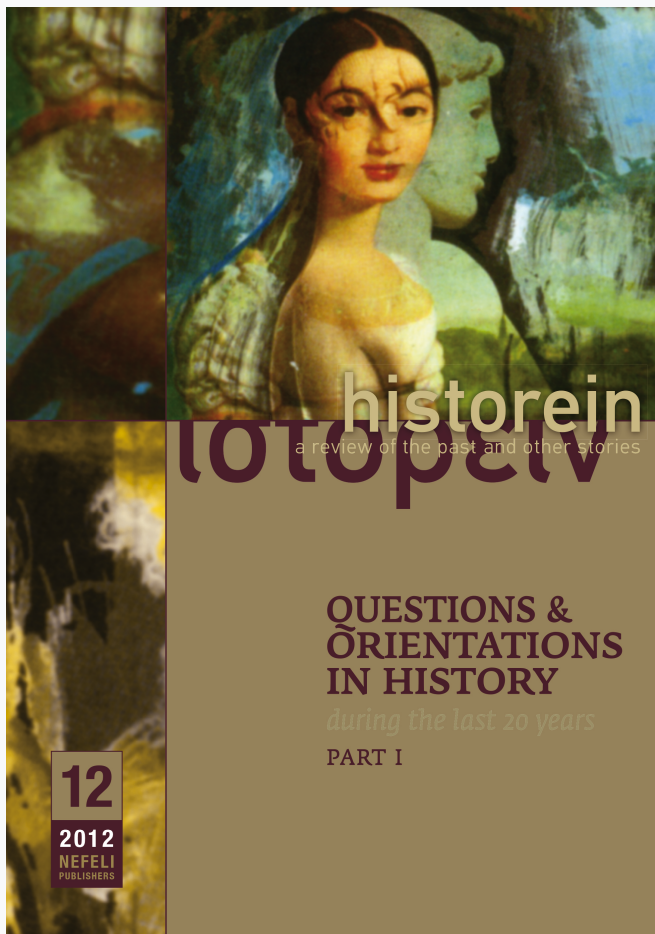


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1. The Balkans at the Turn of the Nineteenth to the Twentieth Centuries

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I

The Balkans at the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth centuries

Haris Exertzoglou

Οι ‘χαμένες πατρίδες’ πέρα από τη νοσταλγία: Μια κοινωνική-πολιτισμική ιστορία των Ρωμιών της Οθωμανικής Αυτοκρατορίας (μέσα 19ου - αρχές 20ού αιώνα)

[The ‘lost homelands’ beyond nostalgia: a sociocultural-political history of Ottoman Greeks, mid-19th–early 20th centuries]

Athens: Nefeli, 2010. 302 pp.

Haris Exertzoglou’s interesting and original book concerns the social discourse of the upper and middle class of the Orthodox Christian (Rum) population of Istanbul and Smyrna from the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries as it appeared in the Greek-language press and publications. More precisely, Exertzoglou aims to establish in which ways these newly formed social strata mobilised the available, western European discourses and reframed traditional ones in order to express both their feeling of participation in and their anxiety vis-à-vis the rapid social transformations of their era. In other words, the book deals with the discourses regarding the social transformation of this era within the framework of a literate community which was, in its turn, a product of this very social transformation. In order to do so, the author selects three discursive themes, the recurrence of which in the local press and publications is

indicative, he says, of the shifting social structures in the large cities of the Ottoman Empire. These themes are poverty, consumption (mainly the criticism of luxury) and the social status of women.

With regard to poverty, Exertzoglou points out the novelty of the discourse on this matter in the Constantinopolitan and Smyrniot press of the second half of the nineteenth century. The traditional Christian conception regarding poverty considered the poor not only as privileged from an eschatological point of view (“Blessed be the poor: for yours is the kingdom of God,” Luke 6:20), but also as necessary for the salvation of the rest of the flock by means of charity. On the contrary, the Greek Orthodox press and publications of this new era – influenced by medical science and criminology – regarded poverty through the prism of the moral dimension of labour. Accordingly, the “honest” poor,

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part of the working class and therefore useful to society, was distinct from the “parasitic” beggar, who, by avoiding work, not only disregarded the moral foundations of modern society but was at the same time dangerous for it, both by “contaminating” the honest working people and because of its inclination to crime. In other words, poverty was reinvented within the broader concern of the ruling elite to keep under control the populations of the big cities, the seditious and potentially criminal masses that were emerging from the proletarianisation of the industrial revolution.

On the other hand, the condition of the poor was no longer attributed to divine providence but to a personal lack of responsibility; the Rum public discourse of the period was dominated by conservative liberal ideas, according to which the individual was solely responsible for his own condition.

In fact, the discourse that the Greek Orthodox literate community developed on poverty was more or less identical with the one developed during the same period in Britain within the broader discourse commonly known as Victorian morals. Indeed, the non-Greek part of the bibliography of the book contains a large number of studies dealing with this specific field (mostly of Foucauldian inspiration).

However, if we assume, as many scholars do, that Victorian morals – and similar moralistic discourses in other European industrial states – are related to industrial capitalism and proletarianisation, how can we explain the emergence of such a discourse within the Greek Orthodox community of the Ottoman Empire, where industrialisation was still in its early stages? Certainly, internal migration (mostly due to the loss of Ottoman territories) doubled the population of Istanbul and Smyrna (which had been decimated during the nine-

teenth century from epidemic diseases), while the free trade policies adopted by the Ottoman government after 1838 ruined the old guilds (*esnaf*) and created a free labour market for the small Ottoman industries that appeared in the second half of the nineteenth century. But these phenomena hardly recall the social conditions emerging in western Europe in the context of industrial capitalism. The formation of a Greek Orthodox middle and upper class in Istanbul and Smyrna was the result of intense commercial activity and, in addition, banking, which had become very profitable due to the role of non-Muslim bankers in financing the empire’s debt. Though these classes hardly depended on labour, they seem to have adopted the conservative and moralistic discourse of their European counterparts on it. The same can be said for the other two themes examined by Exertzoglou: consumption and the “woman question”.

The Rum literate community approached the subject of consumption through the criticism of luxury. On this issue, the Greek Constantinopolitan and Smyrniot press and publications of the time again adopted a moralistic discourse. They criticised luxury not only as a sign of vanity (as was also the case with the traditional Christian critics of luxury), but also as representing a threat to the prosperity of middle-class families: living beyond their material capacities, i.e. beyond their class, was seen as leading to increased indebtedness and, eventually, the ruin of the household. The underlying idea was that every man and woman had to act within the boundaries of his/her class, showing respect for the existing social order and, thus, sustaining it. Therefore, this criticism was rarely addressed to wealthy families, which seemed to deserve a certain degree of lavishness, on the condition that they contributed to the charitable activities of the community, mainly to the financing of the Greek

Orthodox schools, the propagation of which was considered to be vital for the Greek national cause in the empire (mostly in order to hellenise the non-Greek-speaking Orthodox Christian subjects).

In addition to the moralistic, Victorian-style conservative discourse, the middle and upper class of the Greek Orthodox population adopted an equally strong nationalist discourse, doubled with the nationalistic practice of hellenising the non-Greek-speaking Orthodox population of the empire by means of an extensive school network, the maintenance and funding of which was the principal activity of numerous clubs and associations founded in Istanbul and Smyrna during the second half of the nineteenth century. It was due to this intense activity that the Greek literary community, within which teachers played a prominent role, developed to such an extent in this period. This dimension of the Greek Stambouliot and Smyrniot discourse is very significant for the final theme analysed in the book: the “woman question”.

