Creating a New Historical Perspective: EU and the Wider World

CLIOHWORLD-CLIOHRES
ISHA Reader
III

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East and West
Bridging the Differences

A
CLIOHWORLD-CLIOHRES
ISHA Reader

edited by
Vedran Bileta and Anita Buhin

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Cover: Egon Schiele (1890-1918), *Versinkende Sonne* [Setting Sun], 1913.

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Preface

We are very pleased to present *East and West: Bridging the Differences*, a CLIOHRES-CLIOHWORLD-ISHA Reader. It has been prepared and printed by CLIOHWORLD on occasion of the International Students of History Association's 2011 Annual Conference, which will be held from 25 April to 1 May 2011, in Pula, Croatia.

The volume is edited by Vedran Bileta and Anita Buhin, to whom we express our gratitude. The choice of chapters and the division into sections are theirs. We are sure that their selection will prove interesting and meaningful in the context of the general topic.

The Conference's central inspiration and the themes of its working sessions are very much in tune with the underlying aims of the CLIOH History Networks. Our acronym stands for a longer title: "Creating Links and Innovative Overviews for a New History Agenda". We have attempted to put this general plan of 'creating links and innovative overviews' into action in several ways over the last 12 years, and one of the very most important is to question stereotypes and uninformed characterisations of the 'Other', including the supposedly obvious differences between East and West. In our view, bringing critical knowledge of how such ideas have been formed and maintained in specific historical contexts is essential for increasing understanding and giving citizens tools to make appropriate decisions in response to the challenges of our times.

This has been a central concern of the sister History Networks CLIOHnet (www.clioh.net), CLIOHRES (www.cliohres.net) and CLIOHWORLD (www.cliohworld.net). The first, an Erasmus Thematic Network, completed two Culture 2000 projects from 2001 to 2003, publishing 10 volumes in collaboration with the Pisa University Press based on actual multinational learning/teaching situations in a series of Erasmus Intensive Programmes. These include such titles as *Nations and Nationalities in Historical Perspective* and *Racial Discrimination and Ethnicity in European History*, and certainly will be of interest to the ISHA members: the volumes can be downloaded for free from www.clioh.net

One of our CLIOHnet and CLIOHnet2 Task Forces (active from 2001 to 2008) was dedicated to "enlarging the historiographical space". This meant realising that history must by told by many voices, not 'just' those of Britain, France and possibly Germany. CLIOHnet and CLIOHnet2 developed many of the ideas which underlie the present Reader: one of these is that the Ottoman Empire is part of the European experience, that Balkan and eastern European countries in general as well as Turkey are usually not adequately considered in western European learning and teaching programmes, and that their histories need to be better known and integrated into our worldview. And that such knowledge, unencumbered by stereotypes, will lead to better understanding of the histories of both those commonly called 'eastern' and those who equally commonly (and proudly) think of themselves as 'western'.

Since those elementary formulations we have gone ahead, bringing the various historiographical communities from all of Europe and other continents as well to work together to overcome myopic understandings of 'difference'. This was the inspiration for our research network CLIOHRES. As a Sixth Framework Network of Excellence for History, its full title is "Creating Links and Innovative Overviews for a New History Research Agenda for Citizens of Growing Europe". In this title, we understood 'growing' in more than one sense: as a geographical fact, linked to the enlargement of the European Union, and also as a qualitative fact, a growth in civility. We hope that European and world citizenship can be understood and practiced on the basis of greater knowledge of and respect for diversity. We were and are convinced that a new way of carrying out historical research will be essential for achieving this result. During the five and a half years of their activities, 180 CLIOHRES researchers from 31 countries addressed the challenge of creating new research agendas and sharing their results: the Network produced 51 books, including about 700 scholarly chapters, on a variety of subjects, including those placed at the centre of the Pula conference. These books, published on-line and in book form, are freely available and may be used as desired so long as the source is acknowledged. Vedran Bileta and Anita Buhin have selected sixteen CLIOHRES chapters to compose this Reader.

On 1 October 2008 the youngest of the CLIOH nets was born. CLIOHWORLD (www.cliohworld.net) grew out of the previous Networks, and continues on their path, but with particular emphasis on the History of European Integration, of the European Union and of Europe as an entity which cannot be understood without reference to and knowledge of the 'wider world'. CLIOHWORLD is an Erasmus Academic Network, supported by the European Commission through its Lifelong Learning Programme. One of its many tasks is to review the materials created by CLIOHRES and propose them in various contexts, as learning/teaching and dissemination materials.

For the cover of *East and West* we have chosen a detail of Egon Schiele's *Versinkende Sonne* [Setting Sun] (1913), not because of its autumnal reference to the sunset and the evening, but rather because, showing the lights of human dwellings on the spectator's side of an inlet or channel, it seems to invite us to 'build a bridge' to the still sunlit island on the other side. It suggests graphically that a bridge is needed. This symbolises the bridge that, with ISHA, we want to build between countries and individuals, using the critical tools of History.

This Reader is printed in a limited number of copies for the ISHA Conference in Pula. It is available for free download from the www.cliohworld.net website. We thank ISHA, its members, its President Sarah Stroobants and Vice-President Sven Mörsdorf for their interest in collaborating with us. We thank, once again, the CLIOHRES researchers who originally wrote the chapters. To all, thank you for your contribution to developing a new, critically founded and 'fairer' way of looking at History for a 'growing' world.

Ann Katherine Isaacs
University of Pisa

Guðmundur Hálfdanarson
University of Iceland

Introduction

An ancient Buddhist saying recites: "In the sky, there is no distinction of East and West; people create distinctions out of their own minds and then believe them to be true". Ever since the dawn of civilization, people have been trying to build artificial frontiers and to create mental frameworks that would distinguish them from others. It was already Herodotus, the Greek historian of the fifth century BC, who divided the biggest part of the known world into two halves, Asia and Europe. The idea that East and West are not only different regions of the world, but also regions filled with different people, religions, and cultures, would prevail for the next two millennia. The rise of Christianity and Islam only reinforced these antagonistic sentiments. While the struggle of various civilizations of Europe and Asia has been a long and enduring one, it was neither totally continuous nor profoundly interrupted. Rather, an uneasy peace existed between the great empires of the East and West, interrupted by an occasional outbreak of war. Civilizations rose and fell, yet on both sides an understanding of what separated them has remained, drawing on accumulated historical memories – some of them true, some of them false.

In the light of all the intolerance that has been created throughout history, one of the most important tasks of the historian today is to counter prejudices and stereotypes which have been built up through the centuries. With this in mind, we decided that the topic of the ISHA Annual Conference 2011 in Pula would be "East and West: Bridging the Differences". We were inspired by Croatian national history, which shows that this region has always been the borderline between the Eastern and the Western world. In twelve workshops, which will include all historical periods and varied historiographical approaches, we will bring history students from many parts of Europe together and give them the opportunity to discuss if a border between East and West really exists, and how its collective perception has been formed. Through this, we want to question the notion that there are big differences between East and West, and find not only differences, but also similarities and connections in our histories.

Sixteen articles that deal with our topic from various perspectives have been selected. Our aim was to gather a multitude of themes from different fields in an attempt to provide a nuanced picture of some crucial aspects of Eastern-Western interaction from ancient times to the present day. This has been done in the form of four thematic units: *Perceiving the Old Continent: Europe between East and West – What is East? What is West? In Search of Common Identity – Cross-cultural Interactions: Art, Architecture and People – Uneasy Coexistence: Clash and Dialogue between Religions*.

The first chapter deals with different observers' perceptions of East and West, leading to the concept of the "significant other", and breaking up the prevalent Eurocentric view of history. Inevitably, this raises a question about the construction of identities,

something that determines or shapes the position of a person or group in society. In the second chapter, articles discussing this theme are presented. Identities are expressed through aspects of culture and religion, and their distinction becomes most visible during foreign encounters, which may become manifest in conflicts and wars, or which might lead to peaceful coexistence. Examples of such interactions are presented in the last two chapters.

On behalf of ISHA Pula, we want to thank the European History Networks and particularly the CLIOHRES Network of Excellence for giving us the opportunity to use their scientific findings and the CLIOHWORLD Erasmus Academic Network for working with us to publish this Reader. This is the third publication of its kind, part of a very fruitful cooperation between researchers, teachers and students. We hope that our selection of materials will be useful to all participants of the Conference.

Vedran Bileta
Anita Buhin
ISHA Pula

Orientalism or *Oriental* Studies: Stereotypes and Rituality – the Tea Cult

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Abstract
My chapter focuses on the historiographical development of Oriental/Asian Studies in Portugal. Taking Orientalism as starting point, I inscribe my theoretical approach in the broader realm of Cultural Studies. From this field I define interpretive borders of alterity, particularly in the way daily habits were observed and revealed, and rituals were adopted. Wenceslau de Moraes' representation of the 'tea cult' becomes this essay's main focus since it allows the reader to get in touch with a different ritual in its personal and collective inscription.

Neste ensaio conceptualiza-se como historiograficamente se definiu o campo dos Estudos Orientais/asiáticos, nomeadamente em Portugal. Partindo de correntes analíticas como o orientalismo, inscrevo teoricamente este ensaio no âmbito dos Estudos culturais e defino as fronteiras interpretativas da alteridade, tomando como ponto de partida e chegada o modo como se observaram e revelaram os quotidianos, isto é, se adoptaram outras ritualidades. É o "culto do Chá" que serve de objecto nuclear deste nosso estudo, no discurso de Wenceslau de Moraes, interrogando-se modelos de olhar o real, de desvendar os seus participantes.

My essay approaches different Portuguese historiographical concepts in the field of Oriental/Asian studies that focus on the readings of earlier testimonies of Portuguese presence in the Orient. I also focus on the way these studies have been influenced by previous research in European universities, framing previous analyses in Portuguese historiography. In order to understand the theoretical framework where these analyses take place[1] when we ponder on the *Orient* as a concept in Portuguese historical narratives, we need to inscribe it in a larger geographical sense, the one used by Portuguese historians in early modern age, particularly in the 16th century. Eventually we must also pay attention to other representations of the Orient that took place in different times and places since the 16th century.

One must stress the fact that the *Orient* as an epochal and historical concept must be seen in conjunction with Europe as another epochal and historical concept. Though Said's *Orientalism* studied mainly French and British representations of the Middle

East, some of these theoretical issues must be considered when we deal with narratives on the Far East. As Said himself wrote:

> It hardly needs to be demonstrated again that language itself is a highly organized and encoded system, which employs many devices to express, indicate, exchange messages and information, represent, and so forth. In any instance of at least written language, there is no such thing as a delivered presence, but a *re-presence*, or representation[2].

Said's analytic enterprise initiated with *Orientalism* was developed by other scholars, as he himself recognized in *Culture and Imperialism*:

> A substantial amount of scholarship in anthropology, history, and area studies has developed arguments I put forward in *Orientalism,* which was limited to the Middle East. So I, too, have tried here to expand the arguments of the earlier book to describe a more general pattern of relationships between the modern metropolitan West and its overseas territories[3].

He proceeds with his reasoning when he explains his new approach:

> What are some of the non-Middle Eastern materials drawn on here? European writing on Africa, India, parts of the Far East, Australia, and the Caribbean; these Africanist and Indianist discourses, as some of them have been called, I see as part of the general European effort to rule distant lands and peoples and, therefore, as related to Orientalist descriptions of the Islamic world, as well as to Europe's special ways of representing the Caribbean islands, Ireland, and the Far East. What are striking in these discourses are the rhetorical figures one keeps encountering in their descriptions of "the mysterious East," as well as the stereotypes about 'the African [or Indian or Irish or Jamaican or Chinese] mind'[4]...

Nevertheless when we analyze the way extra-European spaces were represented in Portuguese 16th-century historiographical discourses we must be aware that these narratives have been studied either as literary documents, belonging to a specific genre, or as a source of *true/false* facts that have built History. So when a historian investigates 16th-century Portuguese History, examining a political, social, economical or cultural field, he cannot forget these narratives. More recently these narratives have been approached from a different angle, as *unique* documents that must be put in perspective, as I have already shown in other essays[5].

In this chapter I approach the historiographical discourses that since the 16thcentury have been dealing with Asian spaces. I take as my main topic the way daily life rituals were represented. I also pay specific attention to a ritual that played a relevant role in the interaction with the Other, and in the building of a cultural imaginary connected with the Orient, the 'tea cult'. The tea ceremony ritual appealed to the curiosity of those who pondered on Eastern manners, particularly some of those who traveled in the Far East. When this beverage was introduced in Europe, some aspects of the ritual that were inherent to it in Eastern lands also became part of Western social rituals. The first written reference to tea is found in Giovanni Battista Ramusio's travel writings of the 16th century. The Portuguese priest Gaspar de Cruz's *Treatise* also provides an extensive description of this ritual. The tea trade started with the Dutch in 1630 and in England in 1670, becoming widely popular during the 18th century. In the 19th century the tea cult was mentioned by the Portuguese Wenceslau de Moraes, who compared

Western and Eastern behaviours through the way they dealt with the tea ceremony. This ritual becomes an example of looking at the Other. Let us consider then the way it takes place.

I shall start with the path taken by Portuguese historians in their contacts with alien spaces. In a first stage, up to mid 20th century, the texts dealing with Portuguese presence in other continents were seen as part of 'Expansion culture'. Portuguese authors such as Rui Loureiro adopted this approach[6]. This designation and conceptual framework have been challenged since they may be rather vague while focusing on a narrow slice of time: the 16th and the 17th centuries. Having these objections in mind, this expression has been adopted in order to describe methods and historiographical discourse schools, instead of a collection of texts.

Studies dealing with the Portuguese early modern age usually focus on the contacts with alien spaces in terms of the building of a presence. The topic of the Orient is already signalled in the 16th century, thus becoming an object of so-called Oriental Studies. In the 16th century we find several works on the Eastern lands, such as João de Barros' *Dos feitos que os Portugueses fizeram no descobrimento e conquista dos mares e terras do Oriente* [Portuguese Deeds in the Discovery and Conquest of the Seas and Lands of the Orient] also known as *Décadas* [Decades], Fernão Lopes de Castanheda's *História do Descobrimento e Conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses* [History of India Discovery and Conquest by the Portuguese], *O livro do que viu e ouviu Duarte Barbosa*, [The Book of what Duarte Barbosa saw and heard] Tomé Pires's *Summa Oriental*, Garcia da Orta's *Colóquios dos Simples e Drogas da Índia* [Dialogues of the Simples and Drugs of India], and the *Dictionarium Latino Lusitanum ac Iaponicum*. In this area one must have knowledge of Eastern languages and of Asian historiographical discourses, bearing in mind both the different geographical landscapes, such as India, China, Japan, and also wide and diverse areas such as South-East Asia. We also must bear in mind Robert Irwin's words:

> Until the late 19th century, Orientalism had little in the way of institutional structures and the heyday of institutional Orientalism only arrived in the second half of the 20th century. The research institutes, the banks of reference books, the specialist conferences and professional associations then followed[7].

This line of study has interacted either explicitly or implicitly with Portuguese History and, in a larger framework, with Western History. The Orient has been conceived of as a space ranging from Northern Europe to Southern China. In South-East Asia it extends from Burma to the Philippines. In East Asia it embraces China, Japan and Korea. T. Embree and Carol Gluck stress the fact that: "... such an Asia is clearly in the eye of the beholder, the constructed Self or Other which changes with time, place, and those who do the beholding"[8]. As this quote reminds us, one must bear in mind that these concepts have been constructed in the specific cultural frameworks of political and even imperial presences. >From this derives the notion that my area of research actually deals with semiotic systems and with networks of signs inscribed in the wider field of Cultural Studies. History is thus seen not only as a set of facts and events, but also as their narration. 'Truth' may unfold from the critical analysis of narrative strategies and processes of different discourses.

This is the reason why Orientalism plays a relevant role both in Cultural Studies and in Post-Colonial Studies, meaning the analysis of a specific time anchored in a double meaning of culture:

> First of all it means all those practices, like the arts of description, communication, and representation, that have relative autonomy from economic, social, and political realms and that often exist in aesthetic forms, one of whose principal aims is pleasure[...]. Second, and almost imperceptibly, culture is a concept that includes a refining and elevating element, each society's reservoir of the best that has been known and thought [...]. Culture in this sense is a source of identity [...] a sort of theatre where various political and ideological causes engage one another[9].

A new approach in European studies of culture has been devoted to analyzing the way it "... was able to manage – even produce – the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period"[10]. In this period (from late 18th century to early 20th century) a theoretical textual *corpus* has emerged embracing travel writing. This line of reading unfolds the way the Other was represented through Western prejudices, stereotypes, fantasies and misconceptions[11].

Ronald Inden's notion of "Imperial Knowledge" designs a framework of signs, concepts and readings that are built in colonial discourse. I take this notion as a relevant instrument in the unfolding of those representations. In 1999, one of the events inscribed in the celebrations of Portuguese discoveries was an exhibition entitled *O Orientalismo em Portugal* [Orientalism in Portugal]. This exhibition represented a wide spectrum of time allowing us to perceive different notions and cultural practices of what was supposed to be Orientalism. Scholars as Diogo Ramada Curto[12] described the heterogeneity of orientalist discourses placing them in their political and social contexts. This scholar actually followed Said's conceptual frameworks and attempts to apply them to Portuguese textual realities.

It is interesting to note that, in his edition of Charles Boxer's *Opera Minora*, Ramada Curto illuminates the historical evolution of this notion when he reminds us that Boxer had designated João de Barros, Diogo do Couto and António Bocarro as orientalists[13]. It is important to bear in mind that by the late 16th century and early 17th century João de Barros, Diogo do Couto and António Bocarro wrote historical narratives on Portuguese presence in Eastern lands. Boxer also put forward the idea that their works had been pioneers of European Orientalism. He saw the kind of knowledge imposed by Europeans as symbolic strategies of violence and power on Asian peoples. This meant that Orientalism could also be understood as a specific kind of imperialism[14].

Boxer's notion of Orientalism is rather relevant since he is an outstanding scholar on Portuguese presence in Asia, particularly in China. Boxer followed a French tradition that started to emerge in the 1830s. This tradition inscribed this notion both as image and thought. Since literary critics have mainly analyzed its presence in Portuguese literature, a multidisciplinary approach may bring a new light to a wider range of cultural and historical connections. Eça de Queirós, one of the major 19th-century Portuguese authors, devoted some of his novels, such as *Mandarim* [Mandarin] (1880) and *Relíquia* [Relic] (1887), and even travel writings (on his trip to Egypt in 1869), to this presence. In the latter he described in

detail his wanderings through Alexandria where he had Turkish coffee and smoked Persian *narghile*[15] which brought him to an emotional state that the Arabs named "Kiéf", a kind of losing of one's senses while still awake. Life thus became a kind of "passive", almost "vegetative" state. He also described the sweet blue *narghile* smoke; a smoke that made one think through images and forms[16].

Orientalism, exoticism and stereotypes go hand in hand in 19th-century Portuguese literature. This leads me to a specific focus on 'the tea cult' and its representation, which will allow me to unfold ways of constructing orientalist images. In Eça's novel *Mandarim* [Mandarin],

Fig. 1
Illustration of a Mandarin by a Portuguese artist (19th century).

Beijing is described as a new Babel. After a fine luxurious dinner the protagonist tells the reader of the pleasure he found in having tea. He himself put a few leaves of imperial tea in a boiling cup of water. These leaves had been gathered in the March harvest, a single harvest celebrated as a holy ritual, by the pure hands of virgins[17]. The languid atmosphere described in the novel was visually conveyed in the 19th-century illustrations of this novel.

Portuguese decorative arts depicted in this 'oriental style' or 'chinoiserie' the scenes devoted to the 'tea cult' that one finds exemplified in one room of the Portuguese Open University in Ceia Palace. The bucolic atmosphere is conveyed in several panels, both through the human characters and the natural elements, as the reader may see in the next image.

This *chinoiserie* is found in different cultural products over the years. We can find oriental influences in pieces of furniture, jewels and quilted bedcovers. Despite their specific aesthetic grammars, they all are over-decorative, even artificial. Nevertheless the monodisciplinary lens of Art History has analyzed these artistic objects.

Fig. 2
Chinoiserie in Ceia Palace.

When trying to define Portuguese Orientalism, I take as relevant Robert Irwin's statement: "Since there was no overarching and constraining discourse of Orientalism, there were many competing agendas and styles of thought."[18] Since I am choosing now an image constructed in the 19th century, I must stress that Orientalism actually emerges in Portugal in the 16th century when narratives such as Duarte Barbosa's appear. As I mentioned above, this author wrote a book around 1516 on his presence in Asia where he described the peoples and lands that Portuguese fleets met.

Let us see, then, how the 'tea cult' is depicted. Let us examine the discourse that has given its form, Wenceslau de Moraes' *O culto do Chá* [The Tea Cult], first published in 1905 in Japan. Its author lived for many years in both China and Japan. This officer of the Portuguese navy was born on May 30, 1854. He lived for a while in Macao (1891), and then he moved to Japan (1899) where he would eventually die (1929). He wrote several books and chronicles, such as *Dai-Nippon* (1897), *Cartas do Japão* [Letters from Japan] (1904) *Yoné* e *Ko-Haru* [Yoné and Ko-Haru] (1923), focusing on his experiences in Eastern lands and seas, namely in Japan and China. His views on Japan emerge both in his life and in the pages he wrote on this subject. Literary critics have analyzed these texts. Since this chapter aims at a different kind of approach, I will devote my analysis to his representations and idealizations of oriental daily rituals.

This edition was illustrated by a Japanese artist of a workshop in Kobe devoted to the decoration of perfume packages and medicine bottles [19]. The author considers it to be exotic due to both its form and content. Its first edition followed the Japanese style of printing only one side of rice paper sheets. It was then sent to Lisbon where it could be bought. In a letter dated December 30, 1905, the author mentions his sadness since he had been informed that the 1000 books that had reached the capital had not been sold yet[20].

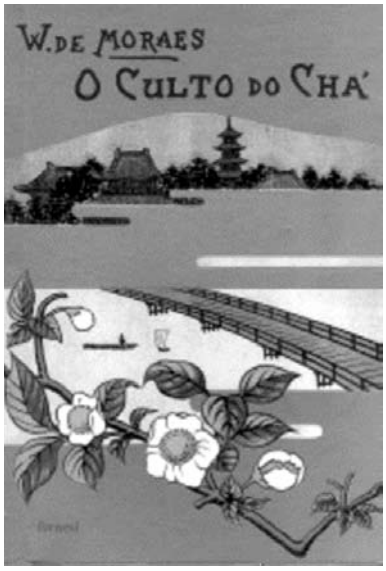

Fig. 3
Cover of Moraes' 1905 book.

One senses some bitterness when he says that the pages of his book would be used for wrapping butter. These words actually echo the 16th-century chronicler João de Barros' opinion when he said that bad writers could only be useful to women in street markets[21]. However, in early January 1906, Lisbon newspapers signalled this book's rare eastern flavour, luxurious and delightful in its representation of eastern exoticism.

While writing about the 'tea cult' the author depicted Asia as a space of rewarding ritualized tradition. Unease with European present day reality was thus projected against an idealized Orient, namely a Far East where the ordinary things of daily life are solemnly raised to a cult level[22]. This becomes a space of perfection, quietness and pleasure.

The same delight that one found in Eça de Queirós's *Mandarim* flows through Wenceslau de Moraes' text. One finds it while he is describing the moment when a visitor enters someone's house. After bowing he is offered both a pillow and a cup of tea. Moraes also mentions that in the supposedly "picturesque" Japanese language the word "*chaia*" means "tea house". According to him, this illustrates the fact that the hospitality of a welcoming ceremony, when one offers tea, is something more than a routine, since it has become a symbol of "sweet" Japanese hospitality[23].

Although these two scenes stand a century apart, one finds in the tea ceremony representations the same idealization, the same peacefulness of the moment, the same intimacy of a social act, which invites us to enjoy simple pleasures in privacy. This cultural atmosphere is present in the works of both European artists who in the second half of the 18th century devote themselves to the decoration of the upper classes' palaces, and in the works of those artists living in Japan where they represent the signs of daily life according to local traditions.

Fig. 4
Detail of a tile panel in Ceia Palace.

Fig. 5
Detail of an illustration from W. Moraes' *The Tea Cult*.

This transmigration of feelings and perceptions of specific atmospheres runs through the several elements that play a role in this ceremony. In my view the 'tea cult' is part of a meta-cultural discourse, since "[...] meta-cultural discourse is understood as an entity shaped and reshaped in determinate social conditions"[24]. As I have shown these representations also idealize their topics. Among these idealizations stands the representation of the woman. These echo in both drawings and in narratives. I will point out some of these briefly.

While mentioning the *musumé*'s delicate female presence, Moraes stresses the "innate" graciousness that she devotes to the banal preparation of tea, underlying her impressive countenance.

Fig. 6
Detail of a tile panel
in Ceia Palace.

Moraes describes her swaying figure and her fine small hands, comparing her to Eve, although a more feminine and seductive Eve than "all the Eves in this world"[25].

Fig. 7
Musumé in *The Tea Cult.*

In another space (Lisbon) and in another time (the second half of the 18th century), kind female figures were serving tea. They both share their attention with the child who is demading their personal care.

Fig. 8
Detail of a tile panel in Ceia Palace.

This chapter aimed to analyze the way both Wenceslau de Moraes' book *O Culto do Chá* [The Tea Cult] and Ceia Palace's 18th-century tiles unveil a specific social ritual. The representation of woman turns out to be a significant and appealing element in the exotic imaginary. Although fascination, the imaginary and representation go hand in hand, this does not mean that Moraes reproduces a stereotype. However, in some moments the author provides poetic impressions of a dream-like evening in a 'tea house' where he was served by a "splendid ceremonial priestess". >From this evening he would retain some reminiscences of decorous and harmonious luxury, and of an extreme cleanliness wherever he set his eyes.

These rituals deal with a space, the Orient, where idealized feminine images (quite often stereotypes) were deeply immersed in their own social rituals. >From these Orientalism emerges both as an image and representation of a different being that one tries to integrate in present-day reality. The intelligibility of this grammar of the *exotic* must be understood in the wider context of Oriental Studies, or, according to some historians, Asian Studies. One must look out then for both rigorous concepts and for a deeper understanding of the way in which these cultural dialogues have been constructed through the years in a common space, the Euro-Asian space.

Notes

[1] A.P. Avelar, *The Orient in 16th century Portuguese historiography*, in C. Lévai (ed.), *Europe and the World in European Historiography*, Pisa 2006, pp.149-160.

[2] E. Said, *Orientalism*, New York 1979, p. 21.

[3] Id., *Culture and Imperialism,* New York 1994, p. xi.

[4] *Ibid*.

[5] Avelar, *The Orient* cit.

[6] R. Loureiro, *Fidalgos, Missionários e Mandarins, Portugal e a China no século XVI,* Lisbon 2000.

[7] R. Irwin, *For the Lust of Knowing – The Orientalists and their Enemies,* London 2006, p. 7.

[8] A.T. Embree, C. Gluck, *Asia in Western and World History*, New York - London 1995, p. xvi.

[9] Said, *Culture and Imperialism* cit., p. xii-xiii.

[10] Id., *Orientalism* cit., p. 2.

[11] *O Orientalismo em Portugal*, Lisbon 1999, p. 16.

[12] A Portuguese historian who works on Portuguese culture in the early modern period.

[13] C.R. Boxer in his article entitled *Three Historians of Portuguese Asia (Barros, Couto and Bocarro)* states: " It is not however as a notable pedagogue, grammarian, or stylist that I wish to bring Barros to your attention today, but as a pioneer Orientalist. Some modern writers who ought to know better, have asserted that no reliable information about the Far East was available in Europe from time of Marco Polo to that of Matteo Ricci. This does grave injustice to Portuguese historians like Castanheda, Goes and Barros. (...) Barros also anticipated Sir Henry Yule by over three centuries in his tentative identification of Marco Polo's Caugigu with the Laos". C.R. Boxer*, Opera Minora II,* Lisbon 2002, pp. 19-20. In the same article he writes: " As a pioneer Orientalist, Diogo do Couto ranks with João de Barros [...]. Yule has pointed out that Couto was the first to realize the identity of the story of Barlaam and Josaphat (the 'Golden Legend' of mediaeval Christianity) with the life of Gautama Buddha – although as a good Catholic he naturally claims that Sakya Muni evolved from Saint Josaphat, instead of the other way round". *Ibid.*, p. 27. Bocarro, who also writes the *Década,* is described by Boxer as an Orientalist: "Another welcome innovation in Bocarro's *Década* is the amount of space he devotes to Macao and the development of Sino-Portuguese relations. This was something that Couto neglected, and modern writers on the history of China´s foreign relations also tend to overlook Bocarro's important contribution. Like Barros and Faria e Sousa, Bocarro had a great admiration for China and its civilization. For English readers, Bocarro's *Década* has a special interest as it gives the Portuguese side of the sea-fights off " Swally Hole", which were decisive factors in founding English power in India. He also devotes a good deal of space to the intriguing Shirley brothers and Anglo-Portuguese rivalry in Persia". *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.

[14] Boxer*, Opera Minora II* cit., p. xiv.

[15] *Narghile* – oriental tabacco-pipe with smoke drawn through water.

[16] E. de Queirós, *O Egipto, notas de viagem*, Lisbon 2000, p. 42.

[17] Id., *O Mandarim*, Rio de Mouro 2001, p. 47.

[18] Irwin, *For Lust of Knowing – the Orientalists and their Enemies* cit., p. 7.

[19] W. Moraes, *O culto do Chá,* Lisbon 2004.

[20] *Ibid*.

[21] J. Barros, Prologue of *Ásia...dos feitos que os Portugueses fizeram no descobrimento e conquista dos mares e terras do Oriente*, Lisbon 1992. This 16th-century historian never set foot in Eastern lands. He had a Chinese servant who translated those documents and maps that he used for his writings on this issue. Barros' interest in China is evident in his descriptions of the first Portuguese incursions in Chinese coasts.

[22] Moraes, *O culto do Chá* cit., p. 1. This edition is identical to the first one, providing also Yoshiaki's illustrations engraved by Gotô Seikodô.

[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

[24] F. Mulhern, *Culture/Metaculture,* London 2006, p.xxi.

[25] Moraes, *O culto do Chá* cit., p.20.

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The Eastern Border of Europe and the European Identity of Russia in the 18th Century

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Abstract

By the 18th century, it was widely believed that the Eastern boundary of Europe lay on Russian territory, along the Urals and the Caucasus. Thus, in a geographical sense, Russia belonged partly to Europe and partly to Asia. During the 18th century, the educated elite in Russian society also came to see Russia as European in an historical and cultural sense. This was particularly the case during the era of Peter the Great and Catherine II. However, conflicting views on the on the European identity of Russia were to emerge: some identified it with Europe and others saw it as opposed to Europe.

Границы Европы как части света вполне четко определяются на западе, юге и севере: это Средиземное море, Атлантика и далее – моря Северного Ледовитого океана. Сложнее определить восточную границу Европы. И этот вопрос непосредственно связан с проблемой европейской идентичности России. В данном случае можно говорить о границе Европы как с точки зрения географической, так и с точки зрения историко-культурной.

В России термин «Европа» еще в эпоху средневековья был известен книжникам и летописцам, хотя использовали они его крайне редко. Только в связи с преобразованиями Петра I, который стремился к сближению России и Западной Европы, вопрос о границах европейского континента и европейской идентичности России приобрел особое значение. К середине 18 столетия сформировалось вполне четкое представление о пределах Европы в географическом смысле. В.Н. Татищев в «Лексиконе Российском» отмечал, что граница между Европой и Азией проходит по устью реки Дон, реке Куме, Каспийскому морю, реке Яик, Уральским горам и проливу Вайгач.

Тогда же в просвещенной части российского общества крепнет убеждение, что Россия является частью Европы и в историко-культурном смысле. Об этом прямо сказано в «Наказе» Екатерины II, шестая статья которого гласит «Россия есть Европейская держава». Императрица имела в виду, что со времен Петра I, в России стали распространяться европейские нравы.

Однако представление о России как части Европы в историко-культурном смысле оказалось весьма сложным и неоднозначным. Н.М.Карамзин в «Записке о древней и новой России» воздает должное деятельности Петра I и вместе с тем критикует его за чрезмерное подражание Западной Европе. Так, в сознании российского общества, а нередко и в представлении одного человека, одновременно сосуществовали представления, с одной стороны, о принадлежности России к Европе с точки зрения географической, природно-климатической и историко-культурной и, с другой стороны, о глубоком различии России и Европы.

The European borders to the North, South and West of Russia can be clearly delineated as the continent resembles an enormous peninsula washed by seas and oceans from three sides: to the West we find the vast waters of the Atlantic ocean, in the North, the basin of the North Sea and Arctic Ocean and, in the South, the Mediterranean basin. The Eastern border of Europe is more problematic. The clue to this problem is closely connected with the question of European identity in Russia. If Russia is not seen as part of Europe, then the European border corresponds to the Western border of Russia; in this case, its western neighbours are European countries. If Russia is considered part of Europe, then the Eastern border of the continent lies within Russia. Considering the enormous expanse of Russia to the East, it is difficult to imagine the whole territory extending to the Pacific Ocean as European territory.

The European identity of Russia is a rather complex question; it is multifaceted and each aspect of this question merits specialised research. Russian public opinion varies on this question, and in different epochs we can find different viewpoints predominating. This chapter addresses one aspect: the question of Russia's self-identification as a European country in the 18th century, during which an image of the Eastern border of Europe was shaped. In this period, the European identity of Russia was considered in connection with the reforms of Peter the Great and Catherine II and was a subject of discussion among the educated element of Russian society.

The term "Europe" (*Ευρωπη*) goes back to Ancient Greece, before the time of Herodotus. Initially, the term was used to refer to the country situated to the West of the ancient centers of Greek civilization on the shores of Asia Minor and neighboring islands. Europe was seen as Balkan Greece or part of it. Consequently, "Europe" as a place where the sun set, was considered a country of darkness while Asia, situated in the East, was seen as where the sun rose. Hecataeus of Miletus (6th century BC) divided all known land into Asia, Libya and Europe, introducing the concept of parts of the world or continents. Later, these parts were distinguished by their position in relation to the Mediterranean Sea: Asia to the East, Libya (later Africa) to the South, and Europe to the North. Even during the period of Classical Greece, it was believed that Europe and Asia adjoined somewhere in the Northeast, so the border between them should be set on the land, not on the waterways. This border was drawn either in the Caucasus, more

specifically, along the river Rioni (Phasis), as in *Prometheus Unbound* by Aeschylus, or to the north, on the mouth of the river Don (Tanais)[1]. In any case, Europe was initially considered a geographical concept devoid of geopolitical or cultural sense.

Before the reign of Peter the Great, the term Europe was known among Russian scribes, authors of chronicles and writers of religious literature. They viewed it in a geographical sense, in keeping with the tradition originating in Antiquity. During the Middle Ages, this term was used rarely used in Russia. The enormous *Nikon Chronicle*, a work of thousands of pages recounting Russian history from the 11th to the 16th century, uses the term "Europe" only once – at the beginning of a story about the Turkish seizure of Constantinople (1453), in reference to a new capital of the Empire built by emperor Constantine the Great on the location of former Byzantium. Here we find the term Europe among other terms for parts of the world[2]. Thus, the term "Europe" was not so important for Russian society until the beginning of the 18th century. At that point, there was no question about Russia's being as a part of Europe; nobody in Russia thought about the location of the Eastern border of this continent. On the other hand, Russian public opinion removed Russia from the circle of European countries. Except for Orthodox countries that were ruled by the Ottoman Empire, the countries of Europe were seen as an alien and hostile world where Catholic and Protestant churches predominated and true Christian faith was eliminated. From the Russian viewpoint in that period, only Orthodox Russia was a true Christian country, an idea reflected in the theory of "Moscow as the third Rome". The concept of "Europe" was not used as collective term for countries to the west of Russia. For this purpose the term *Nemtsy* was used, referring to all foreigners from Western Europe[3]. This was derived from the adjective *nemoy* [dumb]; thus the juxtaposition of Russia to the rest of Europe was rooted in the linguistic level. Nowadays the term *Nemtsy* is applied only to the Germans.

During the period before Peter the Great, therefore, Russians perceived a substantial difference between Russia and the rest of Europe, but did not use the term Europe in commenting on the distinction. During the Petrine period, when reforms got underway, the opposition between Russia and the rest of Europe should have been eliminated. Russia was perceived as part of the educated wider world; at least it aimed to enter this world. According to the views of Peter's ideologists, this aim was, for the most part, realized; this was the great achievement of Peter the Great, the main outcome of his reign. On the occasion of his proclamation as Emperor, Peter was said to have had brought Russia onto the stage before the whole world[4]; thus Russia became part of the educated world, as Europe was perceived. Moreover, the proclamation of Russia as an Empire meant its identification as a European state, as the idea of the Empire was a European idea[5], as seen in the case of Charlemagne's Empire, the Holy Roman Empire of the Germanic nation, and Napoleon's Empire.

Thus, during Peter's rule, Russia was clearly identified as a European country, though the term "Europe" had formerly been used mainly in a geographical sense. Now Europe as a

geographic area was defined much more clearly, in the spirit of rational ideas and in the context of developments in geographical knowledge. This question was considered by Russian scientist and official V.N. Tatishchev, author of the first comprehensive work on Russian history. Tatishchev's research extended to collecting foreign data on Russia. He discovered many errors in foreign works on Russian history, geography and even interpretations of Russian words. In his attempts to correct these errors and produce a more accurate image of Russia, Tatishchev compiled his *Lexicon of Russian History, Geography, Policy and Administrative Division.* Here he defines Europe first of all as one of the four parts of the world (at that time they knew of America and Australia, although knowledge of the latter was sketchy). Tatishchev remarked that even ancient scribes believed that the eastern border of Europe lay along the mouth of the river Don. He traced the border from the mouth of the Don to the river Kuma or the Taurus Mountains to the Caspian sea, the river Ural (Yaik), the Ural Mountains and the Strait of Vaygach[6]. Tatishchev was aware of alternative delineations of the border between Europe and Asia: for example, along the Volga and the Kama, or even to the east – along the river Ob, as it was seen by French astronomer and geographer Joseph Nicolas Delisle, who was invited to Russia by Peter I and worked there for 20 years. But Tatishchev preferred to set the border along the Urals, considering this more natural. Apparently, this was consistent with the views of the Russian public in the 18th century. In fact, the Urals separate the Great European Plain and the vast Lowlands in the basin of the Ob River. Moreover, from the Middle Ages, Russians had seen the Urals ("the Stone" or "the Great Belt") as an important border on the way to Siberia. This view of the border was deeply engraved in public memory. The crossing of this border took place only in the 16th century and Russian discoverers' crossing of the Urals can be compared in significance with the crossing of the Atlantic by European discoverers overseas, a development that occurred during the same epoch. In Russian history, the significance of Siberia can be compared with the significance of the New World for the countries of the Western Europe. Thus, the Urals standing before Siberia or the Russian New World are seen as the eastern border of Europe or the Old World. The view that Europe extends eastward as far as the Urals, though somewhat conventional, persists. To the north of the source of the Ural River, this border is seen as a watershed along the Urals or the 60th meridian east of Greenwich. On the main routes running from west to east in the Sverdlovsk and Tchelyabinsk regions of Russia where this border is situated, a number of obelisks have been erected, symbolizing the border between Europe and Asia.

With regard to the border in the Caucasus region and in the region of the Caspian Sea, a change in perceptions must be noted. There are some variant delineations of the border south of the river Kuma. It is widely believed that the border lies along the main ridge of the Great Caucasus. It is likely that this view spread in the 18th century and Tatishchev could accept it as a variant. It is probable that when Tatishchev mentioned the "Taurian" mountains alongside the river Kuma, he was referring to the Great Cau-

casus Mountains. First, there were no other mountains in that region and secondly, Taurus is a mountain range in the east of Asia Minor, adjacent to the Caucasus Mountains.

A much more southern variant version of the border runs along the river Araks and Kura running in the Transcaucasian region. In this case, Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia are included in Europe. These countries participate in many European organizations including PACE, OSCE and practically all sports confederations.

Up to now, however, there is no well-defined view of the European border in the Caucasus, as in the case concerning the Urals. Thus, in the latest edition of the *Great Russian Encyclopedia*, the European border is defined as in the Tatishchev era – from the mouth of the river Don along the Manych and Kuma rivers to the Caspian Sea[7].

Returning to the 18th century and to V.N. Tatishchev, we can assume that in his *Lexicon* he listed all European countries and among them he placed half of Russia and part of Turkey. In this case, Tatishchev implied a specific geographical area, but he also sought to see it from a cultural point of view. He noted that different religions were to be found in Europe; these were mainly Christian religions, but Islam, Judaism and pagan religions also existed. Europe was also a region with developed science, manufacture and military service. Recalling a tradition rooted in the biblical story of Paradise, he remarked that "man was created in Asia", and Europe dominated in riches, science, strength and glory[8].

The term Europe was also used by M.V. Lomonosov, a great Russian scientist of the mid-18th century. Lomonosov used the term in a geographical sense, but his views were close to those held in Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Referring to tribes that were considered ancestors of the Slavs, Lomonosov observed that they moved from Asia to Europe in ancient times, in other words from Asia Minor to the Balkans[9].

The concept "Europe" and "European" not only denoting geographical categories but also carrying connotations of historical and cultural space was shaped in Russia in the second half of the 18th century. In this period, Russia came to be understood as part of Europe. The best indicator of that process is the *Nakaz* [Order] of Catherine II. This was completed by the empress as a direction to the deputy of the Legislative Commission, assembled to work out a new Code of Laws for the Russian Empire. We can consider this document as a programme of Catherine's II reign. In the 6th article of the first chapter, the empress declared Russia "a European power": "*La Russie est une puissance Européenne*"[10]. This is demonstrated by reference to Peter I's reforms: he had successfully introduced European manners and customs. Russia was always a European country in terms of geography and climate, but after conquests and the blending of nations in Russia, non-European manners had spread. Peter, however, incorporated European manners into a country already considered geographically European.

But what European manners had been spread in Russia following Peter I's era? This question relates to Europe as a cultural entity. Catherine II did not provide a definite

answer to this question in the first chapter of her *Nakaz*, but whole content of the Mandate did provide an answer. The underlying ideology reflects the ideas of the Enlightenment, the rational constitution of social and political life, the idea of a Supreme Law and human rights.

It is significant that Catherine II, like other Russian authors of that time, did not refer to the Christian faith as the fundamental framework of European culture and civilization. Let us return to Tatishchev, who noted that Christianity as well as Islam and Hinduism, was to be found in Europe. In his view, Christianity was not the most important characteristic defining the cultural unity of Europe. This underestimation of the significance of Christianity in the development of European civilization can be explained by the enormous influence of Enlightenment ideas in Europe, including Russia: thinkers of that epoch trusted human reason, science and rational sense, but not religion or faith. On the other hand, even in the 18th century, Russians were loyal to the Orthodox Church and were not prepared to compromise with Catholic and Protestant churches on questions of faith. Thus, for Russia, religion was not a unifying element in Europe; religious differences were divisive. Perhaps that is why Russian commentators of the 18th century, seeing Russia as belonging to Europe, could not point to Christian religion as the basis of European culture.

The concept of the word *Nemtsy* changed. The 18th-century *Dictionary of the Russian Language* defines *Nemtsy* as a people populating Germany[11]. But there are some recurrences of former usage of this word, for example, in the 18th century, we can find the combination "*Nemtsy* from Holland" referring to Dutchmen[12]. This is the proof of the closer association of Russia with the rest of Europe, as each European nation was given a specific name and the former collective name *Nemtsy* went out of usage. Of course, this was also the result of the strengthening of national identity among the inhabitants of some European countries, including German lands.

In conclusion, in 18th-century Russia, a certain attitude towards the country's European identity was shaped. Europe was understood as a geographical space and its border in the East was clearly defined: the part of Russia extending as far as the Urals was considered European. Europe was considered a developed historical and cultural society to which Russia also belonged. The roots of this phenomenon were in the Russian landscape and new ideas, customs and manners of Western Europe spread to Russia.

Nevertheless, even then we can observe complexity and ambiguity in Russian perceptions of its belonging to Europe in a cultural sense. Many Russians, even those well educated, compared themselves with Europeans. This idea was brilliantly presented at the beginning of the 19th century in the *Note on Ancient and Modern Russia* written by N.M. Karamzin. Evaluating Peter's reforms, Karamzin criticized his Europeanising policies. He highlighted Russia's distinctiveness rather than pointing to its European identity[13]. It is worth noticing that Karamzin's *Note* was written before the Napoleonic invasion. Such

events in Russia were perceived as invasion from the West, in other words from the whole of Europe and, as a result, sharpened the confrontation between Russia and Europe.

It is interesting that at times, when differentiating themselves from Europeans, Russians acknowledged their distinctive identity, but when comparing themselves with Asiatic people, they highlighted their European status. Examples of this are found in the *Dictionary of Language* completed by the great Russian poet, Pushkin, whose works in early 19th century stimulated the development of the Russian language. The character in one of his poems, the *Caucasian Captive*, a Russian among Caucasian mountain dwellers, realized he was a European. And in a description of a fair in the novel *Eugenij Onegin*, one European included a merchant from Western European among Russian traders[14].

Thus, in the 18th and early 19th centuries, a certain perception of the Eastern boundary of Europe, of European historical and cultural space and Russia's relationship to it, became rooted in Russian consciousness. From the geographical point of view, it was already clear in the 18th century where the boundary between Europe and Asia was located. From the historical and cultural points of view, however, the issue was more complicated and contradictory views on the question persist to this day. Russia is considered a European country and at the same time is seen in opposition to the rest of Europe.

Notes

1 E.G. Rabinovich, *Незримая граница*, in V.V. Ivanov (ed.), *Евразийское пространство: Звук, слово, образ*, Moscow 2003, pp. 68, 73.

2 S.F. Platonov (ed.), *Полное собрание русских летописей*, vol. 12, Saint Petersburg 1901, p. 78.

3 D.N. Shmelev (ed.), *Словарь русского языка XI – XVII вв.*, vol. 11, *Не-нятый*, Moscow 1986, pp. 178-179.

4 *Полное собрание законов Российской империи*, collection 1, vol. 6, Saint Petersburg 1830, p. 445.

