arriving. Kontogiorgi thus begins, appropriately, with a discussion of Macedonia as a *context* for the exchanges, but also as the quintessential example of the so-called *problem* to hand.

Kontogiorgi summarises the tumultuous events leading up to the agreement, brokered by the Norwegian scientist, Arctic explorer and statesman, Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, for a compulsory population exchange between Greece and Turkey. Recognising the vast suffering such an uprooting of people would cause, Nansen and others nonetheless defended the exchange as the

only way to avoid continued bloodshed and to resolve definitively hostilities over minorities. Kontogiorgi skilfully summarises the complex logistics involved in this enormous project of resettlement for the newly constituted Refugee Settlement Commission (RSC), the various national, regional and local agencies that cooperated with it and the League of Nations bodies that supervised it. Chapters on resettlement policies and the land issues reveal the gigantic problems of obtaining housing and property for refugees: no cadastral survey of land existed, and while the RSC's procurement of land for refugees was frustrated by administrative and legal complications and constrained by treaty obligations, it also came up against multiple anomalous practices of land transfer – from irregular sales to illegal appropriation – occurring at local level. While one often hears the claim that the nationalist aim to Hellenise the northern lands determined, above all, the choice of Macedonia as primary site of refugee resettlement, Kontogiorgi shows how this factor, while important, was only one of many. The preponderance of available land from soon-to-be-vacated Muslim properties, the emptiness of certain parts of the Macedonian countryside, and the imminent availability of expropriated monastic lands, as well as an urgent need to ensure agricultural production upon the departure of the Muslim cultivators and the desire to secure the northern borders, all figured in the decision to locate refugees in this region.

Two excellent chapters explore the ethnological, social and political impact of the exchanges. Describing the reactions of Greek Macedonia's various indigenous inhabitants to the arrival of refugees, whether from Asia Minor, the Caucasus or Bulgaria, Kontogiorgi emphasises the material bases of conflict. The major influx of refugees to this region in 1923–24 coincided with an ongoing government land redistribu-

tion. Typically land-poor, and not infrequently altogether landless, indigenous inhabitants felt entitled to receive the lion's share of the properties of Muslims being exchanged in the opposite direction; some of these properties they had actually purchased (at deflated prices) from their fleeing neighbours. They were hardly keen to see these long-awaited gains in property, which were often a matter of survival, handed over to outsiders. For their part, refugees faced even greater destitution if they were not given, as the treaties in principle guaranteed, housing, tools and fields sufficient to establish a new life in the Hellenic Republic. In such conditions, tensions were endemic and clashes could be violent. In the course of her analysis, Kontogiorgi also examines how refugee resettlement affected the other exchange mechanism in play in Macedonia: the Greco-Bulgarian Voluntary and Reciprocal Emigration. Set up in 1920, by 1923 few on either side had taken advantage of the emigration scheme. However, intense pressures created by the refugees' arrival from 1923 onwards caused many Slavophones to apply for the emigration scheme, creating a new pool of desperate refugees in Bulgaria. A parallel set of pressures hastened the departure of Greeks from Bulgaria. Throughout her discussions, Kontogiorgi deftly shows these scenarios to have involved a complex interplay between local inhabitants, mayors, gendarmes, newspaper editors, local associations, regional ministries, Greek government officials, RSC staff, humanitarian workers and League of Nations committees. Her ability to convey such a complicated set of processes and their multiple contingencies through a lively narrative with vivid examples is a great strength of the book.

The book's final portion examines the geographical distribution of the new settlements and the factors determining success or failure, the wider impact of infrastructure devel-

opments for northern Greece generally, and the impact of the refugees on agriculture and husbandry. In a thoughtful Epilogue, Kontogiorgi reflects on the project of integrating the refugees into Greek society. Despite its vagaries and protracted nature, Kontogiorgi deems this to have been successful. Here, she draws perceptively on some recent work by anthropologists who have looked, in detail and at local levels, at the complexities of that process of social integration.

In any scholarly text, particularly one on such a contested subject, the informed reader is going to find details to quibble with: *why this* translation of a term or *that* interpretation of a quoted statement? Moreover, every writer of history – every writer of any topic – is herself situated within very specific histories, and writes from those positionalities. That is no less true in the case here. Yet overall, Kontogiorgi's treatment of the historical data is admirably even-handed, and so carefully referenced that readers can easily track backwards to the original sources so as to reread them and make up their own minds. Her theoretical questions and the decision to publish the text in English take this extraordinary case beyond national and even Balkan historical framings and make it compelling for scholars interested in broader, comparative and still very timely questions, such as the ways national states address issues of difference among their populations. It is an immensely useful text for students and scholars alike.

Christina Koulouri (ed.)

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**Christina Koulouri
(series editor)**

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by Vassiliki Sakka

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(European Standing Conference of
History Teachers' Associations)

The Centre for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe (CDRSEE) is an NGO active in the region since 1998. Among its many projects, the Southeast European Joint History Project

(JHP) is an on-going and open-ended educational, social and political programme which aims in the long term to revise ethnocentric school history teaching. This it seeks to do by avoiding the production of stereotypes, identifying attitudes that encourage conflict, suggesting alternative teaching methods, and promoting the idea of multiple interpretations of one event,¹ in the process instilling the values of academic rigour and critical analysis, creating a solid basis for democracy, reconciliation and tolerance in Southeast Europe. Based on the results of relevant research projects, conferences and workshops, carried out within the framework of the JHP, the CDRSEE has published: *Teaching the History of Southeastern Europe* (summarising the findings of an analysis of Balkan textbooks) (2001), *Clio in the Balkans. The Politics of History Education*, which examines in depth some of the topics raised in the previous book, as well as *Teaching Modern Southeast European History*, comprising four history workbooks of alternative educational material. The editor in each case is Christina Koulouri, Professor of Modern Greek History and History of Education at the University of the Peloponnese.

Clio in the Balkans is composed of three chapters. In the first chapter, entitled "Common Past, Shared History", Yasemin Nuhoglu Soysal and Vasilias Lilian Antoniou co-examine the heritage of the two Balkan empires, Byzantine and Ottoman, treating it as the main field of antagonism between Turks and Greeks, pointing out that an examination of respective textbooks reveals Greek identity to be a cultural identity ("Hellenic-Christian Tradition") focusing on national time, while Turkish identity is a state identity focusing on national territory. British textbooks, they show, underline the classification of Byzantium as European and the Ottoman Empire as oriental. Penelopi Stathi's paper shows that stereotypes of this kind can

be avoided if the historical sources are chosen carefully, presenting many examples from Greek chronicles of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which portray the Ottomans using different criteria. Taking narratives, some of which are not always “*stricto sensu* historiographical (91)”, on the Young Turk Revolution produced by Greek historians since the 1970s, Vangelis Kechriotis deconstructs the historiographical discourse on and follows the changing attitude towards the topic. Similarly, Sia Anagnostopoulou, analysing the use of the term “Ottoman tyranny” by representatives of Enlightenment and Greek national historiography, follows the shift of meanings and underlines the necessity of historicising terms de-historicised by national historiographies. In their contribution, Alexei Kalionski and Valery Kolev show that Bulgaria’s national ‘grand narrative’ attributes a dominant role to Bulgaria in “Slavonic-Byzantine civilisation”. Similar elements can be found in Codruta Matei’s study of Romanian textbooks. Both contributions point out the negative evaluation of the Ottoman Empire in textbooks, all suggesting that the Turks are the “favourite enemy” of Balkan peoples according to Koulouri (27). Most interesting is Nicola Jordanovski’s analysis of the anachronistic, ethnocentric approach of the past, common to all Balkan countries, in the textbooks of the Former Yugoslav Republic (FYR) of Macedonia, which focus on the “slavisation” of the Balkans in the Middle Ages and the national [sic] antagonisms during Byzantine rule, commenting on the anachronistic use of theory of ethnogenesis and historical narrative in describing the “mass national liberating uprisings” (111) of the Macedonian people² in the national historiography.³ Bogdan Murgescu describes the rise and decline of Byzantine and Ottoman studies in Romania, addressing mainly the political circumstances in and criteria of the 1960s and 1970s and after the collapse of socialism.

Mirela-Luminița Murgescu and Snjezana Koren show that Hungarian heritage seems less important for Balkan (Romanian and Croatian) schoolbooks, as Hungarian history is examined through the relationships with neighbouring countries, focusing on wars and political events.

A subchapter on the former Yugoslavia shows how the pain and memory of the recent wars are reflected in new textbooks, though one can point out that changes are happening so rapidly that it is difficult to keep up with developments. The common Yugoslav history taught until 1990 as general history has been replaced by rival ethnocentric histories that differ in the way they interpret and evaluate facts, while ‘de-ideologisation’, that is to say the removal – more or less – of the Marxist approach from textbooks, is commonplace, as Snjezana Koren shows. Improvements in quality have not necessarily been reflected in content, while the shared history is generally negatively evaluated, especially in the case of the first Yugoslavia. As Magdalena Najbar-Agicic and Dubravka Stojanovic show, Slovenian textbooks deal rather objectively with ‘difficult’ historical periods, such as resistance and collaboration with the fascist forces during the Second World War, and Socialist Yugoslavia, its collapse and the wars of 1991–1995, which stands in contrast to the more ethnocentric and nationalistic approaches of Croatian and Serbian textbooks, which provide the most contradictory interpretations on the cases of the Serbian Chetniks and Croatian Ustashas, emphasising religious differences. Nicola Jordanovski comments on how the contemporary textbooks in FYR Macedonia hardly differ from the approaches made in the past, sticking to Marxist ones. Heike Carge shows the different and complex approaches and attitudes of the former Yugoslav countries (minus Slovenia) towards the European Union, which are based on the stereotypical bipolar of “civilised

Europe”—“uncivilised Balkans” and saluting the present era as a ‘Return to Europe’.