The press and other publications in Greek often dealt with the question of women in an ironic sense. The medical discourse was once again mobilised, this time in order to prove the “biological” inequality of the two genders and to suggest that professions like medicine and law were not appropriate to a woman’s nature. Exerzoglou indicates that this attitude was based on the conception of a sharp division between private and public space and the ascription of women to the former. In the same way as in Victorian morals, the nuclear family constituted for them a universal moral value, the “private space” of which the woman was meant to be the guardian. The maintenance of this private-nuclear family space, organised by the woman, was essential for bourgeois social existence, enabling the existence of a “public

space” that encompassed profession and politics, led by the man. This vigorous rule recognised only two exceptions. The first concerned the labour class, the members of which were not supposed to need a private space, since their access to the public space was limited. The second exception was the teaching profession: the only one that was open to middle-class women. The reason was, according to the texts in question, that women – who were meant to be mothers – were suitable by their nature for the transmission of the moral and patriotic values of Hellenism to the children. Besides, it is for a similar reason that women had to be properly educated: in order to raise their children according to these same patriotic values and, more importantly, to be capable of doing so in Greek.

Between Victorian-style bourgeois morality and nationalism, Greek Orthodox middle- and upper-class women had some room for manoeuvre to penetrate the public sphere, which was in principle reserved for men. But these two discourses, and their correspondent practices, similarly determined that the Greek Orthodox “public sphere” as a whole, including the “men’s world”, was much freer, albeit equally delimited.

Haris Exertzoglou’s latest book is a very useful guide to this lost world, that lies “beyond nostalgia”, as its title says. Its dense framework of heuristic concepts helps us to discover how it functioned.

Spyros Karavas

«Μακάριοι οι κατέχοντες την γην»: Γαιοκτηπικοί σχεδιασμοί προς απαβιοτήτωση συνειδήσεων στη Μακεδονία, 1880–1909

[‘Blessed are those who possess the land’: Land-conquering plans for the ‘disappropriation’ of consciences in Macedonia, 1880–1909]

Athens: Vivliorama, 2010. 318 pp.

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Research on Macedonia represents one of the primary points of interest of recent Greek historiography, especially that of the post-cold war period, as a result of the rise of new nationalisms in eastern and southeastern Europe, among others. Readings that are different than those of Greek historiography highlight other perspectives on an issue which has to do to a high degree in Greece and neighbouring Balkan states with both history and politics.¹

In this book, the writer, an expert in Greek irredentism and the Macedonian issue,² discusses a utopia³ of Greek nationalism, namely placing the Greek economy at the disposal of Greek expansionism. This particular work highlights the financial component as the principal issue in the reflections of the parties involved in the doctrine of the territorial expansion of the Greek kingdom.

Having as its principal basis Athanassios Eftaxias’ pamphlet *The Deeds of Hellenism in Macedonia* (Athens 1880), as well as Ioannis Theodoridis’ memorandum (1859) and Antonios Saktouris’ essay (1909) – all three texts are included as appendices in this book – the writer attempts to comprehend the mechanisms but also the practices and the mentality of Greek irredentism. Furthermore, he considers the attempt to use the *Megali Idea* (Grand Idea) as a tool by the developing capitalism

in the Balkans; capitalism caused ethnic tensions, expressed in territorial claims between opposing states (10).

The references the writer presents are quite interesting, as he uses sufficient material from state (diplomatic) and private archives and records as well as other narrative sources (memoirs, press and other contemporary publications). This is supplemented by quite a meticulous bibliography to produce a fresh historical approach.

Karavas closely follows the timeline of the views expressed and, by analysing their content, highlights quite perceptively the problematic they try to express. In 1859, Ioannis Theodoridis, a medical doctor by profession and an active nationalist, wrote a memorandum in Serres, in collaboration with the Greek foreign ministry, where he referred to the need to confront Pan Slavism. This was a few months before the initiation of the Bulgarian national programme with the unilateral proclamation of independence by the Bulgarian Church, in an area where Greek politics had no intervention mechanisms. He had two proposals: the expansion of the Hellenic kingdom up to the Balkan mountains, for which the consent of the European powers would be necessary, and, mainly, teaching the Greek language to populations who “have forgotten” it and were speaking Bulgarian (23), claiming thus “ances-

tral land". The hellenisation of these Bulgarian-speaking populations south of the Balkan mountains could be implemented with the assistance of Greek teachers who were also fluent in Bulgarian, as well as with the financial support from wealthy Greek citizens and the support of Orthodox priests (26).

In his criticism, Karavas substantiates that the implementation of Theodoridis' views did not have the desired effect up to the end of the Eastern crisis (1875–1878), as they provided the emergent Bulgarian movement with the necessary enemy. Hellenic national planning, after the success of the Bulgarian national programme, was displaced towards "Macedonia", which would become the field of development of opposing Balkan nationalisms until the Balkan wars in 1912–1913.

Greek expansionism required a new framework, and Athanassios Eftaxias, a publicist and politician from Rumelia, came up with an innovative perspective (1880). Karavas shows that Eftaxias studied in Germany, where he became acquainted with the notion of "lebensraum" and shaped his view about political economy and geopolitics. Eftaxias' remarks are quite interesting, especially considering that he bought an estate for a German financier friend of his (46).

Eftaxias' aspirations focused on the hellenisation of the land and people, and the first "tricky problem" he had to face, as Karavas points out in one of his perceptive chapter titles, was trying to deal with the ethnic composition of Macedonia using criteria which also had to do with social features, such as class.

Eftaxias, quite disappointed with the actual situation he faced, tried to classify the populations on the basis of their origin (59). Ethnic origin and affinity were distinguished as principal

characteristics in the beliefs of Christians, and terms such as "Bulgarophone Greeks", "Bulgaroslavs" and "the relatives of Greeks, Albanians and Vlachs (Aromanians)" were used to classify them. In his *Geographies of Macedonia*, Eftaxias' reflections correlate with the new Greek position, as was formulated in the Vatikiotis report (77–82), and all improper ethnic classifications were removed. However, Karavas quite correctly remarks that Eftaxias' approach was not an ethnographic one. Again, the writer highlights the contradictions in the Greek nationalistic ideology.

Eftaxias' plan developed along the following lines: first, a conciliatory approach towards the two other dominant religious groups in the area, Muslims and Jews. This approach was to be taken in all sectors of society and in particular with ordinary villagers, not exclusively with the ruling Ottoman elites. "Bulgarianism" had always been seen as the enemy. Eftaxias' somewhat positive perception of the Muslims could succeed with the investment of Greek capital and with the establishment of Greek businesses in Macedonia. In his view, Muslims would also work in these businesses and the Greek concentration in the banking system and in trade would also help with the approach taken towards the Jews. It is interesting to note that the Greeks of Macedonia, in particular those in Thessaloniki, were excluded from the plan as they were "divided". The same policy envisaged the establishment of schools without religious teaching and the publication of a bilingual Greek–Ottoman newspaper with the aim of reaching out to the Muslim population (84–93).

A second plank in the plan was the "assimilation" of the non-Orthodox population. The measures outlined above for the economy and for businesses in relation to other religions were the main tools to be used in this

approach. However, Orthodox clergy were to be given a special role in the proposed “multi-ethnic” businesses and schools in residential areas, Eftaxias proposed, on that grounds that “appropriate” clergy would be able to promote the Greek national programme.

Karavas shows that Eftaxias’ programme of economic infiltration into territory claimed by Greece was connected to the corresponding state ideology, and that the expansion of the kingdom of Greece could not proceed without Greeks purchasing land in Macedonia, i.e. that the hellenisation of Macedonia would be achieved through the land, with the change of ownership and the resultant effect on the morale of those living on it meaning they would then be subject to their new overlords. The possibility of replacing the existing tenants on the purchased land was not excluded (101). And, of course, Eftaxias provided no shortage of proposals to overcome situations where the land might not be owned by Ottoman subjects.

The author concludes that Eftaxias’ proposal was very positively received by representatives of the Greek state. But there was little support in practice because political uncertainty had a greater effect on the decisions taken by Greek financiers than the perceived national interest and favourable business conditions (111). Greek financiers preferred estates in Thessaly and Arta, territories newly annexed by the Greek kingdom.

Once again, Karavas accurately notes the German influence on Eftaxias: the idea of land ownership through purchase and the replacement of the existing population with farmers who were well-disposed towards the Greeks has its roots in the discourse on German expansionism in the 1870s and 1880s (112), while the conceptual presence of nationalism was shaped by Herder’s vision for the nation.