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A Retreating Power: the Ottoman Approach to the West in the 18th Century

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Bu makale, onsekizinci yüzyılda, Batı'nın Osmanlı dünyasındaki değişen algılanışı üzerinedir. Karlowitz Barış Antlaşmasının (1699) imzalanmasından sonra, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun askerî gücünün azalmasıyla birlikte Osmanlı elitinin Batı düyasına eğilimi artmıştır. Avrupa'ya giden eğitimli seyyah ve elçilerin yazdıkları seyahatnâme ve sefaretnâmeler Batı'ya yaklaşımdaki değişim üzerine ilk elden bilgi sağlamaktadır. Sefaretnâme yazımında zaman içinde farklılıkların imâ edildiği ve Batı'nın teknolojik üstünlüğünün kabul edildiği bir yaklaşım hâkim olmaya başlamıştır. Bu metinlerde ilk defa Hristiyan ve İslâm kültürleri arasında -kapalı bir şekilde olsa da- karşılaştırmalar yapılmaya başlanmıştır. Yüzyılın sonunda, bir Osmanlı elçisi devletin istikrarının korunabilmesi için muzaffer Avrupalıların taklit edilmesini önerir. Bu yüzyılda, Osmanlı aydınının 'kayıtsızdan', 'etki altında kalana' dönüştüğünü görüyoruz. Öte yandan, elçiler bu yüzyılda da Osmanlı'nın kültürel olarak 'üstün' olduğu fikrindedir. Osmanlı devleti, Avrupa'nın askerî metotları uygulandığı, reformlar yapıldığı taktirde tekrar en güçlü devlet olacaktır. Elçiler için Batı hâlâ kendi medeniyetleri ile karşıtlık içine yerleştirdikleri 'Öteki'dir. Batılı insan ve maddi kültür Batı'nın o dönemde kullandığı 'egzotik' tanımına girecek şekilde 'yabancı' olarak görülüp dışarıdan değerlendirilmektedir. Yakın dönemde Osmanlı toplum tarihi, askerî ve ekonomik tarihi üzerine yapılan yayınlar bu yüzyıldaki 'Batı'ya açılmanın' on altı ve on yedinci yüzyıllarda çeşitli idarî değişimlerin belirlediğini ortaya koymuştur. Farklılaşan yaklaşım tarzının sadece Batı ile iletişim ve etkileşimin sonucu olmadığı, aynı zamanda Osmanlı toplumundaki iç değişimin bir ürünü olduğu belirtilmiştir. Vergi toplama biçimindeki değişim, kıtalararası ticaretin gelişimi ve askerî kurumlarda yapılan reformlar toplum sınıflarının organizasyonunu etkilemiş ve yeni grupların ortaya çıkmasına neden olmuştur. Batı ile etkileşim artık askerî gerilemenin kaçınılmaz bir sonucu olarak değil, daha geniş bir bakış açısından, 'sınıf hareketliliği' görüşü üzerine temellendirilmiş olan 'toplum dönüşümü' paradigması ile açıklanmaktadır. Dolayısıyla, on altıncı yüzyıldan itibaren yükselen bir 'kent ve eşraf burjuvazisi' ve yeni bir 'yönetici sınıf' grubu, bir yandan Doğu'nun görsel ve edebî geleneklerine bağlılıklarını sürdürürken, bir yandan da Batı Avrupa kökenli sanat ve mimarlık ögelerinin aktarımını sağlamıştır. İlk defa bu dönemde, Barok ve Rokoko tasarımlar ortaya çıkmıştır. Batı Avrupa kültürü ile gittikçe artan etkileşim içinde değişen bir toplum sınıfının estetik tercihleri farklılaşmış ve Rokoko üslûbu, belli bir ölçüde de olsa, resim ve mimarlık tasarımında etkili olmaya başlamıştır.

Introduction

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762), wife of the British ambassador to Istanbul, Edward Wortley Montagu, lived in the city from 1716 to 1718. In a letter to the Abbé Conti, she wrote that the Turks, 'are not so unpolished as we represent them. "This true their magnificence is of a different taste from ours, and perhaps of a better. I am almost of the opinion that they have a right notion of life: they consume it in music, gardens, wine, and delicate eating, while we are tormenting our brains with some scheme of politics or studying some science to which we can never attain, or if we do, we cannot persuade people to set that value upon it we do ourselves [...] I allow you to laugh at me for the sensual declaration that I had rather be a rich Effendi with all his ignorance, than Sir Isaac Newton with all his knowledge"[1]. This restrained admiration of Turkish manners by an educated British lady at the beginning of the 18th century is an indication of the changing image of the 'Turk' in Western Europe. This revision had already started in the second half of the 17th century, when, as Ahmet Evin states, the West began to regard Turkey not as a land of barbarians but as a political entity embodying its own benefits and drawbacks[2]. Concomitantly, Western culture gradually became a centre of attraction for the educated Turk in the East, who sought to emulate recent technological and urban growth in the West.

The historiography

Studies of the Ottoman outlook and approach to the West focus mainly on embassy letters and observations on art and architecture. The former represent the viewpoint of state representatives while the latter demonstrate the influence of Western aesthetics through Baroque and Rococo elements. The travels of the envoys who recorded their eye-witness experiences have attracted an increasing number of researchers. Likewise, the attention paid to modern transliterations/translations of some of the foremost travel accounts has also increased in Turkey and abroad of late. Recent studies on the social, military and fiscal history of the Ottoman Empire have revealed that 18th century openness to the West was conditioned by 16th and 17th century adjustments in a variety of spheres. The altered approach was not only an end-product of contacts and interaction with the West, but also of social change in Ottoman society. Governmental inclinations and decrees regarding tax collecting, intercontinental trade and military institutions affected the organisation of social classes, bringing about new cadres and social groups. Rather than being viewed as an unavoidable result of military retreat, increasing interaction with the West in the 18th century is now seen from a wider perspective, in light of recent research on social transformation and mobility. This new research also illustrates the integration of forms and motifs borrowed from Western art in the 18th century. As a result, we now understand that the aesthetic preferences and choices of a rising bourgeoisie and a new group of ruling elites (who were also fond of their own Oriental visual and literary traditions) opened the gates for new Western European artistic elements. This article draws on this research in order to give an overall impression of the 18th century Ottoman approach to the West.

The formation of a new class

There are sociopolitical reasons for this new era of interaction. The defeat of the Ottoman army outside Vienna in 1683 began the retreat of Ottoman power in Europe. A series of defeats and disadvantageous peace treaties followed. The political conjuncture in Europe allowed for a gradual Turkish retreat from Eastern Europe which lasted almost two centuries. Rivalry among the great European powers shaped their foreign policies. The French, who were at this time seeking an eastern ally against the Habsburgs and Romanovs, turned to the Ottomans. Louis XIV had not sent troops to defend Vienna during the Ottoman siege and later refused to take part in the War of the Holy League, financed by the Pope against the Ottomans. At the end of this war, the allies – Russia, Austria, Poland and Venice – signed the Peace Treaty of Karlowitz with the Sublime Porte in 1699. Later, the Treaty of Pasarowitz (1718) strengthened the political power of the Habsburg Empire in Central and Eastern Europe. In 1719, the inauguration of the port of Trieste by Charles VI heralded Austria's economic ascendancy in the Mediterranean. Hence, one of the most important outcomes of the Second Siege of Vienna was the strengthening of the Habsburg Empire's power and the improvement of its commercial position[3]. In the middle of the 17th century, the Ottomans and the French signed an agreement that brought a minor three per cent customs duty to all goods imported from France[4]. In the same period, commodities produced in Ottoman lands were subject to higher tax rates. Shortly after this convention French goods invaded Ottoman bazaars. Their number increased in the second half of the 18th century. The Baroque-Rococo decorations on objects imported from France were highly significant in the creation of a new decorative style in Turkey[5]. A class of military men with higher incomes, as well as the members of the ruling class in Istanbul, were the chief consumers of the imported merchandise[6]. Meanwhile, the houses of ordinary people remained unadorned, preserving a traditional simplicity. D'Ohsson relates this to the lack of knowledge of living in foreign countries[7]. Since travelling was unsafe and risky, only merchants and official envoys could venture it[8].

European commercial ascendancy in the Middle East brought about political and social change. Western governments started to back their respective companies in order to maintain economic dependencies in the Ottoman lands. As political power was dependent on economic power, the delegates of trade companies acquired a great deal of influence and indeed became the official representatives of their countries. The *Bâbıâli* (Sublime Porte) acknowledged their new status and started to discuss diplomatic, political, commercial and even religious issues with them[9]. Thus, the Ottoman state entered into an age of lively relationships with the West European capitals and their representatives in the East. In the second quarter of the 18th century, a new political atmosphere changed attitudes towards Western civilisation, which until then had been considered inferior. Agreements with Western governments no longer contained statements stressing the supremacy and glory of the Sultan[10]. As noted by Lewis, the Ottomans became aware of the fact that they were 'no longer the Empire of Islam confronting Christendom but one state among several, among whom there might be allies

as well as enemies'[11]. The waning hostility of the Westerners towards the Turks and a new Turkish approach to the Europeans opened avenues for dialogue. The accounts of French travellers contributed much to this development[12].

From the 1660s, prestigious roles opened up for Greeks in the Ottoman Empire, and conversions to Islam probably became less frequent[13]. Greeks and other minority groups resided mainly in coastal towns where intercontinental trade was intense. Traders and financiers from these and Levantine groups had been in a close relationship with Western culture. This was not only because of their commercial ties with Europeans, but also because they could access and read printed material that they had had the right to publish and circulate since the 16th century[14]. While Muslim merchants were concentrating on local trade[15], Christians and Jews profited from intercontinental trade. In the 18th century, the latter accumulated wealth and started to pursue a European lifestyle in the major cities of the Empire. Hence, minority groups emerged as a kind of commercial bourgeoisie. The same century witnessed the appearance of a new class among Muslim subjects of the Sultan in the towns. Beginning in the second half of the 18th century, a new group of officials was trained in a Western style. This led to the Ottoman-Muslim-Turkish bureaucratic-bourgeois formation, with bureaucrats ready to become faithful instruments of administrative reform[16]. Together with non-Muslims, the Muslim ruling class and high officials were influential in the Westernisation of the Empire. On the other hand, the Ottoman elite's increasing western orientation caused a growing alienation of the traditional, conservative groups from the upper classes[17].

In his seminal book, Abou-El-Haj emphasised that there are 'indigenous roots for internal change in Ottoman society'. In the later 16th century, population growth, the flow of American silver and the rise of raw silk and cotton prices, generated an economic crisis. The spread of tax farming and an increase in the power of the tax farmers followed this. At the very end of the 17th century, life-time tax farms, so-called *malikane*, had been given to the local ruling elite. *Malikanes* proved to be a threat to the power of central administration and the state entered into a 'process of decentralisation of power'[18]. In the 18th century, local dynasties were even granted large tracts of land as private property. Foreign trade also contributed to their wealth[19]. Thus, with the decentralisation of the Ottoman Empire, a semi-feudal aristocratic class appeared in the provinces, following the social and economic transformations that took place at the end of the 16th century. These were wealthy and powerful provincial magnates (a kind of semi-feudal aristocracy, *âyan*, *eşraf*, *aga*) who eliminated the *timariots* (fief-holder), their cavalry, traditional land use and taxation system, and became influential agents between the common people and the Sublime Porte[20]. The state depended on them – a 'civilian oligarchy' – for internal security[21]. Hence, the 18th century witnessed the emergence of a new class, which was mainly composed of Muslim high officials, merchants from non-Muslim minority groups, Levantines in the urban centres, and local dynasties in the provinces. Abou-El-Haj connects the diminished number of pious institutions founded by the members of the Sultan's household, and the number of similar foundations augmented by the new members of the ruling elite in the 17th and 18th

centuries, to the loss of the palace's power[22]. The aesthetic preferences and the choices of donors from the emerging new class engaged in the design of a now much more syncretic artistic milieu. This followed the previously-dominant era of classical Ottoman art and architecture, which had been conditioned primarily by the tastes of the uppermost ranks of the Sultan's household.

Cultural interaction

In the 18th century, like almost all European nobilities, the Ottoman ruling class fell under the charm of the French palace. According to Max Beloff, in 18th-century Europe, ceremony and outward show were so essential for monarchy that to create a Versailles was the first step towards acting like its master (for example, Frederick the Great's palace of Sanssouci)[23]. Turkish-French relations strengthened throughout the 18th century, as the French language gained in popularity in intellectual circles. A contemporary Ottoman intellectual, Seyyid Mustafa, says that he dedicated himself to learning French because he thought it more efficient and universal than other languages[24]. Of course, French at this time was in any case the vehicle of international interaction, and in many countries it was the mode of expression of polite society. When, in 1774, the Russians and the Turks negotiated the important treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji, both sides used French[25], as did the Ottoman state in its diplomatic correspondence with the West. From the 15th to the early 20th century, among the Western words in the Ottoman-Turkish language (6,930), words of French origin predominated (71 per cent)[26]. The first Western experts who were invited to reform the Ottoman military were of French origin. These included De Bonneval (1675-1747) who established *Hendesehane* (a school of geometry) (1734) and trained Humbaracı (*bombardier*) corps (1734). Under Mustafa III, books on astronomy were ordered from the French Academy in Paris[27]. During Louis XVI's reign, the French ambassador to Istanbul, the comte de Vergennes, became minister of international relations, and France supported the Ottoman Empire against Austrian and Russian expansion. France contributed to military reforms through De Vergennes' secretary, Baron de Tott (1734-35), who established a new rapid-fire artillery corps, supervised the rehabilitation efforts of the Ottoman Navy, and founded a naval mathematics school (1773) and an engineering school (1776). In 1784, the comte de Choiseul-Gouffier, a member of the French Academy, came to Istanbul as the French ambassador to the Ottoman Empire. Choiseul-Gouffier brought a team of 30 military instructors and two artists to contribute to the modernisation of the Ottoman army and navy. French teachers taught students in the new military engineering school (opened in 1783) in the same way that J. Lafitte-Clavé, Monnier and Brune taught at the navigation school. From the middle of the 16th century, the French embassy in Istanbul provided a setting from which European perceptions of the Ottoman Empire were to some extent fashioned. Diplomats, travellers, artists, designers and writers found a safe haven under its roof, especially in the 18th century. They published their works mostly in Paris and shaped the image of the Turk in Europe. Books written in French on the Ottoman Empire were more numerous than those written on America

and Russia[28]. On the other hand, the 18th century was also a time when France's eastern policy had a Janus face. Voltaire, for instance, was turning the French public against the Ottomans and the comte de Choiseul-Gouffier, and in the introduction of his travel account on Greece, advocated the liberation of Greece from Turkish dominion[29]. At the end of the century, public mistrust originating from this western policy governed reactions on the part of Muslim subjects to the reforms introduced by the Ottoman elite.

At the end of the century, the sisters of Selim III were sympathetic to western ideas. Hatice Sultan hired an architect from Karlsruhe, Antoine Ignace Melling, who built a palace for her private use. Sultan Selim III ordered the calendars to be organised according to Cassini's Astronomical Tables. Mahmoud Râif Efendi wrote a book in French on the reforms introduced by the Sultan (*Tableau des noveaux réglements de l'Empire Ottoman*, 1797). He presents the new Ottoman system (*Nizam-i cedid*) to the West as a new civilisation. On 3 November 1839 an imperial script, read by Reşid Pasha at Gülhane, initiated the era of reform called Tanzimat, which was an end product of the 17th and 18th century transformations. It was in the Tanzimat period that Western institutional forms and administrative laws began to be adopted openly.

The viewpoint of the envoys

Marquis de Bonnac, the ambassador of France to Istanbul (1716-1724), was one of the closest European friends of Sadrazam Damat Ibrahim Pasha, prime minister of Ahmed III[30]. He was asked to bring the plans of French palaces and gardens to Istanbul for the construction of the Sadabad Palace complex[31]. This friendship bore fruit and Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet Efendi was sent to Paris as an envoy on 7 October 1720. Marquis de Bonnac arranged the itinerary and provided a galleon for the voyage of Çelebi, who had been given the mission of restoring French-Ottoman relations after a period of dissonance during the reign of Louis XIV. He landed at Toulon and went to Paris via Toulouse, Bordeaux and Orléans. He was warmly greeted by Louis XV who accompanied him in a hunting party. Çelebi stayed in France for nine months. He was given the task of signing a pact with the French king. However, from the beginning, Çelebi also intended to collect detailed information about French civil and courtly life[32]. This approach signals the beginning of a new era in which Ottoman intellectuals started to probe Western culture.

In Paris, Çelebi visited palaces, gardens, plants, a medical school, a botanical garden (le Jardin du Roi), the zoo and a printing house. He twice visited the famous Paris observatory and went to an opera performance[33]. During his observatory visits, Çelebi discussed astronomical matters with Cassini, the director of the obervatory, and examined the modern instruments. He received a written report from Cassini and communicated this report to Ottoman astronomers[34]. The visits of Çelebi in Paris made a great impression on the Parisian nobles. He helped dispel the legendary suspicion of the 'cruel Turk' and stimulated a fashionable interest in *turquerie*[35]. On his return home after almost a year, Çelebi brought back gifts for the Sultan that included wigs, commodes and bot-

tles of champagne. As was reported by the ambassador of Venice, Emo, he also brought pictures and plans of French palaces and gardens[36]. Çelebi also presented an embassy letter (*sefaret takriri*) in the form of a travel account to Sultan Ahmed III and Sadrazam Nevsehirli Damat Ibrahim Pasha[37].

Çelebi, for the first time in the genre of Ottoman embassy reports, gives a detailed description of the daily life of the French nobles, their palaces, gardens and the ceremonies that took place there. Shortly before him, İbrahim Pasha had been sent to Vienna in 1719. In the embassy letter (*Sefaretnâme*) written by a member of Pasha's entourage, the social and cultural life of the villages, towns and fortresses they visited was only superficially described with a few words like "prosperous, has stores, abandoned"[38]. On the other hand, Çelebi describes Saint-Cloud, Meudon, Versailles, Trianon and Marly palaces, emphasising certain characteristics of the architectural complexes he had visited. His comments concern the systematic organisation and grandeur of the gardens, the specific role played by water, the type of royal architecture created for ceremonial settings and mere entertainment, and the splendour of the buildings and furniture. Çelebi remarked especially upon the cultivation of nature in architectural settings which were specifically created for aesthetic enjoyment and royal ceremonies[39]. However, Çelebi's conceptual tools and terminology were not adequate to give every detail of the urban milieux, palaces and gardens that he visited in France. Said Efendi, the son of Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi, accompanied his father during the travels. When he returned home, he encouraged İbrahim Müteferrika (d. 1745) to open a printing house. In 1726, with the permission of Sultan Ahmed III, Muteferrika established the first printing house and started to print a series of books in Ottoman Turkish that included historical and geographical treatises, a monograph on governmental issues, a study on magnetism, chronological tables of the Ottoman sultans, an Arabic-Ottoman dictionary and a French-Ottoman grammar book[40]. In his writings, Muteferrika advises learning from Western civilisation and military order to regain success[41]. Twenty years later, in 1742, Mehmed Çelebi's son, Said Pasha, made a second visit. Said Pasha's visit engendered a new wave of *turquerie* in France. Shorty after this visit, the parade organised in 1748 by the students of the French Academy in Rome, was named *La Caravane du Sultan à la Mecque*[42].

Although French customs and traditions occupy a minor place in the *Travels*, Çelebi Mehmed Efendi's text was the first and only reliable source written on contemporary life in Western Europe[43]. Before Mehmed Efendi, traveller and romancer Evliya Çelebi (1611-1682?), had written a *Seyahatnâme* (book of travels) that included chapters dedicated to some European countries. However, Evliya never attempted to authenticate his sources of information. In 1655, the Ottoman geographer and polymath, Kâtip Celebi, wrote a book on the history of the Greeks, the Romans and the Christians. However, he relied on *Atlas Minor* and other Western sources and gives very limited historical and geographical information. The other two notable historians, Hüseyin Hezarfen (d. 1691) and Münejjimbaşı (d. 1702), like Kâtip Çelebi, based their knowledge of Europe on the same sources[44]. Mehmed Efendi can therefore be regarded as the

first modern Ottoman envoy and traveller who related his knowledge on Europe from personal experience, and demonstrated control over the biases and stereotypes which limited his predecessors.

German lands such as Austria and Prussia also aroused the interest of Ottoman administrative circles. Following the death of Osman III, Ahmed Resmi Efendi was sent to Vienna in 1757-58 to announce the coronation of Mustafa III. Ahmed Resmi Efendi wrote an embassy letter on his mission to Vienna. This letter includes information on political factions in the Habsburg Empire, Maria Theresa, Frederick the Great and the city of Vienna. Later, Ahmed Resmi Efendi wrote another embassy letter during his ambassadorship in Berlin (1763-64). This report, which fastidiously gives details of the towns visited and Frederick's policies, was widely read among the upper segments of the Ottoman governing class. Virginia Aksan has studied Resmi Efendi's encounter with West-European culture. According to Aksan, Resmi Efendi's impartial observations, and occasional admiration regarding the customs of the infidels, characterises his narrative. This distinguishes the style of the report from its precursors which include insulting and despising reflections on European culture. At the end of the century, Ottoman statesmen were advising imitation of the victorious infidels in order to secure the stability of the state. However, Ahmed Resmi was still sarcastic about European society, traditions and customs[45].

In the era of Selim III (1789-1807), Ebu Bekir Ratib (1749-1799) was sent to Vienna in 1791 as an envoy of the Sultan. He brought back a detailed report not only on military and administrative establishments but also on technology and social advances, which noticeably expresses this new trend[46]. He had a clear vision to observe Austrian institutions and to collect information on them. Ratib Efendi gives a detailed account of the military institutions, political, social, economic and cultural aspects of the Habsburg Empire in his five-hundred-page ambassadorial report (*Layiha*). The first chapter of the book is dedicated to the Austrian military system. It is so detailed that it even provides tables of officers' wages. The second chapter includes administrative, fiscal, economic and social institutions in Austria. He not only systematically gives detailed information on institutions, but also interprets the philosophy behind European civilisation and institutions[47]. In this book, Ratib Efendi criticises the Ottoman system and praises Europe in sections on military technology, the military status of the king, taxation policy, proper customs duties, consumption habits, protectionist policies aimed at domestic industry, the power and fame enjoyed by the nobility, the material well-being of the people, employment, the idea of citizenship, art and trades, agricultural conditions, and liberty in the areas of speech, diet, drink, dress and belief[48]. According to Fatih Bayram, Ratib Afendi showed an admiration for Western customs, but was proud of his own identity. He did not question the truth of the Ottoman world-view, but criticised the prevailing practices and corruption in the Ottoman state. Ratib Efendi held that Europe's material standards were high but its moral aspects were poor[49]. On the whole, Ratib Efendi held a positive image of the West. In his critics of secularism and freedom of women, he was not a captive of bigotry. He regarded these latter as a way of

life and praised the freedom of citizens in general[50]. In his letter (*nâme-i hümayûn*) to Leopold II, Ratib Efendi depicts Austria as a land of merits (*vasıf ve haslet*) and marvels (*harikulade*)[51].

All envoys sent to Europe in the 18th century emphasised the superiority of the Ottoman Empire, either overtly or by implication. Ottoman diplomats in this age still regarded themselves as representatives of a world power. A traditional Ottoman viewpoint dominates observations made by the envoys. According to them, if the Ottomans applied the military methods used in Europe, it would again become the most powerful state. Arrogance and some distaste for the West continued to prevail, but scientific and technological developments dazzled their eyes. However, the high esteem felt by envoys of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century is not to be found in their reports[52]. According to Hasan Korkut, the envoys shared a holistic approach to the Other (Europe). They were mainly interested in the differences, and not in the scientific inventions and ideologies of Europe. According to them, the Ottoman Empire with its traditional moral system, cultural accumulation, statecraft and resources was still self-sufficient, great and unique and only needed a series of reforms. They focused mainly on moral standards, but not on religious life. Women's different status from men and the non-separation between the harem and the man's section of the house were concerns of all the envoys. This, and other striking contrasts with Ottoman habits, plus the culture of eating and drinking and of entertainment, were especially emphasised. However, the tone of the observations on social life could and did alter in accordance with the state of political affairs between the visited country and the sublime Porte. Art and architecture and the urban characteristics of European cities were points of intense concern for the envoys. They admired the order but were bewildered by their pomp and organisation[53]. Even in a century when the power of the Empire was severely eroded, educated members of the Ottoman administration asserted the superiority of their cultural background and, at the end of the century, recommended reforms so as to remedy corrosion in the administration. Again, they mainly emphasised cultural differences rather than similarities, partly because of their own amazement, and partly because they felt themselves to belong to an entirely different cultural realm. On the other hand, the curiosity and interest in Europe that they felt – an aspect of 18th century culture – is evident in the detailed accounts they gave of daily life, the customs, and the towns and cities of the countries they visited.

Novelties in art and architecture

The appearance of the first Baroque-Rococo decorative elements coincided with the dissemination of new ideas in the decade when Çelebi was sent to France as an envoy. The Ottoman palace pioneered the circulation of the Rococo style by ordering innovative decorations for architectural works like fountains and *sebils*. They were acclaimed by Sultan Ahmed III, his vizier and their entourage. It was a period of tulips, symbols of luxury and prestige[54]. The Great-Vizir Damat İbrahim Pasha organised tulip festi-

vals (Lale Çırağanı, illumination of tulips) for Sultan Ahmed III at his waterside villa (Çırağan Yalısı) on the Bosphorus. Gardens were decorated with crystal lamps which were illuminated tulips arranged in the form of pyramids, towers and arches[55]. Minorities, Levantines and provincial Muslim magnates were vigorous in the dissemination of Rococo, which invaded their houses and mansions from the middle of the century onwards. These residential units in Istanbul and provincial towns and villages reflected the modified living habits and material culture of the elite. It is significant that Western-style mural paintings according to the rules of perspective first appeared in these 18th-century houses[56].

According to Tülay Artan, at the same time the role of the Sultan was transformed, and his vigorous image as a war leader on horseback faded. As a result, his authority and strength was pronounced by the erection of new waterside palaces and ceremonies attached to their use. They provided the Sultan with a screen of magnificence[57]. The banks of the Bosphorus and Golden Horn never saw such a proliferation of royal châteaux. A similar development had taken place earlier in Europe, when the development of the city-palace and villa meant a loss of importance for the feudal seat, the castle, and the need for a substitute within the city[58]. The shift of the royal centre from Topkapı to the city followed a similar socio-political change in the Ottoman Empire. This challenge to the authority of the Sultan in the provinces was probably one of the motives that led to an announcement of might and grandeur in the capital. Seashore palaces served this purpose[59].

Rococo was associated with femininity and private life in Paris. This was not surprising when the shared nature of private life in Eastern houses and new French domestic spaces is taken into consideration. Rococo ornamentation spread in the Ottoman realm, in the halls and *boudoir*-like private rooms functioning as bedrooms and guestrooms in the Topkapı Palace Harem, and mansions (*yalı* and *kiosk*) of the elite. The Ottoman harem adopted French Rococo, perhaps because of the underlying commonality in the creation of a feminine style in the West. Ottoman princesses (*sultanefendi*) liked Rococo probably for the reason that it was more domestic and feminine, and therefore closer to the spirit of their life, than the Baroque of the preceding century, which did not find the slightest echo in Ottoman interiors. However in the 18th century, we may talk about an 'Ottoman Occidentalist mode' in art and architecture[60]. It is well-documented that in the second half of the 18th century, *sultanefendi* built Rococo-decorated seaside mansions in Istanbul for their own use[61]. In a similar way to the reallocation of châteaux in France, princesses moved from the ancient inner city, Topkapı Palace, to seaside mansions on the shores of the Bosphorus and Golden Horn. Tülay Artan points out that in the 18th century, moments of privacy from the life of the thriving rich and elites were for the first time expressed in miniatures and 'representation of the private realm' became possible; hence, intimate (*mahrem*) prevailed over formal and 'public' (*kamu*) was given emphasis as an autonomous realm[62]. Redefinition of the 'private realm' in the Ottoman capital facilitated new aesthetic appeals, which led to artistic renovations. Ottoman Rococo was one of these trends introduced by the upper middle classes, but historicism still reigned among the learned (*ulema*) and bureaucrats[63].

When we compare these houses with Parisian *hôtels*, we might say that both were expressions of the thriving bourgeoisie in their own domains. While Rococo invaded interiors, classical orders still governed the design principles of royal and public buildings in France and the Ottoman lands alike. There was nothing new that we might call Rococo applied in the planning of the town houses which still followed the academic canons formed by Jules-Hardouin Mansard (1646-1708) and Louis le Vau (1612-1670)[64]. Rococo was basically a style of ornamentation. In Ottoman architecture it also remained as a decorative elaboration, and proposed no change in the design and planning standards of the Classical Age, shaped by Sinan, architect of Süleyman the Magnificent. Rather than being the result of attempted Westernisation, Rococo decoration reveals the openness of the Ottoman ruling class to the West[65]. Western European art now reached the Ottoman ruling class through increased trade relations facilitated by a stronger bourgeois class.

Ottoman exoticism

The exotic basically denotes the non-European. As Barnard Smith puts it, "[exoticism] was a category of accommodation by means of which the European perceived and interpreted the Other"[66]. Christa Knellwolf writes similarly that the "exotic describes fantasies as well as historical responses to otherness"[67]. The exotic object is signified in a historical perspective, derived from geography and cultures outside of the Greco-Roman and Christian worlds. This use appeared in the 18th century, when medieval cosmography was still conditioning approaches to the outsider. Western perception was conditioned by imaginative pictorial representations of the other continents and vice versa. This created a distance between the exotic object and the Western subject. We know that the Ottomans were equated with Muslims in the 18th century and considered as iconic of the Other. On the other side of the divide, as evidenced through the writings of the envoys sent to Europe by the Sultans, the Ottomans also placed a distance between themselves and non-Muslims. For them, Christian and Jewish subjects, Levantines and Europeans were dissimilar, hence the Other. Until the 17th century, the theme of Ottoman superiority was central to literature on Europe. As Bernard Lewis has demonstrated, the first Ottoman writer who broke away from the traditional pattern of uninformed contempt was Evliya Çelebi. Çelebi does not overtly state points of difference or superiority of the West: he implies them. Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi likewise makes implicit comparisons[68]. While visiting the gardens of Marly, Mehmed Efendi makes a witty remark and recites a saying that 'the world is the prison of the Muslims, heaven of the infidels'[69]. In this sentence, there is a sharp distinction made between the Muslim 'we' and the infidel 'Other'. Çelebi implies his compassion for the 'poor' Muslims who suffer, while the Others find pleasure in the world.

The reforms of Mahmut II and Tanzimat followed the now institutionalised 'imitation paradigm' at the beginning of the 19th century. The 18th century is then a critical stage in the transformation of the Ottoman intellectual from unconcerned to susceptible.

However, this was a lengthy process, and the outlook of the average Muslim did not alter greatly until the end of the 19th century. For him, Europe was still an exotic land.

Notes

1 C. Pick (ed.), *Embassy to Constantinople: The Travels of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, D. Murphy intro., London 1988, p. 199.

2 A. Evin, *1600-1700 Arası Batılılar'ın Türkiye'yi Görüşlerinde Olan Değişim*, in O. Okyar - H.Ü. Nalbantoğlu (eds.), *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi Semineri, Metinler/Tartışmalar (8-10 Haziran, 1973)*, Proceedings of a Seminar on the Economic History of Turkey, Texts/Discussions [June, 8-10, 1973], Ankara 1975, p. 173.

3 R. Hatton, *Europe in the Age of Louis XIV*, London 1969, p. 98; İ. Ortaylı, *The Problem of Nationalities in the Ottoman Empire Following the Second Siege of Vienna*, in G. Heissund - G. Klingenstein (eds.), *Das Osmanische Reich und Europa 1683 bis 1789: Konflikt, Entspannung und Austausch*, Vienna 1983, p. 230.

4 R. Mantran, *XVII. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında İstanbul: Kurumsal, İktisadi, Toplumsal Tarih Denemesi*, vol. 2, translated by M.A. Kılıçbay - E. Özcan, Ankara 1986, p. 172 [org. *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle*, Paris 1962].

5 A. Arel, *Onsekizinci Yüzyıl İstanbul Mimarisinde Batılılaşma Süreci*, Istanbul 1975, p. 10.

6 M. Genç, *18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Sanayii*, "Toplum ve Ekonomi", 2, 1991, pp. 107-108.

7 I.M. D'Ohsson, *18. Yüzyıl Türkiyesinde Örf ve Adetler*, Z. Yüksel trans., Istanbul, p. 115 [org. I.M. D'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, Paris 1787].

8 D'Ohsson, *18. Yüzyıl* cit., p. 152.

9 Mantran, *XVII. Yüzyılın* cit., p. 219.

10 İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 4/1, Ankara 1988, p. 250.

11 B. Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*, New York-London 1982, p. 45.

12 Evin, *1600-1700 Arası* cit., pp. 173, 181.

13 W.H. McNeill, *Hypothesis Concerning Possible Ethnic Role Changes in the Ottoman Empire in the Seventeenth Century*, in *Social and Economic History of Turkey (1071-1920)*, Papers Presented to the First International Congress on the Social and Economic History of Turkey [July 11-13, 1977], Ankara 1980, p. 129.

14 Muslim subjects were denied this privilege until the middle of the 18th century.

15 D'Ohsson, *18. Yüzyıl* cit., p. 135.

16 F.M. Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*, New York-Oxford 1996, pp. 96, 138; H. İnalcık, *Political Modernization in Turkey*, in *From Empire to Republic: Essays on Ottoman and Turkish Social History*, Istanbul 1995, p. 134.

17 H. İnalcık, *Some Remarks on the Ottoman Turkey's Modernization Process*, in E. İhsanoğlu (ed.), *Transfer of Modern Science and Technology to the Muslim World*, Istanbul 1992, p. 51.

18 R.A. Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State: The Ottoman Empire Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*, New York 1991, p. 12, pp. 53-54.

19 Abou-El-Haj, *Formation* cit., pp. 64-65.

20 Halil İnalcık, *Political* cit., p. 125.

21 Abou-El-Haj, *Formation* cit., pp. 17, 41; For this social change and emergence of the new groups see Göçek's work (above) and B. McGowan, *The Age of the Ayans, 1699-1812*, in H. İnalcık - D. Quataert (ed.), *Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire 1300-1914*, Cambridge 1994, pp. 639-757;

H. İnalcık, *Osmanlı Toplumsal Yapısının Evrimi*, "Türkiye Günlüğü", 11, 1990, pp. 30-41; H. İnalcık, *Centralization and Decentralization in Ottoman Administration*, in T. Naff - R. Owen (ed.), *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History*, Carbondale-Edwardsville 1977, pp. 27-52; Y. Özkaya, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Ayanlık*, Ankara 1977; K. Karpat, *The Transformation of the Ottoman State, 1789-1908*, "International Journal of Middle East Studies", 3, 1972, pp. 243-81.

[22] Abou-El-Haj, *Formation* cit., p. 58.

[23] M. Beloff, *The Age of Absolutism 1660-1815*, New York 1962, p. 47.

[24] S. Mustafa, *Diatribe de l'ingéniuer sur l'état actuel de l'art militaire, du génie et des sciences à Constantinople*, Scutari 1803 [2. (ed.), Paris, 1910], p. 17 quoted by Arel, *Onsekizinci* cit, 1975, p. 85.

[25] Beloff, *The Age* cit., p. 47.

[26] Göçek, *Rise* cit., p. 121.

[27] E. İhsanoğlu, *Tanzimat Öncesi ve Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Bilim ve Eğitim Anlayışı*, in *150. Yılında Tanzimat*, Ankara 1992, p. 348; Recent studies have demonstrated that 18th-century Ottoman science was in a stage of transformation like social-political life. For the contributions of Ali Münşi's (d. 1733) *Bidaatü'l-Mübtedi* (1731) to the field of iatrochemistry (medical science based on chemistry) see A. Koç-Aydın, *XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Bilimsel Faaliyetler Işığında Kimya Çalışmalarının Değerlendirilmesi*, unpublished Ph D. Dissertation, Ankara 2002.

[28] P. Mansel, *Tableau Générale de L'Empire Othoman as Symbol of the Franco-Ottoman, Franco-Swedish and Swedish-Ottoman Alliances*, in S. Theolin et. al. (eds.), *The Torch of the Empire: Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson and the Tableau Général of the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century*, Istanbul 2002, pp. 78-79; For Ottoman-France relations also see C.D. Rouillard, *The Turk in French History, Thought, and Literature (1520-1660)*, Paris 1940.

[29] M. Le Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage Pittoresque dans l'Empire Ottoman, en Grèce, dans la Troade, les Iles de l'Archipel et sur les Côtes de l'Asie-Mineuer*, Paris 1842.

[30] F.R. Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Seyahatnameleri*, Ankara 1987, p. 54.

[31] S. Eyice, *XVIII. Yüzyılda Türk Sanatı ve Türk Mimarisinde Avrupa Neo-Klasik Üslûbu*, "Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı" [Art History Yearbook], 9-10, 1981, p. 168 [org. *L'architettura Turca del secolo XVIII e lo stile Neoclassico nell'arte Turca*, in *Celebrazioni Vanvitelline MCMLXXIII - Luigi Vanvitelli e il '700 in Europa*, Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Studi, Naples - Caserta, 5-10 Novembre 1973, Naples 1979, 2, pp. 421-432].

[32] G. Veinstein, *İlk Osmanlı Sefiri 28 Mehmet Çelebi'nin Fransa Anıları: 'Kafirlerin Cenneti'*, translated by M.A. Erginöz, Istanbul 2002, p. 26 [Or. Mehmed efendi, Le paradis des infidèles: Un ambassadeur ottoman en France sous la Régence, Paris 1981].

[33] Unat, *Osmanlı* cit., p. 56.

[34] E. İhsanoğlu, *Introduction of Western Science to the Ottoman World: A Case Study of Modern Astronomy (1660-1860)*, in E. İhsanoğlu (ed.), *Transfer of Modern Science and Technology to the Muslim World*, Istanbul 1992, p. 107.

[35] A. Palmer, *The Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire*, New York 1992, p. 34.

[36] M. Aktepe, *Patrona İsyanı (1730)*, Istanbul 1958, p. 50.

[37] Yirmisekiz Mehmet Çelebi, *Fransa Seyahatnamesi*, edited and tranlated by Ş. Rado, Istanbul 1970, pp. 5-6; This text was translated from Turkish into French and published in France in the eighteenth century as *Relation de l'Ambassader de Mehmed Efendi a la Cour de France en 1721 ecrite par lui meme et traduite du turc*, Paris 1757.

[38] H. Korkut, *Osmanlı Elçileri Gözüyle Avrupa (1719-1807)*, unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, Marmara University, Istanbul 2003, p. 19.

[39] Arel, *Onsekizinci* cit., p. 25.

[40] G. Toderini, *İbrahim Müteferrika Matbaası ve Türk Matbaacılığı*, translated by Rikkat Kunt, edited by Şevket Rado, Istanbul 1990, pp. 25 ff. [org. L'Abbé Toderini, *De la litterature des Turcs*, l'Abbé de Gournand (trans.), Paris 1789].

[41] Veinstein, *Fransa* cit., p. 202.

[42] A. Boppe, *Boğaziçi Ressamları*, translated by Nevin Yücel-Celbiş, Istanbul 1988, pp. 96-97 [org. *Les Peintres du Bosphore au dix-huitieme siècle*, Paris 1911].

[43] Çelebi was much more interested in scientific, technological and artistic inventions. As Marquis de Bonnac, ambassador of France in Istanbul, remarked, Çelebi's boldness in praising the beauties of France and splendours of the French Palace in an embassy letter which could have been read by Sultan himself, was regarded as exceptional and astonishing by the Turks (Veinstein, *Fransa* cit., pp. 40-41, 197). For a comprehensive study of Çelebi's observations see F.M. Göçek, *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century*, Oxford 1987.

[44] Lewis, *The Muslim* cit., pp. 112-113, 135-136, 158.

[45] V. Aksan, *Ahmed Resmi Efendi (1700-1783)*, translated by Ö. Arıkan, Istanbul 1997, pp. 66, 100-101, 201 [orig. *An Ottoman Statesman in War and Peace: Ahmed Resmi Efendi (1700-1783)*, Leiden 1995].

[46] Lewis, *The Muslim* cit., p. 117.

[47] Korkut, *Osmanlı* cit., pp. 32-33.

[48] F. Bayram, *Abubekir Ratib Efendi as an Ottoman Envoy of Knowledge Between East and West*, unpublished M.A.D. Thesis, Bilkent University, Ankara, pp. 22, 74.

[49] Bayram, *Abubekir* cit., p. 108.

[50] C. Bilim, *Ebubekir Ratib Efendi Nemçe Sefaretnamesi*, "Belleten", 54/209, 1990, pp. 275, 293.

[51] H. Tuncer, *Osmanlı Elçisi Ebubekir Ratib Efendi'nin Viyana Mektupları (1792)*, "Belleten", 48/169-172, 1979, p. 80.

[52] Korkut, *Osmanlı* cit., pp. 64, 152-153.

[53] Korkut, *Osmanlı* cit., pp. 153 ff. Envoys were meticulous in their descriptions; for Ratib Efendi's accurate description of a ball in his smaller sized embassy letter (*Sefaretnâme*) see A. Uçman (ed.) *Ebûbekir Râtib Efendi'nin Nemçe Sefâretnâmesi*, Istanbul 1999, p. 19.

[54] For this age see A. Refik, *Lale Devri* [*Tulip Period*], Istanbul 1997.

[55] Aktepe, *Patrona* cit., pp. 60 ff.; F. Yenişehirlioğlu, *Western Influences on Ottoman Architecture in the 18th Century*, in G. Heiss - G. Klingenstein (eds.), *Das Osmanische Reich und Europa 1683 bis 1789: Konflikt, Entspannung und Austausch*, Vienna 1983, p. 165.

[56] For such innovations in 18th-century painting see G. Renda, *Batılılaşma Döneminde Türk Resim Sanatı 1700-1850*, Ankara 1977.

[57] T. Artan, *Boğaziçi'nin Çehresini Değiştiren Soylu Kadınlar ve Sultanefendi Sarayları*, "Istanbul", 3, 1992, p. 112.

[58] C. Norberg-Schulz, *Baroque Architecture*, London 1986, p.16.

[59] A.U. Peker, *Western Influences on the Ottoman Empire and Occidentalism in the Architecture of Istanbul*, "Eighteenth Century Life", 26:3, 2002, p. 148.

[60] Peker, *Western* cit., p. 157.

[61] Artan, *Boğaziçi'nin* cit., pp. 110-111. Rococo designs applied in the rooms of these palaces can be seen in the engravings of artist-architect A.I. Melling, who was entertained in Hatice Sultan's palace, and himself designed buildings and interiors for Sultan Selim III's family. For the drawings of these palaces and their interiors see Meeling's album: MM. Treuttel - Würtz (eds.), *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore, d'après les dessins de M. Melling, architect de l'Empereur Selim III, et dessinateur de la Sultane Hadidgé sa soeur*, Paris 1819; for the life and deeds of Melling in Turkey see C.

Boschma - J. Perot (eds.), *Antoine-Ignace Melling (1763-1831), artiste-voyageur*, Paris 1991.

[62] T. Artan, *Mahremiyet: Mahrumiyetin Resmi*, "Defter", 20, 1993, pp. 107, 109, 111.

[63] According to Evin, "[...] until the Young Ottomans, the modernising bureaucrat remained loyal to Near Eastern ideals of government" (A. Evin, *The Tulip Age and Definitions of Westernization*, in *Social and Economic History of Turkey (1071-1920)*, Papers Presented to the First International Congress on the Social and Economic History of Turkey, Ankara: Hacettepe University, July 11-13, 1977, Ankara 1980, p. 132. For the historicist trends in Ottoman architecture see M. M. Cerasi, *Historicism and Inventive Innovation in Ottoman Architecture 1720-1820*, in VII Centuries of Ottoman Architecture, A Supra-National Heritage, Istanbul 1999, pp. 34-42.

[64] A. Blunt (ed.), *Baroque and Rococo: Architecture and Decoration*, New York 1978, pp. 135, 141.

[65] As Ahmet Evin states, 'wide-ranging social implications of the term 'Westernization', are inapplicable to Turkish society at large in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries' (Evin, *The Tulip* cit., p. 133); S. Hamadeh recently questioned the 'Westernization' paradigm in the studies on 18th-century art and architecture in *Ottoman Expressions of Early Modernity and the 'Inevitable' Question of Westernization*, "Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians", 63/1, March 2004, pp. 32-51.

[66] B. Smith, *Imagining the Pacific: In the Wake of the Cook Voyages*, Melbourne 1992, p. 10 quoted by C. Knellwolf, *The Exotic Frontier of the Imperial Imagination*, "Eighteenth Century Life", 26:3, 2002, p. 10.

[67] Knellwolf, *The Exotic* cit., p. 11.

[68] Lewis, *The Muslim* cit., pp. 113-115; Göçek, *East* cit., p. 26.

[69] Çelebi, *Fransa* cit., p. 64.

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"American and Un-American Immigration": European Otherness in the Context of Old and New Immigration to the US

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Abstract

This chapter is a short comparative study of how immigrant groups of various ethnic origins were treated in the United States during the two major waves of immigration during the 19th century. I argue that as a response to both the "Old" and the "New Immigration" considerable nativist sentiment appeared. Members of the former wave were generally considered to be more compatible with the values believed to constitute the backbone of American society – especially in retrospect at the end of the 19th century. I analyze how the individual ethnic groups were depicted and stereotyped, and how the United States was transformed from the primarily receptive Melting Pot into a country burdened by Anglo-Saxon nationalist xenophobia by the 1920s.

Rövid írásomban összehasonlító elemzésre vállalkoztam, azt vizsgálva, hogy a XIX.-XX. század Egyesült Államokba irányuló két jelentősebb migrációs hullámában hogyan kezelték az egyes európai etnikai csoportokat. Bemutatom, hogy bár mind a "Régi" mind pedig az "Új" Migráció során jelentős idegenellenes nacionalista szervezkedés volt megfigyelhető az Egyesült Államokban, a korábbi bevándorló hullám tagjait zömmel mégis sokkal kompatibilisebbnek tartották azokkal az értékekkel, amiket az amerikai társadalom gerincének véltek – különösen igaz volt ez a XIX. század végéről visszatekintve. Elemzem az egyes etnikai csoportok ábrázolását-sztereotipizálását, illetve azt az utat, ahogyan az Egyesült Államok a XIX. századi befogadó Nagy Olvasztótégelyből angolszász nacionalista xenofóbiával terhelt országgá vált az 1920-as évekre.