In the second chapter on national and religious identities, Nicola Jordanovski states that “Macedonian identity is a modern product *par excellence*” (265) and analyses the way Macedonian nationalism has mobilised all identity-“producing” elements (myths, perception of the past, historiography, moral and political crusades, cultural wars), following Ernest Gellner’s typology (in *Nations and Nationalism*),⁴ Anthony Smith’s observation (in *Myths and Memories of the Nation*) that “the less endowed communities ... seek to attain cultural parity with the rich ones” (269) and Benedict Anderson’s arguments on linguistic historiography in *Imagined Communities* (271). In this way, it stirs national sentiment and constructs the Macedonian nation (“The autochthonous Macedonian identity is a clear case of self-definition by exclusion” (274)), underlying the politicisation of history and national identity in the Republic of Macedonia.⁵ Alexei Kalionski and Tzvetan Tzvetanski examine the confusion over Macedonia (which is considered Bulgarian territory until 1878 in Bulgarian textbooks) between Bulgarians and Macedonians. Their survey of Bulgarian students reveals the latter’s negative attitudes towards Turkey, as well as their belief that Romania and Serbia bear “historical guilt” (281) towards Bulgaria. Student attitudes towards Greece and Macedonia are more complicated: half of those interviewed expressed a “political and pragmatic positive attitude” (282) towards the former, while 51 per cent believe “the Macedonians are in fact Bulgarians” (283). Vlassis Vlassidis shows that school celebrations of the “Macedonian Struggle”, consisting of speeches, photographic exhibitions and museums visits, take place mainly in Northern Greece, Macedonia and Thrace, but are less common in the rest of Greece.

Despoina Karakatsani and Bojan Dimitrijevic analyse the presentation of the Macedonian

Question in Greek and Serb textbooks respectively. The former view the conflict as a Greco-Bulgarian affair, in which the Slav-Macedonians do not exist, emphasising Greek victory as well as the multiethnic character of the region in an effort to strike a more balanced approach. The latter see Macedonia as “Serbian historical land” (292), portray the Bulgarians as aggressive, while expressing a more accommodating attitude towards the Macedonians.

In the subchapter on religious identities, several papers underline the significance of religious identities in dealing with correlating religious differences, ethnic conflicts and religious education. In a region representing mostly the ‘other’ (Christian Orthodox and Muslim) for the West (according to Huntington’s *Clash of Civilizations*)⁶ and with the rise in ‘Islamophobia’ in Europe, issues of ‘mental barriers’ of a kind are of utmost importance, particularly considering the ‘handling’ of religion in many ex-communist counties, especially in the case of the ex-Yugoslav states where it has been subsumed within history teaching. The identification of nations through religion (Turks as Muslims, as Étienne Copeaux shows in his paper, or Greeks as Christian-Orthodox) poses a danger.⁷ The debate on the introduction or compulsive character of religious education in schools in countries such as Serbia or Romania reveal another side of the issue, while the inefficiency of religious classes in Bosnia and Austria may confuse students. In several central and eastern European countries information about Judaism is insufficient and distorted, as textbook analysis shows. Finally, as Hanna Cassis underlines, religious education should build bridges, help students get to know the other, and avoid emphasis on catechism.

The third chapter analyses the cases of Cyprus and Albania. As Nergis Canefe shows, the divided island of Cyprus, where Greek- and Turk-

ish-Cypriots identify with Greece and Turkey respectively, has produced a “crisis of citizenship” (383), while Étienne Copeaux shows that Turkish-Cypriots see Turkey, which exerts ideological control on Turkish-Cypriot textbooks, as their motherland, underlining that “historical narrative in Turkey has been shaped by the existence of the Greek otherness” (398). Loris Koullapis focuses on the use of Greek textbooks in Cypriot schools, which while only partially addressing ‘local’ history, treat the terms Cypriot and Greek as synonyms, diminishing the presence of Turkish Cypriots at the same time. Neshe Yasin analyses school rituals, narratives, pictures and the mentality of violence (looking at atrocities of any kind attributed to Greek soldiers which are presented in books and in rituals or museums) in Turkish-Cypriot schools, and finds that they are designed to provoke emotional responses from students. Ulus Irkad presents a very similar case in showing how the events of 7–9 March 1964 in Paphos have been described and distorted to provide a cruel narrative, while Niyazi Kızılyürek focuses on the similarities in how the two sides have sought to build national memory, relying on selective memory, demonisation of the other, and self-justification.

In the case of Albania, Erind Pajo deals with the ideological contradictions and the cosmology of Albanian textbooks. The current societal transformations taking place in the country have produced a subtext reverberating with inferiority complexes and a *sine conditione* surrender to the West and the power of money. Despoina Karakatsani highlights the underrepresentation of Albania in Greek textbooks, identifying the fall of the military dictatorship in Greece (1974) as a turning point after which irredentist claims on Northern Epirus were dropped from history and civic education textbooks. Dubravka Stojanović examines the antagonistic relationships between Albanians and Serbs,

who, not surprisingly, figure as negative images for each other, with the education of the Kosovo Albanian population being a particularly contentious issue.

Using more or less the same patterns and methodology and drawing the necessary distinctions between the more ‘Western’ Slovenia and the more entrenched FYR Macedonia, between the dazed Albania and the hard case of Cyprus, between new EU members Romania and Bulgaria, full of dreams and aspirations, and bitter Serbia and ‘*Sonderweg*’ Greece, *Clio in the Balkans* draws a sober picture of the region, trying to shed light on “Europe’s internal other”, as Maria Todorova describes it in *Imagining the Balkans*. ‘Learning Memory, Remembering Identity’⁸ used to be the motto of history education but, fortunately, in most cases attitudes are gradually changing. History education shapes students’ – that is to say citizens’ – attitudes towards the other, and the question of its ability to face or answer the challenges and problems of the present is crucial.⁹ Getting to know the politics of history education in the region should prove useful and thought-provoking for history teachers. Bringing together scholars and educators from the region is a most important initiative. Given that the discussion on the teaching of history is shifting from students’ to teachers’ attitudes and perspectives, works such as this are of great value.¹⁰

After mapping the existing situation, the next move was to provide the region’s history teachers with concrete help for the teaching of history: *Teaching Modern Southeast European History*, consisting of four workbooks, represents alternative educational material. Created by an international team of experts over three years, the workbooks are organised thematically and contain original source material from eleven countries of Southeast Europe.¹¹ The

four workbooks, which have been evaluated by teachers and been translated into local languages, are entitled: *The Ottoman Empire* (edited by Halil Berktaş and Bogdan Murgescu), *Nations and States in Southeast Europe* (edited by Mirela-Luminița Murgescu), *The Balkan Wars* (edited by Valery Kolev and Christina Koulouri), and *The Second World War* (edited by Krešimir Erdelja). Ensuring the highest quality and pedagogical and historical soundness, the workbooks were reviewed by Maria Todorova, Robert Stradling, Peter Vodopivec, Ivan Vejvoda, and Costa Carras.

When designing the project, several factors were taken into account: the different curricula and – more or less biased – ethnocentric approach in the teaching of history,¹² the very centralised education systems, which exercise tight control over the content of school curricula and books, in most Southeast European countries, and the need for change in history teaching as well as the need for easily accessible material necessary for change.¹³

The workbooks contain textual and visual documentation, designed to complement, but not replace, existing history textbooks; they do not aspire to provide a cohesive narrative of the history of Southeast Europe from the fourteenth century to the present. Rather, the series proposes “a rewriting of history through a lesson of method rather than content”¹⁴ through establishing “cognitive and moral aims and suggesting methods and tools for the teaching of history” (10–11). Their editors propose changes in historiographical and educational approaches.

In the first case, there is an attempt to change the way national history is taught, as well as views of the ‘other’. It also tries to reverse the stereotype of ‘Balkan peculiarity’,¹⁵ as Southeast European history has been treated in European and World History, while the history

of the region and its nations is not treated as homogeneous, harmonious and continuous: on the contrary, conflicts, divisions and differences are presented alongside common and unifying elements.

In the second case, the significance and co-existence of different, complementary and conflicting identities is highlighted. The main educational aim is the development of the critical thinking of the students; this is to be accomplished through the plurality and multiperspectivity of sources contained in the four workbooks. Testimonies and historical evidence presenting different versions and perspectives of the same event should help students realise that historical documents can be subject to different interpretations, which are not necessarily distortions. Critical thinking is essential for the development of responsible and not easily manipulated citizens.

The concept of the four workbooks is the same: political and diplomatic history coexists with social, economic, cultural, and gender history, as well as the history of mentalities and children. There is a different, ‘fresh’ approach to war, which is portrayed as part of a common human experience shared by the ‘left behind’ and soldiers, consisting of suffering, poverty, upheaval, survival and moral dilemmas. The ‘invisible’ groups, the anonymous silent persons of history, are given a voice. The sharing of similar experiences of human attitudes and pain is underlined, while the dark sides of the region’s history are not hidden either.¹⁶ Finally, the workbooks try to shed light on the prejudices that sustain the stereotype of Balkan peculiarity, enforced by the recent wars in former Yugoslavia.¹⁷

While the four workbooks are complementary, they can also be used separately. Apart from a general introduction in Workbook 1, which

explains the concept to teachers and provides them with methodological instructions, all workbooks share a common structure, comprising a chronology, an introduction, which presents the specific theme, its basic definition, points of debate, and new perspectives. Explanatory notes and specific questions on the documents (textual and visual) are found in the chapters. In addition, each workbook contains references and maps.