However, the author does not limit his analysis to Eftaxias’ ideas, but goes on to explore his influence on his contemporaries. The author’s analysis on this point is also outstanding, as it places the texts in their contemporary chronological and ideological context. Various sources, such as an 1884 letter from the Greek consul in Serres, N. Foundoulis, to historian Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos, highlight the impasse for Greek diplomats (124–126), while other documents such as the 1886 report by P. Mavrokefalos to the foreign minister, Stefanos Dragoumis, and by the consul in Monastir (Bitola), Konstantinos Panourgias (1886), were based on Eftaxias’ proposals (127–130).

The hellenisation of the area through the utilisation of the “Greek element” dominated Greek politics in Macedonia, at least until 1912. As Karavas accurately concludes, it was a mix of colonial and nationalist logic.

The intellectuals in the Greek kingdom were interested in Eftaxias’ proposals and adopted them. These were the pioneers of the Greek national movement. For example, at the beginning of the twentieth century, Neoklis Kazazis proposed among other things the founding of a Greek bank in Thessaloniki. He considered it a benefit that Greeks were active in the economic “exploitation” of Macedonia, and that the hellenisation of the land was essential for the “hellenisation” of the Macedonian people (148–145).

Another, similar, example was Ion Dragoumis, who in 1903 appealed to Greek financiers to make investments. Until the Ilinden revolution, Karavas cannot find any evidence that the traditional turnover of money had changed; rural inhabitants were restricted by their borrowing needs while rural banking credit was not a profitable banking business (168).⁴

Efforts to implement Eftaxias' proposals in practice increased in the following years through individual plans, such as that of Lambros Koromilas (1905 and 1906) to purchase estates with the cooperation of Greeks such as the Xatzilazarou family. The purchase of the village estate which bordered on Pella, the "homeland of Philip and of Alexander the Great", was a flagship example of such plans. Gradually, as economic development and the involvement of expatriates failed, the Greek government was called on to spend money on purchasing land, and, as Karavas states, "the idea of a return on investment moved away from the economic sphere, and became applicable only to the national interest" (198).

The third text which is analysed in this book was written in this ideological climate and followed on from Eftaxias' proposals. It was written in 1906 by Antonios Saktouris, the Greek consul in Serres. In it, he highlighted the importance of the acquisition of estates and also solved the problem of who would provide the money for the purchases. Karavas notes that the purchase of land was differentiated from economic investment and profit and became a geopolitical choice for Greek nationalism (199).

Following the Young Turk movement and alarmed by the success of the Bulgarian national programme, Saktouris (1909) could see that the problem had national and social dimensions, leading him to identify an "agricultural question". He proposed the purchase of estates and the distribution of the land to the socially vulnerable (218–219), using Greek state capital wherever available. This was in a period when, as Eftaxias had foreseen, land was overvalued. The message was aimed at the Greek kingdom and the state budget (222). It is another plan that did not come to fruition. The solution to the Macedonian problem would be given by the wars

which followed and the land distribution would be implemented by the nation-states.

Karavas' study is notable for the originality of its conception, but also for its methodological approach to political and economic issues and to the history of ideas. At the same time, the book is distinguished by its narrative style, which should appeal not only to expert readers. The book comes with an exhaustive index. The critique of the geopolitical designs of the Greek national programme highlights the utopian nature of these plans as well as their economic dimensions.

The value of this study is confirmed by the extensive number of reviews and critiques which have cited it⁵ and which highlight either the economic, class or colonial aspects of the study.

NOTES

- 1 There are actually many Macedonian issues; see Basil C. Gounaris, *Το Μακεδονικό Ζήτημα από τον 19^ο έως τον 21^ο αιώνα: Ιστοριογραφικές προσεγγίσεις* [The Macedonian question from the 19th to the 21st centuries: historiographical approaches], Athens: Alexandria, 2010, 24.
- 2 Among the works he quotes are: Spyros Karavas, «Οι εθνογραφικές περιπέτειες του ελληνισμού (1876–1878)» [The ethnographic adventures of hellenism, 1876–1878], *Ta Historica* 19/36 (2002): 23–74 and 20/38 (2003): 49–112; idem, «Ο Κωνσταντίνος Παπαρρηγόπουλος και οι εθνικές διεκδικήσεις (1877–1885)» [Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos and the national claims, 1877–1885] in Paschalis M. Kitromilides and Triantafyllos E. Sklavenitis (eds), *Ιστοριογραφία της νεότερης και σύγχρονης Ελλάδας 1833–2002* [Historiography of modern and contemporary Greece, 1833–2002], Athens: INR–NHRF, 2004, 149–169; idem, «Η Μεγάλη Βουλγαρία και η

- ‘μικρά ιδέα’] [Greater Bulgaria and the “small idea”] in «*Εν έτει...*» 1878/1922 [In the year ... 1878/1922], Athens: Society for Studies of Greek Modern Culture and of General Education, 2008, 11–81, and the appendix, 143–168.
- 3 Regarding the relation between history and utopia, see Antonis Liakos, *Αποκάλυψη, ουτοπία και ιστορία: οι μεταμορφώσεις της ιστορικής συνείδησης* [Apocalypse, utopia and history: The transformations of historical conscience], Athens: Polis, 2011.
 - 4 The expression “blessed are those who own the land” is attributed to Dragoumis.
 - 5 See, for example, Tasos Kostopoulos, «Η ταξική “καρδιά” του Μακεδονικού» [The class ‘heart’ of the Macedonian question], *Eleftherotypia*, 28 Dec 2010; Zizi Saliba, «Η γαιοκτησία στην υπηρεσία της Μεγάλης Ιδέας» [Land tenure in the service of the Great Idea], *Avgi*, 27 Feb 2011, Andreas Lyberatos, «Αποικιοκράτες χωρίς αποικία: το ταξικό πρόσωπο του ελληνικού αλυτρωτισμού» [Colonialism without a colony: the social class identity of Greek irredentism], *Epochi*, 28 Feb 2011, idem, «Μακεδονία του φθίνοντος 19^{ου} αιώνα: η αποικιοκρατική φαντασίωση του ελληνικού εθνικισμού» [Macedonian decline in the 19th century: the colonial fantasy of Greek nationalism], *Ta Historica* 54 (2011): 257–260.

Balkanite. Modernizatsiya, Identichnosti, Idei. Sbornik v chest na Prof. Nadya Danova [The Balkans: modernisation, identities, ideas; in honour of Prof Nadia Danova]
Sofia: Institute for Balkan Studies and Centre for Thracology, 2011. 795 pp.

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This bulky collective volume is a tribute to the prominent Bulgarian neohellenist Prof Nadia Danova on the occasion of her seventieth birthday. Her rich curriculum vitae and publications cover no less than the initial 20 pages. Worthy of particular mention are five substantial books, many edited volumes and some 150 articles and larger studies on a huge variety of issues from the last 300 years of Balkan history and, in particular, Bulgarian–Greek relations. The *Festschrift* is divided into three sections (entitled Modernisation and education, Mentalities and identities, and the History of ideas) and contains 36 contributions by 38

authors. It is a reflection of some, but by no means all, of Danova’s areas of interest and pays homage to her important and stimulating research and ideas over more than 40 years of a busy professional life. Most importantly, half of the authors are renowned authors from Greece or other countries – a manifestation of the “bilateral” and truly international dimension and recognition of her scholarship.