In the 1860s, Henry Ward Beecher was accustomed to say: "Let immigration come. America can assimilate even its un-American elements. When the elephant lifts up his proboscis and swallows foliage from the oak tree, it is the oak that becomes elephant

and not the elephant that becomes oak"[1]. Having read this statement made around at the end of the first massive influx of primarily European immigrants to the United States, generally referred to as "Old Immigration", one might be puzzled and ask what made certain people setting foot on American soil "American" and what "un-American" elements were lacking. To further complicate matters, some thirty years after Beecher had made his statement concerning immigrants, Rena Michaels Atchinson, in her book entitled *Un-American Immigration*, took his idea further and warned,

> "Yes", we say now, after another generation of experience, "but brush the worms off the foliage first". Immigration foliage is infested today as never before with worms in nests and festoons. Many of these the American elephant has swallowed. In spite of his patient and powerful digestion, there has resulted from this food much portentous rumbling in such stomachs as New York, Chicago and San Francisco, and no little blood poisoning in all the arteries and veins. The problem of our time is how to feed the elephant on the oak foliage, and yet cleanse it from the frightful vermin that cling to it[2].

Again, the question may arise as to what happened between the period of the Old Immigration (lasting from the 1820's to the beginning of the Civil War) and that of the New Immigration (from the 1870's to World War I) that made immigrants in general more infested with "un-American" characteristics than the majority of earlier immigrants, so much so that such defenders of American values as Atchinson himself wanted to purify America from them.

One of the most frequently heard *clichés* in American Studies is that the United States is a nation of immigrants, since everybody, even including Native Americans, migrated to North America from other parts of the world, most of them from other continents. Immigration is, as Allen Jones Maldwyn puts it, "America's historic *raison d'être* [...] the most persistent and most pervasive influence in her development"[3]. Emigration to North America is impossible to explain in the framework of Europe vs. "the rest of the world", which usually dominates most European historians' focus, and where "non-Europeanness" has generally been associated with inferiority. However, in the migration process the so-called push-factors always signal something that people want to escape and break away from, to achieve what they failed to do back in their home countries. Immigrants in America are the ones to represent otherness and have thus often been approached with suspicion by natural-born Americans, which sometimes reached outright xenophobia both during the Old and New Immigration. In the nativist rhetoric, Europeanness, undoubtedly superficial as an umbrella term, often became equivalent with the stereotypical representation of non-Americanness, although during the period of New Immigration, Asians had to face even more hostility than Europeans.

The acceptability of immigrants depended very much on their willingness to assimilate and integrate into American society. As early as the end of the 18th century, George Washington wrote to John Adams:

> [T]he policy or advantage of [immigration] taking place in a body (I mean the settling of them in a body) may be much questioned; for, by so doing, they retain the Language, habits and principles (good or bad) which they bring with them. Whereas by an intermixture with our people, they, or their descendants, get assimilated to our customs, measures and laws: in a word, soon become one people[4].

The first piece of legislation controlling immigration and the naturalization process was passed in 1790. It established a uniform rule for naturalization for "free white persons" and was followed by further naturalization laws in 1795 and 1798. The Act of 1802 established basic requirements for naturalization, which included "good moral character", a formal declaration of intention, and witnesses. Good moral character is a legal concept which, in the context of naturalization, is not necessarily a set of character qualities, but it describes behaviors in which an applicant should not have been involved, for example, being convicted of murder or of any aggravated felony. For the majority of European immigrants. these pieces of legislation still opened the gates of America wide; for non-Europeans, however, they contained restrictions, and in theory ruled out indentured servants, slaves, free blacks and, later in the 19th century, Asians.

The scope of European emigration to North America remained limited until the 18th century, when its pace accelerated, reaching its peak at the turn of the 19th and 20th century. Along with the increasing number of people migrating to the United States, the opponents of immigration also became vociferous in the 1830s. They argued that there was a high proportion of criminals among the newly-arrived. Furthermore, immigrants became targets of criticism as there were rarely free governments in their home countries; thus the newly arrived were considered ignorant as voters who could easily be manipulated. Samuel Morse in his *Imminent Dangers to the Free Institutions of the United States* (1835) described the "every way desirable" immigrants as "men of education, of self-reliance, and of honest purpose"[5].

This is just one indication that how immigrants measure up to the American character has always been the cornerstone of their acceptance by native-born Americans, and a major dividing line between the United States and other countries. Frederick Jackson Turner in his famous Frontier thesis argued that the American frontier helped to shape the character of the American people as well as the nature of its institutions. He claimed that traits and characteristics that are considered to be genuinely American – individualism, self-reliance, mobility, egalitarianism, hard work – were products of the frontier where Americans became capable of getting rid of the corrupting historical influences of Europe. This was another, not particularly well concealed, reference to American chosenness, which here indirectly yet unquestionably confirmed the inferiority of everything not American[6]. Similarly, Jeremiah W. Jenks and W. Jett Lauck started their book *The Immigration Problem* (1917) with the statement: "The people of the United States stand for what, in their judgement, is the highest, best civilization in the world"[7]. Having read their volume, one cannot escape the conclusion that they themselves were

everything but unbiased and unprejudiced when writing about immigration, like many millions of Americans at that time.

In the period between 1830 and 1860, the immigration of large numbers of Irish and German Catholics to the United States created religious tensions between Catholics and Protestants which echoed European conflicts between Catholics and Protestants. By the 1840s these tensions appeared in party politics as well: the American Republican Party, founded in New York, quickly spread to other states and, first under the name Native American Party, later the American Party, became a national party. The members of the organization were usually referred to as "Know-Nothing", which originated in the requirement that, when asked about its activities, they respond: "I know nothing". The movement was empowered by popular fears that the country was being overwhelmed by Irish Catholic immigrants, who were often regarded as hostile to US values and controlled by the Pope in Rome. Therefore, in the platform of the Native American Party upholding the authorized version of the Bible as a school book went hand in hand with restrictions on immigration and more severe requirements of naturalization. The Know-Nothing party platform of 1856 demanded that 21 years of residence be the condition of naturalization and qualification for voting. Their slogan went: "Americans must rule America".

Despite the efforts of these early American nativists, there were many immigrants who were accepted with great hospitality. This applied to most of the Forty-Eighters: European revolutionaries who, after the failure of the revolutionary wave in 1848/49, decided to migrate to America. These Germans, Italians, Polish and Hungarians were seen as freedom loving heroes who fought for exactly the same principles as the American Revolutionary Fathers. In the eyes of many Americans, this similarity was just perfected by the fact that in America they could achieve a degree of freedom for which they struggled in vain in Europe. It is also interesting that, despite their small numbers as compared to the whole wave of Old Immigration, the Forty-Eighters became the best known immigrants, and some of them, like the German Carl Schurz and Franz Sigel as well as the Hungarian Lajos Kossuth achieved, although only for a short period, a quasi-celebrity status in America; and the former two, who, unlike Kossuth, settled in America, gained prominence in the entire German-American community.

The coming of the Civil War in 1860 brought a considerable change in the lives of most immigrant families which were typically filled to overflowing with young males who were eager to jump to arms, if not because of patriotism, then because the army offered a calculable monthly payment, unlike, for instance, farming. The fact that many of the sons of immigrant families enrolled in either the Union or the Confederate army turned their attention from their motherland more and more to their adopted country; in immigrant newspapers news about the Old World became subordinated. As historian Marcus Lee Hansen put it, "dreams of the past gave way to the realities of

the present" for them[8]. When the war ended they made a considerable step forward towards becoming "one people".

Anti-foreigner sentiments were somewhat silenced by the coming of the Civil War, although ethnic groups which had been targets to nativist propaganda in the Antebellum Era, remained discriminated against in the ranks of the Union as well as the Confederacy: such stereotypical presentations as the "drinking Irish" and the "cowardly Germans" were deeply imprinted in American public opinion. Altogether, however, it can be concluded that the foreigners' social acceptance and prospects of assimilation were largely advanced by their military service for their adopted country.

The beginning of the new wave of immigrants which brought people to the United States in numbers unimaginable up to that time, signaled a brand new phase in the relationship between the newly-arrived and the native-born. The appearance of more than 20 million people, most of them from Southern and Eastern Europe, largely underrepresented during the decades of the Old Immigration, caused concerns. Many in the United States began to doubt whether America was indeed a shelter for the "tired, for the poor and, the huddled masses yearning to breathe free", taken from Emma Lazarus' sonnet *The New Colossus*, inscribed on the bronze plaque in the Statue of Liberty, which was most often the symbolic first glimpse of the United States for millions of immigrants. These lines were soon seriously questioned by many who began to see the United States more like a "dumping ground" of good-for-nothing social elements instead of the traditional melting pot. A sudden rise of conservativism in America was well reflected by their preference for old immigrants over the newly arrived Eastern and Southern Europeans, not to mention non-Europeans, which soon caused many to see the Old Immigration in an utterly different light and think of it in almost nostalgic terms.

Reflective of this tendency in contemporary American society is Edward A. Ross's single-volume analysis of New Immigration entitled *The Old World in the New*, published in 1914. In his work Ross scrutinizes the individual ethnic groups one by one, and it is apparent that groups that dominated the previous decades of migration into America received a far better evaluation from the author than the more-recently arrived. Scandinavians, for example, are depicted as the fastest ethnic group to assimilate, as people with strong anti-liquor sentiments, politically active and capable of self-improvement. However, this did not mean that even these positive traits could not be further improved simply by moving to the United States. A Norwegian-American wrote when revisiting his homeland: "I discovered that my mode of thinking and my spiritual life had changed so much during my thirteen years in America. [...] The Norwegian who has lived a while in America is more civilized [...] more wide-awake [...] [and] lives a richer life"[9]. Interestingly enough, even the Irish, who were the main target of anti-foreigner sentiments in the Pre-Civil War decades of Old Immigration, received a more favorable treatment when compared to the more-recently arrived immigrants. Their negative traits are mentioned; however, the final conclusion is that they are capable of

self-improvement, and all that is needed for their final integration into the American society is waiting a few generations.

In contrast, new immigrants became targets of harsh criticism. Concerning Italians arriving in America, Ross concludes that they are unmatched by any other element in propensity for personal violence, and cites Italian sources which claimed that in many South Italian communities crime had greatly diminished as most of the criminals had gone to America. He describes the Italian communities in America as ranking lowest in ability to speak English, lowest in proportion naturalized after ten years' residence, lowest in proportion of children in school. They are also depicted as people incapable of practicing their political rights. Most of them, Ross sums up, are "under America, not of it"[10].

The Slavs also get their share of stereotypical representation. They are described as "rude undeveloped people of undisciplined primitive passions", one of which was excessive drinking. They are also depicted as domestic abusers, and Ross warns that with their appearance in the United States "the Middle Ages are beginning to show among us"[11]. He also pointed out the Slavs were the slowest to assimilate among all the ethnic groups.

Ross warns that "with Chinese and Japanese, Finns and Magyars, Bulgars and Turks, about half a million more or less Mongolian in blood [...] will leave their race stamp upon the American people of the future"[12]. A common problem with these ethnic groups, according to the sources he quotes, is that they are susceptible to alcoholism, and that they are politically ignorant. This is mainly due to the fact that the overwhelming majority of them had no intention to stay in America permanently: they only wanted to earn enough to be able to return to their homeland and at least somewhat improve their situation there. Thus, they stuck together forming their own ethnic neighborhoods, and most often did not bothering to learn English.

These new immigrants arrived in very unfortunate circumstances which made them appear in an even more negative light. They arrived in the new urbanized America, and became part of its overcrowded, crime-festered, and disease-stricken reality; in the eyes of many searching for scapegoats, even the main causes of it. World War I and the Red Scare in the subsequent years both contributed to strong anti-foreigner and anti-immigration sentiments: the Immigration Restriction League managed to convince a large number of people that the very existence of "American" society and culture was threatened by the Melting Pot. This Anglo-Saxon racism managed to push through very strict anti-immigration legislation: the Immigration Act of 1924 set up quotas in order to restrict Southern and Eastern European immigration and artificially keep the ethnic distribution stable, making it obvious that there were immigrant groups deemed to be more desirable, while others were considered to be un-American to an extent that the United States did her best to physically keep them out of the country.

Notes

1 R.M. Atchinson, *Un-American Immigration: Its Present Effects and Future Perils*, Chicago 1894, p. 1.

2 *Ibid*., p. 1.

3 A.J. Maldwyn, *American Immigration*, Chicago 1992, p. 1.

4 Quoted in W.T. Huston, *Is Immigration Really an "All-American" Idea?*, http://www.renewamerica.com/columns/huston/070803

5 Quoted in E. Abbott, *Historical Aspects of the Immigration Problem*, Chicago 1926, p. 452.

6 F.J. Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History*. Accessible online at http://xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/TURNER/home.html

7 J.W. Jenks, L.W. Jett, *The Immigration Problem*, New York 1917, p. 1.

8 M.L. Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration*, Safety Harbor 2001, p. 306.

9 E.A. Ross, *The Old World in the New*, New York 1914, pp. 80-81.

10 *Ibid*., pp. 111-117.

11 *Ibid*., p. 133.

12 *Ibid*., p. 168.

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From Islam to Christianity: the Case of Sicily

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L-istorja ta' Sqallija mis-seklu disgħa sas-seklu tnax intisġet madwar sensiela ta' ġrajjiet li bidlulha darba għal dejjem il-karattru tagħha. Sakemm ħakmu l-gżira minn idejn il-Biżantini, l-Għarab damu mis-sena 827 sas-sena 902. Il-kontroll ta' l-ikbar gżira Mediterranja taħom is-setgħa li jikkolonizzawha, u dan wassal sabiex l-ilsien, it-twemmin u l-kultura tad-dinja Għarbija rabbew l-għeruq bis-saħħa tal-klassi ġdida mexxejja u ta' parti mdaqqsa mill-popolazzjoni li waslet hekk kif il-gżira saret parti minn Dar l-Islam. Madankollu, fi Sqallija tas-seklu ħdax kien għadhom jgħixu eluf ta' nsara Griegi, kif ukoll għadd imdaqqas ta' Lhud. Il-ħakma Normanna ta' Sqallija ġabet magħha bidla kbira fil-ġerarkija politika u soċjali tal-pajjiż. Minn tmiem is-seklu ħdax il-gżira ssieħbet ma' l-Ewropa Latina, u dan nissel tibdil mill-qiegħ fl-istrutturi tal-ħajja u fl-identitajiet individwali u kollettivi ta' saffi differenti. Fis-seklu tnax Sqallija kellha sehem ewlieni fit-tfassil tas-Saltna Normanna, u l-belt ewlenija tagħha, Palermo, nbidlet minn metropoli Għarbija f'belt kapitali rjali. Dan l-istudju qasir jifli l-iżviluppi li seħħew taħt in-Normanni, u jingħaqad ma' storiċi ta' żmienna li leħħnu dubji dwar il-kwadru pożittiv ta' tolleranza reliġjuża u etnika fl-istorjografija tradizzjonali ta' Sqallija minn Ruġġieru II sa Federiku II. Minflok, qegħdin joħorġu iżjed ċari t-tensjonijiet u l-firdiet bejn komunitajiet differenti Sqallin skond twemmin reliġjuż u nisel etniku. Sa nofs is-seklu tlettax, il-popolazzjoni Musulmana ta' Sqallija kienet għebet għal kollox, bl-aħħar ftit eluf itturufnati fil-belt ta' Lucera; fil-waqt li l-kultura nisranija Griega ġiet imwarrba, u l-Għarbi baqa' mitkellem biss mill-minoranza Lhudija, flimkien man-nies ta' Malta, Għawdex u Pantellerija. L-iSqalli ta' tmiem is-seklu tlettax ftit li xejn kellu x'jaqsam ma' l-imgħoddi Għarbi tal-gżira, bħallikieku l-istorja ta' Sqallija bdiet fl-1091.

The history of high medieval Sicily bears all the hallmarks of a regional crossroads which, between the 9th and 11th centuries, exchanged hands between three major civilizations[1]. The island's political upheavals, military confrontations, social change and cultural transformations read like an index page to central Mediterranean history[2]. The fall of Muslim Palermo to the Norman conquerors in 1072 was a landmark in the high medieval wave of Latin Christian expansion across the Mediterranean world[3]. The defeat of the island's Muslim rulers was completed within twenty years of the fall of the capital city, but the last Muslims of Sicily left the island one hundred and eighty years later, towards the end of Frederick II's reign[4]. Beyond the formal political chro-

nology, three, more or less equal, yet distinct epochs, mark the transition from Muslim to Latin Christian Sicily: 1072 to 1130, during which period the Norman conquest of the island, launched in 1060, became first a feasible reality, then a political fact consolidated with the establishment of the Regno[5]; 1130 to 1190, when the relationship between the island's Christian rulers and inhabitants and the subject Muslim populations was gradually entrenched in terms of feudal bondage[6]; and 1190 to 1250, which was marked by Muslim armed resistance, the setting up of a rebel polity under the last Muslim leader of Sicily, and Frederick II's 'extermination' of Islam[7].

Sicily's 'disengagement' from the world of Islam was lived out by a population caught in the grips of a tumultuous historical transformation which it itself had helped author. It was a transition marked by contrasting, rather than complementary, identities, which can only be reconstructed in the coarse brushstrokes permitted by a fragmentary and frequently partial documentation. In the early decades of Norman conquest, the Latin lord took his place alongside newly installed western Christian bishops in wielding power and authority over a fledgling community of settlers. Gradually these settlers emerged from the margins of Sicilian society to become the mainstream community, pushing subject Muslim populations to the edges of the social framework. For native Christian populations, most of whom were Greek speaking, social and cultural integration within the new dominant Latin environment beckoned. Cutting across linguistic boundaries, recent historiography has 'rediscovered' the Arab Christian, and the Arabic-speaking Jew of Sicily. And, in contradistinction to the inexorable decline of the native Muslim population into land bound servitude, exile or deportation, the all-powerful, foreign-born caste of 'palace saracens' take their exclusive place at the heart of the island's Norman regime, and disappear only with its downfall. Their artificially engineered identity symbolizes the predicament of non-Christian subjects faced with the choice of assimilation or relegation, to which they replied with dissimulation or rebellion.

The present survey provides an overview, rather than a comprehensive discussion, of the historiography of Sicily's transformation from a province of Dar al-Islam into a Latin Christian society[8]. Whether one agrees or not with the epithet of *terra senza crociati* [a land without crusaders][9], the island's experience constituted an important chapter in the history of military confrontations between Christian and Muslim forces extending from the Latin East to the Spanish peninsula and beyond[10]. Nonetheless, it was also part of a wider phenomenon of Latin Christian expansion across the Mediterranean world which was not to be reduced to a chronology of military victories, nor its effects confined to newly conquered territories opened up for Christian settlement and colonization at the expense of Islam[11]. According to some estimates, Frederick II deported around twenty-five thousand Muslims to Lucera in the 1220s to 1240s; these deportees made up only one-tenth of the quarter of a millions Muslims subjected to Christian rule in 1091[12]. 'Deislamicization', the other side to 'Latinization', was not simply a soldier's achievement. "Conquest, colonization, Christianization: the techniques of settling in a new land, the ability to maintain cultural identity through legal forms and nurtured

attitudes, the institutions and outlook required to confront the strange or abhorrent, to repress it and live with it, the law and religion as well as the guns and ships"[13].

An outpost of the eastern Roman empire until the 9th century, the island bore the brunt of Muslim raids across the strategic sea channels separating it from the north African mainland throughout the 700s[14]. The Muslim conquest of Sicily, under way from 827, climaxed with the fall of its capital, Syracuse, in 878, but was only completed in 902 with the storming of Taormina[15]. Arab control of Sicily paved the way for its integration into Dar al-Islam. The influx of Muslim settlers from north Africa did not cancel the presence of Greek Christian and other populations, which were transformed into subject communities[16]. The island became an outpost of the Fatimid empire, governed from around 950 by emirs belonging to the Kalbite family, who transformed Palermo into the thriving capital city described by the Iraqi traveller Ibn Hawqal[17]. Muslim resistance frustrated Constantinople's vain efforts, particularly under Michael IV (1034-41), to restore Byzantine rule in Sicily, but it proved ineffective against the Norman forces empowered by the support of the Roman Church and the material resources of their southern Italian bases[18].

According to some Arab accounts of the Norman conquest of Sicily, it was one of the Muslim chiefs of the island, Ibn al-Thumna lord of Syracuse who treacherously appealed to Robert Guiscard and his brother Roger for their help against rival faction leaders[19]. The Normans had already established their control across southern Italy, and in 1059 obtained the Church's blessing for their next major venture, the annexation of Muslim Sicily. The discord among the Arabs of Sicily was no secret[20]. No central force had emerged to fill the power vacuum created by the downfall of the Kalbite emirate. Contrary to the rapid advance by the Byzantine invasion of Sicily in 1038-40, which was called off by Constantinople, the Norman conquest spanned a much longer period of three decades, between 1060 and 1090, but in the end produced a permanent regime change[21]. The island's Muslim populations, largely made up of Arabs, Berbers, and native converts to Islam, capitulated and pledged their tribute and obedience[22]. Those who could leave, apparently did so, seeking refuge in North Africa[23]. The rest were forced to live under Christian overlordship[24].

The island conquered by the Normans was a multicultural world[25]. Local Greek Christian communities, which had survived especially in north-eastern Sicily as *dhimmi* under Muslim rule, generally welcomed the new Christian rulers[26]. Perhaps the best known sign of their status as *dhimmīyūn* was their obligation to pay the *jizya*, or poll tax, and the *kharāj* or land tax. Under Arab rule there were different categories of *jizya* payers, but their common denominator was the payment of tribute as a mark of subjection to alien rule[27]. As Sicily was also home to substantial Jewish communities (about 1,500 Jewish residents in the capital alone, according to the traveller Benjamin of Tudela) who were similarly burdened by precise fiscal obligations, it was a subjection shared across religious boundaries[28]. The Latin Christian conquerors came across a vast population of *ahl al-dhimma*, made up of non-Muslim communities subjected to their erstwhile Muslim rulers. The radical change in the balance of power after 1091 transformed this reality, but it did not dissolve it. Different categories of subjection tended to merge over

time, but a complex variety of factors determined the manner in which the individual would bear his burdens, and the extent to which he would be able to position himself to survive. It was the turn of the Muslim inhabitants to be subjected to 'dhimmitude', but their one-time subjects did not necessarily fare better. Although forms of bondage varied in degree and kind, in many cases the servitude of Greek villagers subjected to the feudal lordship of the principal landlord families and establishments remained a fact under Norman rule. Bondage was not limited to the non-Latin peasantry, for different categories of town dwellers were also burdened by payments and corvées. The Jewish example remained the classic one. Regarded as royal property, the Jews were denoted as *servi camere regie* (loosely translatable as servants of the Crown) and, under Frederick II, this ambiguous Latin phrase was extended to Muslim subjects at Lucera, in a clear effort to underline absolute royal authority over them.

The Norman annexation opened the way for Greek-speaking, as well as Lombard, immigrants from Norman-held lands in southern Italy, but these were joined by 'Latin' settlers from all over the Italian peninsula and beyond[29]. As early as the 1090s, the right to settle at the *castrum* of Patti was offered only to *homines quicumque sint Latine lingue*, excluding Greek and Arabic speakers[30]. But this policy could hardly have been applied across the chequered board of a conquered society. Norman policy was based on "a formula of unequal coexistence"[31]. Nevertheless, for decades the Norman creation outwardly seemed to overcome the challenges posed by its composite character. The "Kingdom of Sicily", established officially from 1130 onwards with Roger II's coronation, also comprised the whole of southern Italy[32]. The new framework of Latin Christian rule encompassed a network of communities as characterized by their diverse ethnic, linguistic and cultural identities as by their distinct religious affiliations[33]. In the 1140s, Roger II extended his overlordship across central Mediterranean waters into the eastern Maghrib, but this Latin Christian expansion was checked and reversed by 1160 when the Almohad conquest of North Africa was completed[34]. His successors William I 'the Bad' (1154-66), and William II 'the Good' (1166-89) had to face open baronial rebellions, urban revolts, as well as the enmity of emperors both east and west. Outbursts of ethnic and religious strife, denoted by chroniclers as *perturbationes*, seemed to spell the end of the mirage of Sicilian *convivencia*.

That the regime survived all of these threats testifies to the ampleness of its resources and the loyalty of its skilled servants, soldiers and administrators. As conqueror of Sicily, Roger retained large parts of the island as his personal domain, but loyal supporters were granted fiefs in reward for their services, creating a Latin feudal class. Beyond the dazzling urban spectacle of royal rule under Roger II, there evolved a feudal countryside where authority was exercised as much by the main baronial families and powerful religious establishments, as by royal governors. Nonetheless, the size of the royal domain and the efficiency of their administrative machinery guaranteed the Norman rulers the means to govern Sicily and to embark on ambitous foreign ventures.

Besides the material means which reportedly aroused the jealousy of their royal counterparts in Europe, the kings at Palermo also commanded the loyalty of some brilliant

servants with colourful biographies. The emir Christodoulos, also known as ʿAbd al-Rahmān, moved from his native Calabria to serve Roger II eventually becoming his chief minister. His protegee George of Antioch started his career in the Byzantine East and Zīrid Ifrīqiya before settling in Sicily. Possibly arranging his mentor's downfall, George rose to become Roger II's chief minister, designing the royal dīwān (administration) and commanding the expeditions against North Africa[35]. Maio of Bari rose from a lowly administrative rank to become William I's 'great admiral' and chief minister, only to be assassinated by the baronial rebels in 1160. Peter, a qā'id (leader), royal eunuch and 'palace saracen' of possible Djerban origin, commanded the fleet and acted as chief minister to Queen Margaret at William I's death until his defection to the Almohads. Another qā'id and eunuch, the 'palace saracen' Martin, led the royal reprisal against the rebels of 1160-61, while qā'id Richard led opposition to Stephen of Perche, archbishop of Palermo.

The royal court was characterized by a numerous caste of 'palace saracens', including eunuchs, slave-girls and concubines. Drawing their identity from their attachment to the palace, on which they were completely dependent, these saracens fulfilled diverse tasks. Some of them worked in the royal factories, kept the king's animals, ran his kitchen and formed his personal guard. A number of them advanced to top administrative posts, or were even entrusted with military command and admitted as royal familiars. Royal generosity could quickly turn to wrath at the least hint of disloyalty. A top palace saracen, Philip of al-Mahdīya, commander of an attack on Bône, was burnt at the stake at the end of 1153 According to Ibn al-Athīr, Philip was executed for showing clemency to the people of Bône, but in Romuald of Salerno's account he was accused of practising Islam in private whilst professing Christianity in public. Many palace saracens were massacred in 1161 by supporters of the rebel barons, among them a young Tancred of Lecce, an event described vividly by 'Hugo Falcandus'. Yet twenty-four years later Ibn Jubayr was astonished at discovering black Muslim slaves guarding William II, and a royal staff made up of Muslim slave-girls, eunuchs and concubines.

From the 1160s, the internal stability which had characterized much of Roger II's reign in Sicily was torn apart by baronial revolt against royal rule, and by Latin Christian attacks on Muslim communities[36]. The island's kings, Roger II, William I 'the Bad' (1154-66), and William II 'the Good' (1166-89) managed this problem in contrasting ways[37]. In the last decades of the 12th century, the island's remaining rural populations of Muslim peasants were to be found mainly serving as bondsmen on the estates of leading Church establishments and feudal landholding families[38]. The crisis of the dynastic state after the death of William II in 1189, during which Tancred's troubled tenure of the Sicilian throne was openly contested by Henry VI of Germany, was exacerbated by a large scale Muslim rebellion which broke out in 1190. A new chain of events triggered by organized resistance and systematic reprisal marked the final chapter of Islam in Sicily[39]. The Muslim problem characterized Hohenstaufen rule in Sicily under Henry VI (1194-97) and his son Frederick II (1197-1250)[40]. In the 1220s, in order to stamp out the Muslim rebellion, Frederick adopted a programmatic extermination of Sicilian Is-

lam, marked by expulsion and forced deportation to the Apulian town of Lucera[41]. The annihiliation of Sicilian Islam was completed by the late 1240s, when the final deportations to Lucera took place[42].

The 'father of Sicilian historiography' the Dominican friar Tommaso Fazello viewed the Arabs of Sicily as foreign occupiers of rightfully Christian land. His was a prevalent opinion shared by many erudite authors both in Sicily and beyond[43]. Arabic epigrapical, numismatic, monumental, and other archaeological remains aroused antiquarian interest. This material was often included unsystematically in geographical dictionaries[44]. Nevertheless, the turning point was reached in the late eighteenth century. Much has been written about the notorious fabrication of a 'Sicilian Arab' codex by an eighteenth century Maltese forger with powerful backers at court, Abate Giuseppe Vella[45]. In reaction to Vella's inventions, the scholar Rosario Gregorio published a learned rebuttal[46]. Fortunately, the study of medieval Sicily proceeded apace, undeterred by Vella's charlatanism, in the scientific direction established by Gregorio's meticulous research[47].

Students of the island's tectonic movement from one civilization to another stand on the solid, if not altogether secure, shoulders of giants: the publication of substantial collections of narrative and administrative sources in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries provided a vital stimulus to the island's historiography[48]. The Latin narratives include the texts of Geoffrey Malaterra, William of Apulia, Amatus of Montecassino, Romuald of Salerno, Richard of San Germano, and 'Hugo Falcandus'[49]. Scholars still rely on Del Re's edition for basic Latin narrative sources, such as Falco of Benevento's *Chronicon*, the *Gesta Rogerii Regis Siciliae* by Alexander of Telese, Niccolo Jamsilla's history of Frederick II and his children, and the *Rerum Sicularum Historia* by Saba Malaspina[50]. By contrast, there are no native Greek and Arab histories of Sicily, though the island and its affairs featured in Greek historians such as Michael Psellus and John Skylitzes, Niketas Choniates and John Kinnamos[51].

The study of Muslim and Norman Sicily still benefits from the towering achievement of the nineteenth century achievement of Michele Amari. His collection, of over one hundred texts, entitled *Bibliotheca Arabo-Sicula*, compiled principal Arabic narrative sources for Muslim and Norman Sicily like Ibn Hawqal, al-Idrīsī, Ibn Jubayr, Yāqūt, Qazwīnī, Ibn al-Athīr, al-Tījānī, al-Nuwayrī, Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn Hamdīs, and ᶜImād al-Dīn[52]. Amari's corpus of texts, complemented by his ephgraphical studies, remains the major reference work, and his three-volume history of Muslim Sicily continues to command study of the period. Nevertheless, important additions have considerably expanded knowledge of these periods, including the discovery of a cosmographical treatise 'without precedent' entitled *The Book of Strange Arts and Visual Delights* composed around the mid-eleventh century[53], the poetry of Ibn Qalāqis[54], as well as the later medieval geographical dictionary of al-Himyarī[55].

It has been noted how, during the Muslim and Norman periods, there were frequent opportunities for Arabic-Greek bilingualism, while Arabic-Latin bilingual intercourse is attested in the later Norman and Hohenstaufen epochs[56]. The collection of charters

in the three administrative languages of Norman Sicily by Salvatore Cusa and his students remains, to date, "an essential tool for researchers" despite containing some serious errors and the fact that the planned translations and annotations of the documents were never published[57]. These charters – forty-six in all, dating between 1093 and 1242 – were composed in Arabic, together with Greek and/or Latin. The elegant creation of the royal Dīwān, they frequently noted land grants to the new class of Latin owners, some registering the ancient boundaries (*dafātir al-hudūd*), others providing a list – a *jarīda* or *plateia* – naming the Muslim and Greek cultivators bound to the estates (*jarā'id al-rijāl*). Beyond their utilitarian purpose, they came to symbolize the Norman administration they were designed to serve[58]. These charters symbolized, in a powerful way, autocratic royal authority over all subjects making up Sicily's *populus trilinguis*[59].

For scholars who, since the days of Charles Haskins[60] upheld 'the Norman achievement' in 12th century Europe the documents were powerful reminders of a unique society created under the aegis of the Norman conquerors, marked by an exceptional multicultural coexistence. It was an achievement mirrored as much in the pragmatic adoption and application by the rulers of institutions from subject communities, as in the transmission of knowledge enabled by Sicilian translator. It was reflected as much in Roger II's *Assizes*, as in the monumental statements made by the Palatine Chapel, the Martorana, and the churches at Monreale and Cefalù. Critics of this approach do not deny the remarkable cross-fertilization which took place in Sicily – but they question its extent, and indeed its relevance beyond the palatial walls of the Norman regime, down the social strata of the island's communities[61].

Until their expulsion in 1492, the Jews of Sicily were an Arabic speaking minority with different types of contacts all over the Mediterranean world, as well as constituting a living link with the island's long gone Muslim past. Goitein's systematic investigation of their network of contacts in the Cairo Geniza documents sheds vital new light on Sicilian Jews and their country, bridging the last decades of Islamic rule and the Norman period[62]. In his comprehensive study of Sicilian Jewry, Bresc makes ample use of the Geniza material to underline the originality of these communities which remained 'anchored' in their Arabic and Norman past, whilst adopting in later medieval times the 'European' material culture of their Christian counterparts[63].

One proponent of the Norman achievement was forced to admit, "Norman and Lombard, Greek and Saracen, Italian and Jew – Sicily had proved that for as long as they enjoyed an enlightened and impartial government, they could happily coexist; they could not coalesce"[64]. Comparisons between the two insular kingdoms under Norman rulers seem tenuous at best, and recent scholarship has generally discarded the concept of a 'Norman achievement' in Europe as a historiographic tool. This historical rethinking has been marked, over the past four decades, by a remarkable increase in teaching, research, and scholarly output on Norman and Hohenstaufen history, both in Italy and abroad. For instance, the acts of the *Giornate di Studi* organized, since 1973, by the "Centro di studi normanno-svevi" at the University of Bari, form a veritable encyclopedia on the Norman and Hohenstaufen south. The ongoing publication of the Latin

charters from the chancelleries of the Norman rulers in the *Codex diplomaticus regni Siciliae*[65] provides a vital tool for the study of Norman Sicily.

Royal patronage of the Church and religious establishments provided the regime with an efficient manner to legitimize an authority acquired by conquest, and to consolidate it. Count Roger, who claimed legatine powers throughout his conquered realm, established Latin bishoprics and Churches, providing them with substantial endowments. His successors emulated his example. Religious establishments became powerful agents of the feudal regime. In a famous example, King William II established Monreale Abbey in 1174 and over the next twelve years endowed it with more than 1,200 square kilometres of land in western Sicily cultivated by around 1,200 Muslim serfs who dwelled in some one hundred villages[66]. Lighter forms of Muslim serfdom – called *muls* as distinguished from the strict bondage of the *hursh* – were done away with. This 'Muslim reserve' was closely encircled from the rest of Sicily by a network of castles[67].

The Norman regime owed less to the institutions which preceded it than previously thought, although one can hardly cast doubt on its pragmatic ability to reconcile disparate elements. The very continuity between the administrative system of Muslim Sicily and the Arab clerks who staffed the Norman dīwān has been questioned. Titles and practices were consciously imported from Fātimid Egypt and then adapted to the local situation. By emulating the Egyptian model, argues Johns, the Norman rulers hoped to underline their royal authority in no uncertain way[68]. The pragmatic approach is also evident in the different management of territories across the Mediterranean. Contrary to 'Norman Africa', where Roger II governed the communities subjected to his overlordship via their own local Muslim leaders, the 'Palace Saracens' serving the Crown in Sicily were royal dependants, not community leaders[69]. Johns argues that all the eunuchs at court were foreign slaves, unrelated to the island's Muslim population and therefore unfettered by any obligation towards family and community. "It was their social isolation and their utter dependence upon the king, as much as the act of castration, that distinguished the eunuchs"[70].

By contrast, native Muslims of noble birth were given little political space. In 1185 Ibn Jubayr met Muhammad Abū l-Qāsim ibn Hammūd, a qā'id in royal administration who was regarded by Sicilian Muslims as their hereditary leader. The Muslim traveller was moved to tears at ibn Hammūd's confession that he would rather be sold with his family into slavery in some foreign land, so that he might one day reach a Muslim country, than continue to bear the tyranny of the Christian ruler. "Were he to convert to Christianity", reported Ibn Jubayr, "there would not remain a single Muslim on the island, who would not do as he did"[71]. The same Arab author remarked about ibn Hammūd's wealth and generosity. The rich Muslim possessed substantial property in Palermo and Trapani, and was known for his charitable help to the poor and to pilgrims. His loyalty was convincing enough to have been employed in the royal dīwān, but there were reports that a pilgrim who had benefited from his generosity conveyed the Sicilian's appeal to Saladin to come to his brethren's help. Ibn Jubayr dismissed as false the allegation that ibn Hammūd had asked the Almohads for their aid, but it was one of the charges which led to his house arrest[72].

In the early decades of Norman rule Greek Christians 'kept the balance between Christian and Muslim on which the whole future of Norman Sicily depended'. They also helped counterbalance the claims of the Roman Church with regard to Sicily, with Nilus Doxopatrius, Archimandrite of Palermo, dedicating a treatise to Roger II in 1143 upholding the primacy of the Patriarch of Constantinople[73]. Open royal patronage of basilian communities on both sides of the Straits was matched by large-scale employment of Greeks in royal service. Greek Christians played a key role in mediating between the upper class of Latin lords and the subject populations of Muslim serfs[74].

Apart from their Christianity which they shared with the Latin ruling class, Greek Christians enjoyed a decisive strategic advantage over their Muslim neighbours. The Greek communities formed part of a much larger Greek world which extended across the Regno's southern Italian mainland, and could rely on the support of their numerous brethren. On the other hand, the Muslims of the Regno were confined to Sicily and the smaller islands (that is, before the making of Muslim Lucera), and could not appeal beyond their king and community without committing treason. It goes unsaid that the Jewish condition was even worse, for a Muslim qā'id might appeal to a Saladin, while the Jews had no one to turn to.

Faced sternly with the choice of departure or subjection to Christian rule, many Muslims will have chosen the former option, provided they were able to do so. Indeed, Muslims were prohibited from living under non-Muslim rule if they could help it. "The transformation of Sicily into a Christian island", remarks Abulafia, "was also, paradoxically, the work of those whose culture was under threat"[75]. According to Ibn Jubayr, many of William II's Arab servants were secretly Muslim and practised *taqiya*, (that is, pretending to be Christian), and Muslim slave-girls at court even managed to convert Christian women to Islam. Ibn Jubayr's testimony could not have been altogether unbiased; but his reference to sons and daughters accepting baptism to escape the authority of their Muslim parents rings true, if only with reference to teenage rebellion.

Despite the presence of an Arab-speaking Christian population, it was Greek churchmen who seemed to have attracted Muslim peasants to accept baptism. Arab converts normally adopted Greek Christian names; in several instances, Christian serfs with Greek names listed in the Monreale registers had living Muslim parents[76]. Contrary to Malta, where an Arab-speaking Christian population was created as a result of conversion from Islam, the descendants of Sicilian converts from Islam do not seem to have retained their language[77]. Nonetheless, onomastic evidence has been compiled to make the case for rural, as well as town-dwelling, Christian Arab communities[78].

How 'Greek' were the island's 'Greek Christians'? "Latin sources tended to separate 'Latin' Catholic Christians from the 'Greeks' of the Eastern church on confessional/linguistic lines", remarks Metcalfe. "As such, it was possible for the Latin sources to refer to the Christians as 'Greeks' even when some of them lived in amongst Arabic-speaking Muslim communities, and were likely to have been Arabic speakers or Arabic-Greek speakers themselves"[79]. This is not to deny that the interplay between the different eth-

nic groups was probably too constricted by social, economic, religious and linguistic barriers to stimulate their fusion. "The immigrant Latin and indigenous Arab communities of Sicily", affirms Johns, "were separated from each other by a cultural barrier which, if anything, grew less permeable with time; and the manner in which the Greek community acted as an intermediary between the Latin and the Arab may even have increased their distance from each other"[80]. Norman success in fusing together the disparate elements of their kingdom was, at best, limited.

Christianization did not necessarily lead to Latinization, as shown by the Maltese case[81]; nevertheless, it might be retorted that the isolated southerly example of Malta is the exception which proves the rule. Moreover, it is easy to forget that Latinization was ongoing not only in Sicily, but also across the mainland half of the Regno, where Greek lost ground to 'Italian' dialects. The advance of Latinization ultimately took place at the expense of the other elements; but survival strategies were devised, including "the option of either feigning conversion or of making a social realignment that was sufficient to smudge the defining margins of one's identity and thus benefit from the protection that might offer...it was relatively easy for Muslims to slip into the guise of Arabic-speaking Christians"[82]. In other words, their response to the threat of assimilation was the strategy of dissimulation.

This strategy might guarantee individual survival, but it could not be a long-term solution. The dividing line between Muslims and Christians in Sicily became increasingly geographical in the final decades of Norman rule. 'Lombard' pogroms against Muslims had taken place since the 1160s. In the years after Ibn Jubayr's visit to Sicily, the island's Muslims were mainly confined behind an internal frontier which divided the south-western half of the island and the Christian north-east. An unfree and subjected population, Sicilian Muslims depended on the mercy of their masters and, ultimately, on royal protection. When this was removed, hell broke loose. King William's death in 1189 opened the way for widespread attacks against the island's Muslims. The author of the *Epistola ad Petrum* remarked that "it would be difficult for the Christian population not to oppress the Muslims in a crisis as great as this, with fear of the king removed" and predicted that Muslims would respond by occupying mountain strongholds[83].

History proved the anonymous author right. The turning point of 1189-90 destroyed any lingering hope of coexistence, however unequal that might have been. Henry VI's death in 1197, followed by that of his wife Constance a year later, plunged the Regno into a deep crisis. With 'fear of the king removed', to echo the author of the *Epistola*, and with Frederick II still an infant in papal custody, the Regno became a battleground for rival German and papal forces. The island's Muslim rebels sided with German warlords like Markward von Anweiler; declaring a crusade, Innocent III alleged that Markward had made an alliance with the Saracens of Sicily: "he called on their help against the king and the Christians; and so as to stimulate their spirits more keenly to the slaughter of our side and to increase their thirst, he has spattered their jaws already with Christian blood and exposed captured Christian women to the violence of their desire"[84] Yet in 1206 the same pope addressed a letter to the Muslim leaders and the whole Saracen

population of Sicily urging them to remain loyal towards Frederick. By this time the Muslim's strongholds included Jato, Entella, Platani and Celso, all mentioned in the letter. Other records mention also Muslim control of Calatrasi, Corleone (taken in 1208), Guastanella and Cinisi. In other words, the Muslim revolt extended throughout a whole stretch of western Sicily. The rebel polity was led by Muhammad Ibn ᶜAbbād, who called himself 'prince of believers', minted his own coinage, and sought Muslim help from abroad.

Frederick II's response to this internal challenge was determined. In a series of campaigns against the Muslim rebels, launched in 1221, the forces of the Hohenstaufen ruler faced the resolute defenders of Jato, Entella, and the other fortresses. In 1223, the first deportations to the Muslim garrison town of Lucera started in earnest. A year later, expeditions were sent against Malta and Djerba, to establish royal control and prevent their Muslim populations from helping the rebels. Frederick II Hohenstaufen "was not a Sicilian, nor a Roman, nor a German, nor a *mélange* of Teuton and Latin, still less a semi-Muslim: he was a Hohenstaufen and a Hauteville"[85]. The chronichler Matthew Paris famously described him as "stupor quoque mundi et immutator mirabilis", or 'wonder of the world and its astonishing transformer'. It befell him, as *immutator mundi*, to sever the roots of Sicilian Islam and reclaim the legacy of its Norman conquerors.

Sicily's total 'Christianization' would almost seem, from the vantage point of historical hindsight, a foregone conclusion. Nevertheless, cautioned by the evidence, one realizes that its character need not have been so all-embracing, its conclusion so rapid, its legacy of irreversible change so everlasting, but for the extraordinary conjuncture of events which trapped the islanders of the *populus trilinguis* in the vortex of historical change. Across the island, individual and collective identities were shaped and reshaped, its social fabric undone and redone. That its Christianization proved to be so final also testifies to the strength of its Latinization. It was an achievement at the expense of competing cultural identities, and its price was high. By paying it, a new Latin Christian people could claim the home, if not the inheritance, of the vanquished society to which it traced its troubled ancestry.

Notes

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[16] Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia* cit., vol 1.

[17] Ibn Hawqal's account in M. Amari, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, 2 vols., Turin-Rome 1880-81, vol. 1, ch. 4.

[18] Norwich, *The Normans in Sicily* cit.; Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard* cit.

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[69] *Ibid.*, pp. 289-292.

[70] *Ibid.*, p. 250.

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Venice-Babylon: Foreigners and Citizens in the Renaissance Period (14th-16th Centuries)

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Abstract

The concept of "*ville mangeuse d'hommes*" is no longer credible, and there is a wealth of scholarship on the complex forces surrounding urban migration in Renaissance Europe which affirms the primacy of human agency in the development of the city. The present chapter builds on this tradition, reconstructing the legal, economic and social conditions which informed the status of foreigners in Renaissance Venice, or 'Venice-Babylon'. While the city's dynamism, diversity, and apparent tolerance attracted many foreigners to settle there, the influence of Italian jurists was being felt among the local native elite. In reorganizing themselves socially and politically, the Venetian oligarchy's attitudes towards foreigners became less sanguine: some communities were considered more useful than others, while, especially during times of crisis, foreign citizens and patricians came under increased scrutiny by the natives.

Une fois écarté le concept désuet de "ville mangeuse d'hommes", nous pouvons mesurer la place réelle de la main humaine dans le développement extraordinaire des cités italiennes de la fin du Moyen Age, et notamment de Venise. Les travaux de nombreux historiens (Ph. Braunstein, R.C. Mueller) sont venus étayer notre analyse concernant le rôle crucial joué par les migrations pendulaires entre campagne et cité, terreferme et lagune, outre-mer et métropole. Venise-Babylone frappe les voyageurs par sa diversité, son dynamisme et la tolérance apparente qui alimente un flot continu de nouveaux arrivants: pèlerins, marchands, voyageurs de passage, etc. Evaluer la place des étrangers dans la cité des Doges revient à décrire plusieurs réalités superposées: leur statut juridique, leur rôle économique et social voire religieux et spirituel dans la république. Telle est la démarche engagée par les plus grands juristes italiens dès le XIVe siècle à propos de la citoyenneté: déterminer qui appartient à la communauté civique afin de se libérer de la tutelle impériale. Le droit est l'instrument par lequel les cités italiennes acquièrent leur autonomie. Elles organisent au fil du temps, une nouvelle hiérarchisation interne de la vie urbaine. Ainsi, à la fin du XVe siècle, la potestas *prend le pas sur la* civilitas.