Translation abolishes linguistic barriers, the main communication problem among teachers in Southeast Europe, and enables people to understand the voice of the other. While the material was designed with senior secondary school students in mind, it will prove useful to university students and history teachers as they contain translations of what is, in many cases, rare material. As the series has also been translated into English, it will enable Anglophone academics to approach the history of Southeast Europe directly.¹⁸

The selection of documents will probably raise some questions among the publics of Greece and the other Southeast European countries. Arguably, as perspectives and subjective criteria differ, people will have different ideas on what the workbooks should have included or excluded. There have been different kind of reactions in terms of politics and media coverage; nationalist MPs, ranging from far left to the far right, have raised issues about the workbooks in the Greek parliament, and irrational articles have appeared in the press. As one of the teachers who took part in producing the workbooks – a unique and thought provoking experience – I can state that this was a time-consuming and hard task. The meetings on what sources to select were at times 'battles'. I believe that the finished product is quite representative in every sense. I would have liked a wider bibliography and a repre-

sentative filmography, especially in Workbook 4, as well as some references to representative novels on special topics and to art. Truly innovative and incredibly useful, the *Alternative Educational Materials* reflect the changing attitudes in history teaching which, after an unavoidable delay, has come to the region and, hopefully, to Greece too.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 For more on the Centre for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe, see its webpage at www.cdrsee.org (accessed 19 April 2007).
- 2 Eric Hobsbaum, *On History*, Athens: Themelio, 1998, p. 55 (Greek edition): "History as inspiration and ideology has an inherent tendency to become a myth of self-justification".
- 3 Ulf Brunnbauer, "Serving the Nation: Historiography in the Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) after Socialism", in *Historein* 4 (2004), pp 161–175.
- 4 For the principles of historical orientation/differentiation and forms of historical meaning, see Jörn Rüsen "Historical Consciousness: Narrative Structure: Moral Fiction and Ontogenetic Developments", in Peter Seixas (ed.), *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, Toronto: Toronto UP, 2004, pp 63–85, quoted in George Kokkinos, E. Athanasiades, S. Vouri, P. Gatsotis, P. Trantas and E. Stefos, *Historical Culture and Consciousness*, Athens: Noogramma, 2005, pp. 25–31.
- 5 Brunnbauer, "Serving the Nation", pp. 174–175.
- 6 Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order*, Athens: Terzo Books, 1998, p. 76 and elsewhere (Greek edition).

- 7 See, for example, the controversy over Greek identity cards in Greece when the Archbishop of Athens Christodoulos insisted that they retain the religious identification (Greek Orthodox), as this was a distinctive element of Greekness.
- 8 Maria Todorova (ed.), *Balkan Identities. Nation and Memory*, London: Hurst, 2004, pp. 1–3.
- 9 Thalia Dragonas, Büşra Ersanli and Anna Frangoudaki, “How Greek and Turkish students perceive History, Nation and Democracy”, in Thalia Dragonas and Faruk Birtek (eds), *Greece and Turkey: Civilian and Nation-State*, Athens: Alexandria, 2006, pp. 303–350. Also, see Ivo Matozzi, *Educating History Readers*, Athens: Metaxmio, 2006, pp. 15–28; Chris Husbands, Alison Kitson, and Anna Pendry, *Understanding History Teaching. Teaching and Learning about the Past in Secondary Schools*, Maidenhead: Open UP, 2003, pp. 3–7.
- 10 George Kokkinos, “Initial Training. Attitudes and Resistance of History Teachers”, in *Pedagogika Revmata sto Aegaiο 2* (2006), pp. 5–11.
- 11 Greece, Turkey, Cyprus, Bulgaria, FYR Macedonia, Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, and Romania.
- 12 See Emilija Simoska, “General Problems in the History Textbooks of the Balkans”, in Christina Koulouri (ed.), *Teaching the History of South-eastern Europe*, Thessaloniki: CDRSEE, 2001, pp. 97–102, who notes a “predominance of pure, one-sided factography, ethnocentrism, militarization, absence of common heritage, absence of wider European values”. See also: Christina Koulouri, “The Tyranny of History”, in the same volume, p. 25. While, over the last six years, many positive changes in textbooks and curricula in the region can be detected, there still is a long way to go.
- 13 Joke van der Leeuw-Roord, “Changing Professional Practice: Training Balkan History Educators to Become Agents of Change”, in *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research 2:1* (2001), available online at <http://www.centres.ex.ac.uk/historyresource/journalstart.htm> (accessed 19 April 2007).
- 14 Robert Stradling, *Teaching 20th-century European History*, Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, 2001, pp. 21–24; Chris Husbands, *What is History Teaching?*, Athens, Metaxmio, 2000 (1996), pp. 171–179, (Greek ed.); Henri Moniot, *Didactique de l'histoire*, Athens: Metaxmio, 2002, p. 62, and idem (ed.), *The Forest of the Content covers the Tree of History*, Athens: Metaxmio, 1993, (Greek ed.).
- 15 Mark Mazower, *The Balkans*, Athens: Patakis, 2002, pp. 25–33 (Greek edition).
- 16 Chryssi Igglesi, “Let us take again the paths of our grandparents, the ancient ancestors.’ The fear of national falsification and the national self-image in teachers’ discourse. Conclusions from pilot interviews”, in A. Frangoudaki and T. Dragonas (eds), *What is our country? Ethnocentrism in Education*, Athens: Alexandria, 1997, pp. 338–340.
- 17 Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, New York: Oxford UP, 1997, p. 186.
- 18 The *Alternative Education Materials* are being translated into Japanese, as the University of Tokyo (College of Arts and Sciences, Centre for German and European Studies) expressed an interest in accessing them. The materials may be downloaded, for free, from <http://www.cdrsee.org>.

Kostas Gavroglu

*Το Παρελθόν των Επιστημών
ως Ιστορία*

[*The Past of the Sciences as
History*]

**University of Crete Press:
Heraklion, 2004. 293 pp.**

by Aristotle Tympas

University of Athens

Science, writes Kostas Gavroglu, “[t]he exemplar, supposedly, of valid knowledge, which was assumed to be naked of everything that is irrational and subjective, has exercised an enduring attraction: students of the scientific phenomenon were oriented, almost exclusively, towards the exposition of the logical structure of its theories, the understanding of the processes by which scientific propositions were confirmed, and the search for the criteria for the demarcation of science from metaphysics”. “As a result”, he further notes, “most of the core values of what most associate with the Western way of thinking appeared to be identical to what seemed to define science, namely objectivity, rationalism, and progress” (209). *The Past of the Sciences as History* skilfully explains how this picture of science was sustained by a positivist historiography and how accumulation of critiques of the positiv-

ist historiography during the past half-century has resulted in an understanding of science as being, above all, the product of certain kinds of practice. This practice take place, for example, in the concrete institutional and material environment of a laboratory rather than in the abstracted conversations of scientists with nature and with each other. Once an exclusive partner of the ‘history of ideas,’ the version of the history of science that emerges from a reading of Gavroglu’s book interacts comfortably with social and cultural history.

Among the book’s chapters are ones on the history of the development of the specific history of science as a distinct field, on the kind of questions usually asked by historians of science, on the way historians of science relate to their sources, on the transition from a sole emphasis on scientific theories to the simultaneous consideration of scientific practices, and on a critical balance-sheet of the influence of postmodernism on the history of science. Professional historians who are not specialists in the history of science (historians of other fields are one of the book’s three target audiences) should be familiar with Gavroglu’s historiographical suggestions: placing the emphasis on the historical study of practices as indispensable to the understanding of theories, paying attention to the historical process of production of universalities (real and imagined) by the proper configuration of localities rather than by their elimination, and being sensitive to the symmetrical study of historical successes and failures. What would, however, impress them as original is that in Gavroglu’s book such suggestions have already proven their worth in studying the artefacts of the physical, and even the mathematical, sciences. For example, opposing the positivistic cleansing of science of all inappropriate influences and treating science as a set of relativistic beliefs, Gavroglu points to an historiography that shows that the uniquely successful claim of

science to objectivity during the so-called 'scientific revolution' was the product of a certain interaction with magic, astrology, alchemy, and religion, as well as neo-Platonist, Pythagorean, hermetic, animistic, and mystical orientations – an interaction that defined science as such, just as it transformed the rest.

Equally impressive to the historian who is sophisticated enough to look for rhetorical strategies in political or literary texts would be the exposure, through Gavroglu's book, to a historiography of science that identifies such strategies even in scientific texts. In addition to introducing this historiography, Gavroglu discusses variations in the degree and kind of the rhetorical strategy employed as one contrasts published scientific articles with laboratory notebooks, scientific correspondence, and other textual sources of unique importance to the history of science.

On the other hand, the public speech or the private diary of a politician and the scientific article or the laboratory notebook of a scientist are very different in regards to what is required for their proper study, as are the diagrams and the instruments of scientists, with which the historian of science must be adequately familiar before interpreting scientific work. Gavroglu is consciously absolute when it comes to this point: interpretations in the history of science must rest on a knowledge of technical detail. In turn, this assertion requires that historians of science undergo demanding training. Students considering a professional career in the history of science, another of the book's target audiences, are invited to take the challenge of a demanding education into serious consideration.

An interpretation based on technical details cannot be spontaneously accessible to all. Even the most experienced historians of science have

not been all that successful in attracting general attention to their work. After acknowledging these two problems (a demanding training process and a restricted audience), Gavroglu interprets them as signs of the maturity of the history of science as a distinct field: if a field managed to grow substantially despite an exceptional difficulty in its general reach and in educating specialists, then this is a field that already enjoys considerable prosperity. The two problems that Gavroglu detects may in fact have a common source, the unique demand for familiarity with both the social and the natural sciences. We should then, perhaps, speak of one and the same problem, which may be endemic to the history of science. In several passages, Gavroglu seems to accept this as a fact. His general reference, however, to a social and cultural history of science suggests that he is not actually at ease with this problem.

Wisely, *The Past of the Sciences as History* is not a book that claims to hold the key to any grand problem in the historiography of science. Gavroglu is much more interested in offering an exhaustive list of pragmatic suggestions on how to practice the history of science; he is explicitly against undue theorising. The test of all new historiographical suggestions, he repeats throughout his book, is how they help us produce works that advance our understanding of concrete issues. All good history, he reminds us, is, after all, spontaneously historiographically refreshing. He offers himself some of the finest samples of good history throughout his book, in the context of providing examples that illuminate the historiographical points that he introduces. The most developed of Gavroglu's examples, concerning the ways to approach the case of Galileo, the primary sources to rely on, and the secondary sources to consult, could very well be an independent monograph on the issue; it is an original work of synthesis that

blends masterfully the historical and the historiographical. Gavroglu modestly presents it as standard knowledge; it is not. His long but clear list of the prerequisites of any study of Galileo's contribution should be standard reading for Gavroglu's third intended audience: scientists who have falsely assumed that they can automatically transform themselves into historians of their field.