To review of a book of such diversity of topics and authors is a challenging task and will invariably miss important points. Yet, a brief description of the contents is necessary before

we come to more general conclusions. The modernisation section contains some economic studies, such as a chapter on the incorporation of the central Balkan provinces of the Ottoman Empire into the world economic system at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries (Svetla Yaneva), a chapter on the status of the Greek merchants in Rumelia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and one on the exchange of information in commercial correspondence (Evelina Razhdavichka-Kiessling). Other chapters concern the social aspects of the modernisation processes, for example the status of slaves in the late Ottoman Empire (Christos Hadziiossif), the development of public health knowledge and initiatives in Greece (Anna Matthaiou and Popi Polemi), a chapter on the “emotional language” in the correspondence between underage delinquents and their supervisors in Greece after the Second World war (Efi Avdela). The remaining chapters deal with education, books and censorship; for example, there are chapters on the transition of the Greek Enlightenment from erudition to science based on a study of a personal library (Vaso Seirinidou), a chapter on censorship in the Ottoman Empire (Krassimira Daskalova), on the Bulgarian students of Robert College and their subsequent role as national elites (Orlin Săbev), on the Bulgarian and Greek students in the French *Ecole spéciale d'architecture* and their professional activities (Aleksandăr Kostov).

The section on mentalities and identities contains contributions as diverse as orientalism and occidentalism and the image of the other in the Balkans (Nikolai Aretov), on Greece and Bulgaria in sixteenth-century Italian geography books influenced by Nikolaos Sofianos (Penka Danova), on the Bulgarian visions of Islam during the national revival (Olga Todorova), on the Bulgarians as seen by the Greeks around the mid-nineteenth century (Alexis Politis),

on the *graecomania* in Plovdiv (Philippopolis) in mid-nineteenth century and the development of a “Gudil” identity in between Bulgarian and Greek identities (Raymond Detrez), on the destruction by Bulgarians of Greek books that challenges Bulgarian national myths of the nineteenth century (Keta Mircheva), on nationalisms and identifications in Austria-Hungary (Rumyana Preshlenova), on the fate of the Bulgarian Jews in Bulgaria during the Second World war (Roumen Avramov) and on contemporary Greek perceptions of Bulgaria and the Bulgarians (Sotiris Walden). Other and less related chapters include one on the Greek school in Sozopol (Maria Litina), a translation of Goethe's *Faust* by Petko Slaveykov (Katerina Krusheva), memories about the Kurt Waldheim affair (Hagen Fleischer), a chapter on Michel Fais' fiction about a town in Greek Thrace (Bart Soethaert) and one on post-Second World war violence in Greece and Bulgaria (Ekaterina Nikova).

The history of ideas section is equally variegated and panoramic. There are chapters on the transition from rebellions to national revolutions in the Ottoman Empire (Olga Katsiardi-Hering), on anticlericalism in nineteenth-century Greek literature (Efstratia Oktapoda-Lu), on the image of Constantinople in nineteenth-century Russian society (Tina Georgieva), on the Greek ideal of Ion Dragoumis (Vassilis Maragos), on the literary reworking of the tragic fate of a certain beautiful Christian woman at the hands of the Turks (Yuliana Boycheva, Andreas Lyberatos), on political propaganda in Bulgaria during the Balkan wars (Yura Konstantinova), on the history of the concepts of “patriotism” and “nationalism” (Yannis Yannopoulos), on the uses of history in Bulgarian history textbooks to foster political goals in the interwar period (Albena Hranova), on the literary and artistic traces of the Bulgarian khan Tervel (who helped Byz-

antium in fighting back the Arabs) in western sources (Raya Zaimova), on a recent “history war” between some professional historians and the lay public in Greece (Antonis Liakos), on autobiographical books (Irina Dobрева) and a *longue-durée* history of the Cathedral Church in Sofia (Rositsa Gradeva).

Some of the contributions inform us of various persons, events or practices and their contexts and state in historiography. Others are more analytic (by going into concepts and categories, by comparing and classifying them, etc.), while others are more theoretical, aimed at working out broader implications or conclusions. Most of the articles challenge some previous ideas or go against expectations; for example, Svetla Yaneva argues that the Crimean war did not lead immediately to decline of handicrafts; Christos Hadziiossif shows that Greeks could own Greek slaves obtained in the Greek revolution; and Krassimira Daskalova discovers that a famous national figure in the Bulgarian Church struggle had previously served as a censor at the Constantinople patriarchate. Others introduce newer themes, such as the interest in emotions and their language (Efi Avdela). If this review is not to remain a simple enumeration and I have to state my personal preferences, admittedly shaped by my own interests, I would highlight the essays by Nikolay Aretov (on manifestations of Occidentalism in the Balkans), Olga Todorova (conversely, on examples of “orientalising” Islam through its “sexualisation”), Raymond Detrez (on the unappreciated case of an abortive identity), Keta Mircheva (who challenges the Bulgarian national myth that Greeks destroyed Bulgarian books by providing evidence that Bulgarians also destroyed Greek books), Roumen Avramov (on the “dark side” of the celebrated rescue of the Jews in Bulgaria), Vassilis Maragos (on the contradictions and dynamics of the intellectual legacy of Ion Dragoumis), Al-

ena Hranova (on how history textbooks can portray present-day political goals in an allegorical way), Yannis Yannopoulos (on the conceptual differences between patriotism and nationalism grounded in their histories, but also on their misuse through conflating them) and Antonis Liakos (on the rift between history and memory and between historians and the expectations of the lay public).

Taken together, the essays in this volume provide various glimpses of the history of the Balkans from the early modern period to the present day. They are all examples of good scholarship. And they are a rich and well-deserved tribute to the multifaceted work of Nadia Danova, whose personality brought them together. The collaboration between Bulgarian and Greek authors – evidenced not only by the fact that they appear in the same book but through the ample mutual references – is a particular asset of this volume.

Erik Sjöberg

Battlefields of Memory: The Macedonian Conflict and Greek Historical Culture

Umeå: Umeå University (doctoral dissertation), 2011. 327 pp.

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As someone who has spent over 20 years writing about the Macedonian conflict, I was delighted to read Erik Sjöberg's intelligent and balanced account of Greek historiography on the subject. His analysis of the "history wars" that took place in Greece between 1991 and 2005 over the Macedonian conflict is both well researched and theoretically informed. Sjöberg draws on a wide range of important scholarship on the politics of memory, identity politics, historical culture, nationalism, genocide and victimhood to offer valuable insights into a topic that has occupied the attention of Greek scholars, journalists and politicians for a long time.

Particularly impressive is the sensitivity and skill with which Sjöberg sets Greek historiography on the Macedonian conflict in its many contexts. He analyses the relevant international political events taking place at the time, as well as the domestic political situation in Greece. He also examines the contributions to the conflict that were made by the many universities, academies, societies, institutes, centres and museums (in Thessaloniki, Athens and the diaspora) that participated in these "memory wars". In addition, he examines the effect that new trends in academia have had on Greek scholarship on Macedonia, the most important of which was the crisis of authority that has taken place in the social sciences, with its turn towards relativism, postmodernism, the questioning of objectivity and the concern for subaltern voices.

One of the most intensely fought battles in the "memory war" over Macedonia involved Anastasia Karakasidou's *Fields of Wheat, Hills of Blood: Passages to Nationhood in Greek Macedonia, 1870–1990*.¹ Sjöberg describes the death threats Karakasidou received in the Greek American press and the embarrassing decision Cambridge University Press made not to honour its commitment to publish her book. Sjöberg could also have dealt with the skirmishes over the Macedonian conflict that took place at symposia of the Modern Greek Studies Association in the United States. On one occasion, for example, a Greek political scientist accused anthropologists working in Greek Macedonia of being "wandering knapsack historians in search of minorities to protect" and of spending their time "gossiping in village *kafeneia* with *theia* Maria", rather than engaging in serious scholarly research with written sources in proper archives. On another occasion, after Karakasidou, Keith Brown and I had presented academic papers on the Macedonian minority in northern Greece, the Greek ambassador to the United States (at the invitation of the association) delivered the keynote address of the symposium, in which (speaking as a diplomat representing the Greek government) he officially denied the existence of any such minority. These incidents illustrate what Sjöberg refers to as the difficult "boundary work" that takes place between academic disciplines and between politics and scholarship, boundary work that must be done carefully in order to insure the integrity of scholarly

inquiry. Battles like these over credibility, legitimacy and authorial authority – who has the right to speak; who has the right to write – are some of the most bitterly fought in the “wars of memory” over Macedonia.