Les historiens de "l'espace" (D. Calabi, E. Crouzet-Pavan) ont mis en avant la présence physique de ces étrangers dans la cité de Venise: toponymie, édifices religieux, etc. Bien que

le modèle de la polis grecque soit présent chez tous les érudits, celle-ci n'est pas la città *médiévale; la* civilitas *ne confère pas automatiquement la participation à la gestion de la chose publique (la* res publica*). Le caractère commun des cités du Moyen Age réside plutôt dans la pratique du commerce et tous les citoyens ne sont pas égaux en droits (ils ne peuvent notamment rivaliser avec les patriciens qui eux, détiennent la véritable capacité d'agir dans la* polis*). Bien qu'ils soient accueillis favorablement comme des partenaires économiques potentiels (main-d'œuvre, savoir-faire, intermédiaires vers de nouveaux marchés…), les étrangers sont toujours soumis à l'autorité politique et administrative de la cité: une méfiance organisée consent ponctuellement des avantages fiscaux plus attractifs afin de subvenir à la dépopulation.*

En outre, ils jouent de fait un rôle éminemment social: les Allemands vendent, cuisent le pain et font souvent crédit aux plus démunis; les Juifs pratiquent l'usure à des taux très inférieurs à ceux habituellement pratiqués par les chrétiens. Chaque communauté d'étranger prend en charge ses pauvres dans le cadre de confréries, etc. Les contemporains reconnaissent l'utilité de ces "autres" et lorsque les prédicateurs élaborent le projet de ghetto, le célèbre chroniqueur vénitien M. Sanudo défend les Juifs de Venise, devenus indispensables à la prospérité vénitienne et au maintien de la paix civile.

La crise identitaire qui frappe la civilisation vénitienne à la fin du XVe siècle a inspiré l'analyse comparative de Venise et Londres: leur commun intérêt pour le commerce et la recherche d'une identité fédératrice (vertu, pureté) dépassant toutes les influences et permettant de braver toutes les difficultés. Les citoyens ne sont pas les seuls à faire les frais de cette tendance: en 1506, les patriciens vénitiens sont eux aussi soumis à la nova probatio.

In the article *Venise et les villes de la République: communautés nationales et artisans*, Paola Lanaro describes the mobility which characterized pre-industrial societies[1]. She insists that the concept of the "*ville mangeuse d'hommes*" (literally, the man-eating city), is no longer tenable, as there were other impulses which prompted migration to urban areas. The present chapter is concerned with foreigners in the city of Venice in the late medieval period. Immigration was a fundamental feature of life in the city; at the close of the 15th century, Philippe de Commynes, the French ambassador, was moved to observe that "most of [the Venetian] people are foreigners"[2]. Before embarking on such an exploration, of course, we must define what 'foreigner' meant in Renaissance Venice. The English language[3] has two distinct words for the notion of strangeness. 'Stranger' refers to someone coming from another place, and often unfamiliar with the prevailing conditions in the new environment; 'foreigner' refers to someone from another 'nation', defined, for example, by the use of a different language[4]. In the Venetian language, the word *forastier* refers to the stranger, one who comes from *fora* (Latin *foras*), in other words, from outside. In Venetian legal terms, he who did not have Venetian citizenship was accounted a *forastier*. During the period under review here[5], the definition of the legal status of foreigners in the Italian city-states, and their ability to integrate as citizens, were questions of great importance; and the distinctions between citizens and non-citi-

zens, and between the members of the civic community and the disenfranchised, had to be clear and firmly established[6].

Ernst Kantorowicz has asserted that: "for Greeks or Romans, the word πατρίς or *patria* stood mostly, if not only for the city. Only barbarians, like the citizens of modern nations, were named according to their fatherland and only they were *patriotai*, while the Greeks were proud to be *politai,* citizens"[7]. The city-states in medieval Italy borrowed this 'political' concept of urban organization from the Greek *polis* concept. However, unlike in Antiquity, the acquisition of the idea of *civilitas*[8] in the 14th century did not necessarily allow one to take part in the *res publica*. There was no equality between the "*civis originarius* and the new *civis*"[9]. In Venice, only the patriciate (members of the Great Council, the assembly that voted for laws and elected officials) governed. But that is not to say that foreigners were completely ostracized from society.

Migrants were important to a city like Venice, which despite its wealth was still prone to problems associated with disease, famine and war. During the Great Plague of 1347-1348, Venice lost three out of five inhabitants. For the 15th century, Freddy Thiriet estimates the number of inhabitants at 150,000[10], and 190,000 around 1550. In the second half of the 16th century, with victims falling to another plague, Venice barely reached the number of inhabitants of cities such as Rome or Palermo, with approximately 90-100,000 inhabitants around 1590[11]. It was a city devoid of any mining and agricultural resources (except fish and salt), constantly importing from other regions (the *Terra Ferma* – the Venetian hinterland and its dominion), and always threatened by depopulation and a lack of manpower. Immigration quotas were thus devised to meet the needs of the city. Those who wished to settle for a long period of time, or apply for citizenship, had to meet very strict standards. To qualify for Venetian citizenship, the applicant had to give proof of his willingness to assimilate (including his intention to settle and practice his profession in the city for life, and acquire real estate, etc.). And, of course, it should be noted that citizenship was granted exclusively to men.

Useful migrants, but under surveillance[12]

Manpower and skills; middlemen for new markets

Some foreigners were more sought after than others, especially for their professional qualities. These included physicians (often Jews) and jurists (educated in the universities of France or Bologna). Foreigners were also welcome as a means of increasing revenue from taxation and to stimulate business. In order to draw them to Venice, they were offered certain legal advantages. The city authorities attempted to avoid a large settlement of poor peasants in the city[13], which would have brought about a general decrease in wages. The city's inhabitants were of various ethnicities. Since the 9th century A.D., Venice had been known as place of permanent settlement for pilgrims and travellers who came to worship the relics of Saint Mark before moving onto those of Saints Paul and Peter in Rome. They also did business in the city, and would perhaps sail east aboard the infamous Venetian merchant-ships, to visit Alexandria and the Holy Land.

In Venice, as in Babylon[14], it was said proverbially that all the world's languages could be heard there. Even though, according to Ernesto Sestan, "the Italian ethnic-linguistic background still played the greatest part in all cities"[15], foreign elements were ever present in economic, political and cultural life. In the maritime republic of Venice, "true" Venetians and foreigners lived together. Natives and newcomers alike were represented in the ranks of both the *popolo* (composed of the citizens and non-citizens) and the patricians who took part in the *res publica*, as Venetian citizenship could be obtained in various ways.

In the 14th century, the *bourgeoisie* dissociated itself from the common 'manual' workers, by claiming for themselves the title of '*cittadini*' [citizens]. In this new social hierarchy, the highest rank was that of the *cittadini originari* [original citizens], distinct from any financial criterion. The civil servants at the Ducal Chancery[16], commissioners and numerous functionaries of the tribunals of the city[17] regarded themselves as such. Others did business in international trade or ran local workshops, for example, in glass-making. The *cittadini originari* benefited from privileges including the right to bear arms and customs exemptions. They participated in *Scuole Grandi*, religious and philanthropic brotherhoods; they were second class nobles. At a lower rank were the *cittadini de intus et extra* [complete citizens]. In order for a foreigner to qualify for this status, a constant residence in the city, of at least 25 years, had to be proven. Finally, the *cittadini de intus* had to prove a ten-year residence in town, to have married a Venetian woman and not to have exercised any *ars mecchanica*.

Traditionally, throughout the middle ages, the knowledge of craftsmen, merchants and other professionals coming from other countries was welcome in Venice. A perpetual movement from the countryside to the city was essential to compensate for the high level of death in town. The members of the *popolo minuto* [the group of people excluding citizens and patricians, who did not have the rank of citizen], could still benefit from corporate privileges regarding their profession and their status within the trade hierarchy. Many Greek, Dalmatian and Albanian sailors came to Venice and joined the crews of Venetian trading galleys[18]. In Venice, many other communities co-existed, including Armenians, Turks[19] and Slavs. But the city also attracted other Italians[20]: people from Lucca (known for their silk art), Lombards, Milanese and Tuscans. Other important ethnic groups in the city were Germans and Jews. From the 16th century, craftsmen from Bergamo were in demand. The urban nomenclature of Venice attests to their long-lasting presence: *calle dei Armeni* [Armenians' street], *chiesa dei Greci* [Greeks' church], *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, etc.

In order to understand better the experience of Venice and its foreigners in the Renaissance, it may be helpful to look briefly at the experience of another important cosmopolitan European city – London. During the English Renaissance London may have been considered a fourth 'Babel' of cosmopolitism, after the original Babel, Rome and Venice[21]. Like the other cities, it was looked upon as an '*Orbis forum*', or market of the world, and not as an '*Urbis forum*', a market of the city. Maritime imperial exchange flourished during this era. J. Bottin and D. Calabi wrote in 1999 that Venice and Lon-

don are comparable cases with which to analyse the relationships between foreigners and an urban space[22]. Recently, the British historian M.T. Jones-Davies argued that Renaissance London, while open to others was still conscious of the desirability of retaining her own identity[23]. It may be questioned whether this specific city identity and "xenophobia", as Jones-Davies puts it, was a reaction to the stiff competition from other European maritime economies – despite the fact that "others" were undoubtedly helpful in developing commerce and enriching the kingdom. Though Jones-Davies remarks applied to early modern England, it may be helpful to transfer her ideas to the case of Venice – even if the two societies were quite different in some respects. We will see, however, that Venice continued to uphold the traditional practice of assimilating foreigners into local society, though, as time went, on, some ethnic groups were less tolerated than others, for example, the orthodox Greeks.

Diverse communities and political and religious tensions

In Venice, an atmosphere of mistrust existed between the government, the Catholic clergy, and the large Greek Orthodox population. In theory, the Christianity shared by the orthodox Greeks and Catholic Venetians reinforced the ties of interdependence between the *Serenissima* and the 'Byzantines'. It was possible for them to claim convincingly to be good Catholics following the Greek rite, and not heretics or schismatics, on account of the reconciliation between the Catholic and Eastern Churches arrived at in 1439 by the Council of Florence. The patriarch of Constantinople exercised his office everywhere in the Empire except in Latin colonies or in those that were dominated by the maritime Republics (Genoa, Amalfi and Venice). Thus, the Venetians of the Greek islands were under the jurisdiction of Rome. Accordingly, neither the patriarch of Venice nor the pope had any juridical power over the Greeks of Venice[24]. The two religious communities ignored each other though pretending not to do so because they both needed each other.

The majority of Greeks in Venice lived in the *sestier* of Castello. The parish of San Pietro, where there was the *Scuola* of San Nicolò, seemed like "another Byzantium" to those who arrived there from across the Adriatic Sea[25]. From the fall of Constantinople in 1456, the Venetian Greeks started to ask for their own church within the city of Venice. The Senate initially refused, but in 1498 the Ten authorised them to establish a church in San Biagio, a port parish close to the Arsenal. H. Porfyriou adds that this recognition was a first step towards the affirmation of a national identity for the Greeks[26]. D. Calabi has argued that the so-called *Magna multitudo Graecorum* from the Venetian *Stado da Mar* during the *Quattrocento* (in 1509 around 4,000 people arrived in the city), would probably have been well received in the lagoon[27]. The Republic needed these *stradioti* coming from the Aegean islands because of their competence as printers. Until 1494-95 (when Aldus Manutius opened his printing house), only a dozen of books in the Greek language had been published in Italy[28]. However, the repatriated people represented a problem for the authorities: for decades, for instance, they neglected to register their young men to the *Balla d'oro*, the main rite of the Venetian patriciate[29].

In 1511, the Greek community of Venice once again asked for a church to be built in the city to serve the many soldiers and their families who had arrived in the city with their families after serving the State. Finally, on 30 April 1514, the Ten allowed for land in the *contrada* (parish) of Sant'Antonin to be allotted to the "Greek nation" of Venice, which provided a haven of peace for the community until the fall of the Republic in 1797.

The orthodox Greeks were not the only subjects of mistrust for the Venetian authorities. In the second half of the 16th century, the spread of Lutheranism among the German population of Venice, close to the heart of the city's central business district, was a perpetual source of concern to the papal representatives. Actually, the German community had its own business building (the so-called *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*), placed under the strict surveillance of local power. Despite the religious, ideological and political conflicts following the Reformation, the Venetian government was too jealous of its traditional commercial interests to contemplate closing the *Fondaco*[30]. Other ethnic groups represented in "Venice-Babylon" were "Turkish" merchants and non-Jewish subjects of the Sultan from the Balkans and Asia Minor (who had been present in Venice at least from the early 16th century). However, the ruling class did authorise them to have their own market place. At the end of the 16th century, their critics began to urge that they and their merchandise should be concentrated in a central place, like the German exchange house and the *Ghetto*[31]. An area for these migrants duly became known as the *Fondaco dei Turchi*.

A hierarchy of the distinction inside of the Venetian city: all foreigners were not "equal" in front of the law

Before entering into the juridicial debate, I think it useful to explain a few principles about Venetian citizenship. A. Bellavitis describes three categories of inhabitants before the 14th century: the *cives* (who participated in political life), the *habitatores* (who lived and worked in the city) and the *forinseci* (who came from outside of the territory)[32]. In Venice, the famous institution of the *Serrata del Mazor Conseio* (1297) made patrician status strictly hereditary: a *numerus clausus* was created. Before this year, the whole group of its members were considered simply as citizens, but after this event, an elite emerged, an aristocracy of members who defined themselves as "nobles". Only the sons of members could now enter the Great Council. All the men not included in the *numerus clausus* were designated in the next century as *cives originarii* (native citizens). From this time, it appears that the number of patrician *Casate* (Houses) was fixed. In fact, other laws organised the admission of new members (in 1381 for instance). From this period, only members of the Great Council could participate in the *res publica*. Very few people could obtain ennoblement by being registered as a member of the Great Council by *grazia*[33], the status of a Venetian noble by legal dispensation, though it was possible for foreigners to obtain this. From 1297, patricians and citizens were given different roles in Venetian society. The first governed the state, while the second

helped to administrate it and execute the decisions adopted in the councils. It was easier for a foreigner to become a Venetian, by applying for a grant of citizenship than by waiting for an ennoblement.

Access to citizenship in Venice could take many forms. For instance, after ten years, a jurist could automatically become a citizen, and could apply for public office[34]. *Trecento* legal literature insisted on communes granting liberty by *civilitas* to foreigners, according to their own *ius proprium*[35]. In fact, it seems that local suspicion prevented a higher number of cases of naturalization. Thus, in spite of the population crisis after the Black Death (1348-1351), Italian jurists such as Paolo di Castro (1360-1441) maintained that: "a citizen *ex privilegio* could not be equivalent to a native citizen"[36]. Bartolus (Bartolo da Sassoferrato 1314-1357), author of the *De regimine civitatis*, denied that the son of a *comitatensis*[37] born in the city should be eligible to receive full citizenship *ipso facto* in any city. He argued that the criterion of birth was not in the state's interest, because it would have required the acceptance as native citizens even those foreigners born within its territory. He proposed strict control of the extension of citizenship to foreigners and *contadini*[38]. This refusal of Bartolus to accept the principle of *ius soli* regarding citizenship is based on the *ius commune*, which places the decision upon the political authority of the cities. Bartolus – considered the main advocate of urban authorities' legal liberty as opposed to imperial power – asserted that the cities and republics (*civitates*) of his time were similar to those of imperial Rome. According to the Bartolian concept of citizenship, communal jurisdiction was considered as *ius proprium* and the heiress of Roman law[39]. Thus, the son of a foreigner turned citizen could never claim citizenship in the city where he was born. Unilaterally and individually, the city could decide who would be a member of the civic community. The feeling of mistrust was always latent towards the "other".

In 1380, the jurist Baldo degli Ubaldi (Baldus; Baldo da Perugia) published a *consilium* (an opinion) about a foreign '*notaio*', ser Orlando di Piemonte, who became a Florentine citizen in November of 1379, but was declared a foreigner once more the following month. This reversal of opinion would come to be blamed on the failure of the candidate to fulfil all the criteria necessary for citizenship: apparently ser Orlando had not bought a new house, but an old one. Baldus defended di Piemonte: stating that he remained a true citizen of Florence and as such, he had the right to be considered for all the privileges of a *verus civis* (a real citizen). Invoking the *iusta ignorantia* (the good faith) of the *notaio*, he went on to criticize the existence of a distinction between native citizens and citizens *ex privilegio* (adopted). Therefore, Baldus turned upside down the hyper-restrictive policy which the ruling class of Florence tried to impose on the integration of foreigners who had become new citizens[40]. By reducing the citizens to a *quid factibile*, he cancelled the distinctions between the native citizen and the citizen *de gratia*[41]. According to J. Kirshner, this interpretation would "simplify the idea of the foreigner by rejecting *nativism*, which was ingrained in the heart of the medieval cities"[42].

The jurist Bartolus de Sassoferrato went further: according to him, "birth does not make a citizen. It is the city that confers citizenship. It does not rely on birthright: one

becomes a citizen not *naturaliter* but *civiliter*". These arguments gave grist to the mill to the supporters of the *respublica* who wished to perpetuate the *Bene comune*. Other legal theorists went even further in defining the citizen: Baldus (a pupil of Bartolus), argued for more rights to be given to the *civilitas acquisita*. On the subject of a foreign resident in Venice, he claimed that "*consuetudo vincit naturam*", in other words, that a plaintiff who is a long-term resident of Venice and has become assimilated, is "like a plant transplanted from one field to another"[43]. Thus, a long-stay in Venice could make him a Venetian.

These ideas were developed in the 15th century, when the definition of foreigner was simplified[44] to mean, in essence, that anyone who was not a member of the urban community was not a citizen. The first Italian jurist to introduce this idea was Alessandro d'Imola (1424-1477), in a *consilium* on the statute of the *districtuales,* which dealt with the inhabitants of a district[45] of a city who wanted to buy land in the *contado*[46], and thus be closer to the heart of the *civitas*[47]. Traditionally, Venetian statutes forbade the selling of real estate to foreigners. Should the *districtuales* be considered as such? Alessandro answered that another interpretation would have been untrue to the spirit of the statute. On this point, he agreed with most of the jurists[48] of his time (even if a civic identity was not shared between inhabitants of an inferior city and that of the capital). Paolo di Castro had specified that Venetian statutes defined those privileges only for the Venetians (except the people of Padua, even though the city had been faced with the Venetian domination from 1406 after the extermination of the Carrara). The *districtuales* of *Veneto* could buy lands in the *contado* of Venice, but were not seen as true Venetian citizens.

The culture surrounding naturalization was one of distrust and hostility, and citizenship was organized along hierarchical lines, in order to preserve communal liberties and local interests[49]. One hundred years before, Bartolus contested the pre-eminence of *ius soli*. On the other hand, Paolo di Castro seemed to insist on the primacy of the Venetians of Venice. Dante Alighieri himself, in the *Divina Commedia* (lament of his ancester Cacciaguida, *Paradiso*, canto 16) hardly criticised the new citizens of Florence. During the 14th and 15th centuries, we can notice a theoretical decline of the access to citizenship. Leonardo Bruni (1374-1444) justified this mistrust by arguing that it was better for civic justice. R.C. Mueller[50] studied this phenomenon in Venice: from 1350 to 1420, the annual number of privileges bestowed was very high (rising from 180 to 380) but in the years after (1430-1490), it diminished and remained at under ninety privileges per annum. In Venice, a decision of the Council of the *Pregadi* adopted in 1448, refused the granting of Venetian citizenship to the *contadini*. This Council justified its ruling on the basis of apparent fiscal difficulties which the state would incur if it granted the privileges[51]. In 1450, the Veronese Bartolomeo Cipolla (1420-1475) declared the impossibility of extending citizenship to those *exercentes opera ruralia*[52]. Thus, jurists agreed with the ruling elites, and tried to stop the process of the acquisition of citizenship by peasants[53].

On the other hand, regarding naturalized foreigners, the prevailing legal orthodoxy seems to have been in defiance of the *communis opinio,* and sometimes even with the

policies of the communal executive. Facing demographical problems, urban governments reacted. In Viterbo, the damages of the Plague of 1480 imposed "*populationniste*" policies, according to the expression of P. Gilli[54] – policies which allowed fiscal advantages for the newcomers, while over 120 citizenship licences were granted between 1400 and 1450, with licences for approximately 500 persons.

Under the political constraints of regional states, and the intervention of other princes, legal specialists gave a new dimension to citizenship by changing the definition of the foreigner: the lord could abolish the civic alterity of those he wanted to reward. Therefore, the status of citizenship lost much of its political power. This can perhaps be attributed to the increasing urban population in Europe, which was linked during the 15th century to a kind of "depreciation of citizen status". It is not the only element for political qualification. All demographical studies about the city of Venice during the years 1305-1500[55], agree that there was a generous policy in conceding Venetian citizenship in operation.

In the procedure of granting citizenship within the Venetian *Stato di Terra Ferma*[56], only long-term citizens were asked to participate in the administration of the *polis*[57]. In Verona, too, during this period there occurred a phenomenon that J. Law calls "the reduction of *cittadinanza* rights, preventing the attainment of political functions"[58]. But at the end of the middle ages there occurred a "levelling of citizen status and a simplification of the *distinguo* between citizen and foreigner: henceforth, both of them were considered as subjects" in law, under the authority of the prince. *Potestas* took the *civilitas*' place. And this fact gave ideas to foreign princes such as the emperor Maximilian, who was looking to stir up a conspiracy against Venice in order to fuel tensions there among the aristocracy[59].

In Venice, as has been said, nobility – following the *Serrata* of 1297 – was strictly hereditary. The stakes were high because membership of the patrician assembly gave access to public responsibilities and the right to vote for all laws of the Republic. Mistrust regarding foreigners was still present: some foreign nobles had been admitted into the Great Council[60] between the 14th and 16th centuries, but they were not allowed to vote or elect other nobles to office. They benefited from ennoblement *per grazia* due to their service to the Republic. For instance, nobles of Cordoba had this title in 1523. At the end of the middle ages, however, the integration of foreigners into the highest political level of Venice became rarer. From 1524 on, the Ten forbade to "*far compagnia*" with foreigners[61]. During this period, foreign influences in Italian society were frowned upon.

The identity crisis in Renaissance Venice

Baldassar Castiglione, in his *Libro del Cortegiano*, published in Venice in 1528, refers to the positive influence of French feudal customs on the courts of Italian cities[62]. He deplored the identity crisis then present in his country – a crisis exemplified in the controversies raging over the primacy of the Tuscan, Venetian and Neapolitan languages in the peninsula. Cas-

tiglione believed it was important to value a new type of man without abandoning the rich artistic, literary and philosophical heritage. It was necessary to restore *virtu*s (purity) in the heart of all Italians, and to liberate themselves from French fashion (especially in the matter of clothes), and take inspiration from the 'imposed seriousness' of the Spanish. We must remember that Castiglione wrote this piece after having been granted Spanish nationality in 1525 by Charles V. In some way, the work acknowledges his master.

G. E. Brennan[63] has observed that in Renaissance England ambivalent attitudes to foreign influences prevailed. For instance, foreign travel was extolled by Shakespeare, while he also warned that excessive exposure to continental culture could lead to corruption of "English purity". Therefore, both Venice and England faced a similar problem – that of foreign cultural influences. Both Shakespeare and Castiglione refer to the malign potential of foreign influences such as fashion on their native lands. In the Venetian case the most pressing and serious threat which concerned the authorities lay in the loss of the Venetians' superiority in international economics and politics. During the wars of 1494-1559, and particularly after the defeat at Agnadello of 1509, the Venetian state faced grave problems.

As Brennan observes, in times of economic difficulty, the outsider becomes the scapegoat[64]. Faced with such a threat, the common reaction is one of protectionism. There were differences, however, in the English and Venetian experiences of foreigners. In England, according to Brennan, only a minority were personally acquainted with foreigners[65]. In Venice, every inhabitant could have contact with foreigners: for instance, Germans were ubiquitous bakers. Braunstein insists on their crucial role in Venetian society during the 15th century[66], for instance, by granting credit to the poor, and their philanthropic endeavours. According to him, then, the attachment to the parish structure came more from foreigners partly integrated into the mainstream society, than from great citizens or the patrician families[67].

In Medieval Venice, the same phenomenon of mistrust was seen with regard to the poor and destitute, who were suspected of feigning their hardship. At the end of the 15th century, the loss of the *Stato da Mar* – the overseas Venetian empire which had been carefully constructed since the Fourth Crusade and the taking of Constantinople by the Franks – and the influx of the repatriated Venetians, contributed to increasing anxiety *vis-à-vis* the foreigner. It became more important than ever to establish the criteria of Venetian identity. A law of 1506 marked a turning point: for the first time in its history, the Republic required the registration of all noble births: the so-called *nova probatio* [new proof]. From that date, no one could claim patrician status if he had not previously been included in the lists of the *Avogaria di Comun*, though, in practice, this measure was not respected, particularly by the notaries in charge of registration, at least until 1526. Thus, the population of Venetian nobles and citizens was quantified and validated by the written records.

To observe more closely the impact of foreigners in Venice, it may be profitable to take the example of the Jews – frequently involved in banking, yet subject to constraining state policies.

A special statute: the Jews in Venice

Before 1516

Three Jewish 'nations' were present in late medieval Venice. The so-called Germanic Ashkenazi Jews – '*Ebrei Tedeschi*' (though many were really of Italian origin) – gathered in large numbers in Venice after the invasion of the Veneto in 1509. They were chiefly associated with money-lending and with the trade of second-hand goods. The second "nation" was composed by the Sephardic Jews coming from Spain, Portugal and the Levant. They were chiefly traders. The third 'nation' was recognised by the Venetian government as Levantine Jews who were subjects of the Ottoman Sultan. In 1541, the city authorities expanded the Jewish *Ghetto* to accommodate them. New Christians came from those same countries, were still suspected of crypto-Judaism. They were stigmatised by the abusive term '*Marrano*' and officially banned from Venice as heretics in 1497, and again in 1550[68]. The presence of Jews in Venice was officially tolerated not only because of their usefulness to the large poor population, but also because many eventually conformed to Christianity.

Until the beginning of the 16th century, the Venetian Jews[69] were traditionally compelled to live in Mestre. In 1503, after the war against Ferrara and the impoverishment of many nobles, the Republic drew up an agreement with the Jews of Mestre, granting them conditional freedoms for ten years[70]. First, they, their families and their banking employees were given the right to live inside the city. Second, they could store their pledges within Venice. Third, they were granted complete freedom of movement and could carry arms to protect themselves and their property. In cases of danger, they were permitted, for the first time in their history, to remove the distinctive yellow beret. Finally, if their lives were threatened, they were permitted to transfer their possessions into the city. It was a significant advance.

Unfortunately, in 1508, the Republic lost control of all the towns of the *Terra Ferma* following the taking of Padua. A large number of refugees flocked into Venice, while people privately spoke of divine anger at those who were guilty of moral corruption and simony. In this context of spiritual and moral crisis – we must remember that the Protestant Reformation in Northern Europe was imminent – the influence of Dominican preachers was crucial in Italian urban religious life. They stigmatised the presence of harmful elements in the city, and especially targeted Jewish doctors who could move around freely at night to visit the sick of all faiths. In the years 1513-14, the town saw episodes of violence and disease. However, the agreement between the Council of the Ten and the Jewish community in Venice was renewed in 1513. The Jews' status as bankers was official: in the absence of *Monti di pietà* (pawnbrokers), they lent to the neediest at very low rates of interest. Thus, their usefulness in society seemed unchallengeable. But the *Serenissima* also tolerated their presence for more political reasons: in the case of civil unrest, they served as shield and scapegoat. Unfortunately for them, the agreement was short-lived: in March 1515, the Senate heard a proposal from Emo Zorzi, strongly recommending the confinement of all Jews on the island of Giudecca.

On 20 March 1516, another patrician, Zaccaria Dolfin accused all the Jews of illegally building synagogues and corrupting the state. He demanded their containment in an abandoned foundry situated in the *Ghetto Nuovo* quarter. It was an unhealthy area on the edge of town, in the northern parish of San Girolamo, and from the outside resembled a fortress. Thus the first system of enclosure of the Jews would take place in Venice, despite its acceptance and tolerance of foreigners.

After 1516

However, in the spring of 1516, the French occupation of Milan dealt a massive blow to the international standing of the Republic. On 29 March, the Venetian Senate published an historic decree: all Jews were forbidden to move around the city at night. Two new walls were built around the *Ghetto* to enclose it completely, while four sentries were to guard the two entrances – only to be opened between sunrise and midnight. The Jews had to pay all construction and maintenance costs themselves. By order of the magistrates *al Cattaver*[71], all means of escape, doors and windows over-looking the canals, were sealed and placed under constant surveillance. It is ironic that an old dream was now fulfilled[72], as the Venetian Jews, in the 13th century, dreamed of having their own quarter in the city. But this *Ghetto*, an unsanitary zone in the *sestier* of Cannaregio, was a long way from the centres of power and commerce in San Marco and the Rialto. The decree of 29 March 1516 confirmed the agreement of 1513: the Jews had to pay an annual tax of 6,500 ducats. The government had to use all possible means (for example, the sale of public offices) to refill the coffers, because the city was still subject to violence, plague, over-population and a continuing influx of refugees from the countryside. Further, there was worrying news from the Eastern front – a new Turkish invasion was feared. Pessimism about the future of Venice was at its height.

In December 1516, the Republic signed the treaty of Noyon: the authorities immediately relieved the pressure on the Jews, reduced the number of the sentries and left the gates open longer. But this respite was short-lived. In 1518-1519, the question of *Monti di pietà* arose again with a vengeance in Venice, and reached a climax the following summer. The very expulsion of the inhabitants of the *Ghetto* was considered. The chronicler Sanudo joined the debate. He reported in his diary that none of the Council of the Ten would say what he really thought for fear of being suspected of corruption by the Jews. In reality, he was denouncing the fact that certain patricians wanted to take the place of Jewish bankers, and raise interest rates from 20 to 50 percent. Sanudo reminded his fellow citizens about the usefulness of the Jews, "as necessary to a country as bakers". The state, he averred, could not "conduct itself in a more stupid manner and expel them when there is not even a pawnbroker". The presence of Jewish finance was not used for political conspiracy, but enabled the struggle against abject poverty, and could help restore the Arsenal to working order. In 1523, the supporters for the installation of pawnbrokers in the city repeated their proposal, but this time, the Council of Ten forbade Senate members on pain of death from agreeing to it, in order to preserve the interests of the state. The Venetian Republic did not amend this decision until 1734.

Conclusion

The real benefit of the foreigners in Venetian society was recognised and valued throughout the city's history, notably for repopulating the city and its territories following difficult periods. Lack of manpower and skill was a constant problem. To maintain economic activity, public finance, and promote civil peace, the state had to attract people from elsewhere – whether Italians or strangers coming from further afield. We must note that all foreigners did not become citizens. A long-term stay in the city as a consistent tax contributor had to be proven. However, one does find a certain tolerance of diverse social and religious practices, though strict surveillance of some groups suspected of prosletism shows that there was still mistrust. The jurists enlightened the ruling classes on how best to 'optimize' the presence of outsiders within Italian cities, but could not ignore the identity crisis of urban Italian societies at the end of the middle ages. The fortunes of the Jews of Venice show the dynamic range of reactions of late medieval Venetian society towards 'the other'.

Notes

1 P. Lanaro, *Introduction* to III. *Venise et les villes de la République: communautés nationales et artisans,* J. Bottin, D. Calabi (ed.), *Les étrangers dans la ville. Minorités et espace urbain du bas Moyen Age à l'époque moderne*, Paris 1999, pp. 155-158.

2 P. de Commynes, *The Memoirs*, ed. S. Kinser, trans. I. Cazeaux, 2 vols, New York 1969-1973, vol. II, p. 493.

3 I would like to thank Rosemary, William, Meghan and Gerald for their patience and help in translating this article, and also to Cristina and Rhys for their advice.

4 M.T. Jones-Davies, *Londres et les étrangers: quand Londres devient "le marché du monde"*, in "L'Etranger: identité et altérité au temps de la Renaissance", SIRIR, Paris 1996, pp. 15-28.

5 P. Gilli, *Comment cesser d'être étranger: citoyens et non-citoyens dans la pensée juridique italienne de la fin du Moyen Age*, in *Les Espaces sociaux de l'Italie urbaine (XIIe-XVe siècles). Recueil d'articles*, Paris 2005, vol. I, pp. 341-364 (published in *L'étranger au Moyen Age.* Actes du XXXe Congrès de la Société des Historiens médiévistes de l'Enseignement supérieur public, Göttingen 1999, Paris 2000, pp. 59-77).

6 *Ibid*., p. 341: "les femmes, les enfants et les miséreux ne font pas partie de la communauté civique": women, children and the poor form no part of the civic community.

7 E. Kantorowicz, Pro Patria Mori *in medieval political thought*, in "American Historical Review", 1951, 56, 3 (April), pp. 472-492 published in French under the title *Mourir pour la patrie* (Pro Patria Mori), "Mourir pour la patrie et autres textes", Paris 2004, p. 133 (pp. 127-166): "To the Stoics, it is true, and to the other philosophical schools as well, the notion of *patria* may have meant the universe, the *kosmos* of which they were citizens. But then this was a philosophical or religious, and not a political, conception. For the Roman Empire or the *orbis Romanus* would not have been referred to as *patria*, and if a soldier, when killed in the defence of Gaul or Spain or Syria, died nevertheless a hero's death *pro patria*, it was a death for the *res publica Romana*, for Rome and all Rome stood for – her gods, perhaps the *Dea Romana*, the imperial *pater patriae*, or Roman education and life in general – but not for the territory he happened to defend. *Patria*, most certainly, did not mean the same thing as all times, but usually meant the city".

8 *Civilitas*: in Latin, literally the quality of the citizen, the civility which is his "ability to live together under the shared founding principles" of urban society ("bien social et vie juste garantissant la paix civile". B. Doumerc, *Les Communes en Italie. XIIe-XIVe siècles*, Toulouse 2004).

[9] Gilli, *Comment cesser d'être étranger* cit.

[10] F. Thiriet, *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia*, Venice 1981. For the year 1509, K.J. Beloch reported the number of 105,000 inhabitants and the one of 158,069 for 1552 (in Id., *Storia della popolazione d'Italia*, trad. it., Florence 1994, p. 497 – orig. ed. *Bevölkrungsgeschichte Italiens*, Berlin - Leipzig 1937-1961).

[11] E. Sestan, *La città italiana nei secoli XIV, XV et XVI*, in M. Berengo, *Italia comunale e signorile, Scritti Vari* – II, Florence 1989, p. 186. The exact population of Venice during this period is still debated by historians.

[12] D. Calabi, *Gli stranieri e la città*, in A. Tenenti, U. Tucci (eds.), *Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, Rome 1996, vol. V. *Il Rinascimento. Società ed economia*, pp. 913-946.

[13] G. Piccinni, *I "villani incittadinati" nella Siena del XIV secolo*, in "Bullettino senese di storia patria", 1975-1976, 82-83, pp. 158-159: a statistical account of the relationship between immigration and acquired citizenship on the one hand, social and geographical origin of "*accédants*" (immigrants), on the other hand. Pult, Quaglia, *Citizenship in Medieval and Early Modern Italian Cities*, in S.G. Ellis, G. Hàlfdanarson, A.K. Isaacs (eds.), *Citizenship in Historical Perspective*, Pisa 2006, pp. 107-114.

[14] Sir Edward Lewkenor (1542-1605), politician and patron of English puritans, had translated a text of Girolamo Contarini regarding the city of Venice. In it the city of London was compared to the Tower of Babel.

[15] Sestan, *La città italiana* cit., p. 187.

[16] G. Trebbi, *La cancelleria veneta nei secoli XVI e XVII*, in "Annali della Fondazione Luigi Einaudi", 1980, 14, pp. 65-125; Id., *Il segretario veneziano* in S. Bertelli (ed.), *La mediazione* (Max Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gessellschaft,* I, III, § V), Florence 1992, pp. 32-58 ("Quaderni del castello di Gargonza. Laboratorio di storia", 5); Id., *La società veneziana,* in G. Cozzi, P. Prodi (eds.), *Storia di Venezia. Dal Rinascimento al Barocco*, VI, Rome 1994, pp. 129-213. A. Zannini, *Burocrazia e burocrati a Venezia in età moderna: i cittadini originari (sec. XVI-XVIII),* Venezia 1993 ("Memorie classe di scienze morali, lettere ed arti", XLVII); Id., *L'impiego pubblico* in A. Tenenti, U. Tucci (eds.), *Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, IV, *Il Rinascimento politica e cultura*, Rome 1996, pp. 415-463. A. Bellavitis, *Identité, mariage, mobilité sociale: citoyens à Venise au XVIe siècle*, Rome 2001. M. Casini, *Realtà e simboli del cancellier grande veneziano in età moderna (secc. XVI-XVII)*, in "Studi Veneziani", N.S., 1991, 22, pp. 195-251; Id., *I gesti del Principe La festa politica a Firenze e Venezia in età rinascimentale,* Venice 1996.

[17] A series of laws provided for their progressive integration into Venetian administration. In 1410 and 1438, the most senior positions in the *Scuole Grandi* were reserved for them. In 1419, only the *Scuole Grandi* provided chancellors and notaries for diplomatic service. In 1444 and 1455, the Republic entitled them to the middle-level positions in the city administration. Then, in 1478, they had access to the Ducal Chancery (Grand Chancellor, secretaries of the Senate, the *Collegio* and the Council of Ten, as well as all the administration's notaries). By the end of the century all offices of the lower Chancery and the notaries' chambers were exclusively reserved for them. Finally, in 1517, all "lower" positions – 200 or 300 offices – could only be taken by natural born citizens.

[18] B. Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice*, Oxford 1971, shows the link between the corporations and the level of recruitment of Venetian ships' crews.

[19] Sestan, *La città italiana* cit., p. 188.

[20] For a more global view about internal migrations into modern and contemporary Italy, see: A. Arru, F. Ramella (eds.), *L'Italia delle migrazioni interne. Donne, uomini, mobilità in età moderna e contemporanea*, Rome 2003.

[21] The Elizabethan poet Edmund Spenser wrote about this subject in his fourth sonnet.

[22] Bottin, Calabi (eds.), *Introduction, Les étrangers dans la ville* cit., p. 5.

[23] Jones-Davies, *Londres et les étrangers* cit., p. 18.

[24] G. Fedalto, *Le minoranze greche a Venezia: i Greci*, in coll., *Contributi alla Storia della Chiesa veneziana*, vol. 3. *La Chiesa di Venezia tra Medioevo ed Età moderna*, Venice 1989, p. 205 (pp. 205-216).

[25] Calabi, *Gli stranieri e la città* cit., p. 919.

[26] H. Porfyriou, *La présence grecque en Italie entre XVIe et XVIIe siècle: Rome et Venise*, Bottin, Calabi (eds.), *Les Etrangers* cit., pp. 121-136.

[27] Calabi, *Gli stranieri e la città* cit., p. 921. Porfyriou, *La présence grecque* cit., p. 132, mentions the "ship-owners, captains, sailors, soldiers, merchants, intellectuals and artists, printers and publishers".

[28] D. Geanokoplos, "La colonia greca di Venezia e il suo significato per il Rinascimento", *Venezia e l'Oriente fra tardo Medio Evo e Rinascimento*, in A. Pertusi (ed.), Florence 1966, p. 186 (pp. 183-203).

[29] B. Doumerc, *"De lignée antique et consanguine". L'idéologie nobiliaire à Venise (fin XVe-début XVIe siècles)*, "Le sang au Moyen Age", Actes du IVe Colloque international de Montpellier, Université Paul-Valéry (27-29 novembre 1997), *Les Cahiers du C.R.I.S.I.M.A.*, 1999, 4, p. 107 (pp. 87-108) "un certain Alvise Corner d'Antonio de San Bartolomeo se plaint de "ne pas avoir l'usage de son état de noblesse" alors qu'il en possède les critères et la *virtù*. À partir de 1514 ce résidant vénitien de Padoue cherche à intégrer le patriciat de la Sérénissime "puisque tous les descendants du doge Marco Corner, étant des seigneurs, ne s'occupaient pas de l'état de noblesse car ils étaient éloignés (résidant dans le Péloponnèse) et, ne respectant pas les usages de la loi, comme celui qui oblige à l'inscription de la naissance d'un noble dans le registre officiel, ils perdirent leur noblesse car ils ne figuraient pas dans ledit livre [...]. Cette famille de retour à Venise dans les années 1480, avait fait une tentative pour récupérer son statut de noblesse en vain. [...] Il semble bien que l'oubli ait joué un mauvais tour".

[30] D. Chambers, B. Pullan (eds.), *Venice, a documentary history (1450-1630)*, Renaissance Society of America 2001, p. 326 (orig. ed. Oxford UK and Cambridge USA 1992).

[31] *Ibid*., p. 327.

[32] A. Bellavitis, *Mythe et réalité des* Cittadini *vénitiens au Moyen Age et à l'époque Moderne*, A. Fontana, G. Saro (eds.), *Venise (1297-1797): la république des castors*, Fontenay-aux Roses 1997, pp. 81-92.

[33] P. Braunstein, *Remarques sur la population allemande de Venise au Moyen Age*, in H.-G. Beck, M. Manoussacas, A. Pertusi (eds.), *Venezia, centro di mediazione tra Oriente e Occidente (secoli XV-XVI). Aspetti e problemi*, I, Florence 1977, p. 240.

[34] D. Calabi, P. Lanaro, *La città italiana e i luoghi degli stranieri*, Rome 1998: most of those studies about the containing and regrouping of foreigners have been republished in J. Bottin, D. Calabi (eds.), *Les étrangers dans la ville. Minorités et espace urbain du bas Moyen Age à l'époque moderne*, Paris 1999.

[35] J. Kirshner, Civitas sibi faciat civem: *Bartolus of Sassoferrato's Doctrine on the Making of a Citizen*, "Speculum", 1973, 48, p. 696, addresses the ambiguity of the statutes concerning new citizens, some contradicting the others.

[36] L. Morpurgo, *Sulla condizione giuridica dei forestieri in Italia nei secoli di mezzo*, "Archivio giuridico", 1872, 9, p. 269. Paolo di Castro is one of the writers of the statutes of Florence, in 1414-15.

[37] *Comitatensis*: in Latin derived from *comitatus* ("company", "party", "suite"; in this military context it has the novel meaning of "the field army"), itself rooted in *comes* ("companion", but with specific historical military and civilian meanings).

[38] *Contadino* (-i): inhabitant of the *contado* cf. infra.

[39] M. Bellomo, *Istituzioni e società dal medioevo agli inizi dell'età moderna*, Rome 1997, pp. 466-478.

[40] M. Becker, *Florence in Transition*, Baltimore 1968, 2, pp. 93-149; A. Mohlo, *Politics and the Ruling Class in early Renaissance Florence*, in "Nuova rivista storica", 1968, 70, p. 401.

[41] E. Cortese, *Cittadinanza*, in *Enciclopedia del diritto*, VII, Milano 1960, pp. 132-140.

[42] J. Kirshner, *Between Culture and Nature: an Opinion of Baldus of Perugia on Venetian Citizenship as second nature*, in "Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies", 1979, 9, pp. 179-208.

[43] *Consilium* republished by Kirshner, cit., p. 205: "*Nam iste est sicut planta translata que in alieno agro coaluit, et sicut de une qualitate translatus ad aliam*".

[44] Gilli, *Comment cesser d'être étranger* cit., p. 356.

[45] District: territory over which the city has judicial and administrative control (feudal law) delegated to a regent.

[46] *Contado*: rural territory directly dependent on an urban community.

[47] *Civitas*: in Latin this is the group of citizens who make up a town, a state or even a city itself in the sense of state.

[48] The *districtuales* and the *comitatenses* were long considered as second class citizens. A fiscal system that relies on hierarchical status of citizens (citizens of Florence, its *contado* and its district) was perpetuated by the ruling classes in Ch. Klapisch-Zuber, *Les Toscans et leurs familles. Une étude du catasto florentin de 1427*, Paris 1978, p. 33, 119-134.

[49] Gilli, *Comment cesser d'être étranger* cit., p. 357.

[50] R.C. Mueller, *Veneti facti privilegio*: *les étrangers naturalisés à Venise entre XIVe et XVIe siècle*, in Bottin, Calabi (eds.), *Les étrangers* cit., pp. 171-181.

[51] A. Ventura, *Il dominio di Venezia nel Quattrocento*, in S. Bertelli, N. Rubinstein, C.H. Smith (eds.), *Florence and Venice: comparisons and relations*, Florence 1979, vol. I, p. 183.

[52] G.M. Varanini, *Il distretto veronese del'400. Vicariati del comune di Verona e vicariati privati*, Verona 1980, p. 105.

[53] A. Bellavitis, *Identité, mobilité sociale, honorabilité. Citoyennes et citoyens à Venise au XVIe siècle*, PhD. (EHESS), 1996, p. 40: the more frequent satire against the peasants is based on *villano incittadinato*.

[54] Gilli, *Comment cesser d'être étranger* cit., p. 358. Regarding the fears of Venetian society during the Middle Ages: Preto, *Le "paure" della società veneziana: le calamità, le sconfitte, i nemici esterni ed interni*, in *Storia di Venezia* cit., vol. VI, pp. 215-238.

[55] Fedalto, *Le minoranze straniere a Venezia tra politica e legislazione*, pp. 143-162 and Braunstein, *Remarques sur la population allemande de Venise à la fin du Moyen Age*, in *Venezia, centro* cit., pp. 233-243. Cf. R. C. Mueller, *Stranieri e culture straniere a Venezia. Aspetti economici e sociali*, in "Ateneo Veneto", 1981, pp. 75-77.