This is a book on the history of the historiography of science, not just on the historiography of science. This is to say that Gavroglu places new historiographical suggestions in their proper historical context; he does not discuss them as abstract theories that could be synchronically available. This allows him to suggest ways of learning, even by studying historiographical currents that we now unanimously consider outmoded and unfashionable, such as placing emphasis upon issues of historical priority over scientific discovery. In the opinion of this reviewer, a more developed description of the relative crisis of science since the 1960s (when it became growingly self-aware of its environmental, political, and military impact) could further illustrate the forces that pushed the positivist history of science and its linear narrative of progress aside. This could decisively bring to the fore the historiographical importance of studying science in use, in order to better understand what was possible and what was impossible from the way science was produced in the laboratory.

Gavroglu convincingly argues that as historians of science moved beyond their biased focus on scientific theories, they found multiple important laboratory and experimental cultures, to which the theoretical and the practical are both indispensable. Correct as it may be to retrieve the importance of activities contributing crucially to the formation of science (but not in the name of theory), it runs the risk of imply-

ing that the two, the practical and the theoretical, enjoyed the same respect, as if there were no hegemony of the latter over the former. It seems to me that such hegemony existed, and that studying it could perhaps allow us to relate the hierarchical mode of the organisation of scientific work to the overall pyramidal mode of the organisation of social work, thereby facilitating even more the advancement of the social and cultural history of science.

Eugenios D. Matthiopoulos

***J. Mita. Η ζωή και το έργο
του Γιάννη Μιταράκη
(1897–1963)***

**[*J. Mita. The Life and Work
of Yiannis Mitarakis*]**

**Athens: Benaki Museum, 2006.
395 pp.**

by Annie Malama

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Constructing a monograph by deconstructing its main subject, the artist, is how we could describe the main intention of the book *J. Mita. The Life and Work of Yiannis Mitarakis (1897–1963)*. Based mostly on the Yiannis Mitarakis archive at the Benaki Museum, the book is divided into two main parts, one consisting of Matthiopoulos's text referring to the painter's life and work, suggesting an interpretation of both, while the second one includes a thorough presentation of the collective perception of Mitarakis's oeuvre as well as a catalogue of his exhibitions, publications and works (along with high quality photographic material of his works as well as snapshots from his professional and personal life and times).

In the first part of the book the reader finds an

exhaustive timeline of the painter's life followed by a fully documented commentary. The author's main intention is actually accomplished by "setting an individual's life against historical time" (44), in the social context so to speak. Thus, the author provides an understanding of contemporary social issues; all the information concerning the artist emerges from his contemporary historical horizon, political situation, social and cultural circumstances so as to introduce Yiannis Mitarakis as an historical subject.

The book endeavours to interpret the concept of the artist, that is, to understand the methodological approach of artists in general. The romantic notion of the artist is questioned, discussed, argued and not used as a methodological model for writing art history. In *J. Mita* the narration focuses on historical facts in a way far from common in the bibliography of the Greek history of art. Actually this approach focuses on what has mostly been neglected in this field; historical thought, research, and documentation. As regards his method, Matthiopoulos also explains that – being mostly interested in asking questions than forming conclusions – he aims at pointing out the "internal-subjective" procedures as well as the "external-objective" conditions which gave Mitarakis's work its particular form.

Mitarakis's life and work seem interwoven in a narration based both on reflection as well as on observation and experience. As special attention is given to the documentation of the cited data, there are no secrets referring to 'faceless' committees or withheld records. Mitarakis's candidature for the Athens School of Fine Arts in 1945 and 1956 is only one of the many good examples of this. There is no doubt that the book represents a rich databank for every scholar interested in twentieth-century Greek art.

Special treatment is also given to the role of space and to the relation of the centre to the peripheries; Paris, Athens and Alexandria in this case are associated not only from “the top down” but vice versa too.

One of the book’s controversial points is that, although it is exemplary in the monograph genre and it significantly contributes to the historiography of Greek art (both as model and as case study), Matthiopoulos seems at times to lose his main focus, fascinated as he is by the historical horizon and probably driven by an urge to include as much information as possible. Furthermore the language is at times incomprehensible, hermetic and wantonly complex, such as when he refers to “the trivial futurist mask of the avant-garde” (44).

Nevertheless, the book as a whole can be viewed as an occasion to transcend the established hierarchy of Greek historiography, as well as a substantial approach to two different but interdependent directions, equally important to the understanding of the ‘meritocracy’ system of Greek art historiography and to the emergence of new topics, such as:

- the false distinction between ‘major’ and ‘minor’ artists, ‘highly’ and ‘less gifted’, ‘masters’ and ‘disciples’ in twentieth-century Greek art history. That does not mean by any chance that the author is trying to glorify Mitarakis. On the contrary, his outlook always remains clear and sharp. It is just the fact that as the book’s main line of discussion inevitably revolves around that false distinction, by contemplating the artist’s active presence in the world of art during his lifetime, the numerous critical notes about his work and his eventually weak presence (or even absence) from the history of Greek art, it makes obvious how made up distinctions of this kind are. In other words, one may ask oneself why

an artist who is so actively involved in the art scene of his time and whose work does not lack the features and qualities of the work of other Greek artists who are considered ‘major’, why he is not regarded as being equal to the ‘majors’, and why he is considered to be, more or less, a ‘minor’ figure in Greek art

- the mannerisms of art criticism, the absence of any substantial institutions and activities, the opportunistic choices of an anaemic artistic scene.

From the laudatory criticism of Zacharias Papantoniou, then director of the National Gallery of Greece, of Mitarakis’s show in 1937 to Marinou Kalligas’s note almost twenty years later, and to the ‘overdone’ reading of Mitarakis’s abstract suggestions by well-known and distinguished post-war names, such as Angelos Prokopiou, Toni Spiteris and Yiorgos Petris (to name but a few), it is obvious that the texts are “constructive elements of the creative process” (48) as the author maintains, and also that the necessary qualities of the works of art are not to be found within them but have to be invented (such as the notorious Greekness).

Matthiopoulos’s book is a thoroughly researched, creatively documented and elaborated piece of academic work, a significant source of information on the contemporary historiography of Greek art, challenging arbitrary ways of working and offering food for thought. In fact, with *J. Mita*, he creates the terrain for new forms of debate on the main issues concerning modern Greek art, from the definition of ‘modern’ itself in the Greek context, to the formation of the dominant historical viewpoint, and to the focus on the ‘kitchen’ where historical writing is prepared.

Sande Cohen
***History out of Joint. Essays
 on the Use and Abuse of
 History***

**The Johns Hopkins UP,
 Baltimore 2006. 307 pp.**

by George Kokkinos

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Sande Cohen teaches at the School of Critical Studies of the California Institute of the Arts. He is orientated towards the disciplinary fields of the epistemology of history, intellectual history as well as cultural theory and criticism; in addition, he is particularly interested in the reception of the French strand of deconstruction and postmodernism by American academia. In this respect, his academic engagement is also related to the sociology of the intelligentsia. His book publications include *Historical Culture: On the Recoding of an Academic Discipline* (1986), *Academia and the Luster of Capital* (1993), *Passive Nihilism* (1998), *French Theory in America* (in collaboration with Sylvère Lotringer) (2001), *Consumption in an Age of Information* (with R. L. Rutsky) (2005) and, more recently, *Cultural Stupidity and Smart Institutions* (2006). Cohen's epistemological footprint along with his broader perspective may be defined, in this reviewer's opinion, by what Hal

Foster calls "post-modernism of resistance", or in the words of Fredric Jameson "pioneering-modern post-modernism".¹

The book comprises selected essays and is divided into two separate parts. The most noteworthy element of Cohen's book is the set of questions he raises along with the originality of the approaches he brings into play. On the other hand, the book's weakness is the over-exaggeration of theory by and large far removed from the discipline of history; in the absence of the socio-political stake formulated by the – asymmetrical – power relations, emerging within the historical community itself (the politics of academic power, properly speaking).

Undoubtedly, the introduction, where Cohen presents his methodology, is of critical importance as is the scholar's whole range of contemplation and themes. Within this framework, the fundamental partition between fact and narrative serves as a focal point of his argumentation, namely, the constructing and intermediary factor of historical discourse as well as the constraints of representation in correlation with (what is defined as) historical reality. He orientates himself within the agenda of the post-modern epistemological assumption that claims a fact acquires historical significance *not* before its narration (and conceptual) embodiment; to this extent, it does not correspond to an external reality *per se* connected to an historian's awareness ("an event is a story" (10)). However, this is a statement which presupposes that language performs internally and constitutionally in the formulation of both historical representation and interpretation.

A commentary on ideas stemming from intellectuals such as Nietzsche, Roland Barthes, Hayden White and Joel Fineman, prevails throughout the first part of the book, providing a wide spec-

trum of the reception of historical knowledge, the various uses (and abuses) of the past. In addition, it probes into the elaborations and the processes of constructing collective attitudes regarding the historical past and the discipline of history (looking at, for example, on the one hand, the press as an organising conveyer of the public discourse on the past as well as a representative institution of the past, and, on the other, the politics of identity). It explores the incomprehensiveness of the post-modern idol on a global-scale, which undercuts the idea of historicity itself; and it destabilises the public use of history and the manufacturing of new fields for speaking publicly on the past. All this is done in correlation with the new epistemological and historiographical achievements along with a wide range of re-structured roles for the professional historian. He concludes with the remark that the narrativisation of the past, being inherently selective, shattered and intentional, seeks to exert control over time and reflects the asymmetrical relations of the real and symbolic power of the rival social bodies. All essays in the first part are clearly influenced by the research *desiderata* of the sociology of historical knowledge, nevertheless without transparently revealing the ideologico-political context, as is the case, for example, with Frank Furedi's indispensable volume *Mythical Past, Elusive Future. History and Society in an Anxious Age* (London: Pluto Press, 1992).

Despite the book's initial multiplicity, its depth and analytical sophistication, the non-American reader is confronted with the author's preoccupation with the "American case" as a synonym for the defining magnitude of the academic evolution and of ideas in the States. In this respect, it lacks the necessary comparative perspective, which would represent a substantive contribution to the sociological perception of present-day historical discourse.