While Sjöberg refers, somewhat prematurely I think, to the “end of the Macedonian crisis” (274), the conflict continues in both the political and the academic worlds. As is well known, diplomatic negotiations over “the name issue” are ongoing. Less well known is the fact that the Macedonian conflict continues to create controversy in the scholarly world, as well. The editors of Blackwell’s *Companion to Ancient Macedonia* (2010) invited me to write an essay for the volume on the role of ancient Macedonia in contemporary Balkan politics, which I did. A year later they told me they had decided that my essay would not be included in the volume after all. I soon learned the reason why. Sixteen Greek scholars who had written essays for the volume had threatened to withdraw their contributions unless my essay was removed. After I protested this act of censorship to the publisher, the decision was reversed. At this point, all the Greek contributors withdrew their essays from the volume on the grounds that my essay was “nationalistic” in nature and promoted “political agendas”. In the end, when the volume was finally published, my essay was included and those of the Greek scholars were not.²

Battlefields of Memory has several additional strengths that should not go unmentioned. Sjöberg analyses an impressive variety of textual material: scholarly journals, political speeches, newspaper articles and school textbooks. He offers perceptive analyses of the nationalist scholarship of authors such as Basil C. Gounaris, Evangelos Kofos, John Koliopoulos, Nikolaos Martis and Stelios Papatthemelis, as well the work of their critics, including Ilias Iliou, Tasos Kostopoulos, Antonis Liakos, Dimitris

Lithoxoou and Takis Michas. In addition, he presents interesting discussions of the “archaeologisation” of Greek foreign policy and the subject of ethnic and national branding. The concept of national branding has fascinated me ever since I saw a jar of “Macedonian peppers” at a restaurant in the United States. The label on the jar claimed that the same peppers had been served “on the table of Alexander the Great”. It took a telephone call to the distributor in New Jersey to establish that the peppers were from the Republic of Macedonia, not from Greek Macedonia.

Overall, *Battlefields of Memory* succeeds admirably in remaining outside the nationalist discourse it analyses and offering valuable insights into “the complex ways . . . societies shape, live, understand and use their histories” (302).

It is unfortunate that *Battlefields of Memory* was published as a dissertation by a Swedish university and will therefore have a fairly limited readership. If Sjöberg had revised his dissertation and submitted it to a scholarly press, it would have enjoyed much wider distribution. The dissertation would have been strengthened by an index and some judicious editing, and by having been written with a broader audience in mind.

Chapter Four, which deals with Pontian memory politics, does not quite fit into the structure of what is an otherwise very well-organised book. Genocide and victimhood, two topics that Sjöberg raises in his discussion of the Pontian case, could both have been addressed in the context of the Macedonian conflict. The evacuation to Eastern Europe of 20,000 children from mountain villages in northern Greece by the Communist Party in 1948 was a crucial episode in the Greek civil war (known in Greek as the *paidomazoma* and as the *exodus* in Macedonian). It also serves as a defining moment in both Greek and Macedonian national narratives.

Each side identifies itself as the victim of an act of genocide committed by the other. From a Greek perspective, “Slavo-Communists” kidnapped Greek children and “dehellenised” them in “concentration camps” in Eastern Europe. From a Macedonian perspective, the Greek government drove Macedonian children from their homes in an effort to destroy the Macedonian population of “Aegean Macedonia”. Needless to say, neither of these narratives of victimhood and genocide constitutes an accurate historical account of the evacuation programme.³

As I read *Battlefields of Memory*, I found myself repeatedly calling for Sjöberg to exercise more authorial authority and evaluate more explicitly the quality of the various accounts of Macedonian history that he examines. I want him to come right out and say that the work of Karakasidou and Kostopoulos is more accurate, more balanced and more trustworthy than that of Kofos and Martis. I want him to do more than say that Karakasidou “was rumoured to be married (‘without religious ceremony’) to a Yugoslav” (243). The rumour is false; she is not married to a “Yugoslav”. I want him to do more than say that in the prefectures of Florina and Kastoria, “a sense of (Slav) Macedonian ethnic distinctiveness was more pronounced, *according to Karakasidou*” (emphasis added). In fact, the existence of a Macedonian minority in northern Greece is recognised by Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, the European Court of Human Rights, and the United States State Department as well as by scholars from around the world who have done research in the area.

I also call on Sjöberg to do more of his own “boundary work”, difficult as it is, and tell us more explicitly where the lines between good and bad history, between scholarship and politics, are to be drawn. For example, he hedges when he refers to Nikolaos Mertzos as a “journalist-cum-local politician” and to Kostopou-

los as a “journalist-cum-historian”. Is Kofos a “government representative-cum-historian?” Are Karakasidou and I “human rights activists-cum-anthropologists?” Sjöberg says that Kofos’ “loyalty to the ministry in which he was employed prevented him from engaging too overtly in public debate” (260). I disagree. I suggest that Kofos’ “loyalty to the ministry in which he was employed” prevented him from writing accurate history. If he had written accurate history, he would have lost his job.⁴

Sjöberg’s most explicit comment on the issues of objectivity, relativism and positionality can be found in his introduction where he writes that “the researcher who is studying [others’] discourse on the past cannot make normative assumptions regarding historical facts and circumstances – the body of ‘proper’ knowledge – that the users ought to be or are aware of, but yet make the conscious choice to distort for the sake of expediency (ideological use) or ignore/omit/repress (non-use)” (13). I disagree. While I acknowledge that complete objectivity is impossible and that we are all positioned subjects, I think it *is* the responsibility of scholars to present as accurate an account of the world as possible and to evaluate the work of other scholars as fairly as they can. I agree with Edward Said when he questions “not only the possibility of nonpolitical scholarship but also the advisability of too close a relationship between the scholar and the state”.⁵ I also agree with Clifford Geertz when he writes: “I have never been impressed by the argument that, as complete objectivity is impossible in these matters (as, of course, it is), one might as well let one’s sentiments run loose. As Robert Solow has remarked, that is like saying that as a perfectly aseptic environment is impossible, one might as well conduct surgery in a sewer.”⁶ I admit that my scholarship is not completely apolitical and that I am not operating in a perfectly aseptic environment, but Kofos’ relationship with the Greek state

has been so close that (to continue Solow's metaphor) he *has* been operating in a sewer.

In my opinion, scholars have an obligation to conduct what Said calls a Gramscian inventory,⁷ in which they acknowledge their positionality and then do accurate and balanced scholarship. After that they must do everything possible to insure that their scholarship is put to political uses that promote social justice and human rights, not injustice and the denial of human rights. In other words, there is good scholarship and bad scholarship. There is also racist, nationalist scholarship and scholarship that is antiracist and antinationalist. Scholars must attend carefully to both the quality of their scholarship and the political uses to which it is put.

In the end, I agree with Sjöberg when he observes that the study of the Macedonian conflict provides an opportunity "to expose the ideological myths of the nation-state" and when he notes that the "discourse of dissent" it has provoked has "incriminated the academic community – notably the historians – for having failed to actively engage in the protection of the truth" (265). While I wish he had made this point more explicitly and forcefully, I applaud

him for his excellent analysis of this important and complicated subject.

NOTES

- 1 Anastasia Karakasidou, *Fields of Wheat, Hills of Blood: Passage to Nationhood in Greek Macedonia, 1870–1990*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.
- 2 Joseph Roisman and Ian Worthington (eds), *A Companion to Ancient Macedonia*, Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.
- 3 Loring Danforth and Riki van Boeschoten, *Children of the Greek Civil War: Refugees and the Politics of Memory*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012, 250–69.
- 4 Loring Danforth, "The scholar and the state: Evangelos Kofos on the international recognition of the Republic of Macedonia," in Mircela Casule et al. (eds), *The Name Issue Revisited*, Skopje: Macedonian Information Center, 2012.
- 5 Edward Said, *Orientalism*, New York: Pantheon, 1978, 326.
- 6 Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York: Basic Books, 1973, 30.
- 7 Said, *Orientalism*, 25.

Méropi Anastassiadou

Les Grecs d'Istanbul au XIXe siècle : Histoire socioculturelle de la communauté de Péra

Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012. x + 422 pp.