[56] A. Viggiano, *Governanti e governati. Leggitimità del potere ed esercizio dell'autorità sovrana nello stato veneto della prima età moderna*, Treviso 1993, pp. 103-105: *cittadinanza de intus tantum* had been confered on all citizens of the main submitted cities; henceforth they could trade with Venice without any local middleman: it was a "custom citizenship" (G. Cozzi, M. Knapton, *Storia della repubblica di Venezia. Dalla guerra di Chioggia al 1517*, Torino 1986).

[57] Cf. G.M. Varanini, *L'organizzazione del distretto cittadino nell'Italia padana dei secoli XIII-XV (Marca trevigiana, Lombardia, Emilia)*, in G. Chittolini, D. Willoweit (eds.), *L' organizzazione del territorio in Italia e Germania: secoli XIII-XIV,* in "Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico. Quaderno", 1994, 37, pp. 133-234.

[58] J. Law, *Venice and the 'Closing' of the Veronese Constitution of 1405*, in "Studi veneziani", 1997, 1, pp. 69-103.

[59] M. Sanudo, *Vite dei dogi*, ed. G. Monticolo, Venice 1900, f. 237 verso.

[60] Archivio di Stato di Venezia (ASV), Maggior Consiglio, busta 186, *Esteri creati nobili*.

[61] ASV, Consiglio dei Dieci, Parti comuni, regg. 29 and 64.

[62] J. Dubu, *L'ambassadeur d'après* Il Libro del Cortegiano *de Baldassar Castiglione*, in Jones-Davies (ed.), *L'Etranger* cit., pp. 181-215.

[63] G. E. Brennan, *The cheese and the Welsh: foreigners in Elizabethan literature*, in "Renaissance Studies", March 1994, 8, 1, pp. 40-64.

[64] Brennan, *The cheese* cit., p. 62.

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

[66] P. Braunstein, *Cannaregio, zone de transit?*, Bottin, Calabi (eds.), *Les étrangers* cit., pp. 159-169.

[67] He cites two important theses edited by the Ecole française de Rome: E. Crouzet-Pavan (*Espace, pouvoir et société à Venise à la fin du Moyen Age*, Rome 1992, coll. 156, 2 vol.) and A. Bellavitis (*Identité, mariage, mobilité sociale. Citoyennes et citoyens à Venise au XVIe siècle*, Rome 1996).

[68] In practice many were able to live and trade in Venice if, discarding their Christian past, they went promptly to the *Ghetto* and declared themselves to be Jews. For more information see Chambers, Pullan (eds.), *Venice* cit., pp. 326-327.

[69] D. Calabi, U. Camerino, E. Concina, *La città degli Ebrei. Il ghetto di Venezia: architettura e urbanistica*, Venice 1991 (10th ed., 2000). G. Cozzi (ed.), *Gli Ebrei e Venezia*, Milan 1987. R. Calimani, *Histoire du Ghetto de Venise*, Paris 1988 (2nd ed. 1997) (orig. ed., *Storia del ghetto di Venezia*, Milan 1985). R. Finlay, *The Foundation of the Ghetto: Venice, the Jews and the War of the League of Cambrai*, in "Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society", 1982. U. Fortis (ed.), *Venezia ebraica*, Rome 1982.

[70] In 1512, as soon as the deadline came, the Senate required the payment of an annual tax: around 10,000 ducats. If the payment was not made, the Jews would have been forced to close their banks inside of the city. The spokesmen of the Jewish community refused. The Ten lowered the tax to 5,000 ducats, and authorised the opening of nine shops in the Rialto.

[71] *Ufficiali al Cattaver* or *Cattaveri*: a magistrate of varied function, responsible for the recovery of public property, including buried or hidden treasure, and the goods of those who died intestate. They also oversaw Jerusalem pilgrims and pilots. These officials were placed in administrative charge of the *Geto* (afterwards *Ghetto*) *Nuovo* in 1516.

[72] Calimani, *Histoire du Ghetto de Venise* cit., p. 56.

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The Image of Balkan Muslims in Czech and French Journals around 1900

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Abstract

This chapter offers a comparative analysis of the image of Balkan Muslims in French and Czech public discourse in the period 1875-1914, by using the evidence from Czech and French periodicals. Balkan Muslims constitute only a part of the overall discourse of the region, but this was nonetheless a very important and frequent theme, and constituted a common public image. The background for this chapter is a wider study of the complex occidental reflection on the peninsula[1], which takes Czech and French discourses as a representative sample.

Článek je věnován komparativní analýze obrazu balkánských muslimů ve francouzské a české publicistice v letech 1875-1914. Balkánští muslimové tvoří sice jen část komplexního obrazu, ale objevují se jako velmi časté a důležité téma veřejného diskursu. Příspěvek je založen na zevrubném výzkumu komplexní "západní" reflexe Balkánu pro nějž české a francouzské časopisy slouží jako jeho reprezentativní vzorky. V úvodu autorka představuje korpus časopiseckých textů, který se stal základem pro rozbor a komparaci zkoumaných obrazů. Analytickou část autorka rozčlenila na tři oddíly podle typů obrazů: muslimský válečník, reflexe vztahu muslimů k modernizaci a pohled na ženu z muslimského prostředí. Stať sice předložila pouze tři typy obrazu, přesto předvedla, že studovaný obraz je rozmanitý. Komparace dokazuje, že na jedné straně oba diskursy, český a francouzský, tvoří součást „západního" diskursu o Balkánu, na druhé straně poukazují i na národně specifikované pohledy a potvrzují, že neexistoval unifikovaný západní přístup. Studie poukazuje i na celou řadu pohledů vlastních oběma společnostem současně, které by si zasloužily pozornost badatelů.

Introduction

Before embarking on an analysis of the image of Muslims itself, we should first present some basic information on the historical background to the subject and also comment briefly on the nature of the sources used in the research. The chronological framework is the period 1875 - 1914. The year 1875 was a turning point in that it saw the outbreak of anti-Turkish rebellions in the Balkans which proved to be the first in a chain of conflicts in the last third of the 19th century – conflicts which fundamentally changed

the political and cultural situation in the Balkan region. The year 1914 serves an apt terminal date, not just because of its seminal nature in global terms, but also because the context in which information about the Balkans was gathered and communicated changed very substantially with the outbreak of the First World War.

In southeast Europe, the turn of the 20th century was a very complex period, marked by major political and social changes. This process of transformation, often referred to as the 'Eastern Crisis' or the 'Eastern Question' in historiography, started at the end of the 18th century when the Ottoman Empire began to lose its status as a great power, and culminated after the First World War with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. The main features of this complex period are generally considered to be the deterioration of the position of the Ottoman Empire as a political great power, the growing tensions within the empire, manifested above all in increasingly powerful movements for national emancipation that ultimately resulted in the creation of independent nation states, and the interventions of the great powers on the side of the various actors in the struggle, against the background of shifting international political concerns and rivalries[2].

The aim of this research has been to explore in comparative perspective how authors from Czech and French cultural conditions perceived the area today known as the Balkan Peninsula, and to find out what kind of information on the Balkans these sources offered the public. Czech and French society here represent two types of European society that were in different socio-political situations at the end of the 19th century: Czech society was an example of a small nation striving for national and cultural emancipation within the context of a multi-ethnic (Habsburg) monarchy, while French society was an example of a major nation, and a great cultural and colonial power. For source material I chose magazines, often accompanied by illustrations, since these are more extensive and analytical than newspaper articles which were a direct reaction to political events and often unconcerned with identifying the broader cultural and historical context. In any case, the readers of these magazines were also informed about current political events in the special magazine sections, for the most part designed specially to give a brief summary of the latest developments. I have, however, also used newspaper material particularly when they described fundamental and significant events. The comparative perspective made it necessary to select magazines that were similar in terms of genre. The following titles were chosen: the Czech magazines *Zlatá Praha* [Golden Prague], *Osvěta* [Enlightenment], *Vlasť* [Fatherland], and the French magazines *L'Illustration*, *La Revue des Deux Mondes* and *Le Correspondant*.

Zlatá Praha was a Czech literary and cultural fortnightly magazine, designed to be both entertaining and informative, with a readership drawn from the middle strata of Czech society. It contained articles on a diverse range of subjects, with pictorial accompaniment being a very important element in each case. The second Czech magazine analysed, *Osvěta*, was a popular scientific revue that also appeared fortnightly throughout the period surveyed. It contained articles of a more academic type than those published in *Zlatá Praha*, especially historical and ethnographic studies that were often printed in

instalments and sometimes came out later in book form. The third Czech magazine was the fortnightly *Vlasť*, a magazine for Czech Catholics and conservatives. This revue, subtitled *A Magazine for Entertainment and Instruction*, was the organ of a society of the same name founded to spread Catholic faith and culture.

The French magazine *L' Illustration* was the most successful illustrated French periodical at the turn of the 20th century. It offered a view of the week's events with commentaries, as well as information from Paris, metropolitan France, the colonies and the rest of the world. As time went by its cultural section, containing information on theatre and the arts, extracts from literary works and numerous feuilletons, acquired greater importance. The French *La Revue des Deux Mondes* was a monthly periodical devoted to French cultural life, especially literature, history and art. It was a non-illustrated, more academic revue aiming to offer general information, especially on the novel, travel literature, politics, economics and art. The third French magazine analysed was the fortnightly journal of moderate Catholics, *Le Correspondant*. Like the *Revue des Deux Mondes* it carried relatively academic articles that were often several dozen pages in length and not infrequently later published in book length. It featured a regular political section entitled *La revue de quinzaine*, devoted to political events at home and abroad.

Overall, several dozen authors contributed to the magazines studied. Roughly sixty French or French-speaking authors were published in the French magazines over the period, most of them professional experts (diplomats and academics), but also journalists, travellers and writers. They were very varied in terms of education: many had a legal education, but they were also technicians, journalists and philologists. Generally they were active in political and cultural life, though they were not necessarily directly interested in the Balkan region. The number of Czech authors was roughly a third less than the number of French or Francophone writers. The Czech authors had mainly received their education at modern secondary schools or classic secondary schools (gymnasiums). Those authors with university education for the most part had degrees in the humanities (predominantly in history, Slavonic studies, philology with a stress on Slavic languages, and, occasionally, geography). The best known and the most important of the Czech authors in terms of social standing was Konstanin Jireček (1854-1918). Jireček was a Czech intellectual and university teacher who, for several years from the 1880s, occupied a high position in the Bulgarian government. Another author cited was Jaroslav Bidlo (1868-1937), a Czech historian and university lecturer, whose academic interests were mainly in the history of the Slavs and their cultures. The journalist, writer and translator Josef Holeček (1842-1907) had a reputation mainly as an enthusiastic Slavophile and the author of travel literature and fiction. Josef Wünsch (1842-1907) was a well-known cartographer and traveller, while Jiří Václav Daneš (1880-1928) made his name primarily as a traveller and journalist but was also a university teacher and diplomat. I have only managed to obtain information about two of the four Francophone authors cited. Jean Erdic was the pseudonym of the French economist Eumén Quiellé, who like Jireček was invited to assist the Bulgarian government in the 1880s, in his case as auditor of state finances. Emil de Laveley (1822-1892),

likewise an economist, was born in Belgium but lived and worked in France as well. In his specialist works he focused on the causes of economic decline and land ownership. No details have been established regarding the other two French authors cited, Yves Reynaud and Léon Lamouche.

The core of my research concerns ideas surrounding and responses to the religious, ethnic and cultural plurality of the peninsula. Specifically in relation to religious communities it is very interesting to see how the Czech and French pictures of Muslims and Islam were formed, how they differed and in what they agreed.

In these popular scientific journals of Czech and French provenance, the Balkans appear in three basic types of material: in short articles of an informative nature reporting on political events of the day, in longer articles considering history and culture, and in travelogue sketches. With few exceptions the authors whose articles were published in the journals concerned all had a university education or at least more than a basic education. Most had been in the Balkans on some short study or professional trip, or in some cases they had lived in the Balkans for some time, and so their articles reflected their personal experiences. Their texts, or rather the journals in which they published, were addressed to a broad readership.

In 19th-century European culture the perception of the 'Muslim' and the evolving contours of the image of Muslims were generally very strongly influenced by cultural stereotypes that were partly the effect of the cultural tradition of Orientalism[3], but also reflected the historical experience of Europeans. Although in Czech and French encyclopaedias of the time 'Muslim' was dryly and succinctly defined as "person avowing the Islamic Faith"[4], in general cultural consciousness the image of the Muslim widespread in Europe in the 19th century was quite negative; that is, a Muslim was an oriental whose main salient features were fanaticism and violence, conservatism and a lack of civilization, laziness and debauchery[5]. In analysing material on the Balkans, I therefore had to ask myself the fundamental question of how Czech and French authors described Muslims in a region that in the European mind lay on the borders between Europe and the Orient[6].

Analysis – The image of Muslims

Comments on Muslims appear in these sources in various different contexts and in all three types of article, but mostly in the context of describing the Balkan population. When encountering the nationally, ethnically and linguistically heterogeneous population of the Balkan Peninsula, authors tried to distinguish between groups on the basis of different features – most often language, religion or region. Constructs of different groups, most often based on the construct of 'nations' or 'peoples', or in some cases minority or religious groups therefore emerge from their writings. The perception of the Balkan population in the periodicals reflects the situation at the turn of the century when the term 'nation' or 'people' (Czech *národ*) was starting to be used in a markedly modern sense and was employed in various contexts, often very loosely, and generally as a term for ethnic groups rather than peoples necessarily having nation states.

In this chapter there is no space for consideration of all the details of the image of Muslims, and so we shall focus just on three basic sub-images that appeared repeatedly. First, the image of the Muslim as a fanatical warrior, which emerges from commentaries on war in the Balkans[7]. Second, the image of the Muslim and the process of modernization, which emerges on the one hand from analysis of material devoted to the internal development of the Ottoman Empire, and on the other from articles considering the historical development of the Balkan provinces, as well as general comments on Islam. Finally, there is the image of the Muslim woman, which can be traced particularly in the travelogue pieces but also in the political news.

The image of the Muslim as warrior

In the Czech and French publications analysed, Balkan themes appear most frequently at the times of most dramatic political disturbance in the Balkans. In the Czech press there was a particularly strong response to the various forms of struggle by Balkan peoples against Ottoman rule, and especially the struggles of Slavic peoples. The Czech authors consistently sympathised with these opponents of the Ottoman regime, and especially the Slavs. The enemy in the armed conflicts, the Ottoman Empire, was always described in very negative terms, and Ottoman soldiers – Muslims (of whatever ethnicity) were seen as personifying the enemy. On the Czech side there was therefore a one-sided, black-and-white picture, with the Balkan nations – Christians – lined up against the Muslim Ottoman army. In the texts the Turkish soldiers were often described by such expressive phrases as "fanatical killers, Muslim dogs, beasts in human shape" and so forth[8]. In the Czech historical consciousness (or subconsciousness) this negative vision of the Muslim was linked to the figure of the Turk as the eternal arch-enemy of Christians, and was in some ways simply a revival of an old image from the early modern period[9].

In the French press of the same period we do not, however, find so strongly polarised a picture. Although there was criticism of violence committed by Ottoman soldiers against Christians, especially civilians, and some authors openly supported the Christian Slavs in their efforts at emancipation, essentially the criticism was of war and the Ottoman supremacy in general. In the French texts the issue was more one of politics – what to do about "the sick man on the Bosphorus", and less a question of precise contours in the image of Muslims.

Criticism of Muslims and a negative image of Muslims appeared most strikingly in reports of Albanian conditions. The Albanian Muslims were described as the mercenaries of the Turks, who murdered helpless Christians for money, and whose lack of principle and venality were emphasised. Another example of negative perception of Muslims as warriors related to Bosnia. Both Czechs and French saw the Bosnian Muslims as generally Serbs as far as ethnicity was concerned, or in some cases in a wider sense as South Slavs, but they nonetheless sometimes wrote about them as Turks and attributed to them the same characteristics as were attributed to Ottoman soldiers - Turks and Albanians, i.e. fanaticism in religion and in the fight against Christians.

Czech authors saw Balkan rebellions as a just cause and described rebels as "brave undaunted fighting heroes". One typical subject of such Czech idealisation were the Montenegrians, a particular object of interest for the Czech author Josef Holeček. In his articles he compared the two warrior nations – Montenegrians and Albanians – and tried to explain the origins of their national characters. Both these peoples, he claimed, were "brought up to the sound of gunfire" but while the Montenegrians had become a "chivalric nation", the Albanians had turned into "base brigands" and mercenary soldiers[10].

In the writings of some Czech authors we find words of defence for Slavic Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina as people who are good at heart because they have a "good Slav foundation". This vision was entirely consistent with the widespread Czech pan-Slavist sympathies of the end of the 19th century[11]. For example, Josef Holeček considered the core element of Bosnian Muslims to be the Bosnian nobility, who in his words were "nationally conscious and powerful and also outstanding for their Slav goodness and greatness of mind." In his view, therefore, Islam was merely "silt on the good Slav foundation". Holeček expressed the hope that in the course of time the good Slavic nature would triumph over the negative characteristics that were the result of Islamicization; the Slavs would become civilized and return to European customs[12].

The image of the Muslim in the process of modernisation: is it possible to civilize the Muslim?

In both Czech and French sources the theme of the relationship of Muslims to civilization appears consistently and in various contexts, with civilization generally understood by writers to mean technical modernization and the European lifestyle of the 19th century. Generally the authors concur in the view that the obstacle to modernization and progress among Muslims is the conservatism and fatalism inherent in their religion, which prevented them from progressing. This stereotypical view appears very frequently and was applied to Muslims in general, with more than one author concluding that Islam was incompatible with modernization. Nonetheless, in individual cases we find a range of opinions and ideas that were not so categorically negative and conceded the possibility that progress might be consistent with Islam. This kind of view appeared primarily in relation to accounts of the Turks and Bosnian Muslims. Authors saw hope for the salvation of the Turks and of their whole empire in "enlightenment, education, reforms and emancipation from the Koran". In some cases, however, we encounter the counter-argument that an educated Turk would actually lose his identity, because education and Islam were not, apparently, compatible. The Czech author Josef Wünsch claimed, for example, that as a result of modernization the Turk was ceasing to be a Turk and becoming a "Frenchman, because an educated Turk does not exist"[13]. Here the term Frenchmen should be understood in wider cultural context, as a European[14]. In Wünsch's view any Turk who continued to lead his life according to the principles of the Koran was bound for certain destruction. He could only save himself from extinction by education, but as a consequence of enlightenment he would automatically lose his Turkish identity and become a different person – a European, and so one way or

another the Turkish nation would still cease to exist. For Wünsch, then, not just the fall of the empire, but also the end of the Turkish nation was inevitable.

It is interesting that the notion that the Turks were incapable of civilisation can be found among French authors as well. Alfrède Gilléron made much the same point as Wünsch when he stated that all progress is alien to the Turks; and as soon as they leave the atmosphere of patriarchal and primitive Islamic civilisation they degenerate and succumb to moral corruption. They therefore have only two alternatives: either to become civilized, and cease to be Ottoman, or to entrench themselves in their oriental character and sink even deeper into a struggle against civilisation[15].

In the French magazine *L'Illustration*, however, an image of educated figures in Turkish political life was promoted with a series of profiles of leaders of the Ottoman Empire. In these kinds of article we can see an image of modern and progressive politicians (the Young Turks) taking shape, and being presented by journalists as a promise of the modernization and Europeanization of Ottoman society[16]. Reflections on modernization also appeared in comments on everyday life, which drew attention to the apparent Europeanization of local society, manifest, for instance, in the way people dressed. European responses to these changes in Turkish society were mixed. On one hand they were regarded as welcome signs, while there was also ridicule and criticism directed at Turks who had become Europeanized.

French authors also commented on the social hierarchy in Ottoman society. Emil Laveley, for example, made a distinction between the higher and lower ranks of society. The higher social ranks he called Ottomans, characterizing them as bureaucrats and criticising them for their luxurious life in palaces and for oppressing the population – not just Christian but also Muslim – with taxes. The lower levels of society – and the Christian population, which the author calls Turks, in his view represented the healthy core of the nation. What emerges from Laveley's account is therefore the image of the powerful Muslim official "described as a lazy Turk, jealous and sensuous, a conservative Muslim who cannot bear enlightenment, innovation and progress". By contrast he presents us with the "rural Turk", described as a good man, and the hope for a better future, even though attention is drawn to aspects of his "oriental character", and in this context particularly his "fatalism".

The debate on Turkish attributes and the prospects for modernisation and Europeanization also involved comments on the ethnogenesis of Turkish culture. The overall consensus tended to be that Turks were a non-European element and did not belong to Europe. The Frenchman Jean Erdic, however, pointed out in this context that if the ethnogenesis of the various European nations was investigated, the conclusion would be that nobody is actually at home in Europe because all the existing peoples of Europe originally arrived from outside the continent[17]. Another French writer, Léon Lamouche, went so far as to claim that that the Turks were not an entirely heterogeneous element in Europe. He pointed out that the Turks had taken over many features of Byzantine culture and so were, in their way, the heirs of Byzantine culture[18]. Lamouche be-

lieved that a Byzantine influence could be observed particularly in court ceremonial at the sultan's court, in the system of government, and also in architecture and aspects of material culture[19]. In Lamouche we find an attempt to see Muslims, specifically Turks, as an integral part of the mosaic of European history.

In a similar way the Czech author Josef Bidlo, in an article on the decline of Turkish power, argued that the Turks had been civilized by contact with the Greeks and that this cultural influence was apparent, for example, in the way the peninsula had been conquered not just by brute force, but through the use of considerable intelligence and diplomacy[20]. Bidlo propounded the notion that in their way Turks were the allies of the Greeks. He claimed that because the Greeks had failed to control the Balkan Slavs by themselves they had found allies in the Turks, who had then won a certain share in power in the framework of Byzantine government. Thus he alleged that the Ottoman Empire was a continuation of Byzantium – a new Roman Empire of the Turkish nation[21].

In Czech articles we may encounter opinions on the possibility of modernizing and civilizing Muslims primarily in the context of the efforts of the Austrian government to improve Bosnia and Herzegovina. Josef Holeček expressed the view that the Bosnian Muslims were the most educated stratum of the population in Bosnia. Indeed, it is in Holeček's writings that we can see for the first time the emergence of the image of the "nationally conscious, educated Muslim" in contrast to the images of the "fanatical warrior" or "dull, ignorant layabout" that prevailed up to this time. Another Czech author, Josef Daneš, however, called the Bosnian Muslims "an obstacle to the progress of the country"[22].

The Muslim woman – The gender aspect of the problem

At the end of the 19th century the view of the oriental woman was not monolithic in European culture, but the idea of the 'unfree woman' imprisoned in the harem and forced to cover her face in public was prevalent. More broadly, the persistent image was of the Muslim woman as passionate, sometimes sinful, oppressed but also mysterious and exotic[23].

The subordination of women in Islam, allegedly based on the principles of the Koran, was one of the traditional stereotypes to be found in European culture of the 19th century. Yet, as specialists on Islam and its culture have demonstrated, the position of women was not based only on the Koran, and was modified by different traditional structures and social environments. These specialists have drawn attention to the fact that nowhere in the Koran are there direct prohibitions and commands relating to the role and position of women, but only exhortations on what women should or should not do. The practise has therefore always depended on the interpretation of individual citations from the Koran in a particular society. The prohibition on women leaving the house was derived for example from the interpretation of the following verses: "Oh ye wives of the Prophet! Ye are not like any other women [...] And stay in your houses. Bedizen not yourselves with the bedizenment of the Time of Ignorance [...]" (*Koran* 33: 23-33). The command to veil the face was an interpretation of the verses: "O Proph-

et! Tell thy wives and thy daughters and the women of the believers to draw their cloaks close round them. That will be better, that so they may be recognised and not annoyed [...]." (*Koran* 33:59). Women were deliberately disadvantaged by interpretations of the Koran that legitimised the rule of men over women[24].

However, the powers of women also depended on their social and regional origins. For example women from the highest strata of Ottoman society were in charge of the running of the harem and household[25]. In this sense they were the heads of families, to whom the whole household – sons, daughters, daughters-in-law and servants – were subordinate. A woman's status increased if she gave birth to a male child. The woman also had full responsibility for the upbringing of children. In the sources studied we find comments on or accounts of women in Muslim society in Bulgaria, Bosnia, Macedonia, Albania and European Turkey. Generally the authors had either travelled in areas inhabited by the poorer strata of the population or stayed in Istanbul, which naturally had a very specific character as the political and cultural centre. In their articles we therefore find reactions to two opposite poles in society: the poor village population in Bosnia or Albania or, by contrast, the women of the urban society of rich and busy Istanbul. Among French authors it was the theme of Muslim women from the capital that predominated, while Czechs tended to write about the position of women in the Muslim societies of the Balkan provinces.

In the texts analysed most of the comments on the position of women in society are critical. With a mixture of humour, bitterness, anger and regret, the authors describe women as helpless creatures imprisoned in harems and dependent on their men. It is nonetheless evident that authors also noticed differences between the regional Muslim communities. For example, both Czech and French authors drew attention to the fact that Bosnian Muslim men did not practise polygamy. We can find remarks of this kind in articles by Josef Holeček, Konstantin Jireček and Emil Lavaley.

At the beginning of the 20th century comments appear that reflect wider debate on the theme of the position of women in society and the importance of women in the process of modernization. Some authors saw the inferior status of women in Muslim society as a hindrance to progress, and argued that unless the position of women and their level of education were improved, Islamic society would never advance to modernity. When describing relationships in Bosnia, Lavaley, for example claimed that:

> [...] even if a Muslim has only one wife, she is a subject being, a personal slave isolated from all culture. And because the task of woman is to bring up children, in this respect I see only miserable consequences...[It is] in the situation of women that we can identify the main obstacle to the modernisation of this territory...we are talking of very primitive human creatures who know absolutely nothing. In this context do we not reflect on the kind of position women have in Christian families? On the important role that women play here? We may ask ourselves if this is precisely not the reason why Muslims cannot assimilate to western culture [...][26].

We find the same kinds of ideas expressed by another French author, Yves Reynaud, in his article *La femme dans l' Islam* of 1911. He criticised Muslim society as a whole and argued that the betterment of the position of women was the precondition for any social progress[27].

On the other hand, the sources also contain comments to the effect that life in the harem was relatively comfortable for women, who had complete material security and did not need to work. Some authors went so far as to ask whether women were not actually content in these conditions. They described the position of female Muslims in positive terms, describing how songs, laughter and music came from the harem, how Muslim women led carefree lives while the men had to take care of all the practicalities[28]. Even Reynaud wrote that "some Oriental women have adapted ... many of them are satisfied and would not exchange their life for that of European women, who have numerous duties and responsibilities"[29]. This is a point of view developed in relation to the lives of Christian women by an anonymous Czech author, who in 1907 compared their existence with that of Muslim women. He suggested that the position of "civilised women" was actually worse than the position of Muslim women, as Muslim women were "materially fully taken care of", a state he viewed as more advantageous than the lot of their "civilized" sisters in Europe. He asked "How many civilized women, whose life passes in the shadow of modern laws in hunger and cold, would not happily exchange their work at the sewing machine or in a school for residence in a harem?"[30]. Here we have an interesting elaboration of the theme of the negative impact of civilization, modernization and female emancipation. In general, however, we can say that the Christian woman appears as mirror opposite to the Muslim woman – as hardworking and unveiled. The author himself ultimately presents a positive image of the Christian woman, considering her to be superior in morals and character to the Muslim woman[31].

Conclusion

Although we have looked at only three types of image that can be analysed in these periodicals, it is clear that the image of Muslims was very colourful, and we can in fact go further and state that when comparing images from sources of a different provenance we find a shared single image of Muslims in some cases, but elsewhere divergent or qualified and localized images of Muslims. A clearly negative image of Muslims emerges from the Czech sources in the period of armed conflicts in the Balkans, and is mirrored by the correspondingly positive image of Balkan Slav-Christians. The issue here is one of confrontation between Muslims – represented by Turks and Albanians – and Balkan Christians on the other. In the French sources, however, we do not find such a sharp polarization of the image of Muslims and Christians in this context.

Yet another image of Muslims appeared in remarks surrounding the question of modernisation. Here the situation was essentially one of contrast and confrontation between Islamic culture and the 'modern European civilization' from which the writers themselves came. Two images of Muslims took shape in this context – on the one hand

a negative stereotype, and, on the other, a new, unconventional and often positive image that deviated from the stereotype. Both these images were common to both the groups of writers, Czech and French. The stereotypical image presented the Muslim as uneducated and uneducable, and badly behaved towards women. In the framework of this negative image the Muslim woman was perceived as a helpless subject of male tyranny, and Muslim society was the precise opposite of the 'European' society from which the writers came, and into which they refused to admit Muslims, specifically Turks. The positive image of Muslims deviated entirely from the stereotypical view. Turks were in this perspective considered a part of European history; the existence of an educated social elite (among Turks, the Bosnian Muslims) was accepted; and Muslim women were considered happily liberated from the need to work, unlike European women.

My research indicates that a comparison of the Czech (Central European and Slav) view with the image created in the French (West European) environment shows many similarities of perspective: they were both part of a broadly conceived 'Occidental' discourse about Balkans. This research also suggests that there is no one common Occidental approach and that there are interesting themes for further research. As might be expected, agreement between French and Czech writers exists particularly in relation to the "established negative stereotypes" concerning the perception of Islam and Muslims that form the dominant part of the image. What is particularly fruitful about the study, however, is the discovery that authors also showed an interest in exploring issues of the relationship between modernization, civilization and religion. In this context the stress that some authors, like Reynaud and Laveley, placed on the role of women in the process of the modernization of society and the need to improve their position is surprising. Another important aspect revealed by this research has been the perception of social differentiation within Muslim society. There remains a great deal of room for further scholarship in questions surrounding the relationship of religion to modernization, social structures and gender roles.

Notes

[1] See the author's *Obraz balkánské ženy v české publicistice*, in J. Polišenský (ed.), *Češi a svět. Sborník k pětasedmdesátinám Prof. Dr. Ivana Pfaffa*, Praha 2000; *The Bulgarian Intelligentsia and "inteligencija" (a contribution to the history of the study of the Bulgarian intelligentsia in the 19th century and the testimony of Konstantin Jireček)*, in L. Klusáková (ed.), *"We" and "the Others": European societies in search of identity. Studies in comparative history*, Studia historica LIII, AUC Philosophica et Historica 1/2000, Prague 2004, pp. 153-165; and also *Raum und Zivilisation. Zur Stellung des Balkan im kulturellen Horizont der tschechischen Gesellschaft des 19. Jahrhunderts*, in A. Bauerkämper, H.E. Bödeker, *Die Welt erfahren. Reisen als kulturelle Begegnung von 1780 bis heute*, Frankfurt - New York 2004, pp. 95-114.

[2] See for example, B. Jelavich**,** *History of the Balkans, I, 18th and 19th Century*, Cambridge 1985, and Id., *History of the Balkans, II, Twentieth Century*, Cambridge 1993.

[3] Ch. Peltre, *Orientalisme*, Paris 2005; E. Said*, L'orientalisme: L'Orient crée par l'Occident*, Paris 2005.

[4] *Ottův slovník naučný: ilustrovaná encyklopedie obecných znalostí* [Otto's Educational Dictionary: An illustrated encyclopaedia of General Knowledge]. Prague 1888-1909, 28 vols. Also accessible at http://coto.je; *Larousse du XIXème siècle*, VIII, p. 326.

[5] Peltre, *Orientalisme* cit., Said, *L' orientalisme* cit.

[6] On the image of the Balkans in European culture of the 19th and early 20th century see M. Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans,* Oxford 1997.

[7] In the period studied there were a number of geopolitical changes that substantially changed the borders in the Balkans and also had an impact on the socio-economic conditions of Balkan societies. Milestones included the year 1875, which saw the outbreak of a rebellion, the Russo-Turkish War in 1877-78, the annexation of Bosnia by Austria-Hungary and Young Turk Revolution in 1908, and the Balkan Wars of 1912-13. For a detailed account see B. Jelavich, Ch. Jelavich, *The Balkans in Transition,* Berkeley - Los Angeles 1963, and Jelavich, *History of the Balkans, II,* cit.

[8] These expressions appeared frequently in *Národní Listy* [Czech daily news], especially during the Balkan Wars 1912-13.

[9] For more on the image of Turks in Czech culture in the early modern period see T. Rataj, *České země ve stínu půlměsíce: Obraz Turka v raně novověké literatuře z českých zemí* [The Bohemian Lands in the Shadow of the Crescent: The image of Turks in Early Modern literature in the Bohemian Lands], Prague 2002.

[10] Josef Holeček, *Černohorci ve zbrani* [Montenegrians in Arms], in "Osvěta", 1880, pp. 278 ff.

[11] On Czech Pan-Slavism see V. Šťastný, *Slovanství v národním životě Čechů a Slováků [Slavdom in the National Life of Czechs and Slovaks]*, Prague 1968.

[12] Holeček, *Černohorci* cit, pp. 278 ff.

[13] "[...] already some Turks – but so far they are only rare exceptions - are learning modern sciences, educating themselves and ceasing to be Turks, becoming French in speech and manners. An educated Turk is an impossibility. Here there is just the cruel choice: to be an educated man or a Turk [...]". J. Wünsch, *Cařihrad*, in "Osvěta", 1876, p. 515.

[14] The fashion and customs coming from Western Europe were called *alafranga*.

[15] A. Gilléron, *Gréce et Turquie. Notes de voyages*, in "Revue des Deux Mondes", 1877, p. 283.

[16] For more on the history of the Young Turk movement see F. Ahmad, *The Young Turks*, *The Commitée for Union and Progress 1908-1914*, Oxford 1969.

[17] J. Erdic, *Autour de la Bulgarie*, Paris 1884, pp. 5, 40-41, 132.

[18] L. Lamouche, *La péninsule balkanique*, Paris 1899, pp. 118-120.

[19] *Ibid*., p. 118.

[20] J. Bidlo, *Úpadek moci turecké a osvobození balkánských Slovanů* [The Fall of Turkish Power and the Liberation of the Balkan Slavs], in "Slovanský Přehled", 1912, pp. 149-151.

[21] *Ibid*., p. 150.

[22] J. V. Daneš, *Před jubileem okupace*, Prague 1908, p. 11.

[23] A. Grosrichard, *La structure du sérail: La fiction du despotisme asiatique dans l' Occident classique*, Paris 1999.

[24] I. Kouřilová, *Žena a sexualita – fatální téma islámu* [Woman and Sexuality – the Fatal Theme of Islam], in *Cesta k prameni*, Prague 2003, pp. 35-44, p. 58

[25] F. Hitzel, *L' Empire Ottoman*, Paris 2002, pp. 235-236.

[26] E. de Laveley, *La péninsule des Balkans*, 1885, vol. I, p. 235.

[27] Y. Reynaud, *La femme dans l' islame*, in "Correspondant", 10 October 1911, p. 59.

[28] Holeček, *Bosna*, in "Osvěta", 1876, p. 808.

[29] Reynaud, *La femme* cit., p. 76.

[30] *Svatební obřady* [Wedding Ceremonies], in "Zlatá Praha", 1907, p. 628.

[31] *Komentář k obrazu Kratochvíle* [Commentary on Picture Entitled Leisure], in "Zlatá Praha", 1888, p. 815.

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Regional History without a Region: the Peculiar Case of Post-1945 West German Historical Research into Former German Territories in the East

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Abstract

This chapter focuses on the deep post-1945 break in German regional history devoted to the Reich's Eastern provinces and to those areas of Eastern Europe settled by ethnic Germans. Almost all institutions for regional history in that region vanished between autumn 1944 and spring 1945. The chapter reviews the attempts made to continue historical research into the lost German territories as a peculiar case of scholarship. The first organizations of *Ostforschung* [Eastern Research] were a deliberate continuation of like-minded institutions of the interwar period. From the late 1940s they were producing publications designed to tell the young about German cultural and economic achievements in the East. The Herder Institute functioned as an umbrella institution for a body of re-founded Historical Commissions which devoted themselves to the former German Eastern territories. The *Ostforscher* were more concerned with establishing a new institutional base than with clarifying their role during the Nazi years. A critical West German literature on *Ostforschung* developed only in the late 1960s. The policy of détente of the late 1960s and 1970s posed a threat to the institutional structure of *Ostforschung.* After Germany's reunification in 1990, there was a new interest in the history of the former German East. However, the process of abandoning the traditional Germanocentric perspective was irresistible. The abolition of the century-old German-Polish juxtaposition seems to allow a historiographical perspective free from political subtexts. The research agenda in the new millennium is the history of encounters, contacts and relations between peoples and cultures in the vast areas of Eastern and East-Central Europe.

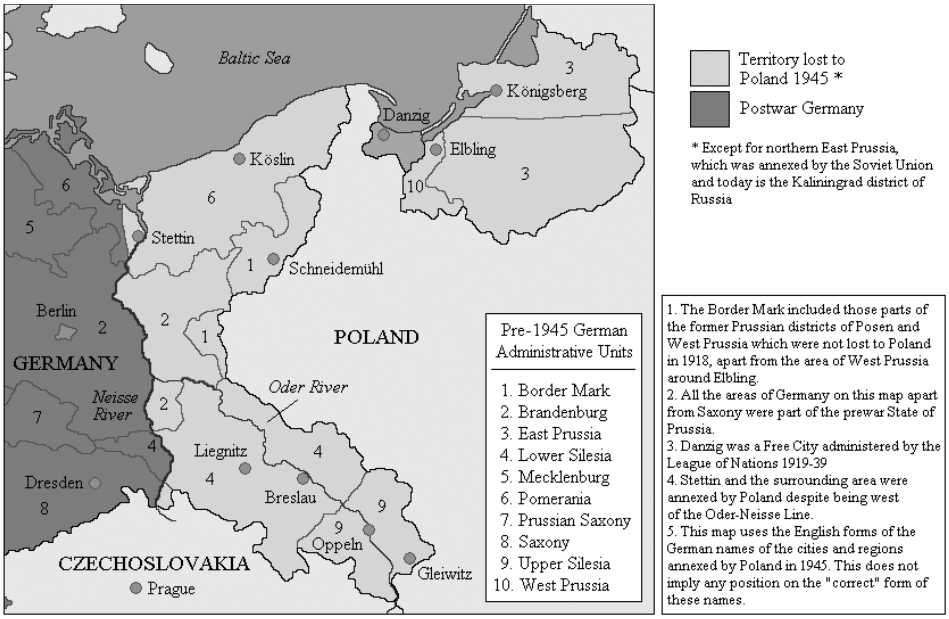
Das Jahr der endgültigen Niederlage Hitler-Deutschlands 1945 bedeutete für die deutsche Geschichte im Osten Europas einen zweifachen und deshalb umso radikaleren Bruch.

Zum einen wurden etwa 12 bis 14 Millionen Deutsche aus Osteuropa vertrieben; sie fanden nach einigen Anlaufschwierigkeiten in Westdeutschland, der DDR und in Österreich eine neue Heimat. Zum anderen bedeutete diese auf der Konferenz der alliierten Sieger in Potsdam im Sommer 1945 sanktionierte Vertreibung das definitive Aus für die reiche regionalgeschichtliche Forschung, die bis 1945 in den Ostprovinzen des Deutschen Reiches sowie in den von Deutschen besiedelten Regionen Ost- und Südosteuropas von Universitäten, Archiven und privaten Geschichtsvereinen betrieben worden war.

Diese diversifizierte Landschaft regionalgeschichtlicher Forschung für Ost- und Westpreußen, Pommern, Schlesien, das Baltikum, Böhmen und Mähren sowie Südosteuropa war im Sommer 1945 definitiv, wie es schien, untergegangen. Nur ganz wenige Quellen und Bibliotheken konnten aus jenen nun sowjetisch beherrschten Regionen nach Westen transferiert waren, so dass ein Wiederaufleben der Ostforschung auf beträchtliche, bis heute virulente Schwierigkeiten stieß. Dennoch gelang es der Ostforschung, sich binnen weniger Jahre in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland institutionell und personell neu zu konstituieren und für heutige Begriffe gewaltige Förderungssummen aus dem westdeutschen Steuertopf zu erhalten. Nur ganz wenige bis 1945 mit dem Thema Ostforschung befasste Wissenschaftler fielen wegen ihrer zu offenkundigen Affinität zum NS-Regime und dessen mörderischer Ostpolitik durch den Rost, den meisten schadete ihre Beitragstäterschaft kaum. Um 1950 war wiederum ein rudimentäres Netz der Ostforschung in der BRD etabliert; personell und thematisch-methodisch knüpfte es an die stark von der Volksgeschichte beeinflussten Konzepte der Zwischenkriegszeit an. Nach wie vor stand der deutsche kulturbringende Einfluss auf Osteuropa im Vordergrund. Diese Argumentation sollte unter den veränderten Rahmenbedingungen dazu dienen, mit historischen Argumenten den (west-)deutschen Anspruch auf die de jure noch nicht endgültig verlorenen Ostgebiete zu untermauern. Einen ganz ähnlichen Anspruch verfolgten die Landsmannschaften der Heimatvertriebenen, die mit den einschlägigen Forschungseinrichtungen eng kooperierten, wie überhaupt die erste Generation der Ostforscher nach 1945 selbst aus dem ehemals deutschen Osten stammte.

War so die teils nostalgischen Zielen dienende Revitalisierung der Ostforschung in den 1950er Jahren in der BRD weitgehend gelungen, so geriet diese Forschungsrichtung in den 1960er und noch mehr in den 70er Jahren im Zuge der sozialliberalen ‚Neuen Ostpolitik' in eine tiefe Krise. Revisionspolitische Argumente zur Untermauerung der deutschen Ansprüche auf die verlorenen, nun de facto abgeschriebenen Ostgebiete waren nicht länger gefragt. Hoch im Kurs standen vielmehr politik- und sozialwissenschaftliche, politisch unmittelbar verwertbare Analysen des sowjetischen Machtbereichs, welche die traditionelle Ostforschung kaum zu liefern vermochte.

In den 1970er Jahren brach sich zudem eine kritische Sicht auf die braunen Traditionen der Ostforschung Bahn, welche das Fach zeitweilig insgesamt in Zweifel zog. Die der Neuen Ostpolitik verpflichteten Bundesregierungen ließen das Fach evaluieren und damit zur Disposition stellen, es kam jedoch zu keinen Institutsschließungen. Erst in den 1990er



Map 10
The Oder-Neisse Line and Germany's postwar territorial losses.

Jahren machte sich eine von den Landsmannschaften unabhängige Disziplin bemerkbar, die Osteuropa nicht länger als einstige Projektionsfläche deutschen Einflusses, sondern als eigenständigen Forschungsgegenstand wahrnahm und die Rolle der slawischen Bevölkerung angemessen würdigte. Zugleich kam es zu einem teils touristisch, teils nostalgisch inspirierten Wiederaufleben der Suche nach den verbliebenen deutschen Spuren im Osten des Kontinents, die gegenwärtig freilich im Sinne eines gesamteuropäischen Erbes und als (konfliktreiche) Beziehungsgeschichte verstanden werden.

Introduction

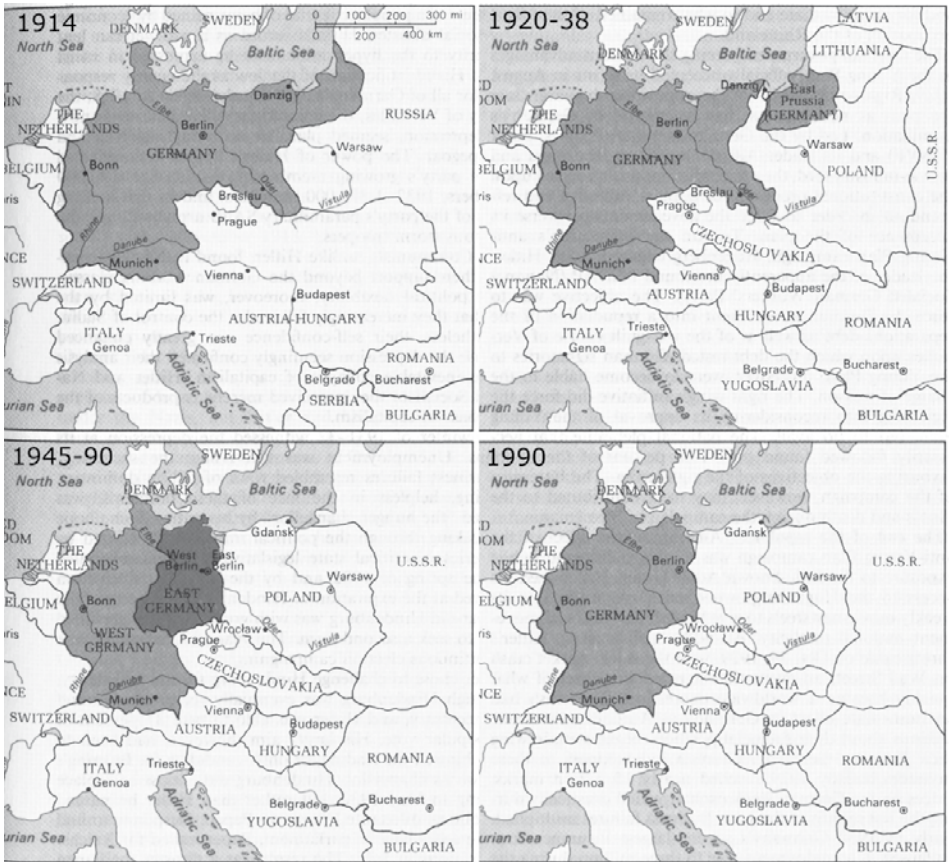
In 2008 a commercial (not a scientific!) publishing house located in the Polish capital of Warsaw published an updated street map of Poland together with an amazing appendix. The addition, printed in German, displays, in a literal translation, the 'historical borders of the Greater German Empire [sic!] and of the Free City of Danzig' as they existed in 1939; a further addition is an index of German and Polish topographic names in Poland. Apparently the map's aim is to facilitate the trip planning of German tourists making their way into Poland. Some 60 years ago, ethnic Germans who at that time lived in what is today Poland moved in the opposite direction, desperately fleeing westward from their home towns[1].

1945, the year of Germany's final defeat in World War II, marked a deep break in German regional history devoted to the Reich's Eastern provinces (mainly East and West Prussia, Pomerania and Silesia) and to those areas of Eastern and East-Central Europe like Bohemia, Moravia and the Baltic states settled (partly or exclusively) by ethnic Germans. Prior to 1945, this part of Europe had enjoyed a rich and diversified landscape of historical research conducted by German academic historians as well as by non-academic amateurs. Many of the institutions promoting this research – often private associations – looked back to their own history of 100 or more years.