The second chapter focuses on philosophical, theoretical and epistemological topics, having as its backbone the relative approaches of Jacques Derrida, Jean-François Lyotard, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. The preconditions and the limitations of the referential function of historical discourse represent the axis along which this part is organised. Throughout Chapter 6 in particular the writer probes into Derrida's notions concerning historical science and the historian by commenting on the latter's book *Specters of Marx* (1994), where the French philosopher offers a "deconstructive version" or rather a "deconstructive reading" of history's Marxian philosophy. In Chapter 7, Cohen moves toward the historical-epistemological deliberation of Lyotard, formulating the conviction that it comprises the most authentic and original version of postmodern philosophy in the field of history. The writer has already charged present-day historians for denouncing Lyotard's composition as "extremist"; this was made on the ground that Lyotard's contemplation rested on the idea that in a globe of signifiers, multiple interpretations, reflections and mirrorings, a historian can have no real clue of objective and neutral representations of the past. The following chapter demonstrates Deleuze and Guattari's historical assessment, according to which the normative socio-political use of historiography from Thucydides to current scholars keeps going through the symbolic establishing of a power apparatus. The abovementioned suggest that historiography should be considered to be a cultural practice integrated in the "genealogy of despotism" (120), which carries out assignments respectively on the state's ideological machinery along with its biopolitical, legislative, bureaucratic, ruling and economic-classifying practices. Finally, Chapter 9 refers to the meta-historical philosophy of temporality as it is articulated in Deleuze's *Difference and Repetition* (1994). A rather surprising el-

ement in this regard is the absence from the book's second part of Michel Foucault's cardinal epistemological and historical manifestation; however, the genealogical model, which was inaugurated by the very same intellectual, is dominant. Cohen claims that the genealogical analysis should be identified with a practice of critical thought that asks how readers, identities, and historical periodisation are joined, and asks which processes are named and narrated away by specific texts of historical representation (261).

Besides the fact that the philosophical and epistemological dimensions reign in Cohen's analysis, he crosses the threshold of the issues under question in a not all too vague way. He utilises "cultural flux" as a platform, and in particular the politics of culture, the current symbolic battles and identity debates over history, politicised culture and aesthetics or even the educational policies concerning the issues of cultural identity, collective memory and historical awareness. Cohen concentrates on a web of self-contrasting discourses about the past, the breakages or symbolic juxtapositions of politico-social groups, the state and the institutions regarding the context of the official historical narrative; in other words, he addresses rivalry over the past. It is well known that this rivalry is also expressed furiously within the academic community itself, substantiated as a conflict over the endorsement of certain epistemological paradigms and norms, the institutional establishment of cognitive areas, the validation of methodological backgrounds, the theoretical backing along the outline of historical scholarship and, more generally, the possession and allocation of material and symbolic sources, not to mention the structuring of power plays.

From this standpoint, Cohen confronts academic historiography as the signifying practice which

aims at composing a linear-causal sequel of historical events subsequent to the process of a chaotic sum of heterogeneous events; a sequel which obtains crucial legitimacy only as long as the crafted knowledge becomes internalised, progressing to a collective conviction; or, in other words, as an externalised system of practices, which bestows normative significance and force on concepts related firstly with the evoking of selected facets of the past in the present and then with society's anticipation of the future. In this case the transformation of socio-political and cultural practices is interwoven with the shift in the very same concept of the system of collective memory.

Therefore, historiography still sustains amalgamating bonds and identities. Yet, these identities are multiple and occasionally overlap; given that the social entity has been shattered, historical culture and education have been democratised and as a result historical narratives have been de-normativised. Historiography is not potent enough, as its conventional version was, in the past, to erect and enforce, through official state discourse, a solid historical culture and consciousness in national ceremonies and educational arms instead of shaping nuclei of historical connotation, what we might also call 'plural pasts'. The pessimist yet realistic reading of the past impels Cohen to the conclusion that developing a historiographical narrative is no longer possible, in so much a common normative gist has vanished along with the fact that every single discourse strives to establish and reproduce a whole power game (125). Cohen goes as far as to argue that besides the fact that history as a discipline emerged historically in structural accordance with the capitalist mode of production, aiming at a normative collective meaning which would epitomise Western civilisation, the nation, the intellectual, political, economic and military leadership or the social order. Therefore in the present

conjecture, capitalism's expansion renders a rock-hard historical narrative practically unattainable, since its functional principle is the incessant fragmentation of the social body – a fact which unquestionably leads to partiality and disintegration of “the” meaning (125).

Concurrently, critical theory and the epistemology of history, referred to as meta-history because of its capacity to scrutinise the theoretical presuppositions and the constraints of historical scholarship while casting light on the *historicity* of historical interpretation and consecutively, the misleading weight of historical discourse. In fact, due to the constant self-considering and emancipating character of scholarship, history becomes very dangerous in a society which uses historical telling in order to establish the status quo and exclude future contenders for hegemony. In virtue, the meta-historical approach records historiography's ideological investment and draws to the surface its narrative strategies by bringing into question the dependence of conventional historical discourse as well as historiographical modernism on the notions of objectivity, value neutrality, progress, morality and prejudice lifting.

This de-mythising operation of the meta-historical approach, essentially associated with Reinhart Koselleck's concept of the final triumph of the defeated at the level of interpretation,² combined with its supposedly elitist character along with its cultural and linguistic determinism, has attracted harsh criticism from a broad spectrum of opponents. This sort of criticism blames meta-historical considerations for total relativism, attributed to it by challenging ascertained epistemological pre-assumptions. Thus, it is argued that this approach moves beyond undermining the hegemony of historiographical modernism; it imperils *ipso facto* the historical discipline as a mechanism of self-conscious-

ness and emancipation. Therefore, critical historical epistemology contains an 'oxymoron' in so far as it is employed in societies evoking the past in order to legitimise the present and sketch out the future (260); in societies where, according to Claude Lévi-Strauss, a historical narrative gains social reception when it succeeds in transforming itself from “history with conscious or unconscious intentionality” into history identifying the interpretation with the fact itself.

Cohen charts the roles played by present-day historians while striving to investigate analytically the exact connotation of these roles. He is concerned with the question whether new collateral or alternative roles for historians have been developed which might tend to substitute traditional roles, such as the lover of the past, expert, champion of nationalism and public intellectual. He scrutinises the academic and the public image of contemporary professionals, claiming there is an underlying nostalgia for these conventional roles, which in essence functions as a divergent movement given the rapid advances brought about by the globalisation of communication, the transformation of social processes, the high-technology revolution (also evident in the shift in techniques in representing the past), the collapse of the concept of 'progress', identity politics, cultural relativism, and the drawback of 'high-culture' within the post-modern mirroring. In opposition to these agonising issues, Cohen seeks to respond by utilising Peter Sloterdijk's observations and aligning himself accordingly with the approaches of intellectuals such as Roland Barthes, Hannah Arendt, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, Hayden White, Ronald Dworkin, Jacques Rancière and others. Cohen states that the total change in internal and external conditions which shape and socially diffuse historical knowledge, resulting in the reorientation of the historical profession.

Predominantly, historians are impelled to abandon, rather embarrassingly, historiography's function as an inclusive cultural function based on the criteria of methodological verification and neutrality. However, this does not occur in the sense of the genealogical past-present co-articulation as it was the case in traditional terms, but is linked to the demand to control the future, namely the enforcement of historical roots, the accreditation of specificity and the safeguarding or upgrading of competing social groups. Still, this shift thrusts historiography into the centre of the ideological battlefield created by cultural politics.

From this vantage point, the chief role of present-day historians has to be, according to Cohen, the constant reformulation/reconstruction, and not the correction or bricolage, of the narrating representations and the multiple versions of interpreting the past. Clearly, this new role contradicts and, to some extent, exceeds the deeply-rooted de-personalisation of historical discourse, a remark firstly made by Barthes in his essay "Historical Discourse" (1967). Finally, the author describes the historian as a theorist set between dichotomic contradicted bipolarities, in hierarchical opposition: objectivity and subjectivity, scholarly referential discourse and myth-making, the search for the truth and the multiplicity of its versions, "pure" discipline and the public utilisation of the concern for the past (117–18).

Cohen confronts the academic and public image of Isaiah Berlin, a person exemplifying the historian-expert, as a residue of the historian's traditional role. It should be noted that Berlin managed to raise himself beyond ideological constraints while moving in the tradition of political liberalism and expressing the concept of neutrality as much as empathy in historically grasping the past's otherness, an advantage gained by a deep command of his-

torical sources, methodological freedom and respect of singularities.

Nonetheless, Eric Hobsbawm is, in Cohen's view, an outstanding example of a public intellectual. If Berlin exemplifies the liberal historiographical tradition, then Hobsbawm is his Marxist equivalent. Cohen criticises Hobsbawm for his incapability of figuring out the cardinal changes that have taken place in historiography and in the various uses of the past. Moreover, he criticises him, as well as many other Marxists, for demonising post-structural, post-historical approaches, appraising them as Trojan horses intruding into the historical discipline. At the same time, by instrumentalising Marxism and de-historicising capitalism Hobsbawm remains attached to a Marxist metaphysics of history, since he basically fails to grasp capitalism's internal dynamics and its contemporary transformations. Yet, as Cohen states, due to his dogmatising and rigidity, the radical innovator of historical research has become an advocate of the unfeasible in the "grand narrative" of the present, tending to be normative and despotic. He has become a harsh adversary of any alternative or antithetical approach which combats Marxist epistemological and ideological grounds (81–84).

A remarkable theme, among others, is Cohen's assessment of Dworkin's endorsement of affirmative action and the related percentages of Afro-American students accessing institutions of higher education. Cohen views affirmative action as a facet of an inherent problem within present-day historical awareness, as a form of "curing by history". From his perspective, such a way of healing or dealing with history instrumentalises the negative distinctions of the past and policies of exclusion, "in the name of negating a negative past" (112), namely favouring a just, buoyant and intra-cultural future. In this respect, it implicitly changes an historian

into a moralist, a fair judge, a public intellectual who lifts the injustices of the past by balancing, as much as possible, the asymmetrical class conflict created by capitalism flavoured by the spirit of socially insightful liberalism.