Sada Payır

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With the inauguration of the Church of Panayia of Pera in 1804, the nineteenth century was to witness the birth of the most remarka-

ble Greek Orthodox community in Istanbul, which is the subject matter of the latest publication by Méropi Anastassiadou (the author of

Salonique, 1830–1912: Une ville ottomane à l'âge des réformes). The book investigates the vision of the Greek Orthodox community of Pera as it accommodated itself to the dynamics of the self-contradictory cosmos of the age of the Tanzimat and to the rise of nationalism. In order to trace this path, she bases her study on the communal archives of Stavrodromi (Pera, Beyoğlu), which consist of registers and files that date back to 1804. She also relies on some other primary sources, from the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives in Istanbul and the Gennadius Library in Athens.

The content of the communal archives of Stavrodromi leads her to the choice of the themes that she discusses in detail in the book's six chapters, which deal with different topics chronologically. She sets off by describing the topography of the district and the varying demography of its inhabitants. Covering these admirably, she analyses the administration of the community and the variety of leadership among the different power holders from the laity and the clergy. She devotes the final chapters to charity, philanthropy and education, which emerge as crucial phenomena, mostly during the second half of the nineteenth century. Scholars who are familiar with the history of the Greek Orthodox community of Istanbul would admit that the choice of these themes is significant since they comprise the most important issues of the era, especially that of the Tanzimat.

Why was the Tanzimat paradoxical? According to Anastassiadou, it tried to confine the communities to their boundaries within the framework of religion while, at the same time, it spoke of the collective existence of the subjects of the sultan, oriented towards equality and tolerance (31). Indeed, it was in the second half of the nineteenth century that the Greek Orthodox community of Pera flourished with the introduc-

tion of schools and churches as well as philanthropic and cultural societies. The foundation of the Greek Literary Association of Constantinople in 1861 gave impetus to the promotion of a homogeneous, hellenised identity via an education that bore the marks of Greek nationalism. Anastassiadou states that towards the end of the nineteenth century, the teachers working in the Greek schools in Istanbul "were often graduates of the University of Athens, and that the textbooks in use were nearly the same as the ones in Greece" (365). At the turn of the twentieth century, Greek Orthodoxy went hand in hand, to a large extent, with Greek culture and language (109). Charity and philanthropy were to remain almost always as the domains of the well-off, that is to say, the community had to take care of its own problems. The patriarch was to remain as the highest religious and political leader (*millet başı*, *εθνάρχης* or *ethnarch*) by whom the community was recognised in the eyes of the Ottoman state.

Even though Anastassiadou mentions that the Pera archives do not provide us with clear answers at all times, her comparative reading of the documents reveals some important insights into how to approach archival material in general. In 1905, for example, there was a dispute over the boundary between the parishes of Stavrodromi and Galata. At the heart of the disagreement was in which church parishioners wed and, crucially, paid the required marriage fees (125). This is a reminder that the struggle for power is omnipresent, regardless of class.

Anastassiadou observes that, although at first sight the documents suggest a dominant secular power vis-à-vis a clergy excluded from administrative bodies, the patriarchate acted as an overseer for the running of the community (28). In spite of the fact that the laity came to the fore in the second half of the

nineteenth century, it was the church which rendered them legitimate; thus, it never absolutely handed the reins over to them (29). Despite being communal archives, they do not cover everyone related to the Greek Orthodox community of Pera (14). Some people did not necessarily prefer to send their children to the existing Orthodox schools. The migrants who inhabited the region had been baptised elsewhere. Bearing in mind that a written document may not be in harmony with what happened in practice, we see that the silence of documents can be quite telling as well. The author notes that the documents in the Pera archives suggest there were curiously few orphaned or abandoned children after the First World war, yet there is a considerable number of documents relating to baptised children with unknown fathers registered between 1922 and 1928 (255).

As we read the book, we attempt to catch a glimpse of everyday life, contact and cohabitation, although the author clearly informs us that due to their nature, the documents do not shed much light on these issues (29; 110). This is because we, as historians or historians-to-be, long for moments of intimacy with those people that we have lost touch with. In the 1850s, Abdolonyme Ubicini disapproved of young unmanly Greek dancers whereas a prominent doctor, Paspatis, warned honest family men to avoid frequenting the notorious hang outs where they performed (87). In 1916, the members of the Greek Orthodox community “were obliged to present themselves before their parish priest, accompanied by two ‘known and respectable’ parishioners”, in order to receive authorisation for marriage (148). Even though it was acceptable on the part of the church, we learn that society did not favour remarriage since widows were expected to remain loyal to the memory of the departed, and those who transgressed this tacit agreement

could expect to be subject to suspicion and gossip (250). Who was worthy of the “Greek Orthodox” identity in the visualisation of the community? Not those dancers, most probably. Yet, which qualities made someone respectable? Pera was composed of people with different profiles and its Greek Orthodox community was not a uniform body.

Dissimilarities between genders and classes were manifest, too. Education reinforced the expectations for both sexes. Whereas men were educated to meet the needs of modern society, women were educated to become better mothers and housewives and were not encouraged to join the world of men. While single women in the lower classes were seen as a burden on their families, their wealthy contemporaries were a means to bring the powerful families together through beneficial matrimonial bonds (251). One way for young male workers from the provinces to integrate themselves into the capital was through marriage with an Istanbul native (104).

Still, what did the envisioned inclusion in the community entail? All in all, be it education, charity or philanthropy, the objective was to have a robust community that repelled ignorance and misery, in accordance with changing standards and ideologies. In order to ideally belong there, one needed to fulfil certain criteria which involved health, employment and morality, in addition to religion and education. People who had ambiguous or unconventional occupations did not fit into the picture, as did those who had the potential to cast a stain on the community’s reputation.

The outbreak of the First World war brought the era to an end in which the Greeks of Pera enjoyed economic prosperity and intellectual development (369). Anastassiadou affirms that the community, which had strongly anchored

itself in the capital with its schools, institutions and churches, along with various other buildings, contributed to the modernisation and the urbanisation of the city with its leading actors such as doctors, architects and bankers. Around 1904, when the centenary of the Panayia church was celebrated, some 35,000 Greeks were living in Beyoğlu (368). The Asia Minor catastrophe – as it is called in Greek historiography – was devastating for the Greek Orthodox community in Asia Minor since it ended in an exchange of populations with the treaty of Lausanne of 1923. Nevertheless, Anastassiadou notes that the gradual diminution of the Ottoman Greek elites had started before the Kemalist regime, and the nationalisation of the economy was stimulated after the Young Turk revolution of 1908 (379–80). Nationalisation “also affected the fields such as medicine, architecture and engineering” (380). However, the imperial edifice had already begun to show signs of disintegration before the twentieth century. The Ottoman Empire was confronted with many conflicts during the previous century, among which was the Greek war of independence (26). It was no longer able to suppress the rising nationalist movements and kept losing territory even though it underwent a series of reforms.

The Greek Orthodox institutions, which developed especially in the second half of the nineteenth century, provided room for manoeuvre for the aspirations of the community leaders (26). Anastassiadou points out that the authorities wanted to put the non-Muslim populations, who became subject to widely held suspicion after the 1870s, under surveillance (365). The Ottoman state tried to implement control over the community schools with the creation of an organisation called the *Mekâtib-i Gayrimüslime ve Ecnebiye Müfettişliği* (Inspectorate of Non-Muslim and Foreign Schools) in 1886, which treated Christian and

Jewish subjects as comparable to “foreigners” (364–65). All the indications suggest that the Greeks of Pera *were* conscious that they were living through the end of an era.

Incontestably, the Greek Orthodox community played a major role in the history of modern Istanbul. Therefore, Anastassiadou’s publication does not exclusively serve a group of scholars who specialise in the subjects concerning the community but also those who want to have an overall perception of nineteenth-century Ottoman society in Pera, without abstracting the community from its milieu. To do the opposite would be like regarding the current Greek Orthodox inhabitants of Istanbul as museum pieces clinging to a number of schools and churches they are no longer able to entirely populate.