Since 1945, specific ethnic German communities attached to certain regions of Eastern Europe have ceased to exist. These populations have now found themselves scattered over the whole of Germany, both over West Germany and East Germany (and partly also over Austria), and have there been integrated into local society. Recent accounts reckon that 12 to 14 million people, were expelled: 1,5 to 2 million of them died during their flight. In this arduous and painful process they felt doubly afflicted: by total defeat as did all Germans at that time and, in addition, by the loss of their homes. The contribution of these expellees to the reconstruction of Germany counts, undoubtedly, among their greatest achievements and is, consequently, highly appreciated. However, many had understandable difficulties in accepting their fate. This makes it all the more necessary, therefore, to recognize that in the long run they did not become an institutionalized source of instability and thirst for revenge in – for example – a Palestinian manner. The majority of the expellees sooner or later came to accept their new homes, familiarized themselves with their new environment and settled down[2].

Remembrance of their common past in the East was vivid for decades. Attempts made by the expellees to perpetuate memories of their lost home met with tremendous difficulties. National affirmation of the victorious nations included not only the physical removal of the Germans and their artefacts but also the removal of their historical presence through the establishment of a new – non-German – collective memory. As Czechs, Poles, Hungarians, Yugoslavs and others struggled to create a new national present and future for their countries, they also sought to rewrite the past they had shared with the Germans of their respective areas. These accompanied the appropriation of shared and sometimes wholly German public cultural and historical spaces as well as a reinterpretation of the German role in the history of those regions. In the end, perhaps fittingly, physical evidence of a shared past could be found primarily in the language of headstone inscriptions and monuments which fell increasingly into disrepair[3].

It is the aim of this chapter to review attempts made after 1945 to continue historical research into the lost German regions – a peculiar case of scholarship which deserves attention. The chapter will focus on Eastern Europe proper, i.e. Poland and the western parts of the USSR, mainly the Baltic area. Although regional history dealing with the Sudetenland and South-Eastern Europe followed a parallel path, these regions which had been a part of the Habsburg, not the German, Empire prior to 1918 are not dealt with here[4].



Map 11
Germany's territorial changes from 1914 to 1990.

Initially, the victorious Allies had in 1946 prohibited any attempts by the expellees to organize themselves, but this ban was lifted in 1948 in the Western zones of occupation. The years 1947-49 are filled in Western Germany with the founding of *Landsmannschaften* [territorial associations] and other organisations associating German refugees and expellees[5]. Around 1950, the various local branches of the East Germans in the new Federal Republic of Germany fused into the *Bund der Heimatvertriebenen und Entrechteten* [Association of the Expellees and Disenfranchised]. In the same year they published a Charter which – surprisingly – claimed to be against revenge and retribution for what they had experienced by way of unjust treatment. Although, initially, there was a broad consensus in Western Germany that the forceful expulsion of Eastern Germans from their home provinces had been unjust and that, sooner or later, Germany should be restored to its 1937 borders, the Bonn government of Konrad Adenauer

(chancellor 1949-1963) pursued two somewhat contradictory targets concurrently: to integrate the refugees and also to support their political/revisionist claims. For this latter goal, history seemed of the utmost importance.

Surprisingly, unlike the heated debates of the interwar years, interactions after 1945 with Polish historiography had little importance for West German historians. Thus, the gap between the expanding Polish regional historiography and its West German counterpart widened as historians in the Federal Republic still held fast to the analysis of Eastern history exclusively as a part of a wider German history. By proceeding in that manner, they deliberately ignored or at least downplayed the fact that, while German settlement in that area dated from the Middle Ages, German state rule there was a more recent phenomenon. Prussia, the core of the German Empire founded in 1871, had for centuries been a tiny and weak duchy, more or less under the tutelage of the much more powerful Polish-Lithuanian state. It was not until the partitions of Poland between 1772 and 1795 that Prussia, alongside Austria and Russia, gained control of large territories in East Central Europe.

No significant contribution came from historians of the other German state, the German Democratic Republic (GDR): they could not deny that East Prussia, not to speak of Pomerania which was after 1945 divided between Poland and the GDR, had been German before the War and part of a wider German state. Any mention of this fact, even within a strictly scientific frame, would have posed an obvious threat to socialist solidarity with Poland and the USSR, and this precluded GDR historians from exploring this interpretation. They simply – with very few exceptions – did not choose to research issues connected to the former German provinces in the East. A large number of German expellees also settled in the GDR but for evident political reasons they were not allowed to form any associations similar to their West German counterparts. For the GDR, at least as far as its official position was concerned, the new border with Poland, the Oder-Neiße line, was a just 'border of peace'[6].

A few sentences must suffice to outline the position of the third German-speaking state, Austria. This country, incorporated into the Third Reich in March 1938, hosted a large number of refugees after 1945, mainly from the Sudetenland and South-east Europe. Primarily concerned with presenting itself as Hitler's 'first victim' and with ending the Allied occupation (which happened only in 1955), Austria's government and public had little reason to tackle the issue of expellees. The question of whether the Sudetenland should join the Austrian Republic had been intensively discussed – and settled once and for all – after World War I. A renewed dispute over this delicate matter was, in the Austrian view, the more undesirable as it seemed likely to compromise the country's official position, which was to maintain the pre-war borders. Defending the southern frontier against Yugoslavian demands for a border revision, Vienna could not spark off or even participate in a general questioning of the 1919 territorial settlement. For these reasons, the climate for organizing associations of the expelled was much less favourable

in Austria than it was in West Germany. In the latter, there was no Soviet occupation force, as was there in Austria. As to the historians, Austrian scholars had traditionally done research on the history of the Habsburg Empire. For them, the German Reich's lost provinces were no matter of concern nor interest; this was and still is a region totally alien to them. However, one concession was made to the powerful West German neighbour: until the late 1970s, as this author remembers from his own experience as a pupil, official maps used in Austrian public schools displayed Germany's 1937 borders and described the Eastern part of the former Reich as being temporarily "under Polish administration".

The view from Poland

Statements made even during World War II leave no doubt that in the framework of Polish historical thinking it was of the utmost importance to find historical justifications for Poland's new Western border. As soon as the Red Army had advanced into what were then still the Third Reich's Eastern provinces, Polish historical institutions were founded or their interwar predecessors were revived. At the end of 1944, for example, the *Instytut Zachodni* [Western Institute] was established at Poznań/Posen. It was given the task of coordinating all research dealing with Poland's new territories and was thereby expected to smooth their political integration into the Polish state[7]. Within a surprisingly short period, the Institute started to publish a series of books entitled "The Provinces of Old Poland" emphasizing the alleged Polish traditions of the newly-acquired regions. As far as former East and West Prussia are concerned, this overall endeavour was supported by the University of Toruń/Thorn, founded in January 1946. As is obvious, at this early date after the war Polish historiography – now focusing on what had hitherto been Germany's East – possessed a much broader institutional basis than its German counterpart. No wonder that a meeting under the programmatic title "First All-Polish Assembly of Historians of Pomerania and Prussia" took place as early as February 1947[8]. Surprisingly, the old German names for the regions concerned were still officially used. At that time, Polish historiography had not yet been streamlined according to Marxist doctrines. In asserting the Polish character of the new provinces, ideology was of little, if any, significance.

From the middle of the 1950s onward, however, the *Instytut Zachodni*, apart from continuing research into Poland's Western parts, focused on both German states, primarily targeting what Polish historians perceived as revisionist tendencies in the Federal Republic[9]. Political motives also played a role in the establishment in 1953 of the so-called "Working Department for the History of Pomerania" as a branch of the Polish Academy of Science: it was located in Poznań/Posen. From the 1950s these institutes also had to fulfil the task of fostering some idea of the history and culture of the new provinces among those Poles who had been resettled in those areas from former Eastern Poland, now part of the Soviet Union[10].

Taking into account these political circumstances, it is no wonder that a more nuanced debate about issues of regional history failed to develop in Poland prior to the 1960s. Institutes of regional history were enlarged or new ones were founded, as was the case with the specific institutes in Toruń/Thorn and Olsztyn/Allenstein[11]. As a rule, they all published scientific journals devoted to the regional history of the former German territories. From 1972 onwards, they also engaged in a surprisingly liberal dialogue with West German historians, the basis of which was a bilateral commission for the revision of school history books[12].

A NEW START FOR *OSTFORSCHUNG*?

With millions of ethnic German refugees and expellees from Eastern Europe looking for a new home mainly in the Federal Republic of Germany (and, to a lesser extent, in Austria), their integration into these states was of the utmost importance. Apart from practical tasks like finding housing and jobs for the migrants, there was some awareness of the need to preserve their cultural heritage which now, as it seemed, had lost its geographical basis. On the one hand, such measures of preservation aimed at allowing the expelled to maintain their specific 'tribal' identities as Eastern Prussians, Silesians, Pomeranians and so on so as to smooth their integration into their new home countries. In that respect there existed a powerful coalition comprising the expellees' associations, the *Bund der Heimatvertriebenen und Entrechteten*, and the Federal Ministry for the Expelled for which the displaced Eastern Germans provided a disproportionate number of high-ranking officials. Representing millions of voters, the expelled had a strong say in formulating West Germany's cultural policy.

On the other hand, a strong scientific desire to rescue as much as possible from a quickly shrinking cultural heritage can be observed. This led, for example, to the creation of a specific sub-discipline within *Volkskunde* [ethnology], which found clear expression in the title of its journal (launched in 1955), "Jahrbuch für Volkskunde der Heimatvertriebenen" [Yearbook for Ethnology of the Expelled]. In 1949, the re-founded West German umbrella association for *Volkskunde* stressed the need to conduct intensive research on the issue of the expelled as quickly as possible and in 1951 established a *Zentralstelle* [central agency] for the Ethnology of the Expelled. Its main task was to advise on the collection of all kinds of material as well as spiritual heritage of the Eastern Germans: artefacts, literature, dialects, folk music, clothing and so on[13].

Between 1944 and 1949, however, almost no historical publications of German historians dealing with the former German East can be traced. It was not until 1949 that the book *Ostwärts der Oder-Neiße-Linie* [Eastwards of the Oder-Neiße line], edited by Peter-Heinz Seraphim, Reinhart Maurach and Gerhart Wittram, appeared[14]. Even more important was the well-known fact that all institutions for regional history in that region, based mainly on universities, archives and historical associations, had perished between autumn 1944 and spring 1945. In many cases, the historical sources and specialist

libraries were lost, too, as they could not be evacuated to the West. This break was only a small and, as it seems, less significant part of a much broader process, i.e. the flight and the expulsion of Eastern Germans to the West. Even less well-known is the fact that the lacuna in the German-dominated regional history of some areas of Eastern Europe had commenced earlier, namely following the ominous Hitler-Stalin Pact of August 1939, according to which ethnic Germans from the USSR and from those territories now within the Soviet sphere of influence were swiftly resettled to the Reich proper or to German-occupied parts of the now-defeated Poland. As far as the Baltic states (annexed by the USSR in spring 1940) were concerned, this resettlement of Germans, as it was euphemistically called, spelled the end of the *Herder-Institut* in Riga and the *Institut für Heimatforschung* [Institute for research into local history] at Tartu/Dorpat in Estonia, to name but a few. It further resulted in the loss or the dissolution of large libraries (like those in Riga, Tartu and Tallinn/Reval) and archival repositories[15].

It took some time until the gap could, at least partly, be filled again. At the end of 1949, the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Osteuropakunde* [German Society for East European Scholarship] was re-founded and commenced publishing the journal "Osteuropa" in 1951[16]. The Historical Commission for East and West Prussian Regional Research (originally founded in 1923) resumed its activities in 1950, without being able to regain its former importance[17]. In 1951 it was followed by the Historical Commission for Silesia (founded in 1921) and the *Osteuropa-Institut* at the Free University of (West-)Berlin. The latter published the annual publication "Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte" [Research on East European History] from 1954. The Munich-based *Osteuropa-Institut*, the successor to a similar institution in the Silesian capital of Breslau, came into existence in 1952; its yearbook was the "Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas (Neue Folge)" [Yearbooks for the History of Eastern Europe (New Series)], started in the same year. In 1956, the Historical Association for the Ermland (a part of East Prussia) was also re-founded and started to publish its traditional journal anew.

Professional historians, however, often chose another path for themselves. Among the historians of the erstwhile East Prussian Albertus-University of Königsberg – a city renamed Kaliningrad and since 1945 part of the USSR – only Erich Maschke continued to write about East and West Prussian history. He did so, of course, from his new residence in West Germany. Almost all of his former colleagues, however, selected new topics for their continuing careers in the Federal Republic of Germany (and, seldom, in the GDR). It was mainly the archivists who guaranteed continuity, supported by those few academics who prior to 1945 had been closely connected with the regional archives of Königsberg and Danzig/Gdansk (e.g. Erich Keyser and Walther Hubatsch)[18].

1945, it should be clear, was therefore a break, but not a total one. As time passed, serious attempts were made to revive what had been *Ostforschung* [Eastern Research] before the end of the war[19]. The first significant step towards reorganizing *Ostforschung* was the 1946 foundation of the *Göttinger Arbeitskreis* [Göttingen Work Group], ini-

tially headed by Joachim Freiherr von Braun. The original *Arbeitskreis* comprised a group of historians, geographers and anthropologists including Max Hildebert Boehm, Gunther Ipsen, Walther Hubatsch, Werner Markert, Theodor Oberländer and Theodor Schieder who had fled from the University of Königsberg[20]. As the rescued Königsberg city archive was later transferred to Göttingen, prevailed comparatively favourable conditions for re-establishing the Königsberg-style *Ostforschung*[21]. Since 1951, the *Arbeitskreis* was partially identical with the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Osteuropaforschung* [Study Group for East European Research], with Markert as its leading figure. When in 1953 Markert became a full professor at Tübingen University, the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft* moved with him. Loosely attached to Tübingen University, its funding came from the Federal Ministry of the Interior starting at 120,000 DM annually[22].

By publishing popular as well as scientific accounts of Germany's lost provinces and by stressing revisionist aims, the *Arbeitskreis* was a deliberate continuation of like-minded institutions of the interwar period. It is not by chance that the establishment of the *Arbeitskreis* was prompted by the need to produce an expert report, entitled "The Significance and Indispensability of East Prussia for Germany". Ironically, the Western Allies had asked the nascent West German authorities for such a report in order to make use of it at the Moscow conference of foreign ministers in April 1947. It must be noted that at that time neither West nor East Germany (the Western and the Soviet zones of occupation, to be more precise) had a common border with what had been East Prussia up to 1945. For the historians assembled in the *Arbeitskreis*, however, the Allied demand provided a welcome opportunity to stress Germany's judicial claims to its Eastern territories which were now under Polish and Soviet administration. No wonder that the task of justifying such claims ranked prominently among the duties of the *Arbeitskreis*[23]. In that regard, there were striking similarities to revisionist endeavours of the interwar years aimed at setting aside the 1919 Versailles Treaty[24]. The Federal Ministry for Overall German Affairs supported the *Arbeitskreis* to the princely tune of 90,000 DM per year. The Foreign Ministry at Bonn frequently commissioned and funded publications which justified Germany's claims to its lost territories. This ministerial sponsorship, however, was cautiously concealed from the public[25].

From the late 1940s the *Arbeitskreis* produced publications designed to inform the young about German cultural and economic achievements in the East, which was described as an integral part of Europe. In addition, various information sheets targeted at the Press and interested individuals in both Americas were circulated. Interest in South America was particularly strong, since a separate Buenos Aires edition of this *Pressedienst der Heimatvertriebenen* [Press Service of the Expelled] was produced for sympathisers residing in Chile and Argentina. Hans Mortensen, Theodor Oberländer and Ernst Vollert were on the steering committee.

It was from this background that a marked proliferation of research institutes surfaced in the Federal Republic from the early 1950s onwards: the Johann Gottfried Herder

Institute in Marburg an der Lahn (founded 1950); the *Norddeutsche Akademie* in Lüneburg (1951); the *Osteuropa-Institut*; the *Südost-Institut* (both founded in Munich in 1952); and umbrella organisations like the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Osteuropakunde* in Stuttgart (1948); the *Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft* in Munich (1953) and the *Ostkolleg der Bundeszentrale für Heimatdienst* in Cologne (1957).

The activities of the *Ostforscher* had clearly established a new institutional base in the Federal Republic of Germany. Although the Western occupying authorities were not initially well-disposed to the activities of the work groups and even banned Götz von Selle's manuscript "Deutsches Geistesleben in Ostpreussen" [German spiritual life in East Prussia], this does not seem to have obstructed the work of this self-proclaimed community of the like-minded. There were also six chairs of East European history, two chairs in Kiel for *Ostkunde* and six specialist institutes attached to the universities of Giessen, Mainz, Münster, Munich, Tübingen and Wilhelmshaven as well as the *Osteuropa-Institut* at the Free University of Berlin (founded in 1951).

By the early 1950s the *Ostforscher* were congratulating themselves upon having survived the difficult times of the recent past. In 1953, the *Bundestag*, the West German Parliament, resolved to promote the study of East and South-east European affairs at all levels – not only history – in the West German educational system. The following year, a committee consisting of representatives from the cultural department of the Ministry of the Interior, the ministers of culture of the *Länder* and the rectors of the universities was formed to suggest ways of allocating funds[26].

The driving force behind the revival of *Ostforschung* in general and the creation of the Herder Institute and the Herder *Forschungsrat* [Research Council] in spring 1950 in particular was the historian Hermann Aubin (1885-1969)[27]. The 1948 currency reform, and the imminent creation of federal authorities, provided a window of opportunity for the institutional revival of *Ostforschung*. The structures adopted were explicitly modelled upon those of the past: conferences of interested scholars, a central institutional apparatus and a journal, the "Zeitschrift für Ostforschung" (launched in 1952). Aubin, Erich Keyser and Johannes Papritz were prominent in the *Forschungsrat* which met half-yearly to coordinate research.

The name of the institute, as compared with its nominal tasks, was striking: many of the institute's leading figures stood in sharp contrast to Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) because of the latter's Slavophil attitudes and his criticism of medieval German *Ostkolonisation*[28]. The Herder Institute functioned as an umbrella institution for a body of re-founded Historical Commissions which devoted themselves to the former German Eastern territories as well as to those ethnic Germans who had, prior to 1945, lived outside Germany's borders and were expelled from their homes in the wake of the Red Army's advance. In the middle of the 1950s, such Historical Commissions existed for Silesia, East and West Prussia, Pomerania, the Baltic region, the Sudetenland, and

others[29]. From that time on, those interested in the topic within the Federal Republic might observe that, to name just one example, annual conferences of 'Baltic Historians' were held at Göttingen! Baltic history researched in the Federal Republic remained a domain of Baltic Germans. No wonder that key books published on the issue dealt with the German minority in the Baltic region; the main reference book was a biographical encyclopaedia of Baltic Germans[30].

Communist critics

During the first decades of the postwar period, a critical perspective on the relationship between *Ostforschung* and Hitler's regime had been rather slow to develop. Following Germany's military defeat, the *Ostforscher* were more concerned with establishing a new institutional base in totally altered political circumstances than with clarifying their own role during the Nazi years. Ironically enough, when in the mid-1950s criticism did ensue, the source of this criticism enabled the *Ostforscher* to postpone self-reflection. Their critics from across the inner-German divide were, as it appeared to them, enemies of Western freedom and tools of GDR or Polish political interests. No wonder then that the substance of the criticism from the East went unanswered. True, both sides shared the view that a serious scientific dialogue with their counterparts was impossible, whether because, from the Western side, of their opponents' attachment to Marxism or because, from the other, of addiction to Nationalism or to Imperialism and Militarism[31].

From the middle of the 1950s the *Ostforscher* were refracted through two mutually antagonistic literatures. Their own was compounded of nostalgia, and old animosities refashioned for a global Cold War setting. GDR critics on the other side of the Iron Curtain sought to represent the *Ostforscher* as ideological bedfellows of a demonic succession running from Wilhelmine Imperialism, via the Nazis, to the so-called military-clerical dictators in Bonn[32]. In GDR opinion, the *Ostforscher* simply researched whatever target of Imperialism and expansion came next.

It was inevitable that the *Ostforscher* should have become the specific target of assaults from GDR scholars. Case studies of particular prominent individuals like Aubin and Theodor Oberländer accompanied attempts to discredit specific research institutes as alleged centres of subversion and espionage[33]. By studying this subject, Communist scholars and propagandists hoped to clarify what were for them the historical roots of contemporary West German *Ostpolitik* and to discover valuable analogies between past and present. Around 1960 they produced a study of institutions concerned with *Ostforschung* in the Federal Republic and posed the question as to why there was no longer a global *Westforschung* devoted to, let us say, Britain and France, or *Südforschung* covering Italy, Spain and Portugal. GDR historians noted correctly that the former pre-1945 *Westforschung* which had focused on the 'Germanic' heritage of Germany's West-

ern neighbours (Belgium, the Netherlands and France) had faded away in the foreign policy climate of the 1950s with the Federal Republic now involved in a process of full integration into the Western bloc. Unlike its Western counterpart, *Ostforschung* was still (or again) very active after 1945. The overt political objectives of GDR critics – and GDR historians made no secret of them – should not obscure the striking continuities in institutions and personnel between pre- and postwar *Ostforschung*.

The Cold War context

In 1952 Hermann Aubin and 'the band of the unbroken' issued a new journal entitled "Zeitschrift für Ostforschung"[34]. The language and images were curiously familiar, simply worked into a Cold War context. With considerable monotony, Aubin repeated the same metaphors and notions of German cultural superiority, and had the same recourse to 'blood' as a causal agent, in numerous publications on the history of Silesia, a former part of Germany which Aubin used to describe as the exit gate for the teutonic being to the East[35]. Aubin stressed the continuity of German settlement in Eastern Europe despite the Germanic migrations; the inability of the Slavs to form coherent states; the existence of a West/East cultural watershed and the historic mission of the Germans to civilise the sub-Germanic zone. He then built a bridge to the present: he urged the members of the Herder Institute to defend "what is under attack from abroad: the claim of Germandom on its Eastern territories"[36]. Having assumed the role of a Cold War warrior, Aubin sallied forth in defence of freedom.

In 1952 Aubin's colleague Keyser outlined the objectives of what he called the new German *Ostforschung*. Necessity and a sense of duty had impelled him and his like-minded colleagues to begin anew after the 1945 catastrophe. The German people were, according to Keyser, duty-bound to study some 700 years of German history in the East. The decisions made at the Allied summits of Yalta and Potsdam in 1945, Keyser argued, reflected an ignorance of German history. Narrow chauvinism was to be replaced by a sense of a European community to which the peoples of the East also belonged. This meant in practical terms that the Germans had brought Christianity, cultural improvement, political order and economic progress to the East, somehow, as he admitted, in collaboration with other nations. Keyser's timid internationalising of traditional German chauvinism barely concealed the striking legacy from the past[37]. A moderate change in terms – from Eastern Germany to East-Central Europe – meant little; Europe as a geographical and historical space was more or less explicitly confined to Germany and the peoples of the so-called 'West'[38].

A Western community of interest, juxtaposed against an undefined (but surely now Communist) East, was apparent in much of the historical work produced by the *Ostforscher* during the 1950s[39]. To anyone familiar with what the same men had written only a couple of years before, these efforts to revise the past in terms of a trans-national

community of interest are – to say the least – unconvincing. But these lines of interpretation were in full harmony with the views of the Federal authorities. The state of affairs at the time, i.e. the division of Europe and the loss of Germany's provinces in the East, according to the Federal German Minister for Overall German affairs, was not a German, not a Polish, not even a Russian, but rather a Bolshevik solution. Keyser, Aubin and the historians collaborating with them laboured to demonstrate that the historical German expansion eastwards was carried out on behalf of the nascent 'West'. All this was presented in a highly aggressive tone, which again proves that the almost hysterical reactions in the GDR and Poland to this type of statement had some basis in fact[40]. No doubt, a curious intermingling of *völkisch* historiography and an ideology of Western culture is apparent in the writings of Aubin, Keyser and others.

Research interests of the 1950s

Aubin and his like-minded colleagues relied partly upon the pre-1945 understanding of *Volksgeschichte*, a discipline that can now be described as ethnology. Research into the German or Prussian state's institutions in the East, from the time of the Teutonic Knights to modernity, also had top priority[41]. From this perspective the main topics of interest for historiography of the East automatically followed: the history of the Duchy of Prussia and the Hohenzollern administration. During the 1950s and 1960s, some new surveys of, for example, East and West Prussian history were published, accompanied by the 1955 handbook "Die Ostgebiete des Deutschen Reiches" [The Eastern Regions of the German Empire][42]. They followed old patterns of argument and more or less openly expressed revisionist claims. For decades, those publications of the early postwar period remained in wide circulation. Bruno Schumacher's "History of East and West Prussia", first published in 1937 (!), had seen no less than six, albeit revised, editions by 1987 and was reprinted for the last time in 2002[43].

Apart from those few surveys, the production of handbooks and maps stood in the foreground, e.g. the *Historisch-Geographischer Atlas* of the Prussian Lands which started to appear in 1968. There was, it is true, a long tradition of publishing valuable manuals like Eastern European maps, indexes of place names and so on which continues up to this day. Many of these endeavours were funded and supervised by the still existing *Kulturstiftung der Deutschen Vertriebenen* [Cultural Foundation of German Expellees][44].

The 1960s: A critical approach surfaces

Further examples of this type of writing would not promote a deeper understanding. Suffice to state that a critical West German literature on *Ostforschung* developed only in the late 1960s. Older criticism from Poland and the GDR, which could easily be brushed off through reference to its political purposes, was gradually accompanied by

a growing Western interest in the culpable involvement of intellectuals with the Nazi regime[45]. Younger scholars discovered that beneath the fine mask of academic respectability lay a more sophisticated collusion in Nazi atrocities. In a lesser key, the advent of détente in the late 1960s seems to have triggered an internal crisis of confidence within the discipline, as the assumptions that had guaranteed *Ostforschung* generous funding in the decade after the war were called in question.

1970 onward: Détente and 'New Eastern Policy'

In 1969 a new coalition government of Social Democrats (SPD) and Liberals (FPD) headed by Chancellor Willy Brandt (1913-1992, SPD) entered office in Bonn. Brandt's main foreign policy aim was to ease tensions with the Communist countries and to achieve a détente – however fragile – with the entire Eastern bloc in general and better relations with the GDR and Poland in particular. To reach these goals, Brandt was prepared at least indirectly to abandon Germany's claims to a future restitution of its former Eastern provinces. A quarter of a century after the end of World War II and with millions of East German refugees now fully integrated into the Federal Republic, such revisionist demands had become more and more anachronistic. Almost no-one – including those who explicitly stated the contrary – expected a restoration of Germany's 1937 borders within the foreseeable future, if ever. Furthermore, during the Cold War, Poland had come to be seen in Western eyes as another Soviet victim and as a potential ally of the West. This new perspective automatically triggered a modified view of Germany's past in the East. Within the framework of this *Neue Ostpolitik* [New Eastern Policy], the revisionist fixation on regional history written about the East was perceived as an imminent threat. In addition, the policy of détente of the late 1960s and 1970s also posed a threat to the entire institutional structure of *Ostforschung* as it had developed during the 1950s[46].

Modifications of *Ostforschung*: the years of permanent crisis

Historiographically, *Ostforschung* exhibited, somewhat reluctantly, a willingness to adapt itself to the radically altered political situation. For example, from the middle of the 1970s the Historical Commission for East and West Prussian Regional Research engaged in a dialogue with its Polish colleagues, being the first to do so among the various commissions for Eastern Historical Research in the Federal Republic[47]. This lead inevitably to what was later described as a historiographical 'Polonisation' of former Eastern German territories. Klaus Zernack stated that without doubt this history had since 1945 been transformed into a domain of Poland's historiography. He further objected that his colleagues in the Federal Republic had not even been capable of registering, not to mention studying, Polish publications on this common subject[48].

A conference held in 1974 debated the nature and future of the discipline, and the question of whether the term *Ostforschung* should be dropped in favour of *Osteuropaforschung*, Sovietology, *Osteuropakunde* or *Ostwissenschaft*[49]. Behind this rather self-conscious semantic exercise lay concern about diminishing recruitment and budgetary stagnation. The founder generation – men like Aubin, Keyser and Papritz – had by then retired. Their 45- to 60-year-old successors, who had benefited from expansion from the late 1950s, were securely in place. Those whose training, and expectations, had been formed in the years of expansion had fewer opportunities when contraction ensued. Around 1980, 20 West German universities were concerned with historical research on Eastern Europe. This discipline was the primary concern of c.100 scholars, a third of whom had received their *Habilitation* during the 1970s. Another 100 scholars were reckoned as the reservoir of the next academic generation[50]. Problems were further compounded by the fact that whereas many of the middle generation had been born outside the Federal Republic of Germany, their younger pupils had no immediate personal link with the countries and regions to be studied. It was not just a matter of what sort of torch was to be handed on but whether there would be anyone with an interest in receiving it!

The aforementioned 1974 conference also discussed the relationship between academic expertise, politics and the mass media. While scholars wished to be in close proximity to but not in the tow of politics, the politicians wanted accurate information on developments within the Communist states of Eastern Europe. That was why the subject received generous funding. Contacts between researchers and the bureaucracy had been formalised when in 1953 the Bonn-based Federal Ministry of the Interior established a committee for research on Eastern Europe consisting eventually of the heads of the eleven major research institutes, and representatives from the Ministries of the Interior, Foreign, and Inner-German Relations. In 1974 an Inter-Ministerial Study Group for *Osteuropaforschung*, with a permanent secretariat, was formed to coordinate the interests of government departments and the work of the research institutes.

As the generation directly involved in giving the subject its originally extreme Germanocentric impetus passed away, its successors had the difficult task of adapting to the new international and domestic political realities, while not jettisoning the entire legacy of the past. Personal loyalties and ties of academic patronage have not assisted the process of confronting the recent history of the discipline. Cosmetic changes – like altering the title of a journal – resolved nothing. When, from the late 1960s onward, modern approaches like 'Social History' developed in the Federal Republic, younger scholars attached to these methods focused on regions outside Germany's traditional East. Asking new questions mainly connected to the Age of Industrialisation, they gave short shrift to the predominantly agrarian regions east of the Oder-Neiße line. Tellingly, as late as 1987, a collection of essays devoted to *Landesgeschichte heute* [regional history today] did not even mention research on the lost East[51]. It was only as late as 1992 that an article by Klaus

Zernack raised as a subject for discussion the historical term 'Eastern Germany' with its different meaning before and after 1945 and the relevance of this shift for regional history[52]. Around 1990, for younger and middle-aged people in the reunited Germany the term 'Eastern Germany' meant nothing but the vanishing GDR, not Pomerania, Silesia or Prussia.

By roughly 1970, all *Länder* or provinces of West Germany had been accorded a modern synthesis of their regional histories while at the same time – and up to 1992 – not a single modern account comparable to its Western counterparts had been published for Germany's East. Continuing problems with access to the sources and the failure of agencies like the Herder Institute to compensate for the loss of pre-1945 research institutions in the East can only partly explain this stagnation. Another reason was the still prevailing political function attached to Eastern regional history. As the continued task primarily was the maintenance of recollections and memories of Germany's former role in Eastern Europe, a shift towards a somehow outdated *Heimatgeschichte* was inevitable[53].

However, from the 1990s onward change has accelerated and will probably continue to accelerate – unless the subject becomes irrelevant – as the wider scholarly landscape becomes more internationalised. Even from the 1980s, in some areas of medieval history, for example, there have been genuine attempts to treat once sensitive issues in a broad, thematic and comparative way, by teams of scholars from East and West. Some of the most interesting work on towns, nobilities, estates or colonisation is the product of international conferences, organised by the *Konstanzer Arbeitskreis* [Konstanz Work Group], while Polish, West German, and Scandinavian medievalists meet regularly in Toruń/Thorn for the comparative study of military religious orders like the Teutonic Knights.

Ostforschung since German Re-Unification in 1990

Following Germany's reunification in 1990, a new interest in the history of the German East has developed. For the first time, this revived interest has not been limited to the circles of former refugees and expellees or their *Landsmannschaften*. There was and still is a tourism focused on discovering the few remaining German traces in the East. New editions of tourist guides for those areas try to exploit this revived interest into the former German East[54]. The museums of the *Landsmannschaften* have also been enlarged as, generally speaking, there is an increased media interest into Germany's erstwhile East.

A few years prior to the fall of the Berlin Wall, the prominent social historian, Werner Conze (1910-1986), started to schedule a series of books to be published under the umbrella title 'German History in Eastern Europe'. The title indicated that this endeavour was not to be limited to those areas which up to 1945 (or 1919 respectively) had formed a part of the Reich. On the contrary, the role of Germans in entire East and South-east of Europe was to be treated. The first volume to be published was that of Hartmut Boockmann (born 1934), "East and West Prussia", the first synthesis of this

region since Bruno Schumacher's book from the 1950s[55]. Following the guidelines for the entire series, Boockmann wrote on German history in these regions, not a history of the regions proper. No wonder that his book concluded with the year 1945 as the author perceived the end of World War II to be the end of East and West Prussia. From 1945 onward, according to Boockmann, the history of Eastern Germany is the concern of those who now live to the west of the Oder-Neiße line and their successors.

Later parts of this series comprising ten huge and richly illustrated volumes more or less followed Boockmann's path[56]. None of them openly supported revisionist claims. On the other hand, it can hardly be ignored that the overall purpose of Conze's idea was to preserve a collective memory of the German character of the lost territories. In that respect, the *Ostdeutsche Landsmannschaften*, which still harboured political resentment against a more scientific outlook on regional history as connected to their former home countries and resisted this ongoing process, could at least partly be satisfied[57].

Whatever the level of resistance, the process of abandoning the old Germano-centric perspective is irresistible. This is also mirrored in a quite new "Handbook of the History of East and West Prussia", edited during the 1990s by the Historical Commission for East and West Prussian Regional Research[58]. Unlike the initial planning which was undertaken by the Commission, the project has prompted a modest cooperation between German and Polish historians. The ongoing abolition of the former German-Polish juxtaposition seems to allow a historiographical perspective more or less free from political implications[59].

Collectively, these developments reflect an increased specialisation within the various disciplines and regions hitherto subsumed under the term *Ostforschung*. Although there are still those who continue to plough the old Germano-centric furrow, this group now represents one school among many. Since the intellectually interesting developments occur elsewhere, stagnation ensues. Towards the end of the 1990s, one prominent scholar announced the end of *Ostforschung* as it had existed since roughly 1950 in its highly politicised fashion. With the expiry of the Cold War, the previous political function served by that research had lost any meaning. The author had observed some feelings of nostalgia which during the 1980s had found expression in the foundation of cultural centres devoted to the role of Germans in Eastern Europe. With the fall of the Iron Curtain, after 1990 mass emigration of the remaining Germans from Russia became possible and this nostalgia became increasingly obsolete[60].

Recent events in the new millenium

In the new millennium new institutions dealing with *Ostforschung* have been founded. The primary focus of the work of the *Nordost-Institut* [North-east Institute], for example, is research on the culture and history of North-eastern and Eastern Europe as well as the various ways in which this area connects with German history, especially modern

and contemporary history. The *Nordost-Institut* began its work on 1 January 2002 with its main office in Lüneburg and a department in Göttingen. A specific foundation, which supports the *Nordost-Institut*, came into being in June 2001. Since March 2004 it has been associated with the University of Hamburg. The *Nordost-Institut* emerged from two previously independent institutions: the North German Cultural Institute (*Institut Norddeutsches Kulturwerk*) in Lüneburg and the Institute for the Study of Germany and Eastern Europe (*Institut für Deutschland- und Osteuropaforschung des Göttinger Arbeitskreises*) in Göttingen. The Institute cooperates on research and teaching with the University of Hamburg and other universities. It conducts research projects and hosts conferences, publishes scientific research in its annual journal, "Nordost-Archiv, Zeitschrift für Regionalgeschichte", and in its series "Veröffentlichungen des Nordost-Instituts", and hosts the library *Nordost-Bibliothek*, a special collection of literature on North-eastern European history. The *Nordost-Institut* is financed by Federal funds (the Office of the Federal Representative for Culture and Media) as well as by third parties. Topics covered include regional, national and state developments as well as their interpretation in the context of wider political, economic and cultural European issues. The regional focus of research on the history of the Germans and their Eastern neighbours and the societies of North-eastern and Eastern Europe is mainly in the historically Prussian provinces (East and West Prussia, Pomerania, Posen) and Poland as well as Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, also in the Soviet Union and its successor states.

What has become obvious in recent years is the continuous and intensified process of coming to terms with the past. This was partly an intellectual endeavour resulting from the loss of Germany's Eastern provinces. David Blackbourn has noticed a striking parallel between this process and the dissolution of the British and French colonial empires after 1945 which also released a decade-long, painful questioning of national identities[61]. Since the late 1950s, the political importance of issues like the Oder-Neiße line or the expulsion of ethnic Germans has decreased dramatically and has more and more been replaced by research into Eastern and East-Central Europe as a historical subject in its own right, no longer analyzed as a mere derivative of Germandom.

Gradually, the self-instrumentalisation of *Ostforschung* for political purposes has come to an end. This older view had focused on the German factor as the single decisive force in East European history. Furthermore, with the collapse of the Soviet bloc and the integration of the peoples living in Eastern Europe into the European Union, 'Eastern Europe' as the subject of the traditional version of *Ostforschung* has ceased to exist. What is now on the research agenda in the new millennium is so-called *Beziehungsgeschichte*, the history of encounters, contacts and relations between peoples and cultures in the vast areas of Eastern Europe. As the (fund-securing) slogan of today is cross-border cooperation within the European Union, reflecting Europe's fading borders, institutions like the German Historical Institutes have sprung up in Warsaw and Moscow since the 1990s. Recently the Polish Academy of Science has also opened a Centre for Historical Research

in Berlin which in 2008 began to issue a yearbook. Not surprisingly, the content of the first volume deals mainly with German and Polish demographic losses during and after World War II. Another prominent aim of the new journal is to inform German scholars about historical research in Poland, access to which is still, even increasingly, hampered by a language barrier.

At the time of writing this chapter (autumn 2008), the *Deutsch-Polnisches Jugendwerk* [German-Polish Youth Association] is inviting a limited number of German and Polish youngsters to participate in a joint visit to "places of common culture and history in the Ermland and Masuria" in North-eastern Poland. One aim of this sponsored journey, as announced in the schedule for the trip, is to allow the participants to get to know the "German contribution" to the history of the aforementioned regions. Amazingly, one excursion is to be made to the remnants of Hitler's 1941-1944 East Prussian headquarters, the *Wolfsschanze* [Wolf's Lair][62].

It appears to this author that in today's Poland nearly all the taboos relating to the country's German past have faded away. During the first years of the new millennium an increasing number of trans-national editions of sources, handbooks, learning material and surveys have been published. Polish historians today are no longer reluctant to acknowledge the German heritage in large parts of their country: they have also begun to use the Polish equivalent for 'expulsion' (*wypędzenia*) instead of the earlier euphemism 'resettlement' (*wysiedlenia*) when writing about the ethnic cleansing of the second half of the 1940s. One typical example of this fresh approach to history is a four-volume edition of documents describing the living conditions of Germans who stayed on to the east of the Oder-Neiße line between 1945 and 1950. As the title of this publication strikingly informs the reader, for the Germans their 'home country has turned into an alien land for us'. Furthermore, a new atlas illustrating all flights, expulsions and resettlements which occurred in regard to Polish territory between 1939 and 1959 reinforces this recent historiographical trend[63].

The former history of East Germans in that part of Europe is now beginning to find an appropriate place within these new cross-border research programmes. And hopefully such perspectives may also act as a stimulus to overcoming the current crisis in 'area studies'. Undoubtedly, hermetically sealed-off cultures of national memories do not accord with the standards of the 21st century.

Notes

[1] *Autokarte Polen 1:750,000 – zuzüglich: Historische Grenzen des Großdeutschen Reiches und der Freien Stadt Danzig (1939), deutsche Ortsnamen, Verzeichnis der deutschen und polnischen Ortsnamen, aktuelles Straßennetz*, Warsaw 2008; Recent accounts of this topic are *Flucht und Vertreibung. Europa zwischen 1939 und 1948*, with Introduction by A. Surminski, Hamburg 2004; P. Ahonen, *After the Expulsion. West Germany and Eastern Europe 1945-1990*, Oxford 2003; M. Kittel, H. Möller, J. Pešek, O. Tuma (eds.), *Deutschsprachige Minderheiten 1945. Ein europäischer Vergleich*, Munich 2006.

[2] Cf. J. Křen, *Changes in identity: Germans in Bohemia and Moravia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*, in M. Teich (ed.), *Bohemia in History*, Cambridge 1998, pp. 324-343.

[3] For the Czech case see N.M. Wingfield, *The Politics of Memory: Constructing National Identity in the Czech Lands, 1945 to 1948*, in "East European Politics and Societies", 2000, 14, pp. 246-267. For German reactions see E. Mühle, *The European East on the Mental Map of German Ostforschung*, in E. Mühle (ed.), *Germany and the European East in the Twentieth Century*, Oxford - New York 2003, pp. 107-130.

[4] For these areas see M. Beer, G. Seewann (eds.), *Südostforschung im Schatten des Dritten Reiches. Institutionen-Inhalte-Personen*, Munich 2004; H.H. Hahn (ed.), *Hundert Jahre sudetendeutsche Geschichte. Eine völkische Bewegung in drei Staaten*, Frankfurt am Main - Berlin - Bern - Bruxelles - New York - Oxford - Vienna 2007; S. Albrecht, J. Malír, R. Melville (eds.), *Die "sudetendeutsche Geschichtsschreibung" 1918-1960. Zur Vorgeschichte und Gründung der Historischen Kommission der Sudetenländer*, Munich 2008; C. Brenner, K. E. Franzen, P. Haslinger, R. Luft (eds.), *Geschichtsschreibung zu den böhmischen Ländern im 20. Jahrhundert. Wissenschaftstraditionen-Institutionen-Diskurse*, Munich 2006; S. Salzborn, *Geteilte Erinnerung. Die deutsch-tschechischen Beziehungen und die sudetendeutsche Vergangenheit*, Frankfurt am Main 2008.

[5] P. Ahonen, *Domestic Constraints on West German Ostpolitik. The Role of the Expellee Organizations in the Adenauer Era*, in "Central European History", 1998, 31, pp. 31-63; M. Stickler, *"Ostdeutsch heißt Gesamtdeutsch". Organisation, Selbstverständnis und heimatpolitische Zielsetzungen der deutschen Vertriebenenverbände 1949-1972*, Düsseldorf 2004. For the Sudeten German example see A. Šnejdárek, *The Beginnings of Sudeten German Organizations in Western Germany after 1945*, in "Historica", 1964, 8, pp. 235-252; E. Glassheim, *National Mythologies and Ethnic Cleansing: The Expulsion of Czechoslovak Germans in 1945*, in "Central European History", 2000, 33, pp. 463-486.

[6] J. Hackmann, *Ostpreußen und Westpreußen in deutscher und polnischer Sicht. Landeshistorie als beziehungsgeschichtliches Problem*, Wiesbaden 1996, pp. 320-322, footnote 281 for further references; A. Fischer, *Forschung und Lehre zur Geschichte Osteuropas in der sowjetischen Besatzungszone bzw. der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (1945-1990),* in E. Oberländer (ed.), *Geschichte Osteuropas. Zur Entwicklung einer historischen Disziplin in Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz 1945-1990*, Stuttgart 1992, pp. 304-341, p. 312.

[7] Hackmann, *Ostpreußen* cit., pp. 258-259; J. M. Piskorski, *"Deutsche Ostforschung" und "polnische Westforschung"*, in "Berliner Jahrbuch für osteuropäische Geschichte", 1996, 1, pp. 379-390; J. Hackmann, *Strukturen und Institutionen der polnischen Westforschung (1918-1960),* in "Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung", 2001, 50/2, pp. 230-255.

[8] Hackmann, *Ostpreußen* cit., p. 267.

[9] *Ibid*., p. 276.

[10] *Ibid*., p. 279.

[11] *Ibid*., p. 285.

[12] *Ibid*., p. 343; J.-D. Gauger, *Deutsche und Polen im Unterricht. Eine Untersuchung aktueller Lehrpläne, Richtlinien und Schulbücher für Geschichte*, Schwalbach 2008; K. Hartmann, M. Ruchniewicz, *Geschichte verstehen – Zukunft gestalten. Die deutsch-polnischen Beziehungen in den Jahren 1933-1949. Ergänzende Unterrichtsmaterialien für das Fach Geschichte*, Dresden 2007.

[13] For details see the introductory remarks in the first issue of the "Jahrbuch für Volkskunde der Heimatvertriebenen", 1955, 1.

[14] C. R. Unger, *Ostforschung in Westdeutschland. Die Erforschung des europäischen Ostens und die deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, 1945-1975*, Stuttgart 2007, p. 158; Cf. D. J. Allen, *The Oder-Neisse-Line. The*

United States, Poland, and Germany in the Cold War, Westport - London 2003; J.-D. Kühne, *Zu Veränderungsmöglichkeiten der Oder-Neiße-Linie nach 1945*, Baden-Baden 2008.

15 M. Hellmann, *Zur Lage der historischen Erforschung des östlichen Europa in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, in "Jahrbuch der historischen Forschung 1979", pp. 13-38, p. 20. See also H. Lemberg, P. Nitsche, E. Oberländer (eds.), *Osteuropa in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Festschrift für Günther Stökl zum 60. Geburtstag*, Cologne 1977.

16 C.R. Unger, *"Objektiv, aber nicht neutral". Zur Entwicklung der Ostforschung nach 1945*, in "Osteuropa", 2005, 55/12, pp. 113-131, 114-115.

17 E. Keyser, *Die Historische Kommission für ost- und westpreußische Landesforschung*, in "Zeitschrift für Ostforschung", 1952, 1, pp. 525-529; http://www1.uni-hamburg.de/Landesforschung/hiko.htm. The journal published by the Commission is entitled "Preußenland".

18 Cf. H. Lehmann, J. van Horn Melton (eds.), *Paths of Continuity. Central European Historiography from the 1930s to the 1950s*, Cambridge 1994; M. Salewski, J. Schröder (eds.), *Dienst für die Geschichte. Gedenkschrift für Walther Hubatsch*, Göttingen 1985; M. Burleigh, *Albert Brackmann (1871-1952), Ostforscher. The Years of Retirement*, in "Journal of Contemporary History", 1988, 23, pp. 573-587; J. Hackmann, *Königsberg in der deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft nach 1945*, in "Nordost-Archiv", 1994, Neue Folge 3, pp. 469-493.