Christina Koulouri
(series editor)

***Teaching Modern Southeast
European History:
Alternative Educational
Materials, 4 vols.***

**Thessaloniki: CDRSEE, 2005.
141 + 139 + 135 + 145 pp.**

by Augusta Dimou

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FOOTNOTES

- 1 Hal Foster, "A Preface", in Hal Foster (ed.), *Post-modern Culture*, London: Pluto Press 1985, ix–x and Fredric Jameson, "The Politics of Theory. Ideological Positions in the Postmodernist Debate", in Fredric Jameson, *The Ideologies of Theory. Essays 1971–1986*, vol. 2: *The Syntax of History*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988, 107–110. As regards the Greek bibliography related to these issues, see George Kokkinos, *Συμβολικοί πόλεμοι για την Ιστορία και την Κουλτούρα. Το παράδειγμα της σχολικής ιστορίας στις Ηνωμένες Πολιτείες της Αμερικής*, Athens: Metaichmio, 2006, 95–97.
- 2 Reinhart Koselleck, *The Practice of Conceptual History. Timing History, Spacing Concepts*, (with an introduction by Hayden White) (trans. Todd Samuel Presner et al.), Stanford: Stanford UP, 2002, 76–77 and 83.

To appreciate a work for its quality without being able to estimate the amount of labour involved in producing it, is often the trademark of a successful oeuvre. To appear effortless is usually one of its assets. Anyone who has taken a glance at the four workbooks published by the Centre for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe (CDRSEE) will agree. Anyone who has ever attempted to materialise such an intellectual endeavour on such a comprehensive, all-Balkan cooperative scale, however, knows the calamities and challenges facing such a task. The *Alternative Educational Materials* (henceforth *Materials*), consisting of four workbooks, produced by the CDRSEE under the editorship of Christina Koulouri, are the result of an efficient four-year NGO project in the region. It must be emphasised that these four workbooks are the successful and tangible result of one project among many

in the region that never came close to achieving anything as meaningful.

Bringing together an unprecedented ensemble of diverse experts, diverse not only by virtue of their specialisation (more than 60 people, among them academics and teachers, were involved in the various stages of its production), but also of their ethnic origin and geographic dispersion. Involving experts from all over Southeast Europe (SEE) and beyond, the *Materials* are not only the successful crowning of a project, but a pioneering achievement in respect to teaching history at secondary level in the region. Whether one will appreciate the *Materials* – and there are indeed many good reasons why one should –, one thing is certain; they represent a landmark in what were, until recently, the standards of history teaching. Moreover, they are bound to become a point of reference, which nobody working in the field – including the critics – will be able to ignore.

The *Materials* are the maturation of a reflection process, the preliminary phase of which dates back in the late 1990s and resulted in two 'cartographic' publications. *Teaching the History of Southeastern Europe* and *Clio in the Balkans. The Politics of History Education* aimed, on the one hand, at mapping out the major problems in history teaching, and, on the other, at identifying the reciprocal stereotypes and prejudices in the diverse historical canons of the Southeast European countries.¹ The *Materials* are thus the result of the decision "to formulate a positive proposal on the teaching of history" (Workbook 1, 9), going beyond the well-established practice of identifying its problems and shortcomings. Each workbook is dedicated to a different historical period, covering a time span from the fourteenth to the twentieth century: *The Ottoman Empire* (Workbook 1), *Nations and States in Southeast Europe* (Workbook 2), *The Balkan Wars* (Workbook 3) and *The*

Second World War (Workbook 4) are meant to complement, but not substitute, existing history textbooks in SEE. Given the existing diversity of educational systems and syllabi, this was a wise decision. Additional educational materials have become commonplace in many parts of the world. They not only enrich the existing textbook landscape, but also empower teachers to make full use of their and their pupils' creative and analytical potential.

The four workbooks are laid out in a symmetrical manner. Each comprises an instructive introduction, a chronological chart of the relevant period allowing for an overview of the major events, whereas the main corpus of each consists of sources (both textual and visual) organised in thematic chapters. An explanatory paragraph usually accompanies each source, providing for a small summary of its author, the context in which it was produced, or giving general information on its subject. The sources are accompanied by excellent tasks (the didactical merits of the *Materials* are discussed below), whereas each chapter concludes with additional general questions on the chapter.

The decision to produce alternative educational materials was linked to yet another consideration. The *Materials* do not aspire to tell a new, cohesive and comprehensive 'single' history of SEE, rather they propose a fresh look at the history of the region, emphasising method rather than content. Herein lies their strength. Instead of reiterating the canon of national histories, they approach four significant and, for most SEE countries, common historical legacies, in the best tradition of social, cultural and, to a certain extent, economic history, without scorning political or diplomatic history. So next to letters, opinionated newspaper articles or memoirs, one will also find useful documents on diplomatic and political history, such as the Treaty of Berlin, the Hatt-i Humayoun, or the

nineteenth-century constitutions of various SEE states. Needless to say, the workbooks could also be effectively used in teaching various topics of Balkan history at university level. In anticipation of the critics who will predictably claim that national history is inadequately or partially represented in the workbooks, it is important to stress that the *Materials* do not aspire to and were not created for this purpose. They are more an exercise in historical thinking than anything else. The *Materials* do not antagonise national history either; they antagonise nationalistic history. But these are two different things, after all. Finally, as national history is, de facto, adequately covered in each nation's history textbooks, the purpose of the *Materials* is to add components that have been neglected.

What do the *Materials* have to offer? Firstly, didactically and methodologically processed and gestated history; history is not only a compendium of knowledge or facts to be absorbed or digested, rather it is a way of processing facts, a method for understanding human activity, as well as a way of thinking critically and analytically. Children should be able to follow processes, make relevant associations or comparisons, orient themselves in time, and be able to place historical events in the right context. Secondly, insights into the work and the tools of the historian; in the best and oldest tradition of the historian's handcraft, the workbooks provide sources and ask children to analyse them. In other words, to do what all good and conscientious historians do, that is critical source analysis. Moreover, they provide children not only with conventional but also controversial and ambivalent material, asking them to reflect on difficult issues and to build their own opinions. Children become thus conscious that a historical document may be subject to different interpretations, that according to the perspective and the analytical angle

an event can enjoy different interpretations, and, more importantly, that it is the historian that produces history and not the other way around. Thirdly, a sense of the change of human experience through time; history is not presented as a static, never-changing process but, on the contrary, as a dynamic process with many potential outcomes and designs, a circumstance that enhances the sense of responsibility and thus enforces several building blocks of civic education. Fourthly, they provide two perspectives that have been absent from the region's history textbooks, namely a view of the region as whole and a comparative view of SEE history. This has long been an urgent task not only due to the fact that through the renegotiation of the European space, the traditional concepts, regional categorisations and divisions are changing and will continue to do so, but most importantly because the region shares multiple historical legacies, either through the experience of empire or due to similar structural characteristics or socio-political developments (such as the processes of state-building and modernisation). This task is only in its early stages.

Although there have been hesitant, if only superficial, moves towards a Balkan rapprochement at a political level, (and although political scientists generously employ concepts like "Southeast Europe" in their politological discourses, particularly when it comes to secure funding from European institutions), little or nothing has been done at the level of mentalities. This is, nonetheless, the most crucial level when it comes to creating the conditions for long-lasting and substantial peace and cooperation in the region. While the mental blocks that exist have their own long, true or fictive background history, they are to a great extent based on ignorance. Children in SEE lack basic knowledge on their neighbours, and the overwhelming concentration on national history

only serves to feed this solipsism. Changing mentalities is a long and painful procedure, requiring patient work at multiple levels at the grassroots of society, especially in the education sector. The *Materials* are a courageous step in the right direction and a great example of what good practice can look like.

The *Materials* combine two important assets. In the first instance, they offer a view of the history of the region which not only conceptualises SEE as an organic historical entity, the shared living space of the Balkan populations, but also attempts to incorporate their multiple, often diverging views on this shared, yet conflictual, legacy. In the second, the conceptualisation is very clear and consistent, and the balance between history and didactics is achieved perfectly. This is not history clumsily and retrospectively didactically processed, nor is this about didactics with a touch of history. These two aspects are interwoven from the beginning, producing a very charismatic and attractive fabric. Anyone who has ever attempted to write a history textbook knows how difficult it is to find the golden mean between the transmission of knowledge and the acquisition of skills. From a pedagogical point of view then, the *Materials* are at the cutting edge of modern peace and civic education. Furthermore, they are capable of stimulating the appropriate form of critical historical thinking. Finally, it is refreshing to learn that although the pedagogical experts went to great pains to produce tasks that are age relevant, they did not fall into the trap of the contemporary pedagogical fashion that wants all knowledge acquisition to consist solely of fun and play. On the contrary, the acquisition of historical knowledge involves work, albeit imaginative and creative work. How is this achieved? A few examples:

- Making the role of propaganda and mobilisation techniques clear and asking pupils to

distinguish between opinion and fact

- Placing issues in multiple comparative and complex perspectives: Balkan, inter-Balkan, Western European, etc.
- Providing for the reading of complex historical sources, such as statistical data, tables, charts, etc.
- Making history relevant to youngsters by asking pupils to relate historical events or situations to their contemporary experience
- Providing tasks that motivate pupils to do research beyond the requirements of the lesson or the class
- Asking pupils to apply their imaginations and create their own opinions
- Asking them to switch from their own perspective by putting themselves in others' shoes through role play
- Asking them to evaluate and explain the reasoning behind a certain perspective
- Acquainting them with the idea that human beings consist of several and complementary identities, beyond national identification
- Asking them how would they have reacted in given situations
- Making them question given authority
- Asking pupils to question and double-check their established knowledge and stereotypes
- Employing visual materials and asking them to analyse and compare them
- Giving them tasks where they have to extrapolate information or conclusions, which are not always overtly stated in the source, thus stimulating them not only to engage in in-depth reading of sources, but also in critical text analysis
- Asking them questions that activate their broader, general knowledge beyond the given source or situation

- Making them conscious of the function of memory and symbolic practices
- Asking them to relate different sources of different provenance to each other and compare them
- Asking them to make comprehensive summaries of what they have extracted from larger knowledge complexes
- Stimulating pupils not to take history for granted, but to learn to reason about history, think in terms of cause and effect, and extract conclusions, etc.