Tassos Anastasiadis and Nathalie Clayer (eds)

Society and Politics in Southeastern Europe during the 19th Century
Athens: Alpha Bank Historical Archives, 2011. 403 pp.

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The articles in this interesting collective volume, that discusses the complex formation processes of nation-states in the Balkans during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, are essentially the proceedings of a conference held in Corfu in 2009. In their extensive introduction, editors Tassos Anastasiadis and Nathalie Clayer pose a key question which they say is the thread that connects the contributions that follow: What were the causes of the delayed modernisation in the Balkans?

Contrary to the traditional position (supported by neo-Marxist intellectuals or the supporters of modernisation theory) that attributes the delayed formation of the Balkans to “underdevelopment” due mainly to its Ottoman past and on the mechanistic transfer of western development models to eastern and south-eastern Europe, the editors doubt that there was a single given model of western “modernity” to copy, and propose taking a closer look at the actions of specific agents and subjects as well as the formation of specific state apparatuses. They say that the two factors that need to be taken into account are the expansion of literacy in these communities connected with the rise of bureaucratic elites and the approach towards the nineteenth century as seen through the theoretical prism of the second age of confessionalisation (the theoretical trend which compares the rise of the religious institutionalisation of the nineteenth century with the classical age of Protestant confessionalisation).

According to the editors, the authors write within this framework, while the methodology they follow involves the comparison of their own case studies with similar cases in other Balkan states and not with the idealised model of western modernisation. However, this is not true in its entirety; although most of the articles are of a high quality, a comparative view with the west can be detected, especially in the works of Dobrinka Parusheva and Roumiana Preshlenova. Comparative observations are also made in other articles, such as in those of Hannes Grandits and Andreas Lyberatos, but primarily through the use of references. In most of the articles, the expansion of literacy can be traced easily as it directly relates to the establishment of national elites and educational networks that produce them, either inside or outside the Balkans. However, there are no articles that examine the issue of confessionalisation, while there are also cases where the dominance of the western canon is illustrated with evaluative rather than historiographical content (in Dubravka Stojanović’s article about Serbia, for example). This does not in any way diminish the significance of this project, where almost all of the articles – something rather unusual in the literature – are focused on the often exhaustive descriptions of critical processes in the construction of the bureaucratic, administrative and political elite and the formation of state mechanisms in the Balkans.

The subject of the first part of the volume is bureaucracies. In his article, Hannes Grandits examines the emergence of a new class

of bureaucrats in the mid-nineteenth century, especially in the early 1850s, which undertook the task of promoting the Tanzimat reforms in Herzegovina. The author emphasises how the “everyday challenges and difficulties faced by this bureaucracy in acting as ‘agents of reform’” were dealt with. In fact, the implementation of the reforms in Herzegovina was the result of a military intervention, which resulted in the punishment or exile of defiant notables. Only after the elimination of the old notables was this new bureaucratic elite able to impose itself, both on a political and administrative level as well as on a cultural level (regarding the dress code).

Thus, Grandits examines the causes of mistrust among the local population and especially the local elites towards the representatives of “reform” and a series of other issues. Some of these, which the author also acknowledges, do not constitute peculiarities of the Herzegovina case but could be found in many provinces of the Ottoman Empire during the Tanzimat era (for example, the issue of overseeing the appointment of low-level staff by local or central government or control over the police). The main peculiarity of the Herzegovinian case (apart from the expulsion of the old notables) is related to the issue of language; the local Slavic dialect of the population gave way to the use of the Ottoman Turkish used by the officials.

The second article in this part of the volume, written by Andreas Lyberatos, also examines the emergence of a new bureaucratic class, but this time in the newly established “national” state of Bulgaria from its inception until 1912. The author goes on then to refer to the characterisation of civil servants as “privileged scapegoats” both by political figures and citizens. Here, however, unlike in the case of Herzegovina, where the new bureaucratic

elite was targeted as “western-friendly”, this ambivalent attitude stemmed from the role played by the Russian government in shaping the civil administration immediately after the Russo-Turkish war of 1877–78 but also by the fact that civil servants, precisely because of Russian protection, enjoyed special privileges (like free housing etc) which made them rather disliked by their compatriots.

However, while in other cases we had the progressive subordination of bureaucracy because of the clientelism of the political elites, in the Bulgarian case it appears that the latter tried to subdue this new “state” aristocracy of experts from early on. Lyberatos is critical towards the theoretical scheme introduced by Parousheva comparing the Romanian and Bulgarian cases; Parousheva claims that this anti-officialdom populism in Bulgaria can be explained by the lack of a strong social elite (such as a hereditary aristocracy). Lyberatos feels that a number of points should be seriously considered and this is supported by his analysis based on original statistical data for the period: the dependence of the new Bulgarian state on international factors, the control that was mainly exercised through the monarchy over Bulgaria’s political establishment as well as the clash of the local elites with the centralising state apparatus, a conflict that was fuelled by the strong tensions between the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie on the one hand and the Bulgarian intelligentsia on the other (an issue which Lyberatos recognises as not being unique to the Bulgarian case).

However, despite the ideological victimisation of the civil servant class, their numbers increased significantly, particularly between 1904 and 1911, even though this was not reflected in the overall cost of their wages. This process of “victimisation” ended with the growing involvement of civil servants in the

mass social movements of the early twentieth century (which were mainly socialist) and the formation of a trade union agenda that would change the relationship within the Bulgarian state mechanism.

Dobrinka Parusheva's article is included in the next section, entitled "Political Legitimacy and Practices of Power". It takes the only purely comparative approach, along the lines of the editors' introduction, to the historical formation of the state administrative machinery in Bulgaria and Romania. In fact, it is the basis of a chapter in her book on the same subject in Bulgarian. Using the methodology of analysing political and social networks, as well as the accumulation of social and cultural capital by members of the two elites, Parusheva argues that the formation and consolidation of state structures in Romania and Bulgaria followed different paths: while in the first case there was a continuity in the social elite structure that influenced the formation of state policy, in the second, there was a shortage at this level (a point also echoed by Lyberatos in his analysis). In studying the educational networks of Bulgarian and Romanian politicians and bureaucrats at home and abroad, the family networks and business networks in which they also participated, whether they were engaged in the exploitation of agricultural land or participation in banking, commercial and industrial activities, Parusheva tries to understand the configuration of the clientelistic networks from which these politicians attempted to transform their socioeconomic influence into political power. Instead of assuming that the clientelistic networks are a remnant of the Ottoman past, Parusheva sees their role in the formation of a "modern" state. In her opinion, "party clientelism" prevailed in Bulgaria, rather than identifiable clientelistic relationships such as those in Greece. Her main conclusion concerning the lack of an aristocratic class in Bulgaria

such as in Romania highlights the role of family networks in the former than in the latter. This is followed by a critical observation that family networks in both cases went beyond specific ideological formations and specific parties. On the other hand, the level of political influence was not necessarily guaranteed by participation in these networks. Thus, she concludes with a controversial finding regarding the effectiveness of the two elites, in an attempt to answer a classic question of traditional historiography: Why did Bulgaria incur losses in the First World war, while Romania came out a winner (annexing Transylvania and Dobruja)? She responds by linking the issue with the fact that the majority of the Romanian political elite was educated in France. In contrast, few of the Bulgarian elite studied in France. Most of them were graduates of Russian universities and military academies. As a "peripheral empire", she says, Russia could not propel people in the same way that France, an integral part of the west, could towards "modern political thinking and activity". This rather hasty "orientalist" conclusion ignores the fact that the end of the First World war found Russia dramatically changed after the October revolution. Although it was in the victorious camp, Russia could not help traditional allies while Bulgaria did not stop making the wrong geopolitical choices from 1913, where the problem was not being bound to Russia but to Germany.