19 Basic for this issue is E. Mühle, *Institutionelle Grundlegung und wissenschaftliche Programmatik der westdeutschen Beschäftigung mit "deutscher Geschichte" im östlichen Mitteleuropa (1945-1959)*, in J. Kłoczowski (ed.), *Erfahrungen der Vergangenheit. Deutsche in Ostmitteleuropa in der Historiographie nach 1945*, Lublin - Marburg an der Lahn 2000, pp. 25-64; B. Schalhorn, *Anfänge der deutschlandpolitischen Forschungs- und Bildungsarbeit in den fünfziger Jahren: Die Ost-Akademie Lüneburg*, in "Deutsche Studien", 1987, 25, pp. 318-328; S. Conrad, *Auf der Suche nach der verlorenen Nation. Geschichtsschreibung in Westdeutschland und Japan, 1945-1960*, Göttingen 1999.

20 On Oberländer's fascinating career see P.-C. Wachs, *Der Fall Theodor Oberländer (1905-1998). Ein Lehrstück deutscher Geschichte*, Frankfurt am Main - New York 2000. Theodor Oberländer is not to be mixed up with the younger historian Erwin Oberländer. A general account of the *Arbeitskreis* is H.G. Marzian, *Der Göttinger Arbeitskreis*, in H. Neubach, H.-L. Abmeier (eds.), *Für unser Schlesien. Festschrift für Herbert Hupka*, Munich - Vienna 1985, pp. 142-152; J. von Braun, *Fünf Jahre Arbeit für den deutschen Osten. Der Göttinger Arbeitskreis. Tätigkeitsbericht zu seinem fünfjährigen Bestehen*, in "Jahrbuch der Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg", 1952, 2, pp. 208-251; M. Hagen, *Göttingen als "Fenster zum Osten" nach 1945*, in H. Boockmann, H. Wellenreuther (eds.), *Geschichtswissenschaft in Göttingen. Eine Vorlesungsreihe*, Göttingen 1987, pp. 321-343.

21 Unger, *Ostforschung* cit., pp. 130-131.

22 *Ibid*., p. 147. For the overall issue of federal funds for *Ostforschung* see A. Buchholz, *Koordination und Ressortbezug in der bundesgeförderten Osteuropaforschung*, in "Osteuropa", 1980, 30, pp. 688-704. At the time of the introduction of the Euro in 2002, 2 DM equalled 1 Euro. At the beginning of the 1950s, 120,000 DM was a tremendous amount of money.

23 Hackmann, *Ostpreußen* cit., pp. 306-307.

24 Cf. W. Oberkrome, *"Grenzkampf" und "Heimatdienst". Geschichtswissenschaft und Revisionsbegehren*, in "Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte", 1996, 25, pp. 187-204.

25 Unger, *Ostforschung* cit., p. 131.

26 M. Burleigh, *Germany turns eastwards. A study of Ostforschung in the Third Reich*, Cambridge - New York - Port Chester - Melbourne - Sydney 1988, pp. 313-314. For a list of all West German chairs dedicated to Eastern Europe including a brief survey of their research activities see Oberländer, *Geschichte* cit.

[27] See E. Mühle, *Für Volk und deutschen Osten. Der Historiker Hermann Aubin und die deutsche Ostforschung*, Düsseldorf 2005.

[28] Unger, *Ostforschung* cit., p. 155.

[29] Hellmann, *Lage* cit., pp. 22-23; Unger, *Ostforschung* cit., pp. 132-133.

[30] A. Martiny, *Osteuropäische Geschichte und Zeitgeschichte*, in "Osteuropa", 1980, 30, pp. 705-724, 712-713; W. Lenz (ed.), *Deutschbaltisches biographisches Lexikon 1710-1960*, Cologne - Vienna 1970.

[31] Hackmann, *Ostpreußen* cit., p. 341; Cf. W. Borodziej, *"Ostforschung" aus der Sicht der polnischen Geschichtsschreibung*, in "Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung", 1997, 46, pp. 405-426; H. Olszewski, *Die deutsche Historiographie über Polen aus polnischer Sicht*, in D. Dahlmann (ed.), *Hundert Jahre Osteuropäische Geschichte. Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft*, Stuttgart 2005, pp. 281-292.

[32] Burleigh, *Germany* cit., pp. 300-301; S. Creuzberger, J. Unser, *Osteuropaforschung als politisches Instrument im Kalten Krieg. Die Abteilung für Geschichte der imperialistischen Ostforschung in der DDR (1960 bis 1968)*, in "Osteuropa", 1998, 48, pp. 849-867; C. Kleßmann, *DDR-Historiker und "imperialistische Ostforschung". Ein Kapitel deutsch-deutscher Wissenschaftsgeschichte im Kalten Krieg*, in "Deutschland-Archiv", 2002, 35, pp. 13-31.

[33] Burleigh, *Germany* cit., p. 309.

[34] The phrase "band of the unbroken" comes from the foreword to this new "Zeitschrift für Ostforschung", 1952, 1, p. 1.

[35] Burleigh, *Germany* cit., p. 305; Mühle, *Volk* cit., passim.

[36] Quoted after E. Mühle, *Ostforschung. Beobachtungen zu Aufstieg und Niedergang eines geschichtswissenschaftlichen Paradigmas*, in "Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung", 1997, 46, pp. 317-350, at 339. For the publications of the Herder Institute see *Fünfunddreißig Jahre Forschung über Ostmitteleuropa. Veröffentlichungen der Mitglieder des J.G.-Herder-Forschungsrates 1950-1984*, Marburg 1985.

[37] E. Keyser, *Der Johann Gottfried Herder-Forschungsrat und das Johann Gottfried Herder-Institut*, in "Zeitschrift für Ostforschung", 1952, 2, pp. 101-106, at 102; H. Weczerka, *Johann Gottfried Herder-Forschungsrat*, in Oberländer, *Geschichte* cit., pp. 256-275.

[38] Hackmann, *Ostpreußen* cit., p. 310.

[39] Burleigh, *Germany* cit., pp. 314-315.

[40] K. Pagel (ed.), *The German East*, Berlin 1954, pp. 7-8.

[41] Hackmann, *Ostpreußen* cit., p. 313.

[42] G. Rhode, *Die Ostgebiete des Deutschen Reiches. Ein Taschenbuch*, Würzburg 1955; Unger, *Ostforschung* cit., p. 136.

[43] B. Schumacher, *Geschichte Ost- und Westpreussens*, Würzburg 1957; Hackmann, *Ostpreußen* cit., p. 318.

[44] Cf. for example R. Täubrich (ed.), *Archive in Ostpreußen vor und nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg unter Einschluß des Memellandes und des Soldaugebietes*, Bonn 1990. For the foundation see http://www.kulturstiftung-der-deutschen-vertriebenen.de.

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[46] T. Kleindienst, *Zerreißprobe. Entspannungspolitik und Osteuropaforschung*, in "Osteuropa", 2005, 55/12, pp. 149-162.

[47] Hackmann, *Ostpreußen* cit., p. 346.

[48] *Ibid*., pp. 330-331.

[49] H. König, *Ostforschung – Bilanz und Ausblick. Bericht und Gedanken zu einer erweiterten Redaktionskonferenz*, in "Osteuropa", 1975, 25, p. 787.

[50] Martiny, *Geschichte* cit., passim.

[51] C.-H. Hauptmeyer (ed.), *Landesgeschichte heute*, Göttingen 1987.

[52] K. Zernack, *Der historische Begriff "Ostdeutschland" und die deutsche Landesgeschichte*, in "Nordost-Archiv", 1992, Neue Folge 1, pp. 157-173.

[53] Hackmann, *Ostpreußen* cit., p. 329.

[54] A fascinating account of early post-war travels to the border regions is Y. Komska, *Border Looking: The Cold War Visuality of the Sudeten German Expellees and its Afterlife*, in "German Life and Letters", 2004, 57, pp. 401-426. A more recent example is M. Antoni, *Dehio-Handbuch der Kunstdenkmäler West- und Ostpreußen. Die ehemaligen Provinzen West- und Ostpreußen (Deutschordensland Preußen) mit Bütower und Lauenburger Land*, Munich - Berlin 1993.

[55] H. Boockmann, *Ostpreussen und Westpreussen*, Berlin 1992.

[56] G. von Pistohlkors, *Baltische Länder*, Berlin 1994; N. Conrads, *Schlesien*, Berlin 1994; F. Prinz, *Böhmen und Mähren*, Berlin 1995; G. Schödl, *Land an der Donau*, Berlin 1995; J. Rogall, *Land der großen Ströme. Von Polen nach Litauen*, Berlin 1996; G. Stricker, *Russland*, Berlin 1997; A. Suppan, *Zwischen Adria und Karawanken*, Berlin 1998; I. Röskau-Rydel, *Galizien*, Berlin 1999; W. Buchholz, *Pommern*, Berlin 1999.

[57] Hackmann, *Ostpreußen* cit., pp. 338-339.

[58] E. Opgenoorth (ed.), *Handbuch der Geschichte Ost- und Westpreußens. Teil 2: Von der Teilung bis zum Schwedisch-Polnischen Krieg 1466-1655. Vom schwedisch-polnischen Krieg bis zur Reformzeit*, 2 vols., Lüneburg 1994 and 1996; *Teil 3: Von der Reformzeit bis zum Vertrag von Versailles, 1807-1918*, Lüneburg 1998; *Teil 4: Vom Vertrag von Versailles bis zum Ende des zweiten Weltkrieges, 1918-1945*, Lüneburg 1997.

[59] Hackmann, *Ostpreußen* cit., pp. 339-340.

[60] J. Baberowski, *Das Ende der Osteuropäischen Geschichte. Bemerkungen zur Lage einer geschichtswissenschaftlichen Disziplin*, in "Osteuropa", 1998, 48, pp. 784-799. See also Mühle, *Ostforschung* cit., passim.

[61] D. Blackbourn, *Das Kaiserreich transnational. Eine Skizze*, in S. Conrad. J. Osterhammel (eds.), *Das Kaiserreich transnational. Deutschland in der Welt 1871-1914*, Göttingen 2004, pp. 302-324, at 324. Cf. S. Creuzberger, J. Mannteufel, A. Steininger, J. Unser (eds.), *Wohin steuert die Osteuropaforschung?*, Cologne 2000.

[62] http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/termine/id=10007.

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Cultural Interactions in Cyprus 1191-1571: Byzantine and Italian Art

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Με την κατάκτηση της Κύπρου από τον σταυροφόρο Ριχάρδο τον Λεοντόκαρδο το 1191 και την εγκατάσταση της δυναστείας των Φράγκων Λουζινιάν και της Λατινικής Εκκλησίας, η Ορθόδοξη Εκκλησία για να επιβιώσει, υποχρεώθηκε σε υποταγή στον Πάπα (1260 - Bulla Cypria). Η τέχνη της Κύπρο, απομονωμένη από τον βυζαντινό κορμό, επαναλαμβάνει την τεχνοτροπία της κομνήνειας τέχνης της προηγούμενης περιόδου σε υπερβολικά απλοποιημένη μορφή. Επιρροές τόσο από πρόσφυγες ζωγράφους από τη Συρία και την Παλαιστίνη, όσο και από Δυτικούς, που εισρέουν στη μεγαλόνησο με το στρατό των σταυροφόρων, δίνουν στην τέχνη της Κύπρου ένα ιδιαίτερο ύφος γνωστό ως «maniera Cypria». Τα τοπικά κυπριακά εργαστήρια ετοιμάζουν μαζική παραγωγή εικόνων για τους προσκυνητές των Αγίων Τόπων. Η βυζαντινή τεχνοτροπία μεταφέρεται στα υπόλοιπα μεγάλα κέντρα της μέσης Ανατολής και του Σινά στην Ιταλία από Δυτικούς καλλιτέχνες, οι οποίοι έχουν εργαστεί σε κυπριακά εργαστήρια. Οι επιδράσεις στην τέχνη είναι αμοιβαίες, όπως διαφαίνεται από το δυτικό εικονογραφικό τύπο της Παναγίας Σκέπης που εμφανίζεται στην Κύπρο. Οι δυτικές επιδράσεις κατά τον 14ο αιώνα και μέχρι το 1453 στην τέχνη της Κύπρου είναι ελάχιστες και δύσκολα αφομοιώνονται. Στα μέσα του 15ου αιώνα δύο σημαντικά γεγονότα, η Σύνοδος της Φλωρεντίας του 1439 για την ένωση των Εκκλησιών και η άφιξη προσφύγων από την Πόλη μετά την Άλωση της Κωνσταντινούπολης το 1453 συνέτειναν στην ανανέωση της βυζαντινής ζωγραφικής της Κύπρου, της οποίας αρχίζει η μεταβυζαντινή φάση με την παρείσφρυση σε όλα τα μνημεία δυτικών επιρροών. Πολλοί Κύπριοι ζωγράφοι εργάζονται στην Βενετία και έρχονται σε επαφή με την τέχνη της Αναγέννησης. Στην τέχνη της Κύπρου αρχίζουν να διαφαίνονται δειλά-δειλά οι δύο τεχνοτροπικές τάσεις που θα κυριαρχήσουν κατά τη διάρκεια της Βενετοκρατίας: η αποκαλούμενη Κυπριακή σχολή, η οποία εξελίσσεται παράλληλα με την Κρητική Σχολή λόγω της παρουσίας προσφύγων ζωγράφων από την Κωνσταντινούπολη και στα δύο νησιά, και η εκλεκτική τάση στην τέχνη η λεγόμενη «ιταλοβυζαντινή» τεχνοτροπία. Η καθιερωμένη ορθόδοξη εικονογραφία ανανεώνεται και εμπλουτίζεται με νέα θέματα που προέρχονται από την ιταλική τέχνη. Η γνώση της ιταλικής Αναγέννησης και των επιτευγμάτων της εκ μέρους των καλλιτεχνών, πρέπει να θεωρείται δεδομένη, αφού στα έργα τους παρουσιάζεται μια συνειδητή προσπάθεια για ορθή προοπτική και απόδοση της τρίτης διάστασης και του όγκου των μορφών και των κτηρίων.

Historiography

The historiography of Frankish and Venetian rule in Cyprus (1191-1571) is permeated with the ideological approaches of foreign historians. The British archaeological authorities of the Cypriot colony (1878-1960) and the Anglo-Saxon school promoted the British colonial policy of the political integration of the Cypriots through scientific conclusions presenting the island as a no-man's land. Cyprus was viewed as a neutral country with a multicultural character at the crossroads of the Eastern Mediterranean, lacking cultural contact with its neighbour countries – especially Greece in ancient times and Byzantium in the medieval period[1]. The French School, on the other hand, through the work of historians like Mas Latrie and art historians like Camille Enlart in the 19th century, presented the Frankish and Venetian rule as the glorious period of Cyprus. Their history was obviously not objective since they did not take into consideration the population of the island which was dominated by foreign rulers. Nowadays some historians and art historians, including Demetrios Triantaphyllopoulos, Nikos Gkioles, Charalampos Chotzakoglou, Benediktos Egglezakis and Athanassios Papageorgiou have undertaken the difficult task of revaluating the history of this period taking into consideration the local population.

Preliminary Italian contact with Cyprus

Cyprus was one of the most important ports of the Byzantine Empire, and became even more significant for the control of the Eastern Mediterranean after the conquest of Asia Minor by the Seljuk Turks following the fall of Manzikert in 1071. Italians had established very close ties with Byzantium and the East (Levante) since the 11th century. The emerging onshore towns in Italy, such as Venice, Pisa, Amalfi and Genoa, had already established districts in the heart of Constantinople for the residence of their traders and their ships were freely circulating in the ports of the Empire[2]. With a Golden Bull (a Byzantine imperial document bearing the Emperor's golden seal [bulla]) accorded to the Venetians in 1082 by Alexius I Comnenus, they had the right to trade throughout the Empire[3]. Their right to approach Cyprus, though, was granted only in 1126 with another Golden Bull issued by Ioannis II Comnenus and the accordance of trade rights was extended to cover Cyprus, with the Golden Bull of Manuel I Comnenus in 1148[4]. Byzantine officials administered the island in the 12th century, and thanks to this, high quality Byzantine art of the Comnenian era was channelled to the island. Monasteries and churches like Trikomo (1105/6), St. Neophytos (1183) and Arakas (1192) were erected and painted by Constantinopolitan painters who were attracted though grants from high-ranking Byzantine officials[5].

The 13th century

After the conquest of Cyprus by the Crusader Richard the Lionheart in 1191, and the establishment of the Frankish dynasty of the Lusignans and of the Roman Catholic

Fig. 1
Cultural interaction in Byzantine and Italian art in Cypriot painting.

Church, the local Orthodox Church, fearing for its survival, was forced to be subject to the Pope in 1260 with the *Bulla Cypria*[6]. For the local population, the domination of the Franks and the severing of political ties with Byzantium meant subjugation to the feudal system of the West. Concurrently, in the ecclesiastical sector, the Catholic Church sequestered the property of the Orthodox, limited the number of Orthodox episcopal sees, and replaced the Orthodox archbishop with a Catholic one.

Cypriot painting, totally cut off from Byzantium due to the simultaneous conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204, repeated the style of Comnenean art of the previous era, but in an exaggerated, oversimplified manner[7]. It was exposed to the influences of refugee painters from Syria and Palestine and also Latin painters, who swarmed to the island with the crusader army, especially after the fall of the crusader states in Syria and Palestine (fall of Acre 1291), thus developing an individual style known as 'maniera Cypria'[8]. This built upon the cosmopolitan environment of the 13th century in the secondary points of the composition from the iconography of either the East, as in the icon of St. Jacob the Persian[9] from the Church of St. Kassianos in Nicosia, today at the Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation in Nicosia (hereafter BMAMF), or the West, as in, for example, the icon of the Descent of Christ into Hades from the Lambadistis Monastery (BMAMF)[10].

An important innovation with regard to iconography was the style of relief decorations developed in the West for the decoration of wooden sculptures. This was applied initially by western artists in order to replace the expensive metallic overlays. This was a borrowing that, after being shaped in the Cypriot environment, spread initially in

Southern Italy and then to the rest of Western Europe[11]. Subjects that could be seen in Cyprus could also be seen in similar works in Italy. Examples include: the twirling floral plaits of the halos, for example the icon of the Apostle Paul from the Church of Our Lady Chrysaliniotissa (BMAMF) and the Enthroned Mother of God holding the Christ Child (1347) by Bernardo di Daddo at the Orsanmichele chapel in Florence; and the grid bearing cross patterns which usually decorate Cypriot icons, for example, the icon of the Virgin Mary holding the Christ Child from the Church of Our Lady Chrysaliniotissa, (BMAMF), the icon of St. Dominic with scenes from his life from the Church of St. Peter in Naples (late 13th century), and the relief icon of the Mother of God Enthroned (early 13th century) at the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo in Siena[12].

The frescos in the Church of Our Lady of Moutoulas (1280) are a prime example of the reverberation of crusader art in the Mediterranean, manifesting western iconographic elements such as the chain-mail armour of St. Christopher or the western-style shoes worn by the Hebrews in the scene of the Entry to Jerusalem (*Vaioforos*)[13]. *Platytera* (Virgin Orans), as portrayed in one-quarter of the arch of this temple, with a round face, eyebrows joining, and visible neck-muscles, can be related to similar frescos in the crypt of San Vito at Gravina[14], Puglia (southern Italy), the so-called crusader icons of Sinai[15], and can also be seen in 13th-century Cypriot icons, such as the icon of St. Marina from the Church of the same name at Kalopanagiotis (BMAMF)[16].

The Frankish kingdom of Cyprus, with its rich Byzantine legacy and the security provided as a result of being surrounded by sea (as opposed to other crusader states which

Fig. 2
Crucifixion from the church of St Luke in Nicosia (left) and the church of St Domenico Maggiore in Naples (right).

were under constant threat from the Arabs), quite naturally became a refuge for the clergy, as well as an important cultural centre where local Cypriot workshops mass-produced icons for the pilgrims to the Holy Land[17].

The large icons of St. Nicolas of the Roof with scenes from the saint's life from the Church of the same name at Kakopetria and of the Virgin Mary Enthroned with scenes from the Church of St. Kassianos (both at BMAMF) bear witness to the existence of workshops in Cyprus that catered for both the Orthodox and the Catholics[18]. The icons exhibit the same technique and style and show few differentiations with respect to the iconography and the inscriptions (in the first they are in Greek, while in the second they are in Latin). It emerged that one of the principal channels through which the Byzantine style had spread to the West was the western artists who worked in Cypriot workshops, carrying the new style from Cyprus and the other major centres in the Middle East and Sinai, to Italy. This is demonstrated by the example of the crypt of San Vito in Gravina of Puglia.

Three 13th-century icons showing the Mother of God holding the Christ Child in Italy (in the Cathedral of Monopoli, in the monastery of St. Nile in Grottaferrata and in the Metropolitan Church of Andria) are considered to be of Cypriot origin[19] (Fig. 3). Cypriot iconographic style strongly influenced the painting of Southern Italy during the 13th century[20]. In the catalogue of icons of probable Cypriot origin or, at least, Cypriot standards, we might add the Madonna della Fonte in Trani, the Madonna at Santa Maria de Latinis in Palermo, the Madonna Sotto gli Organi at Pisa, the Virgin Mary holding the Christ Child of Santa Maria a Piazza in Aversa, the Madonna of San Michele in Borgo in Pisa, the Crucifixion at St. Dominico Maggiore in Napoles (Fig. 2) and others[21]. The similarity and relation of Cypriot icons to icons produced in Tuscany or Southern Italy creates problems with respect to the origin congruence of many unsigned works including the icons of the Virgin Mary Enthroned belonging to the

Fig. 3
13th-century Italian icons of the Mother of God holding the Christ Child (in the Metropolitan Church of Andria, the Cathedral of Monopoli and the monastery of St. Nile in Grottaferrata) are considered to be of Cypriot origin. On the left side the Cypriot icon from the church of Our Lady Asinou.

Kahn and Mellon Collection, which were recently attributed to a Cypriot workshop[22]. The iconographic type of the Mother of God Kykkotissa is of exclusively Cypriot origin, a type that spread to Italy during this period, as is witnessed by a series of icons at Velletri, Viterbo, Piazza Armerina in Sicily and elsewhere[23]. The influences in art seem to be mutual, as is exhibited in the fresco of the Madonna del Manto, dated 1332/3, in the narthex of the Church of Our Lady Asinou which seems to share a common iconographic standard with the Mother of God of the Franciscans by Duccio[24] (Fig. 4).

The 14th century

During the 14th century, contact with Constantinople increased and the influence of Paleologean art becomes apparent in Cypriot painting. This can be seen in the icons from the Church of Our Lady Chrysaliniotissa: the Christ with Angels and benefactors, dated 1356, the Saint Peter, and the Archangel Michael, dated 14th century (all of them now at BMAMF), which are characterised by a harmonious combination of vibrant colours, the shaping of the faces with gradually diminishing tones, the effort to render the volumes and the soft shaping of the folds and creases in the clothing[25]. Towards the end of the 14th century and during the 15th century, the colouring gradually became more vibrant, mainly due to the use of white. The use of linear make-up became standard, as can be seen in the icon of the Archangel from the Church of Our Lady Faneromeni in Nicosia (BMAMF)[26]. Western influences in the frescos during the 14th century and up until 1453 were minimal and very difficult to assimilate in Cypriot art[27]. The frescos of the Lusignan Royal Chapel at Pyrga, dated 1421, aside from the French inscriptions, retained the Paleologan style[28]. Heaver influences seem to be exhibited by portable icons. This can be seen in the case of the Virgin Mary Holding the Christ Child Enthroned from the Church of Our Lady Chrysaliniotissa (BMAMF) which is dated to the 15th century and follows the respective iconographic type of the circle of Cimabue in Galleria Sabauda in Turin with a throne similar to that of the Mother of God Enthroned of Cimabue at S. Maria dei Servi in Bologna[29] (Fig. 5). Christ's posture as He stands in His Mother's arms can be seen in the fresco of the Mother of God Enthroned Holding the Christ Child between Saints John Prodromos and Theologian by Vanni di Pistoia and Nuccaro at the Opera del Duomo in Pisa[30].

The 15th century

In the middle of the 15th century two significant events – the Ferrara-Florence Synod of 1439 for the Unification of the Churches and the arrival of refugees from Constantinople, following its Fall in 1453 – contributed to the renewal of Byzantine painting in Cyprus, whose post-Byzantine phase commenced with the infiltration of all monuments by western styles[31]. The Fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453 dealt Hellenism a severe blow. The focus and rallying point in so many ways, not only for the Greeks but also for the Orthodox Christian communities of the Balkans, Eastern Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean, was lost, even at a symbolic level. In 1489,

Fig. 4
Madonna del Manto, dated 1332/3, in the narthex of the Church of Our Lady Asinou which seems to share a common iconographic standard with the Mother of God of the Franciscans by Duccio.

when the last Lusignan Queen, the Venetian Caterina Cornaro, abdicated in favour of the Serenissima Republic, Cyprus passed under Venetian rule. This period saw a greater mobility between the dominant nobles and the locals, resulting in the creation of a composite, mixed milieu, with plebeians (*plebe*, *popolari*), burgers-citizens (*cittadini*), and local and foreign nobles (*nobiltà*). The superior civilisation of Venice, which had insinuated itself much earlier in the Renaissance, provoked osmosis. Syncretism in art resulted in the 'Cypriot Renaissance' of the Venetian period (1489-1571). Many Cypriot painters worked in Venice and were exposed to Renaissance art. Slowly and timidly, the two stylistic movements that would dominate Cyprus during Venetian Rule begin to emerge. These were the so-called Cypriot School, which evolved parallel to the Cretan School due to the presence of refugees from Constantinople in both islands, and the selective tendency in art – the so-called 'Italian-Byzantine' style[32]. They refer to capable painters, who could easily combine both styles: the Byzantine (*alla greca*) and the Italian or 'Italian-Byzantine' (*all'italiana*). The two movements were differentiated with respect to the degree that they had assimilated western influences[33].

The Cypriot School

Filippos Goul and Symeon A(f)ksentis were classic representatives of the Cypriot School[34]. Cypriot painting, while adhering to the Paleologean style, innovated by importing single iconographic elements of 14th-century Italian art, especially apparent in the secondary elements of the icon. A characteristic manifestation can be found at the Church of Antifonitis in Kalogrea, where the elliptical depiction of the opalescent glory of Christ in the scene of the Last Judgment and also the depiction of Satan in hell,

are elements which are almost identical to Giotto's corresponding fresco at the Chapel of Scrovegni in Padua[35] (Fig. 6). Architectural structures usually appear gothic with a similar conception of space as that shown in western works, for example in the case of the icon of the Birth of the Mother of God from Klonari, where the depth of the scene is composed with respect to three sides and a tendency for transverse perspective[36], or the frescos of the Denial of Peter at the Church of Our Lady at Galata, or the Birth of the Mother of God at the Church of Antifonitis in Kalograea[37]. An innovation of Cypriot painting was the resonant attempt of the artists to apply western perspectives (the creation of 'box-shaped' space) in order to depict in three-dimensions the indoor spaces of buildings, as in the narthex of Lambadistis[38] (Fig. 7).

Italo-byzantine painting

The other movement, the 'Italian-Byzantine style", was characterised by a more detailed design and a perfect iconographical system. It is distinguished by its liveliness and freedom provided by the use of new conjectural types. A great number of frescos were created in this style by different workshops which can be distinguished by the quality of the art produced, but also with respect to the import of overtly western elements.

Under Venetian rule, the worship of the Mother of God intensified with the depiction of three verses of the Akathistos Hymn. This was a hymn of 24 verses (oikoi) sung, all standing, on the Saturday of the fifth week in Lent, in honour of the Virgin Mary[39]. Two of the depictions were in the Italian-Byzantine style (the Latin Chapel of the Lambadistis Monastery and the Church of the Holy Cross at Parekklisia, where Oikoi 6 and 10 have been identified), and the other (at St. Neophytos Monastery) was by the Cypriot 'School' with intense western elements, such as the depiction of the Mother of God on her knees with her hands crossed at the scene of the Annunciation[40]. The composition of the Root of Jesse, as well as the iconographic theme of Above the Prophets, can be placed in the context of this effusion of the Marian cycle, which reached its peak with the depiction of the Crowning of the Mother of God at the Church of Our Lady Chrysopantanassa in Paleochori[41]. The subject was overtly western, which we must assume is probably connected to the Latin commissioner of the fresco.

The traditional Orthodox iconography was renewed and enhanced with new subjects that originated in Italian art[42]. Those who painted these works certainly had knowledge of the Italian Renaissance and of its artistic achievements, since these frescos echo a conscious attempt by the artists correctly to depict perspective and the third dimension, both with respect to the volume of the figures and of the buildings. The composition of space and the use of perspective is connected to the so-called 'first Renaissance' of Masaccio and Beato Angelico, as in the icon of the Communion of the Apostles from the Church of Our Lady Chrysaliniotissa (BMAMF)[43] and the fresco of the 18th Oikos of the Akathistos Hymn at the Latin Chapel of the Monastery of St. John Lambadistis (Fig. 7). Among the novel subjects imported during this period was the depiction of St. Anna with the Mother of God holding the Christ Child[44]. This can be seen, for example, in the

Fig. 5
Virgin Mary Enthroned, from the church of Our Lady Chrisaliniotissa, Nicosia (middle), Madonna at Novoli (left), Madonna in the Galleria Sabauda, Turin (right).

Fig. 6
Last Judgement fresco in the Church of Antifonitis in Kalogrea (before the destruction) left, corresponds to Giotto's fresco at the Chapel of Scrovegni in Padua (right).

fresco from the Church of St. George Exorinos in Ammochostos, the depictions of the Virtues (Justice, Love, Faith, Charity, and others) both at Chrysopantanassa at Paleochori and the Church of Our Lady at Choulou[45]. Italian prototypes were also followed at the Latin Chapel of the Monastery of Lambadistis at Kalopanagiotis, dated around 1500, for the scene of the Hospitality of Abram, and the Birth of Christ in the 8th Oikos[46]. This can also be seen in a later engraving from 1555, which reproduced a common, older prototype, unidentified until today. Similar engravings were also utilised by the painter of the church of St. John the Baptist at Askas village for the scene of the Apotome of the Skull of the Saint[47]. Other imported subjects besides the western Man of Sorrows, which shows Christ standing dead in front of His sarcophagus[48], included the depictions of the so-called western-type Resurrection with Christ Rising from the grave holding a banner, labarum[49] or the Pietà[50], as in the icon from Pera Chorio of Cyprus (BMAMF)[51].

'Madonneri'

The portrayal of the Mother of God Holding the Christ Child was one of the most popular subjects both in the East and West. Icons of the Mother of God were exported from Cyprus at the end of the 13th century by the Crusaders and during Venetian rule icons with depictions of the Virgin Mary as the western Madonna were also exported. The icons of the Madonneri, Madre della Consolazione, Madre Misericordia and Mater Lactans were very popular in Cyprus and were intended mainly for the Latin Churches on the island and for private individuals[52]. They are works of art that exhibit an intense presence of western iconographic elements and can be seen throughout the

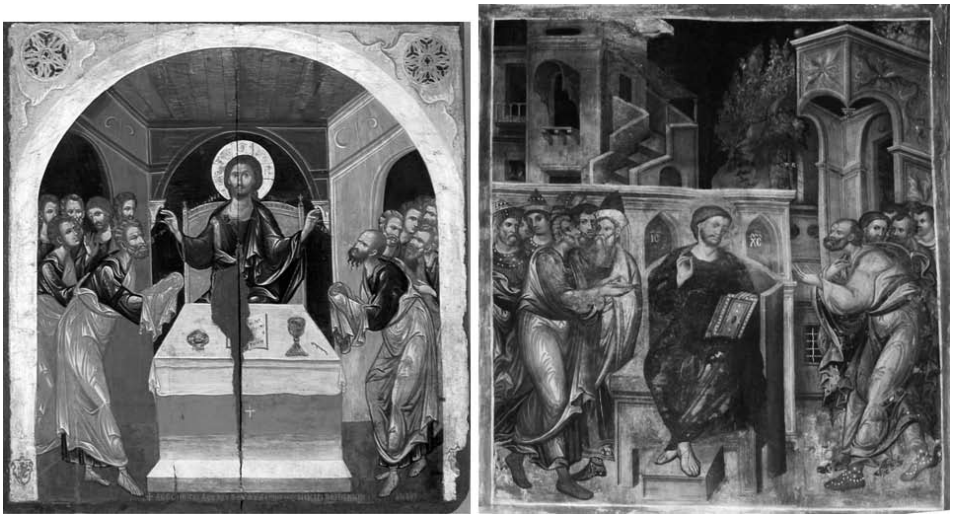

Fig. 7
The composition of space and the use of perspective from the Italian Renaissance: Icon of the Communion of the Apostles from the Church of Our Lady Chrysaliniotissa (left) and the fresco of the 18th stance of Akathistos Hymm at the Latin Chapel of the Monastery of Lambadistis (right).

Greek-Orthodox region. The large number of such works in Cyprus cannot preclude the existence of a Madonneri workshop on the island which produced and traded icons and was one of the workshops founded in territories under the Venetian rule.

The looting and slaughter that followed the conquest of Cyprus by the Ottomans in 1571 forced many Cypriot artists to seek refuge in Venice[53]. These included artists such as Ioannis Cypriot[54], who painted the cupola and other parts of the Church of St. George of the Greeks in Venice, a painter called Peter[55] who, according to a document held in the Venetian archives, was captured by the Turks with his family, and another painter, Domenico the Cypriot, a member of the Greek Brotherhood of Venice[56].

Unfortunately, after the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus, the established relations of Cypriot iconography, which had persisted for many centuries, finally decayed during the 17th century. However, the lessons of the Italian-Byzantine painting developed under Venetian rule continued to influence post-Byzantine iconography in Cyprus, from Paul the Hierographer[57] in the 17th century until the School of St. Heraklidios in the 18th century. At the end of the 18th century, the arrival of the great Cretan painter Ioannis Kornaros, imported the baroque and rococo, both completely alien to Byzantine painting[58].

Notes

1 D.D. Triantaphyllopoulos, *Ένα βιβλίο για τη χριστιανική τέχνη της Κύπρου και σκέψεις για τη σημερινή κατάσταση της έρευνας της (Νικ. Γκιολές, Η χριστιανική τέχνη στην Κύπρο, Λευκωσία 2003)*, "Νέα Εστία", vol. 158, no. 1783, 2005, pp. 778-86, esp. pp. 780-81; M. Given, *Inventing the Eteocypriots: Imperialist Archaeology and the Manipulation of Ethnic Identity*, "Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology", vol. 11, no 1, 1998, pp. 3-29.

2 For the relations between Byzantium and the main Italian seafaring towns before the Fall of Constantinople, between 1081 and 1204, see C.M. Brand, *Byzantium confronts the West 1180-1204*, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1968, pp. 1-13, 209-22; M. Balard, *Amalfi et Byzance (Xe-XIIe siècles)*, *Recherches sur le XI siècle* [Travaux et Memoires, 6], Paris 1976, pp. 85-95. R-J. Lilie, *Handel und Politik zwischen dem byzanischen Reich und den italienischen Komunen Venedig, Pisa und Genua in der Epoche der Komnenen und der Angeloi (1081-1204)*, Amsterdam 1984; M.F. Hendy, *Byzantium, 1081-1204: An economic reappraisal*, in *The Economy, Fiscal Administration and Coinage of Byzantium*, II, Variorum reprints, Northampton 1989, pp. 31-52; D.M. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice. A Study in diplomatic and cultural relations*, Cambridge 1988, pp. 41-83.

3 I. Zepos - P. Zepos (eds.), *Jus Graecoromanum*, I, Athens 1931, pp. 292-298; G. Ostrogorsky, *Ιστορία του βυζαντινού Κράτους*, I, Athens 1997², p. 234; A. Tuilier, *La date exacte du chrysobulle d' Alexis 1er Comnène en faveur des Vénitiens et son contexte historique*, "Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici", N. S. 4 (XIV), 1967, pp. 27-48.

4 M. Angold, *Η Βυζαντινή Αυτοκρατορία από το 1025 έως το 1204. Μια πολιτική Ιστορία*, Athens 1997², pp. 80-83, 89.

5 N. Gkioles, *Η Χριστιανική Τέχνη στην* Κύπρο [The Christian Art in Cyprus], Nicosia 2003, pp. 89-99.

6 Regarding the state of the Orthodox Church during this period and its relations with Constantinople see M. J. Angold, *The unity of the Byzantine world after 1204*, in *Πρακτικά Α' Διεθνούς Κυπρολογικού Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία 14-19 Απριλίου 1969)*, II, Nicosia 1972, pp. 1-11. N. Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus*, Aldershot 1997, pp. 297-306.

7 M. Panagiotidi, *Τεχνοτροπικές σχέσεις Κύπρου και Πελοποννήσου* [Stylistic relationships between Cyprus and Peloponnesus], in *Πρακτικά Β' Διεθνούς Κυπρολογικού Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία 20-25 Απριλίου 1982)*, II, Nicosia 1986, p. 562.

8 S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, III, Cambridge 1954, pp. 387-423; Mouriki, *Icon Painting* cit., p. 408.

[9] S. Sophocleous, *Ο Ανώνυμος ζωγράφος του εικονοστασίου των αρχών του 16ου αιώνα στην Παναγία Καθολική Πελενδρίου και ο περίγυρός του [The anonymous painter of the Iconostasis of Virgin Mary Katholiki dated in the beginning of the 16th century and its cycle], in Πρακτικά του Τρίτου Κυπρολογικού Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία, 16-20 Απριλίου 1996), II, Nicosia 2001*, pp. 134-35 dates it very early, in the 10th century.

[10] For more on 13th-century Cyprus and its artistic production see A. Weyl Carr -L.J. Morocco, *A Byzantine Masterpiece Recovered, the Thirteenth-Century Murals of Lysi, Cyprus*, Austin 1991, pp. 83-113; Papageorgiou, *Βυζαντινές Εικόνες* cit., p. 46, no. 12.

[11] Frinta M., *Raised Gilded Adornment of the Cypriot Icons and the Occurance of the technique in the West*, "Gesta", XX/2, 1981, p. 336.

[12] Papageorgiou, *Βυζαντινές Εικόνες* cit., pp. 60-61; Papageorgiou, *Εικόνες* cit., pp. 42, fig. 26; D. Talbot Rice, *Talbot Rice D., Cypriot Icons with plastic relief backgrounds,* "Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik", 21, 1972, p. 274, fig. 8; Papageorgiou, *Βυζαντινές Εικόνες* cit., pp. 60-61; Papageorgiou, *Εικόνες*, p. 42, fig 26; Frinta, *Gilded Adornment* cit., pp. 337-43.

[13] Mouriki, *Moutoullas* cit., pp. 206-213; A. - J. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus*, Nicosia² 1997, pp. 323-330; Ch. Chotzakoglou, *Από την αυγή των πρώτων χριστιανικών βασιλικών στην Οθωμανική ημισέληνο*, "Κύπρος", Athens 2006 (forthcoming publication).

[14] Papageorgiou, *τοιχογραφίαι 13ου αιώνος* cit., p. 206; Talbot Rice, *backgrounds* cit., pp. 269-284; Frinta, *Gilded Adornment* cit., p. 336; Kalopissi-Verti, *φωτοστέφανοι* cit., pp. 555-560; Frinta, *Relief Decoration* cit., p. 588; N. Gkioles, *Οι ψηφιδωτές εικόνες του Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου [Mosaic icons of the Ecumenical Patriarchy],* "ΔΧΑΕ", XVII, 1993-94, pp. 61 ff.

[15] Weitzmann's view (K. Weitzmann, *Icon painting in the Crusader Kingdom*, "Dumbarton Oaks Papers", 20, 1966, pp. 69ff) was recently doubted by R. Cormack, *Crusader Art and Artistic Technique: Another look at a painting of St George*, "Βυζαντινές εικόνες, Τέχνη, Τεχνική και τεχνολογία", (M. Βασιλάκη επιμ.), Herakleion 2002, pp. 163-168, esp. pp. 165-167, since this particular icon uses oil and light-coloured models, employed by North Europeans in contrast with the traditional Byzantine techniques.

[16] Talbot Rice, *backgrounds* cit., pp. 272-273, fig. 5; Papageorgiou, *Βυζαντινές Εικόνες* cit., p. 46, no. 11; Papageorgiou, *Εικόνες* cit., p. 55, fig 34; A. - J. Stylianou, *Η βυζαντινή τέχνη κατά την περίοδο της Φραγκοκρατίας (1191-1570) [The Byzantine Art in the period of Frankocracy 91191-1570)],* "Ιστορία της Κύπρου", V, II, 1996, p. 1289; D. Papanikola-Bakirtzis - M. Iacovou, *Byzantine Medieval Cyprus, Nicosia 1998*, pp. 112-113, no. 51.

[17] Papageorgiou, *τοιχογραφίαι 13ου αιώνος* cit., pp. 390-93.

[18] Papageorgiou, *Βυζαντινές Εικόνες* cit., p. 46, no. 15.

[19] V. Pace, *Presenze e influenze cipriote nella pittura duecentesca italiana, in Corso di Cultura sull'arte Ravennate e Bizantina,* 1985, XXXII, pp. 260-71; V. Pace, *Μεταξύ Ανατολής και Δύσης [Between East and West],* in *Μήτηρ Θεού. Απεικονίσεις της Παναγίας στη βυζαντινή τέχνη,* Athens 2000, pp. 425-32.

[20] *Ibid*., p. 431.

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 426, 430; Frinta, *Gilded Adornment* cit., p. 337.

[22] According to A. Weyl Carr, *Byzantines and Italians on Cyprus: Images from Art,* "Dumbarton Oaks Papers", 49, 1995, p. 348: 'it is in fact not with Venice, but with Tuscany that the richest links with Cyprus occurred in the two centuries before 1453'; also p. 352 note 71.

[23] E. Constantinides, *Monumental Painting in Cyprus during the Venetian period, 1489-1570,* in N. Patterson Ševčenko - C. Moss (eds.), *Medieval Cyprus. Studies in Art, Architecture, and History in Memory of Doula Mouriki,* Princeton, 1999, pp. 263-284; Weyl Carr, *Byzantines and Italians* cit., pp. 353-56. For the Kykkotissa type see A. Papageorgiou, *Μια ανέκδοτη διήγηση για τις εικόνες που ζωγράφισε κατά την παράδοση, ο Απόστολος Λουκάς και την Ίδρυση της Μονής Κύκκου [*An unpublished story about the icons that were painted by Apostle Luke,after the tradition, and the foundation of the Monastery of Kykkos], "Επετηρίδα Κέντρου Μελετών Ιεράς μονής Κύκκου", VI, 2004, pp. 48-51; Pace, *influenze cipriote* cit., p. 272; A. Weyl Carr,

Στοχασμοί για τη ζωή μιας εικόνας: Η Ελεούσα του Κύκκου [Reflections about the life of an icon: Mother of God Eleousa of Kykkos], "Επετηρίδα Κέντρου Μελετών Ιεράς μονής Κύκκου", VI, 2004, pp. 137-38.

[24] This type is connected to the type of Vlachernitissa, see K.D. Kalokyris, *Η Θεοτόκος εις την εικονογραφίαν της Ανατολής και της Δύσεως* [Virgin Mary in the Iconography of the East and the West], Thessalonike 1972, pp. 71-73; D.D. Triantaphyllopoulos, *Μελέτες για τη μεταβυζαντινή ζωγραφική. Ενετοκρατούμενη και Τουρκοκρατούμενη Ελλάδα και Κύπρος* [studies for the Post-byzantine Painting. Venetian-dominated and Turkish-dominated Greece and Cyprus], Athens 2002, p. 266, note 50, which includes more recent bibliography; Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus* cit., pp. 114-140; A. Weyl Carr, *Art, Identity, and Appropriation in Lusignan Cyprus,* "Modern Greek Studies Yearbook", 14/15, 1998/1999, pp. 66-67, fig 11; C. Hadjichristodoulou - D. Myrianthefs, *Ο ναός της Παναγίας της Ασίνου*, Nicosia 2002, pp. 30-31; C. Jannella, *Duccio di Buoninsegna*, Florence 1991, p. 16, figs. 13-14; Weyl Carr, *Byzantines and Italians* cit., p. 348.

[25] A. Weyl Carr, *A palaiologan Funerary Icon from Gothic Cyprus, in Πρακτικά του Τρίτου Κυπρολογικού Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία, 16-20 Απριλίου 1996),* II, Nicosia 2001, pp. 599-619; Talbot Rice, *Icons* cit., pp. 241-242, pl. XXXIV; Papageorgiou, *Βυζαντινές Εικόνες* cit., p. 70, no. 24; Papageorgiou, *Εικόνες* cit., p. 67, fig 44; Papageorgiou, *Βυζαντινές Εικόνες* cit., p. 68, no. 23; Papageorgiou, *Εικόνες* cit., p. 67, fig 46.

[26] A. Papageorgiou, *Icônes de Chypre,* Genève 1969, p. 108, fig. 58; Papageorgiou, *Εικόνες* cit., p. 93, fig 57.

[27] J. Christophoraki, *Η τέχνη στην Κύπρο την εποχή του Λ. Μαχαιρά και του Γ. Βουστρωνίου* [Art in Cyprus in the times of l. Machairas and G. Boustronios], in *Πρακτικά Συμποσίου, Λεόντιος Μαχαιράς, Γεώργιος Βουστρώνιος. Δύο χρονικά της μεσαιωνικής Κύπρου,* Nicosia 1997, p. 94.

[28] M. Emmanuel, *Monumental painting in Cyprus during the Last Phase of the Lusignan Dynasty 1374-1489,* in Patterson Ševčenko N. - Moss C. (eds.), *Medieval Cyprus. Studies in Art, Architecture, and History in Memory of Doula Mouriki,* Princeton 1999, pp. 243-44; Weyl Carr, *Byzantines and Italians* cit., pp. 347-48.

[29] Papageorgiou, *Icônes* cit., 113, fig. 39; Talbot Rice, *backgrounds* cit., p. 274, fig. 7; Stylianou, *Η βυζαντινή τέχνη* cit., pp. 1330-31; Weyl Carr, *Funerary Icon* cit., pp. 604 ff.