From a historical point of view, the *Materials* adhere to the principle that history is above all a hermeneutical discipline. Understanding and interpreting history are cognitive processes constituent of the discipline. The four periods covered by the workbooks were wisely chosen, and it should be emphasised that they represent not only important but also difficult topics of SEE history. In their thematic subunits they incorporate various genres of history; the social, political, cultural and economic have already been mentioned. The reader will be also able to appreciate aspects of women's history, intellectual history and the history of everyday life. The workbooks consist of an unexampled richness of sources, collected from eleven countries, a remarkable achievement indeed, considering that nothing of this kind or breadth has ever been produced before, and that it would have been impossible without the cooperation of such an extensive multiethnic research group.

The choice of sources is not random, and one can only imagine the effortful labour of selection that went in to producing this result. It was also a wise decision not to fall prey to the temptation of symmetrical national representation, that is having a source from each country in each thematic unit; rather sources are selected by virtue of their representativity

and their capacity to illuminate a historical topic or circumstance. What is ingenious about the choice of the sources is that they usually complement each other quite well and in a variety of ways, by adding new perspectives, either complementary, comparative or contradictory. Events, thus, are shown as contingent on the context that produced them, and, similarly, the viewpoint of the sources as contingent on their creator. The indirect moral is that history is about perspectivity, and that in order to proceed with the systematisation of historical knowledge, it is necessary to take multiple perspectives into account. Another valuable advantage is the possibility to make vertical use of the workbooks: one could easily combine the workbook on nation-states (Workbook 2) with the one on the Balkan Wars (Workbook 3) when discussing the issue of nationalism or the national aspirations and agendas. Both demonstrate nicely the claims of each side, the arguments applied to legitimise those claims, and at the same time, the incompatibility of these claims when read in juxtaposition.

Workbook 1 is devoted to the Ottoman Empire, containing subchapters on the Ottoman expansion into Southeastern Europe; on the imperial institutions (sultan, devshirme and timar systems), on ideology, practices of the administrative system, perspectives from the provinces and vassal states, religious institutions, the various communities and their practices (Muslims, Christians, Jews, as well as forms of coexistence and discrimination), different social categories; as well as providing vignettes of daily life (elites and commoners, life in the villages and towns, the border regions, the lives of women) and finally reactions to crises such as natural catastrophes and political crises, wars and rebellions. In the case of the Ottoman Empire, for example, we are presented not only with the multiple social milieus that made up the empire, but also the options as well as

the limitations encountered by its subjects. In this way, the reader will be able to appreciate a source presenting a young man's petition to be wilfully converted to Islam, two sources describing the devshirme system, one from a janissary and one from a Christian, which contradict each other as regards the way this practice was executed, the memoirs of a devshirme recruit who eventually became a pasha, a source recounting the execution of an Orthodox for wearing improper clothes, or one decreeing the prohibition to build a new Christian church. The sources are like a kaleidoscope presenting the various facets of the logic of the imperial system.

Workbook 2 deals with nation- and state- building in SEE and takes a *longue-durée* perspective on this process from the late eighteenth to the end of the twentieth century. Its agenda is to historicise the nation by discussing national self-definitions and deconstructing the notion of national uniqueness and authenticity. The workbook consists of subchapters on the efforts to create nation-states, the process of organising nation-states (constitutions, definitions of citizenship, the relationship between nations and churches, the infrastructural build-up of the nation state and the programmatic definitions of the nation), the role of national ideologies (self-definitions, national symbols, national mythologies) and a final section on conflicting nationalisms (ideologies with the intention of mobilising for conflict, concrete conflicts, attempts to overcome nationalism). In addition, this workbook manages to transmit some well-conceived themes. On the one hand, it is possible to witness the process of organising the various nation-states, which in doing so encountered common problems. On the other, it discusses the various and changeable plans for the creation of nation-states, demonstrating not only the pluralism in the conceptualisations, definitions and plans of each ethnic group, but

also the mutations they underwent over the course of time. Moreover, we are presented with a wide array of plans and manifestos which never materialised, demonstrating options that appeared plausible at certain points in time but which did not become the 'winners of history'. The main theme here is change. Wonderful, illustrative examples are offered by the change of definitions of citizenship in the Romanian constitution of 1879, the Treaty on Minorities of 1919 and finally the inter-war Romanian constitution of 1923, or the change of definitions of the nation in the ideology of Kemal Atatürk between 1920 and 1929.

With respect to the organisation of Workbook 2, it might have been a good idea to have included the Enlightenment as a separate introductory subchapter, not only because it was the prelude to the nation-state, but also because it was the prelude to all discussions about modernity in the Balkans. It should be stressed that this observation is facultative; the workbook loses nothing of its value in failing to include the Enlightenment. Minor objections could be raised with respect to the commentary provided alongside three sources. In Source IV-9, "Declaration of the First Antifascist Assembly for the liberation of the Macedonian People (1944)", the commentary qualifies the Socialist Federation of the Republics of Yugoslavia as a "totalitarian political system of the Communist type" (118). The political qualification of communist systems is a difficult and controversial issue indeed; however, if one qualifies communist Yugoslavia as totalitarian, how would one qualify Stalin's Russia? In Source IV-10, "The difficulties of the anti-colonial struggle in Cyprus (1955-1959), analysed by the leader of EOKA, George Grivas (Dighenis)," the task asks pupils to analyse every argument that "the leader of the anti-colonial struggle" identifies (119). To classify Grivas as the "leader of the anti-colonial struggle" is too much of a euphemism. Grivas

was certainly not the Greek equivalent of Patrice Lumumba; that should be made clear. The final objection regards the questions following Source IV–14, “The memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Sciences (SANU) 1986” (122–124). The tasks ask pupils to figure out why, in the first place, did Tito try to limit the Serb influence in communist Yugoslavia, and whether this was determined by the experience of the tensions generated by the pan-Serb policies of the inter-war period. My first objection is of a didactical nature. The tasks are a bit more suggestive than they should be; the questions already suggest the answers. In addition, only the pupils from the Yugoslav successor states would be in a position to try to answer this kind of question. It requires a pre-knowledge that is not taught in other Balkan countries. My second objection is of a historical nature. The source is related to the recent Yugoslav Wars; however, the tasks refer to the inter-war period. Tasks and source, taken together, establish hermeneutically a historical continuity that is not evident and should be not taken for granted. Of course, both the first and the second Yugoslavia were tormented by the same issues: such as the national question, however under different conditions and preconditions, and different political systems. Historical scholarship – journalistic approaches aside – has not as yet answered this question in a sufficient manner. How then can pupils attempt to answer it? In the case of the Yugoslav successor states, such a question would probably provoke more emotional responses than responses based on historical reasoning.

The Balkan Wars are the theme of the third volume, which begins with the economic and social conditions around the turn of the century before moving on to politics (mobilising ideologies, the Eastern Question, expectations of and proclamations of war). The third subchapter is dedicated to the social history of the war (war

fronts, life at the front, the parallel war, and behind the front), while the fourth deals with battlefields and onlookers, with a part covering the Balkan lands of Austria-Hungary, an area missing in other volumes, and concludes with the political, socio-economic and ideological consequences of the wars. Precious here is the skilful employment of social history in approaching a subject like “how can we teach war?” The Balkan Wars are a central event in SEE history, not only because almost all countries of the region were involved, but more importantly because they have had long-lasting effects, the repercussions of which were felt both during the First and Second World Wars. They established the constellation among the Balkan states, the dynamic of which were evident in the two following wars. They are usually taught from a military and political perspective; glorious history for the winners, disappointment and retribution for the losers. The employment of social history manages to alter this dominant perspective. So while we witness the excitement in the expectations and proclamations of war, we are reminded of the reality of war through the actual description of the proceedings of war and life at the front. Valuable is also the inclusion of perspectives usually neglected; the contribution of women on the home front or the parallel wars of hunger and pillage, the purposeful elimination of opponents for reasons not related to the war. This workbook makes the most extensive and successful use of visual materials.

The fourth workbook is also dedicated to war, the Second World War. Although equally well conceived as regards the assortment of sources, the general impression is somehow tainted by two elements: an unsuccessful introduction and a plethora of syntactic mistakes, at least in the English version. Considering both the heavy ideologisation and polarisation that such a topic of contemporary history can provoke, the

source material makes an effort to do justice to all sides involved. Despite the fact that this textbook incorporates perhaps more political, diplomatic, and military history, in this case war is also tackled predominantly from the standpoint of social history. It contains chapters on policies, encompassing political views as well as political practice (leaders and their ideologies, armies, relations of individual states with the two main war blocs and the neighbouring countries, the policies of religious organisations and church leaders), on life during wartime (poverty and insecurity, civilians, soldiers' lives, culture and education), on the violence of the war (the front line, brutality, the Holocaust), on examples related to human solidarity and the consequences of the war, such as casualties, migration and changes in the political system, and a final section on the perpetuation of the memory of the war, predominantly through the prism of the arts (novels, posters, paintings, films).

The introduction to the workbook (13–16) does not serve its purpose quite so well. Here multiple objections can be raised. In the first place, it is historiographically not up-to-date; its narrative radiates the tone and the themes of a previous era. Secondly, it is more partisan, although perhaps not intentionally, in its articulation than the introductions of the other textbooks. It sometimes uses inappropriate language, for example, the occupying forces are characterised as the “main villains” (15). Denominations such as “culprits”, “perpetrators” or “offenders” would do precisely the same job and would be linguistically more befitting. On a linguistic level it is a bit more dramatic than it should be. For example: it claims that “powers outside of the SEE region, however, were working towards their own ends ...” (14), in order to say that with the initiation of the Cold War, the Great Powers decided on the division of the world into spheres of influence. And finally, it is a bit more moralising than it ought to be. The fact that the Axis occupation of

SEE was a painful and terrible experience is a well-established fact; the author of the introduction, however, takes great pains to persuade his readers that this was the case and to finger point who was responsible for this. This serves no historical purpose at all. The author's personal temperament, as well as his personal predilections stand out clearly through the narrative and give the introduction more the character of a commentary than that of a historical introduction. Although the resistance movements in SEE represent indeed monumental moments in the history of the region, they have also left a complex and changeable history in their trail. Take, for example, the embarrassment of the Left due to the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact, or the multiple switches in policy from the Fatherland Front to the United Front. I would argue that the overall framing of the main issues during World War Two is insufficient. Last, the introduction has a slight tendency towards heroisation, the deconstruction of which – in any kind of form – is in fact one of the programmatic purposes of the *Materials*. For example, the author claims that although World War Two was a shock for and transformed all European societies, this experience was even more intense for the societies “of South-Eastern Europe, where the Nazi policies of expropriation and reprisals led to terrible conditions” (14). If this is the case, then what should Poland or Russia, the real battlefields of the war, claim? My last point of criticism is related to the tasks of the fourth workbook. Some appear to be more suggestive and less well-conceived than in the other workbooks.