In the next article, through a study of the political crisis of 1870–71 during the regime of King Carol I in Romania, Edda Binder-Iijima approaches the issue of the legitimation of monarchical rule from the Romanian part of the ruling elite. Using the notion of the "legitimation of power" as developed by David Beetham, she tries to interpret this specific crisis by focusing on the relationship between the monarchy and the national elite. The August 8 crisis began as a confrontation between Carol,

who sided with the conservatives, the liberal wing of whom was led by Alexandru Candiانو. The conflict also had international involvement, handled by the opposition; foreign-born Carol took the side of Germany in the French–German enmity. The consequence of losing the war would mean the dismantling of the Romanian state. At this point, the national (liberal) elite rose up against the foreign-born monarch to delegitimise him. But this did not rule out the danger of an “angry” Bismarck, who was fed up with the traditional Francophile tendencies of the Romanians, seeking the dissolution of the recently established Romanian state. For this reason, the abdication of Carol in March 1871 was a turning point because it returned the initiative to the country’s political elite. In isolating the radical liberals, the political elite could once again offer their support and contribute mainly to the relegitimation of the institution of the monarchy.

The problem of the legitimation of royal power during the Carol’s reign is also the subject of Florin Turcanu’s article (which is in the third part of the volume), only in this case the analysis focuses on the royal patronage of the capital’s artistic circles and on the participation of members of the dynasty in a “national artistic field” that was linked to the creation of national symbols and national institutions, confirmatory of the monarchy and in accordance with the standards of modern European royal houses.

On the other hand Radu Paun, studying the power practices in the Danubian principalities from the outbreak of the Greek revolution, detects the immanence of Phanariote ways of governmentality during the first half of the nineteenth century. According to the author, this qualitative change (and this is what is to be expected from specialists on Romanian history) occurred with the unification of the two principalities in 1859, which also marked

the creation of a new national elite, the role of which was discussed satisfactorily in the two articles by Binder-Iijima and Turcanu mentioned above.

In her article, Dubravka Stojanović discusses the issue of policymaking institutions in Serbia at the end of the “long nineteenth century”, coming across a contradiction that is known and much discussed also in the Greek case: the introduction of advanced democratic institutions at the state level in a premodern, traditional society dominated by patriarchal structures. These institutions, according to Stojanović, transported from western to eastern Europe, essentially functioned by favouring the retention (and not the removal) of an authoritarian political regime. Stojanović sees the latter not only in regard to the oppressive nature of the executive and the monarchy but as a global culture of policies that easily proceeded to the prosecution of opponents. But here lies the main problem with her analysis: the essentialist way with which she treats democratic institutions. For example, freedom of the press in the early twentieth century transformed into its opposite, resulting in “anarchy”. Or political parties only appear to operate democratically; in fact, internally, they reproduce the feudal family model (characterised mainly by a lack of internal fractions and debate), representing the leading elite of the capital and not as parts of “civil society”. One such analysis generally obscures the real challenges of political opposition in Serbia in the nineteenth century: only in this case is the comparison with an idealised model of western parliamentary democracy certainly to the detriment of the “backward” Balkans. The infringement on the core values of the majority or the splitting up of power by the authorities are presented, rather, as examples of delays, according to western norms (just as today it has certainly shaped the functioning of the par-

liamentary system), rather than as examples of understanding the distinctive features of the Balkan and Serbian political space. Most likely, the article aspires to play an instructive role for Serbia today, rather than as one of understanding a historical reality where the western democracies also engaged in authoritarian methods and clientelism.

The third part of the volume is dedicated to public policies. In his article, Nikos Karapidakis describes the peculiar position of the Corfu republicans who progressed from being proponents of the ideals of the French revolution and its export to the rest of Europe to being apologists for an oppressive regime after the occupation of the Ionian Islands by Napoleon's troops in 1797. Offering a good description of this contradictory attitude to democratic ideals, he highlights the gap between the theories of modernisation and the interpretation of the real conditions of administration and governance, which differ from those that would be considered as their ideological preconditions.

Along the same lines, Noémi Lévy distinguishes corresponding contradictions in how policing tasks were delegated to intermediary actors such as notables, night watchmen, *kabadayı*, etc. In studying the institutionalisation of the police and *gendarmerie* in the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century, she finds that up until the time of Abdul Hamid, policing (the maintenance of order that was prescribed by modernity) was a project that used such "intermediary" social actors with whom the official police had to cooperate. In this case as well, the application of a novel institution had to adapt to the measures and functions of an "archaic" system.

Roumiana Preshlenova's article tries to explore how the economy became part of the political discourse of nineteenth-century

Bulgarian politicians (though she does use comparative examples from other Balkan countries) and the development of the concept of an "economic culture", which "includes knowledge, information and their application in the management of economic activities". Her essay thus revolves around the ways in which the separation from the Ottoman Empire affected the prospects for economic growth, returning to some critical issues that had previously been raised in the relevant literature by Michael Palairt. The author believes that during the phase of their irredentist and expansionist visions against the Ottoman Empire, these states developed what she terms a low "economic culture". In studying the thematology of "smallness" as a common feature of Balkan societies and economies (which in reality means a lack of economies of scale) and its relation to the debate on "economic backwardness", one finds that to a great extent (especially in the Bulgarian case) the period from the 1880s to 1930 can be characterised by economic stagnation, even though there were improvements in farming methods, as small holdings, weak industrialisation and, ultimately, the massive migration of labour (three points already noted by Barbara Jelavich) held back economic activity. The only possible route to growth was necessitated by the introduction of European economic institutions and technological methods, but this increased the risk of exposure of these countries to the penetration of foreign capital. To a large extent, what the author refers to as "economic culture" in the Balkans was the management of this largely unsolved problem.

Olivier Bouquet, in his article, although not fully aware of the as-of-late rich Greek literature, attempts to highlight certain aspects of a well-known case in the literature concerning an Ottoman bureaucrat, Konstantinos Mousouros (Kostaki Musurus Paşa), who was the

empire's ambassador to Athens and London and son-in-law of Stefanos Vogoridis, a well-known Neophanariot of Bulgarian origin. The revelation that networks operated within the bureaucracy of either newly created nation states in the Balkans or traditional empires is certainly not new, but the cultural aspect of these relations is always interesting and relates to a subject that this volume appears to have underestimated. Finally, Marc Aymes studies the role of networks in the microcosm of the Ionian Islands and their complicated relationship with "territory, nationality, language, religion and power". But his ambition is bigger: he tries to stress the semantic content of the discourses on the "Heptanesia" as something more and beyond the "Ionian Islands" in narrow geographical terms. The "Heptanesia" as a space of movement (where he discusses the fascinating movement of the notion from the western Asia Minor coast to the western part of the Greek world), as a figure of speech (as an experimental, quasi-utopian polity transformation) or as a field of agency (a "given" or an ambiguous "totality") forms the core of an area discourse construction. From this perspective, Aymes' approach is the only one in the volume which attempts to combine the analysis of socioeconomic networks with cultural procedures.

Undoubtedly, this collective volume is an important contribution to a comparative history of Balkan societies, economies and political systems. The subjects covered shed light on and reveal complex aspects of the history of the Balkans which were previously explained using terms such as "underdevelopment", "delay" and "dependence". The importance of such an approach regarding the transition from the empire to the nation-state model does not need to be highlighted. What we should insist on is the issue of comparison, which is strongly put by the editors. Indeed, the com-

parison between different Balkan cases, as can be seen for example in Parusheva's article, is a fruitful epistemological proposal that saves us from the repetition of oriental motifs, be they in regard to the Ottoman or the Balkan pasts. However, the comparison of the Balkans with specific western models (given that we have accepted the nonunity of western rule as such) can also serve as a springboard for historical-theoretical approaches to the complex relationship between the "centre" and the "periphery": the relationship of the German and French academies and the establishment of academic/bureaucratic networks in the Balkans, the influence of Italian and French political radicalism on Europe's Mediterranean coast, the model of rural development in western Europe as a model to be imitated or avoided for the Balkan peoples – all can become productive fields for scientific comparison. In the end, *comparaison n'est pas raison* does indeed apply; what's important in a comparison is the criterion that one chooses to compare.