All the above notwithstanding, the source material is well chosen and some aspects are particularly appealing, such as the section on culture and education, where the significance of education in inculcating values and shaping worldviews is presented. This is not only a self-reflexive exercise for pupils in order to encourage them to ponder on the means and

purpose of education, something that is also evident in Workbook 2, but also to consider that the contents of education are always conditional on a society's ideology and political system. Education is a form of social practice. Equally successful is the section on human solidarity, where ambiguous situations are presented as forms of friendship that can develop between foes in a trench situation.

As has been repeatedly emphasised, the four workbooks are of a high quality and standard. Compared to readers that have been produced for similar audiences, such as German–Polish or German–French readers, the *Materials* surpass them by far. Needless to mention that this kind of extensive exercise – narrating the history of a region and involving materials from eleven countries – has never been undertaken before on such a scale. It is also no coincidence that it attracted the interest of Asian countries, who have also acknowledged the need to revisit their own contested regional history. The *Materials* have the potential to function as a raw model. Naturally, as a historian one could express minor objections. I would have liked to see more historiographical debates included; another historian might feel that the impact of geopolitics in shaping the fortune of the region is not adequately presented; while another might wish for something on the First World War or on the Habsburg Monarchy. However, this is not the point as the *Materials* do not pretend to tell the “histoire totale” of the Balkans.

The *Materials* are an important tool, and like every tool, they will find their proper place when they have found the right application. As the authors and coordinators of the project acknowledge in the general introduction, it is impossible to estimate the impact that they might have due to a series of existing limitations. The key to the successful application of the *Materials* are – apart from the national ministries of education that will

have to embrace, approve and promote them – the teachers. It can very well be expected that teachers will shy away from using the *Materials*, for a number of reasons. It could well be that teachers will feel overwhelmed and challenged to bring materials which exceed their own horizon of knowledge into their classrooms, not to mention to use them in teaching. This is fully understandable. Greek and Bulgarian teachers might know why the issue of the creation of the Bulgarian Exarchate is important, Croatian or Slovenian probably not. Equally, the Corfu Declaration is ABC for all ex-Yugoslavs, but says nothing to Greeks, Bulgarians, Turks, or Albanians. Here, teachers will have to be helped. The explanatory texts following the sources are useful but inadequate. The introductory passages good but limited. The project coordinators might have to come up with some additional activities in order to create the practical and psychological preconditions for a broad acceptance of the *Materials* in the classroom. Measures could involve: firstly, teacher training seminars targeting both the acquisition of skills and familiarising them with the relevant didactical techniques. Secondly, teachers' manuals, containing perhaps model teaching units, practical advice on how to couple the *Materials* with concrete lessons and the history curricula, and finally more background information on specific historical topics and an extended selected bibliography. On the other hand, one should not be too sceptical. Already existing experience from countries like Serbia, for example, demonstrates that teachers are eager to try out the *Materials* and are willing to take the challenge. The *Materials* are an investment in the future. This chance should not be missed.

FOOTNOTE

- 1 Christina Koulouri (ed.), *Teaching the History of Southeast Europe*, Thessaloniki: CDRSEE, 2001; Idem., *Clio in the Balkans, The Politics of History Education*, Thessaloniki: CDRSEE, 2002.

Fredric Jameson

***Archaeologies of the Future:
The Desire called Utopia
and other Science Fictions***

**London & New York: Verso,
2005. 481 pp.**

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Fredric Jameson, author of the seminal *Post-modernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (1991), has studied utopian writings and imagination for many years, publishing many articles on the literary genre of utopia in various academic journals.

Utopian thinking and imagination succumbed during the second part of the twentieth century. One may even argue that utopia gradually became politically and culturally illegitimate, mainly as a result of Cold War politics on both sides of the "Iron Curtain". In the Western world, the Cold War rendered most radical programs of social transformation rather suspicious, since the latter were associated with dystopian visions of Stalinist social structures and behaviours. In communist countries, on the one hand, utopian thought and imagination were disregarded as politically suspicious, since according to party ideology utopia had been already

had already been materialised by the existing communist regimes, and thus there was no more need for speculation about alternative ways of organising social structure. During the second half of the century, anti-utopianism gradually became commonplace on the political left as well as the political right. Utopianism was denounced for its lack of agency and political strategy.

During the last decade utopia has been resurrected not so much as a political or cultural tendency but as field of study in cultural theory and history. *Picture Imperfect: Utopian Thought for an Anti-Utopian Age* (2005), by Russell Jacoby, and *Thinking Utopia: Steps into Other Worlds* (2005), edited by Jörn Rüsen, Michael Fehr and Thomas Rieger, are two examples of the renewed interest in utopia as a field of study.

Jameson's *Archaeologies of the Future* is a monumental contribution to the re-emergence of utopia as a field of study. Jameson believes in the political and moral potential of utopian thinking since, as he notes, "Utopia can serve the negative purpose of making us more aware of our mental and ideological imprisonment ...; and that therefore the best Utopias are those that fail the most comprehensibly" (xiii). Jameson's interest in utopia is political as well as historical. He sees the purpose of his book as a "psychology of Utopian production: a study of Utopian fantasy mechanisms, rather, and one which eschews individual biography in favour of historical and collective wish-fulfilment. Such an approach to Utopian fantasy production will necessarily illuminate its historical conditions of possibility for it is certainly of the greatest interest for us today to understand why Utopias have flourished in one period and dried up in another" (xiv). Being himself sympathetic particularly to Marxist critiques of utopia, Jameson maintains a balanced position by making "anti-anti-utopi-

anism” the driving force behind his argument throughout the book.

Archaeologies of the Future is divided into two parts. Part One, “The Desire called Utopia”, includes thirteen chapters that appear for the first time. Part Two, “As Far as Thought can reach”, contains twelve chapters that have appeared as articles in previous publications. In this second part, Jameson revisits important texts of science-fiction, and he analyses most of the main themes of the utopian imagination, such as ontology, discontinuity, world reduction, progress, space, history, and globalisation. In a sense Part Two operates as an appendix to Part One and provides the reader with the opportunity to follow the argumentation laid out in the preceding articles by focusing on an in-depth analysis of key concepts.

In Part One, Jameson studies and analyses most of the major works in the literary genre of science-fiction, including the milestones of early utopian thinking as in Thomas More’s *Utopia*. His aim is to produce the outline tendencies, orientations and conceptual inclinations of the texts which are considered to constitute the backbone of utopian imagination in the last few centuries. He provides a conceptual mapping of utopian thought through an analysis mostly of science-fiction texts. The tool used for this conceptual mapping is the utopian function itself; critical negativity, “the function to demystify the opposite numbers” (211), is employed in order to examine anti-utopia and the fear of utopia. Through this critique Jameson arrives at the correlation between the crisis of utopia and the crisis of representation itself in postmodernity. Jameson systematically states the difference between emergent pluralism of utopias and the Disneyfication, defined as the “process whereby inherited cultural images are now artificially reproduced” (215) within capitalism. Citing the work of Robert Nozick

he communicates to the reader that “the conclusion to draw is that there will not be one community existing and one kind of life led in Utopia. Utopia will consist of utopias, of many different and divergent communities in which people lead different kinds of lives under different institutions ... Utopia is a framework of utopias ... The utopian society is the society of utopianism ...” (217). He proposes that we should think of “our autonomous and non-communicating Utopias” as “a Utopian archipelago, islands in the net, a constellation of discontinuous centers, themselves internally decentered” (221). What is then the political function of utopia nowadays? Utopia, Jameson argues, has now reached a new discursive strategy according to which the future is by itself the disruption of historicity. The future as disruption becomes a reinforcer of futuricity, of the possibility of a radical break with what is already known about the things to come. Utopia forces us to concentrate on the break itself and thus better expresses our relationship to the future than any current program of action (232).

Jameson’s *Archaeologies* reinvigorates the scholarly discussion about utopia today. The book’s great contribution is that it reconnects the study of the utopian tradition with the notion of the future and futuricity and the role that these play in the context of contemporary cultural theory and criticism. Jameson invites us to rethink the role that the future plays in political discourse and social practices nowadays. And because it does so, the book creates the space for a methodologically and theoretically broader engagement with futuricity. This broader engagement would require the study of utopia and the future to take place within a great variety of cultural forms and social practices. Jameson’s analysis remains within the confines of literary analysis. The literary text is the exclusive find of the book’s “excavations”. This is a conscious, methodologically and theo-

retically grounded choice, clearly stated in the book's first chapter. In "Varieties of the Utopian" Jameson distances his approach from Ernst Bloch's scholarship on the utopian impulse. He distinguishes two types of Utopia: utopia as a program and utopia as an impulse. The former is found in systematic and intertextual utopian literature, while the latter is more dispersed and found to govern "everything future-oriented in life and culture; and encompassing everything from games to patent medicines, from myths to mass entertainment, from iconography to technology, from architecture to eros, from tourism to jokes and the unconscious" (2). Jameson's analysis is exclusively focused on the first type of utopia. Yet, the renewed interest in the notion of a disruptive future and futuricity and his proclaimed attention to the historical factors that condition the ways in which societies imagine their future redirects our interest to a more Blochean notion of utopia. Despite Jameson's emphasis on the literary versions of utopia, his book invites the scholars of utopia to explore its emergence at the level of everyday life, popular culture and social practices, beyond the realms of writing and reading.