[30] E. Carli, *La pittura a Pisa. Dalle origini alla "Bella Maniera"*, Pisa 1994, p. 24, fig. 61.

[31] M. Garidis, *La peinture Chypriote de la fin du XVe – debut du XVIe siècle et sa place dans les tendances generales de la Peinture Orthodoxe après la chute de Constantinople,* in *Πρακτικά Α' Διεθνούς Κυπρολογικού Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία 14-19 Απριλίου 1969),* Nicosia 1972, p. 28; Emmanuel, *Lusignan* cit., pp. 244-51.

[32] Papageorgiou, *Εικόνες* cit., p. 107; Triantaphyllopoulos, *τέχνη* cit., p. 623, 1623; Christophoraki, *τέχνη* cit., pp. 95-96.

[33] Triantaphyllopoulos, *τέχνη* cit., pp. 622-23.

[34] Constantinides, *Venetian* cit., pp. 266-74.

[35] Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus* cit., p. 480, fig. 290; D.D. Triantaphyllopoulos, *Βενετία και Κύπρος. Σχέσεις τους στην τέχνη* [Venice and Cyprus. Artistic relationships], "Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Συμποσίου «Κύπρος-Βενετία, κοινές ιστορικές τύχες» (Αθήνα 1-3 Μαρτίου 2001)", Venice 2002, pp. 323-24.

[36] Triantaphyllopoulos, *Βενετία και Κύπρος* cit, p. 323, pl. 3.

[37] Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus* cit., p. 95, fig. 43, p. 485, fig. 293; Stylianou, *Η βυζαντινή τέχνη* cit., pp. 1341, fig. 101.

[38] D.D. Triantaphyllopoulos, *Die nachbyzantinische Wandmalerei auf Kerkyra und der anderen ionischen Inseln (15.-18. Jahrhundert)*, I, München 1985, p. 80, note 32. For the creation of 'box-shaped' space (Kastenraum) see Triantaphyllopoulos, *Βενετία Κύπρος* cit., p. 334; Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus* cit., pp. 306-12.

[39] We do not observe during Frankish rule any depictions of the Akathistos Hymn in Cyprus, possibly due to its connection to the Quietism Movement, see Triantaphyllopoulos, *οράματα*, p. 406, note 87, including relevant bibliography.

[40] S. Frigerio-Zeniou, *Notes sur trois Églises de la fin du 16e – début du 17e siècle à Chypre*, "Κυπριακαί Σπουδαί", vols. 64-65, 2003, p. 353 and note 7; Christophoraki, *τέχνη* cit., p. 94.

[41] Stylianou, *Η βυζαντινή τέχνη* cit., p. 1342; for the western tradition of this subject see G. Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst, 4/2: Maria*, Güterloch 1980, pp. 114 ff.; Triantaphyllopoulos, *Μελέτες* cit., pp. 263-265; E. Constantinides, *Observations on the Iconography and Style of the Mural Painting in the Church of the Panagia Chrysopantanassa, Palaichori, Cyprus*, in *Πρακτικά του Τρίτου Κυπρολογικού Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία, 16-20 Απριλίου 1996),* II, Nicosia 2001, p. 185, fig. 17.

[42] According to Sophocleous, *Ανώνυμος* cit., pp. 457-62, the standards of the 'Italian-Byzantine' artist of Pelendri originate from the Italian painting of the 14th century and more specifically from Tuscany.

[43] P. De Vecchi - E. Cerchiari, *Arte nel Tempo*, vol. 2/1, Milan 1996, pp. 63-74; S. Frascione, *Beato Angelico*, Rome 1980; I. Eliades, *Η 'Κοινωνία των Αποστόλων' σε μια κυπριακή εικόνα και η εικονογραφική εξέλιξή της*, "Θησαυρίσματα", 2005, 35, pp. 145-73.

[44] See G. Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, 4/2: Maria, Güterloch 1980, pp. 157 ff.

[45] C. Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus,* edited and traslated by Hunt D., London 1987, p. 284; see Triantaphyllopulos, *Wandmalerei* cit., pp. 104-105; Triantaphyllopoulos, *Μελέτες* cit., p. 133; G. Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, 4/1: *Die Kirche*, Güterloh 1982[2], pp. 117 ff.; O'Reiley 1988.

[46] Stylianou, *Painted Churches* cit., pp. 312-320, Chr. Hadjichristodoulou, *Ιερά Μονή Αγίου Ιωάννη Λαμπαδιστή*, Larnaka 2000, p. 6; Constantinides, *Venetian* cit., pp. 280-84, believes that it is the same artist who painted Podithou in 1502 and dates the Latin Chapel to the first decade of 1500. Frigerio-Zeniou, *Art Italo-byzantin* cit., pp. 201-02 suggested that we date this monument and that of Podithou between 1555 and 1571, a view that was not accepted by other scholars: Triantaphyllopoulos, *Βενετία Κύπρος* cit., p. 321 note 25 and p. 329 note 53; Frigerio-Zeniou, *Art Italo-byzantin* cit., pl. 190-194; Frigerio-Zeniou, *Fresques* cit., pp. 441-45, pl. 3-4; Frigerio-Zeniou, *Fresques* cit., pp. 441-45, pl. 1-2.

[47] Frigerio-Zeniou, *Observations* cit., pp. 199-215, pl. 9-10.

[48] Triantaphyllopoulos, *Βενετία Κύπρος* cit., p. 324.

[49] Symeon Aksentis portrays St. Sozomenos in Galata, the western Resurrection and the Byzantine Descent to Hades in side by side, as if in temporal sequence. See Triantaphyllopulos, *Wandmalerei* cit., pp. 237 ff.; Triantaphyllopoulos, *Μελέτες* cit., pp. 50, 134, 154, 171, 201ff., 261 ff.

[50] For the subject of Pietà in post-Byzantine painting see Triantaphyllopoulos, *Μελέτες* cit., pp. 79 ff., 121, 171; Triantaphyllopoulos, *Βενετία Κύπρος* cit., pp. 325 ff.

[51] Papageorgiou, *Αυτοκέφαλος* cit., p. 147; Papanikola-Bakirtzis - Iacovou, *Medieval Cyprus* cit., pp. 210-11, no. 143.

[52] For the artistic production of Madonneri see. Chatzidakis, *ecole cretoise* cit., pp. 169-211; Chatzidakis, *Madonneri* cit., pp. 673 ff.; Triantaphyllopoulos, *Μελέτες* cit., pp. 118 ff., 131; the type of Madre della Misericordia – Mother of God the Merciful (coinciding with the Mother of God - Skepi) and the type of Madre della Consolazione are equivalent to the type of the Mother of God Paramythia. See Chatzidakis, *ecole cretoise* cit., pp. 169-211; Chatzidaki, *Εικόνες* cit., pp. 99 ff.; Mpaltoyianni, *Μήτηρ Θεού* cit., pp. 273-77.

[53] For the exodus of Cypriots from the island after its Fall to the Turks and the activities of Cypriot painters abroad see K.P. Kyrris, *Cypriot Scholars in Venice in the XVI and XVII centuries with some notes on the Cypriot Community in Venice and other Cypriot Scholars who lived in Rome and the rest of Italy in the same period*, "Ο Ελληνισμός εις το Εξωτερικόν", Berlin 1968, pp. 192 ff; C. Maltezou, *Ο Κυπριακός Ελληνισμός του εξωτερικού και η πνευματική του δράση κατά την περίοδο της Ενετοκρατίας (1489-1571)*, "Ιστορία της Κύπρου", V, II, (Th. Papadopoullos ed.), Nicosia1996, pp. 1225 ff.; C. Maltezou, *Από την Κύπρο στη Βενετία: Κύπριοι στη Γαληνοτάτη μετά την Τουρκική κατάκτηση του νησιού*, Nicosia 2003; P.M. Kitromilides, *Κυπριακή Λογιοσύνη 1571-1878*, Nicosia 2002, pp. 48 ff.; K. Tsiknakes, *Κύπριοι πρόσφυγες στην Κρήτη στα τέλη του 16ου αιώνα*, "Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Συμποσίου, Κύπρος-Βενετία, κοινές ιστορικές τύχες (Αθήνα 1-3 Μαρτίου 2001)", (C. Maltezou ed.), Venice 2002, pp. 175 ff.

[54] Paliouras, *εικονογράφησις* cit., 64 ff.; Papageorgiou, *Κύπριοι ζωγράφοι* cit., pp. 181-182; Papageorgiou, *Εικόνες* cit., pp. 207; Chatzidakis - Drakopoulou, *ζωγράφοι* cit., p. 127 ff.; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, *Κύπριοι ζωγράφοι* cit., pp. 356 ff.; Triantaphyllopoulos, *Μελέτες* cit., p. 228; Triantaphyllopoulos, *Βενετία Κύπρος* cit., pp. 334-335.

[55] Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, *Κύπριοι ζωγράφοι* cit., 354 ff.

[56] K. Mertzios, *Θωμάς Φλαγγίνης και ο μικρός Ελληνομνήμων*, Athens 1939, p. 246; Papageorgiou, *Κύπριοι ζωγράφοι* cit., p. 181; Chatzidakis, *ζωγράφοι* cit., pp. 278; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, *Κύπριοι ζωγράφοι* cit., p. 358; Mprouskari, *εκκλησία* cit., pp. 76 ff.

[57] I. Eliades, *Το ζωγραφικό εργαστήριο του Παύλου Ιερογράφου (17ος αιώνας). Οι δεσποτικές του εικόνες*, Nicosia 2006 (forthcoming).

[58] About this painter see Chatzidakis - Drakopoulou, *ζωγράφοι* cit., pp. 110-113; Aspra-Vardavaki, *Κορνάρου* cit., pp. 313 ff., note. 2 where there is a bibliography.

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An Embarrassing Legacy and a Booty of Luxury: Christian Attitudes towards Islamic Art and Architecture in the Medieval Kingdom of Valencia

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Abstract

This chapter examines the relationship between Islam and Christianity in medieval Spain as far as art and architecture are concerned, bearing in mind the length and variability of cross-cultural contact in this historical territory. Christian attitudes towards Islamic art and architecture are interpreted as a peculiar blend of admiration, reactive adaptation, rivalry, emulation and positive transfer of knowledge between two cultures living together in medieval Iberia for eight centuries. In the light of recent research, the role of art and architecture in the process of self-differentiation and self-adscription within both communities must be reconsidered. An imaginary boundary appeared between the two societies, regulating social life and, therefore, conditioning attitudes about objects, buildings and their uses, but this never prevented cultural or technical exchange. From the study of the art and architecture in the kingdom of Valencia (1232-1500), we have come to the conclusion that ethnic and religious differences were not the most relevant factors in the filtering of artistic exchange and assigning new functions to forms, objects or techniques. Finally, the chapter analyses how Spanish historiography has developed narratives, including the appropriation of the Islamic legacy, to construct a national identity in modern times.

El presente artículo estudia la relación entre el Islam y la Cristiandad en la España medieval en el ámbito del arte y la arquitectura, considerando la duración y variabilidad del contacto cultural en este territorio histórico. Las actitudes cristianas hacia el arte islámico y la arquitectura se interpretan como una peculiar mezcla de admiración, adaptación reactiva, rivalidad, emulación y transferencia de conocimiento entre dos culturas que coexistieron en la península Ibérica durante ocho siglos. El papel del arte y la arquitectura en el proceso de diferenciación e identificación de ambas comunidades tiene que ser reconsiderado a la luz de la investigación más reciente. Aunque un límite imaginario fue interiorizándose tanto

en la psicología de los individuos como en las normas que regulaban la vida social y, por lo tanto, condicionó las actitudes hacia los objetos, los edificios y los usos de unos y otros, nunca evitó el intercambio cultural y técnico entre ambas sociedades. El rechazo, los nuevos usos o la asimilación de objetos y formas del mundo islámico revistieron distintas modalidades cuyas motivaciones conviene esclarecer. Del estudio de algunos casos, en particular del antiguo reino de Valencia (1232-1500), deriva la conclusión de que las diferencias religiosas o étnicas no fueron los factores más importantes a la hora de filtrar el intercambio artístico y de asignar nuevas funciones a las formas, los objetos o las técnicas. Finalmente, se presta cierta atención al modo en que la historiografía española ha integrado el legado islámico en la construcción de la identidad nacional en época moderna.

Introduction

It is increasingly evident that Islam was one of the main heirs of late Antiquity and that, particularly from the 10th century onwards, Islamic art was highly diverse. It was also subject to processes of change and adaptation, much in the manner of Western (Christian) art and, on occasions, caused by contact with it[1]. Encounters between Islam and Christian worlds are often framed by traditional religious, ethnic and linguistic boundaries that do not take cultural exchange into account and admittedly ignore the contributions of other minority communities, such as the Jews[2].

The *Reconquista* [the act of re-conquest, but also the process of 'restoring' Christian dominion in Spain] and *convivencia* [living together] are words also used by non-Spanish historians to refer to an enduring interface between the Christian kingdoms and Al-Andalus [Islamic Spain] during the Middle Ages[3]. These concepts go some way towards understanding cross-cultural relations from the Islamic invasion of the Iberian Peninsula in the 8th century to the Christian conquest of the Nasrid kingdom of Granada in 1492. However, they are somewhat simplistic and are also burdened with historiographical and nationalistic connotations from the times of Américo Castro and Claudio Sánchez Albornoz[4].

The length and variability of cultural contact and the consequences it had in Spain, even after 1492, are highly complex and thus deserve close examination. Defining limits in time and space, we intend to concentrate on the kingdom of Valencia between the Christian conquest (circa 1232-1245) and forced conversion in 1521, as a result of the longstanding cultural relations between Christian and Muslim communities, until the final expulsion of the *Moriscos* [Muslims who were forced to convert to Christianity but often secretly continued to practise Islam] in 1609[5].

This study reconsiders some artistic issues in order to interpret Christian attitudes towards Islamic art and architecture as a peculiar mixture of admiration, reactive adaptation, rivalry, emulation and positive transfer of knowledge between two cultures living

together in medieval Spain. Certainly, there was stimulus towards diffusion across a barrier which resembled an imaginary boundary separating two coexisting cultures in a world of mixed and fluid identities rather than an actual border. However, Christian Spaniards' fear, it has been said, "became internalised both in individual psychologies and in collective norms regulating social distance among religious groups", which were "institutionalised in discriminatory laws and apparatus for enforcing them"[6]. It is important then to know to what extent exchanges across this boundary reflect conscious shifts in cultural and political values.

The role of art and architecture in the process of cultural differentiation and self-adscription within either the Christian or Islamic community must also be explored far beyond the mere appreciation of *Mudejar* art as the result of the influence of Islamic art and architecture on Christian kingdoms in Spain[7]. Muslims who remained after the Christian advance from north to south were called *Mudejares*, literally "those who are permitted to remain". Recent studies suggest that Mudejar art developed as an Islamic influence on Christian art but they also remind us that its historic place in the process of the continuous transformation of identity among Christians, Muslims and Jews for many centuries should be defined. The boundary moved following the southbound advance of the Christian Reconquest, but different contexts and cultural and political agendas resulted in several ways of appropriation, reuse and dismissal of Islamic traditions[8]. It has been noted that the kingdom of Valencia was not a promised land for Mudejar art, with the remarkable exception of pottery, despite the immersion of Christian settlers "in a sea of Muslims, clustered in city atolls or more often scattered adrift" in Burns's words[9]. Since Jews probably played a pivotal role in the process of cultural exchange, their artistic choices may go towards illustrating the acculturation process facing Muslims and Christians in medieval Spain[10]. The synagogue of Santa Maria la Blanca in Toledo bears witness to the influence and permeable boundaries between Muslim and Jewish communities and was later transformed into a Christian church while the synagogue of Samuel Halevi (circa 1360) echoes the Castilian court style with its Nasrid stucco ornaments and Arabic inscriptions[11]. Jews, who were shifting cultural referents, either by conversion or migration, were likely both to be receptive to cultural stimuli from different origins and to be able to assess the market for cultural innovation in the host society[12]. *Mozarabs*, namely Christians faithful to their religion under Islamic rule, may have played an analogous role, although we know less about the extent of their cultural transmission, especially when they migrated to the Christian north. Nonetheless, these issues have been taken into account by historians of art and architecture studying early medieval Spain. The current view is that Mozarabic art is the result of the acculturation process among Christians living under Islamic rule. However, Mozarabs are no longer considered the sole source of Islamic aesthetic values since a shared artistic culture existed north and south of the border of the river Duero, in spite of religious differences[13].

To a great extent, Islamic civilisation was the first heir of the Classical legacy in the early middle ages. Cultural interaction between Muslims and Christians had the result of effectively transmitting ancient knowledge, science and technology[14]. In the early Middle Ages, a movement of technological diffusion followed a trajectory from China and India to the West, passing through Persia, which was also a centre of technological innovation. Architecture and artistic crafts are two fields in which transfer of knowledge has been discussed with view to determining the Roman, Islamic or Christian origins of certain ornamental styles, building techniques or particular craft traditions.

According to Glick, easy access to Andalusian craft products in Christian Spain may have retarded the development of local industries and inhibited the migration of technical specialists, at least until the late 11th century, when the situation of economic dependence began to change. To enhance the development of crafts associated with Islamic expertise, Muslim artisans, and particularly those whose crafts were deemed to be Islamic specialities, were sought and invited to remain under Christian rule. Christian kings and lords enticed groups of Muslim workers to settle elsewhere to develop particular industries such as lusterware, pottery or silk textiles. In his new kingdom of Valencia, James I of Aragon (1209-1276) encouraged the continuity of crafts and the social groups managing and serving them. James I fostered the paper industry in Xàtiva and protected it from competition by forbidding Muslims elsewhere in the kingdom of Valencia to make paper[15]. Continuity in other crafts was achieved through less formal mechanisms: skilled Muslim artisans remained as long as there was a good market for their wares[16], but Christians soon came to control the production, transport and retail sectors when the profits were attractive enough. A skilled artisan must have embroidered in gold the luxury vestments in the Order of the Temple's chapel in Peniscola (Castellón) requisitioned by James II on the Order's suppression, but even if the sumptuous cloths are described as "Saracen work with Arab letters in brilliant colours", this does not necessarily imply that they were made by Islamic hands[17].

The case of lusterware pottery is illustrative. This is a special type of ceramics with a metallic glaze that gives the effect of iridescence, produced by metallic oxides with a shiny finish painted over the glaze (in what is known as "lustre"), which is given a second firing at a lower temperature in a reduction kiln, which excludes oxygen. This extremely complex pottery technique originated in the Abbasid caliphate in the 8th-9th centuries, and soon became widespread in Persia and Egypt. Lusterware was later produced in Egypt during the Fatimid caliphate in the 10th-12th centuries and reached Malaga and some other centres in the Iberian Peninsula and Balearic Islands while production continued in the Middle East. Lusterware pieces were appreciated by Muslims and Christians as a substitute for more luxurious gold and silverware and not only because it was less morally suspicious in orthodox Muslim eyes. It was certainly less expensive than gold and silver plates, it offered its users a painterly design on a smooth glassy glaze and the technical refinement of these ceramics was appreciated by connoisseurs. The

technology, involving a multi-staged and highly sophisticated process (each piece had to be baked three times and special kilns were required), was consciously transferred to Calatayud and Teruel in Aragon, Manises and Paterna in Valencia and to Majorca, whence it was taken to Italy and adapted under the name of *maiolica.* The conquest of Muslim territories and the forced transfer of Muslim potters to Christian cities was admittedly the main cause of the extension in these of the use of *maiolica*. Technology remained in Islamic hands for some time but the trade and distribution of this special craft attested to the rivalry between centres such as Valencia and Majorca under Christian rule and the Muslim kingdom of Granada until 1492. The artisans were Muslims but they had to adapt to a new market with different tastes and demands, though they continued to use an Islamic repertoire, including inscriptions such as the *alafia* ("God is the only god"), geometrical patterns, stars, stylised flowers and figures, although these were soon mingled with heraldry and other Gothic motifs. Mudejar potters working under the rule of Christian nobles, such as the Luna and Boil families, gained a reputation in the Valencian towns of Manises and Paterna for this manufacturing style from the 14th-16th centuries, when the production was exported to Italy, Flanders and France. The Boil family fostered the ceramics industry in their fief of Manises, as it was one of their main sources of wealth. Pere Boil, who travelled to Granada as King James II's ambassador to the Nasrid court, is likely to have attracted Muslim potters from Malaga and encouraged them to settle down in Manises and other neighbouring villages to produce lusterware pottery. The ensuing success of Manises ranged from early imitation of Malaga models to a more commercially orientated production which left Malaga as a minority and exclusive market[18].

Technology and innovation in architecture

Shared technologies are a particular case study showing intense interchange of knowledge between Muslims and Christians. Rammed earth (*tapia*) building is an interesting example. A *tapia* mixture with its aggregate and binding agent is similar to concrete when poured and rammed into wooden formworks. Both Muslims and Christians employed rammed earth to construct fortification walls because it was quick and easy. It was also widely used in Al-Andalus for houses, palaces and mosques, where Muslim architects employed inexpensive wall constructions and then finished them with ornate wood or stucco. The fact that the Romance term *tapia* passed into Arabic usage *(tabiya)* does not in this case warrant the conclusion that the technique was diffused from the Christian north to Al-Andalus. The opposite assumption that *tapia* was an Islamic technique which in eastern and southern Spain could compete with masonry construction is not clearly justified either, as Glick writes[19]. Both cultures appear to have employed a range of simple wall-building methods, dictated by the availability of alternative sources of construction materials. Rammed earth walls present variations related to the formwork measures, the types and materials used in the joints, as well as the

material itself and the binding agent[20]. When stone or wood were not easily available, Christians and Muslims could use *tapia* or bricks as a building commodity[21]. Even in the early modern period, rammed earth continued to be an efficient building technique for fortifications and other uses despite prejudices[22].

Timbrel vaults are another controversial issue. Timbrel vaults consist of a series of low arches made of plain bricks laid lengthwise over a wood form (centring), making a much gentler curve, and also a lighter and more resistant structure than has generally been produced by other methods of construction. The Valencian rather than Catalan origin of this technique is documented from 1382 but it could be a result of knowledge transfer between Muslim and Christian architects in late medieval Spain. It is significant that the earliest documented timbrel vaults all appeared in the context of appropriation of Islamic techniques and decor from the late 14th century in the court of King Martin I of Aragon (1396-1410) in Valencia and Barcelona[23].

Lavishly decorated and gilded wooden ceilings, made up of intricate geometric forms, have traditionally been classified as an Islamic influence on Spanish architecture. Travellers appreciated them as a peculiar trait of Spanish palaces and royal residences, making them distinctively different from other wooden ceilings which were common in most European countries[24]. Moreover, we know that some of the carpenters who created rich examples of these wooden ceilings were Muslims and most of the technical terms still in use to describe the elements of these ceilings and their decoration have Arab origins. However, not all the carpenters were Muslims or Mudejar[25]. This could be another case of shared technology which became a field of expertise for Spanish carpenters and at the same time a distinctive feature of royal and luxurious residences in late medieval and Renaissance Spain. Saint Mary's Church, built soon after the Christian conquest of Lliria (Valencia) on the site of the old mosque, had a painted wooden ceiling made by a significant number of Mudejar workers[26]. It is hardly surprising that the splendid wooden ceiling in the throne room in the Aljaferia (royal residence in Zaragoza) included a triumphal inscription commemorating the final victory against the Muslim foe in 1492, even though it was the work of Mudejar carpenters, such as Faraig and Muhammad Gali[27].

Patterns of intention: architectural standards of assimilation and dismissal

Historians can establish different standards of assimilation in Iberian architecture apart from building techniques, which shared architects and patrons in Christian kingdoms or in Al-Andalus: form, space, function and ideology were readily transferred within a process of cultural exchange. These distinctions prove to be more reasoned than the distorted view of Mudejar style as a commonplace in interpreting artistic and architectural exchange between Christian kingdoms and Islamic Spain. It is much more important

to explore the purpose and combination in any given case study than the religion or ethnicity of the master builders, the materials employed in a building or the precise origin of a certain technique or functional plan of a civil building[28]. An interesting case is that of the monastery of Santa Clara in Tordesillas (Valladolid), an important palace built in the 1350s by order of Peter I of Castile as the likely and immediate predecessor of the renowned Court of Lions in the Alhambra of Granada. Ruiz Souza has shown that the same pattern may well have been taken from Tordesillas to Granada by the same artists who worked for both kingdoms, due to the close friendship between Peter I and Mohammad V[29]. Other authors have insisted on the common thread linking artists and forms between the Alcazar of Seville in the times of Peter I and the Alhambra. This could also be due to Peter I's preference for Mudejar over Gothic architecture because of its non-French associations[30]. Inscriptions and documents attest the will of Christian kings to have their sovereignty accepted by Christian, Jews and Muslims, even if the price to pay was respect for different religions among their subjects and the occasional occurrence of conflicts between Christians and Jews (1391) or Christians and Muslims (Mudejar revolts, and Morisco uprisings in the 16th century).

Enduring admiration for Islamic architectural monuments is widely recorded in Spanish medieval and early modern sources. Christian buildings assimilated their architectural and decorative forms from the 13th-14th centuries and adapted them to their new functions, including religious ones. Mosques and palaces were a sumptuous part of the booty acquired through the conquest and two attitudes were taken in dealing with them[31]. On one hand, in Castile Christian kings took on this legacy as a trophy and a treasure, easily adapted to new interests and beliefs and which continued to inspire admiration which has lasted up to present times, as is the case of the Alhambra or the great mosque in Córdoba. Alternatively, in other lands, such as Valencia or Majorca, which were conquered in the mid 13th century by James I, the choice was to cancel out the memories of enduring Islamic rule by replacing Muslim mosques and palaces with new unmistakeably Christian ones, even if continuity in names, functions and customs was acceptable to a certain extent. Therefore, in the kingdoms of Majorca and Valencia, virtually no Islamic monument was preserved and our knowledge of Muslim architecture in these lands must rely primarily on archaeological excavations and indirect sources[32]. This attitude was not exclusive: in Valencia, public baths, inspired by the model of *hammâm* [Arab steam bath] whose attribution to the Islamic period has been taken for granted, were actually built after the Christian conquest and one example is still preserved in the so-called *baños del Almirante*[33]. In Xàtiva the mosque was preserved and used as a Christian church for centuries before the final decision to substitute it with a new temple was taken in 1596. Even then, early modern authors praised the splendour of the building in spite of its Arabic inscriptions and the memory of it as a religious site for local Moriscos[34]. Sources attest to the contribution of Mudejar workers in the construction of all kind of buildings, but this scarcely derived from a clear Islamic influence

in public or private architecture. Highly influential Christian authors, such as Francesc Eiximenis (circa 1330-1409) showed a dismissive attitude towards the Islamic legacy in town planning and architecture; such an attitude is also evident in the measures adopted by the council of Valencia against "Moorish walls", houses or dead-end streets, considering all these elements as an unforgettable footprint of Muslim dominion[35].

Spolia: trophies, memory and assimilation

According to Kinney, *spolia* are materials and artefacts in reuse, but art historians widely consider *spolia* as any artefacts incorporated into a setting culturally or chronologically different from that of its creation. They refer to certain uses of this kind of artefacts, since *spolia* can be a simple response to technological or resource limitations. More interesting is the reuse of culturally specific objects for less practical purposes, such as ornaments, especially when the *spolia* seem to contradict the message or purpose of their new setting[36]. Considered as art objects full of history or aggregates made up of different historic remains, *spolia* were "artistic statements expressing a triumph of the whole over its own component parts, the present over its varied past"[37]. In architecture, reuse can be prompted by a lack of a material, such as marble, but the way in which *spolia* are integrated and displayed enables us to interpret the potential cultural values behind this practice[38].

The reuse of ancient Roman columns and inscriptions or early Christian altars and sarcophagi in medieval Valencian monuments hints at a will to reaffirm the Christian tradition that could legitimise the conquest of James I of Aragon: this was the case in Saint Felix's church in Xàtiva[39]. The emplacement of two Islamic marble columns flanking the triumphal arch of the church of San Juan del Hospital in Valencia suggests an interest in exhibiting these trophies in one of the first Christian churches built in the city after it was taken in 1238[40]. Alternatively, the use of Islamic capitals and marble reliefs in the *Real* palace (the royal residence of Aragonese kings in Valencia) and their subsequent spoliation by King Peter I of Castile responds largely to genuine re-use of a scarce and luxurious material and thus as a trophy that Peter brought to his own palace in Seville[41].

Islamic caskets entered Spanish church treasures as undoubtedly true *spolia* in the sense of trophies as part of the booty of the Christian Reconquest[42]. Attributes of power and dominion, such as crowns and thrones, as well as banners, arms and armour with royal insignia, were probably the most celebrated trophies, with the banner of the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa being one of the most renowned[43]. Nevertheless, after having surveyed objects of this kind comprehensively, Shalem thinks that the idea of trophy is far too restrictive a label for Islamic treasury objects, since they were also gifts, luxurious commodities and souvenirs[44]. While in the rest of medieval Europe Islamic works enjoyed the aura of exotic objects from the East, in Spain almost every looted object was regarded by the Christians as a further symbol of the liberation of the Iberian Pen-

insula[45]. These objects were lavishly decorated with carvings, coloured and sometimes even set with gems, caskets and *pyxides* [small lidded containers] and were one of the most valuable presents for a member of a royal family in Al-Andalus, but they became symbols of triumph over the Islamic enemy as soon as they passed to Christian hands. They were presented to churches as trophies of war against the infidels and were consequently Christianised by converting them into relic containers, and were sometimes even related to the memory of martyrs of the faith who had finally defeated the Muslim foe, as was probably the case of the ivory casket from the monastery of Leire (Navarre). The ivory *pyxis* still preserved in Saint Just Cathedral was probably part of the booty obtained by the archbishop of Narbonne after the conquest of Valencia[46]. In other cases, we are facing a historic aggregate: an ivory casket now preserved at the Royal Academy of History in Madrid which features a royal coat of arms from Aragon-Sicily was used as a relic container in the Valldecrist charterhouse, near Altura (Castellón). Although the original object was probably made in Fatimid Egypt, it came to Sicily, where it was adapted for the requirements of King Martin I (1356-1410), who offered it in turn for the treasure of the monastery of Valldecrist[47]. If we recognise some Nasrid influences in such a precious casket (dated in its present form in late 14th century), we should conclude that it constitutes the finest example of portability in the sense defined by Hoffman for previous periods: "While portability destabilised and dislocated works from their original sites of production, it also re-mapped geographical and cultural boundaries, opening up vistas of intra- and cross-cultural encounters and interactions"[48].

Muslims, in turn, appropriated Christian *spolia* as trophies of their victories and converted them to new uses, sometimes with a prominently religious significance. The raids of Al-Mansur against Santiago de Compostela turned to Córdoba, with the bells of churches as booty carried by Christian prisoners, and bell towers were one of the first symbols of the Christian dominion established after the conquest. Muslim diplomat and poet Ibn-al-Abbar lamented the fall of Valencia in 1238, remarking how bells summoned Christians to churches from the same towers where the muezzin used to call the faithful to pray at the mosques[49]. It is hardly surprising that some bells were taken as trophies and transformed into lamps to hang in Muslim mosques such as Qarawiyyin in Fez where their appearance was changed, their original use was altered and they were made into valuable objects at the service of a different religion in the context of a competition between bell towers and minarets[50].

A SENSE OF LOSS

Christian and Muslim writers alike have built up the concept of the Golden Age in Muslim Spain. The nostalgic tone of the literature of exile, be it by Arab or Jewish authors, has not been the sole element to foster this myth. Modern Muslims' pride in the artistic and cultural splendours in the West, represented by the golden age of Al-

Andalus, has also played a role in proclaiming the once clear superiority of Islam over the Western world. The material remains of that period happen to serve as places of memory and nostalgia for Muslims everywhere.

The tendency to glorify Muslim Spain by creating an imagined medieval story for this region can be considered as part of the exorcising of Islam from the history of Europe and forging a Christian Spanish collective identity[51]. The inclusion of *Andalusi* art in nationalistic art history narratives tends to emphasise its influence on Christian art and it serves to explain certain Spanish peculiarities against more common European tendencies[52]. The ancient boundary between Christians and Muslims in a period of coexistence and cultural interchange has been transformed into a new limit to reshape Spanish identity in a European context. Assimilation of *Andalusis* was part of the building up of a national history in Spain, while other processes of coexistence and acculturation in Europe, namely in Sicily, Malta or the Balkans, were not taken into account[53]. Trophies or treasures, ivory caskets, luxurious textiles and magnificent monuments still preserve an aura of splendour that proves the value of those who conquered them. In the same way as these artefacts and buildings were Christianised in the Middle Ages, they were assimilated as part of a Spanish heritage, Christian and tolerant to a certain extent, which accounted for a different history and explanation of a specific cultural identity in a European context[54]. The romantic and exotic visions of Washington Irving (*Tales of the Alhambra*, 1832) or José Amador de los Ríos, who proposed the term Mudejar in a famous lecture given in 1859 to define the assimilation of Islamic aesthetics in Spanish architecture[55], have been replaced by new ideals of tolerance and cross-cultural dialogue in contemporary Spain, but this is one of the last links in a chain of successive assimilation of an embarrassing legacy and a luxurious booty.

Notes

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3 A. MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages: from Frontier to Empire, 1000-1500,* London 1977; T.F. Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages: Comparative Perspectives on Social and Cultural Formation,* Princeton 1979; B.F. Reilly, *The Medieval Spains,* Cambridge 1993; R. Fletcher, *Moorish Spain,* Berkeley 1992 for a historical overview.

4 A. Castro, *España en su historia: cristianos, moros y judíos,* Buenos Aires 1948; C. Sánchez Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico,* Buenos Aires 1956.

5 On Mudejar and Moriscos minorities and their cultural interface with Christians in the kingdom of Valencia, see R.I. Burns, *Medieval Colonialism: Postcrusade Exploitation of Islamic Valencia,* Princeton 1975; J. Boswell, *The Royal Treasure: Muslim Communities under the Crown of Aragon in the Fourteenth Century*, New Haven 1977; M.T. Ferrer i Mallol, *La frontera amb l'Islam en el segle XIV. Cristians i sarraïns al País Valencià,* Barcelona 1988; M.D. Meyerson, *The Muslims of Valencia in the Age of Fernando and Isabel: Between Coexistence and Crusade,* Berkeley 1991; Id., *Un reino de contradicciones: Valencia,*

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6 Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain* cit., p. 3.

7 G.M. Borrás Gualis, *El arte mudéjar*, Teruel 1990; R. López Guzmán, *Arquitectura mudéjar*, Madrid 2000; M.E. Díez Jorge, *El arte mudéjar: expresión artística de una convivencia,* Granada 2001.

8 J.D. Dodds, M.R. Menocal, A.K. Balbale, *The Arts of Intimacy*, New Haven - London 2008, pp. 323-329.

9 Burns, *Medieval Colonialism* cit., p. 10. No scholar has attempted a systematic survey of Mudejar art in the territory of the medieval kingdom of Valencia.

10 B.R. Gampel, *Jews, Christians, and Muslims in Medieval Iberia: Convivencia through the Eyes of Sephardic Jews*, in V.B. Mann, T.F. Glick, J.D. Dodds (eds.), *Convivencia. Jews, Muslims and Christians in Medieval Spain*, New York 1992, pp. 11-37 with annotated bibliography.

11 J.C. Ruiz Souza, *Sinagogas sefardíes monumentales em el contexto de la arquitectura medieval hispana*, in I. Bango Torviso (ed.), *Memoria de Sefarad*, Madrid 2002, pp. 229-232.

12 T.F. Glick, *Science in Medieval Spain: The Jewish Contribution in the Context of Convivencia*, in Mann, Glick, Dodds, *Convivencia* cit., pp. 83-111.

13 J.D. Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology in Early Medieval Spain*, London - Philadelphia 1990, I.G. Bango, *Arte prerrománico hispano. El arte en la España cristiana de los siglos VI al XI*, Madrid 2001, pp. 170-226. See also J.D. Dodds, C. Little, J. Williams (eds.), *The Art of Medieval Spain A.D. 500-1200,* New York 1993.

14 J. Vernet, *Lo que Europa debe al Islam de España*, Barcelona 2000; Glick, *Islamic Art and Christian Spain* cit.

15 R.I. Burns, *Islam under the Crusaders,* Princeton 1973, pp. 90-96.

16 Glick, *Islamic Art and Christian Spain* cit., pp. 222-223.

17 Literally *cum opera sarracenico* and *cum literis arabis lividis coloris.* See Burns, *Islam* cit., p. 92.

18 J. Coll Conesa, *Transferencias técnicas en la producción cerámica entre Al-Andalus y los reinos cristianos: el caso de Sharq-al-Andalus*, in A. Malpica (ed.), *Cerámicas islámicas y cristianas a fines de la Edad Media. Influencias e intercambios*, Ceuta 2003, pp. 301-365; J. Coll Conesa, *La loza decorada en España*, in "Ars Longa", 2008, 17, pp. 151-168; A. García Porras, *La cerámica en azul y dorado valenciana del siglo XIV e inicios del siglo XV*, Valencia 2009.

19 Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain*, cit., pp. 224-225.

20 A. Serra Desfilis, *Tapial y adobe: fábricas de tierra cruda en la historia de la arquitectura medieval hispana,* in M. Achenza, M. Cadinu, M. Correia, A. Serra (eds.), *Houses and cities built with Earth: Conservation, significance and urban quality*, Lisbon 2006, pp. 72-76.

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22 L. Arciniega García, *Prejuicios historiográficos sobre la técnica del tapial de tierra en la España de la Edad Moderna*, in Achenza, Cadinu, Correia, Serra (eds.), *Houses and cities* cit., pp. 78-79.

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24 For instance, the German traveller Hieronymus Münzer in his *Itinerarium sive peregrinatio excellentissimi viri artium ac vtriusque medicine doctoris Hieronimi Monetarii de Feltkirchen ciuis Nurembergensis* (1494-1495).

25 E. Nuere, *Geometría y lazo en la carpintería hispano-musulmana,* in *La arquitectura como diversidad*, Zaragoza 1998, pp. 47-76.

[26] J.A. Llibrer Escrig, *El finestral gòtic. L'església i el poble de Llíria als segles medievals*, Lliria 2003, pp. 290-309.

[27] The inscription reads: "*Ferdinandus, Hispaniarum, Siciliae, Corsicae, Balearumque rex, principum optimus, prudens, strenuus, pius, constans, iustus, felix, et Helisabeth regina, religione et animi magnitudine supra mulierem, insigni coniuges, auxiliante Christo, victoriosissimi, post liberatam a mauris Bethycam, pulso veteri feroque hoste, hoc opus construendum curarunt, anno salutis MCCCCLXXXXII*". See B. Cabañero Subiza, G. Borrás Gualís, *La Aljafería*, Zaragoza 1998.

[28] J.C. Ruiz Souza, *Architectural languages, functions, and spaces: the Crown of Castile and Al-Andalus,* in "Medieval Encounters", 2006, 12/3, pp. 460-367; Id., *Le 'style mudéjar' en architecture cent cinquante ans après*, in "Perspectiva", 2009, 2, pp. 277-286.

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[30] D.F. Ruggles, *The Alcazar of Seville and Mudejar Architecture*, in "Gesta" 2002, 43, 2, pp. 87-98.

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[34] J. Bérchez, M. Gómez-Ferrer, *La Seo de Xàtiva. Historia, imágenes y realidades*, Valencia 2007, pp. 301-303.

[35] Falomir, *El proceso* cit.; A. Serra Desfilis, *Orden y decorum en el urbanismo valenciano de los siglos XIV y XV*, in A. Casamento, E. Guidoni (eds.), *Le città medievali dell'Italia meridionale e insulare. Storia dell'urbanistica/Sicilia IV*, Rome 2004, pp. 41-42.

[36] D. Kinney, *The Concept of Spolia*, in C. Rudolph (ed.), *A Companion to Medieval Art,* Oxford 2006, pp. 233-252.

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Townscape and Building Complexes in Medieval Western Anatolia under Turkish-Islamic Culture

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Abstract

This study aims to explore the contribution of building complexes to urban development and the evolution of important town centres in Western Anatolia between the 14th and 16th centuries. Until the 14th century, this part of Anatolia was home to ancient and subsequently Byzantine cultures. During Seljuk rule in Anatolia, for security purposes petty dynasties were encouraged to settle in this border region between their territories and the Byzantine lands. After the collapse of the Seljuk Sultanate in the early 14th century, the Principalities and later the Ottomans declared their rule in these lands. The architectural and urban development of this era was shaped by these changes in political power and the overlap between early settled and newly settled cultures in the region. Members of the ruling institution initiated the construction of building complexes, the so-called *külliye*s, which contributed to the establishment and development of the urban fabric in Western Anatolian town centres. Using the town of Tire as a case study, this chapter explains how the urban milieu in Western Anatolia was transformed through building complexes founded under the rulership of a new Turkish-Islamic cadre of governors.

Bu çalışma, 14. ve 16. yüzyıllar arasında Batı Anadolu'da önemli kent merkezlerinin evrimleşmesini ve külliyelerin kent gelişimine katkısını araştırmaktadır. Batı Anadolu, 14. yüzyıla kadar eski çağ ve devamında gelen Bizans kültürlerine ev sahipliği yapmıştır. Selçuklular Anadolu'da egemen oldukları dönemde, güvenlik amacıyla, Bizans'la kendi toprakları arasında sınır oluşturan bu bölgeye küçük Türk beyliklerinin yerleşimini desteklediler. Selçuklu Devleti'nin 14. yüzyılın başlarında sona ermesiyle, önce Beylikler sonra da Osmanlılar Batı Anadolu'da hakimiyetlerini ilan ettiler. Ortaçağdaki mimari ve kentsel gelişimler, egemen politik güçler arasındaki bu değişimler ve yerleşik kültürlerle yeni gelen ve bölgeye yerleşen kültürlerin etkileşimleriyle şekillendi. Yönetici sınıfı, Batı Anadolu'daki merkezlerde kent dokusunun oluşum ve gelişimine katkıda bulunan külliyelerin yapımına öncülük ettiler. Bu araştırma, Türk-İslam hükümdarlığıyla değişen yönetici sınıfının yaptırdığı külliyelerle Batı Anadolu'daki kent ortamının dönüşümünü açıklamaktadır. Bu anlamda, Tire kenti örnek çalışma alanı olarak seçilmiştir.

Tire, eski çağdan itibaren Batı Anadolu'da yerleşmiş farklı kültürlere ev sahipliği yapmış önemli bir kent merkezi olmuştur. Bu kültürlerin izleri, Tahtakale olarak bilinen, kentin ticari merkezindeki ızgara plan şemasında takip edilebilir. Eskiçağ ve Bizans dönemine ait diğer mimari ve arkeolojik bulgular kentin yakın coğrafyasında izlenebilir. Kent, günümüzdeki yoğun yerleşiminden dolayı daha ileri kazı araştırmalarına olanak vermemektedir.

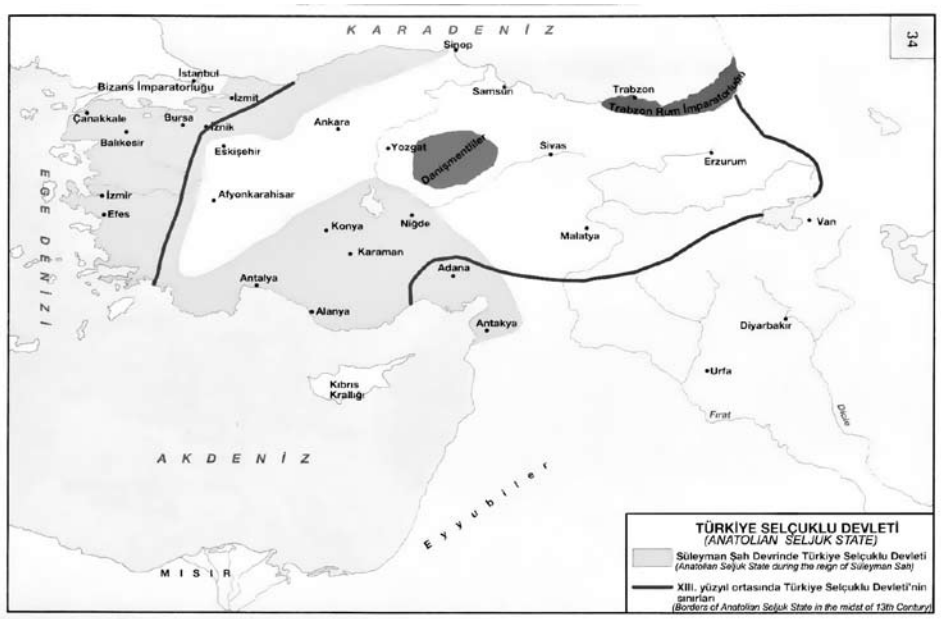
Günümüz Tire'sinin kent dokusu bölgedeki Türk-İslam hakimiyetiyle şekillenmeye başlamıştır. Öncelikle, Aydınoğulları güneyde, Güme Dağı yamaçlarına yerleştiler ve külliyeler etrafında gelişen küçük merkezcikler oluşturdular. Daha sonra, Osmanlı hakimiyeti süresinde kent, külliyeler ve etrafında oluşan mahallelerle doğu ve kuzeydeki düzlük alanlara doğru genişledi. Aynı dönemde, Tahtakale civarında hanlar ve bedestenin inşasıyla kentin ticari merkezi şekillendi.

Görülüyor ki, külliyeler ve ticari yapılar hem varolan mahallelerin gelişim ve genişlemesine katkıda bulundular hem de yeni mahallelerin oluşumunda etkili oldular. Bir anlamda, çevrelerinde küçük merkezler oluşturan odak noktaları oldular. Altyapı sistemi bu merkezi bağlayacak şekilde biçimlendi. Merkezlere göre kent sınırları genişledi. Sonuçta, külliyeler kentin büyümesi ve gelişmesine katkıda bulunurken aynı zamanda da konumlarına ve yerleşimlerine göre kent formunu ve yapılanmasını şekillendirdiler. Böylelikle ortaçağda yönetici sınıf tarafından yaptırılan külliyeler kent gelişimini desteklediler ve yardımcı oldular.

Son olarak, külliyelerin konumlanmasındaki tercihler yönetici sınıfının sahip olduğu politik ve ekonomik güçle ilişkilendirilebilir. Aydınoğulları, bir uc beyliğinin sahip olduğu otoriteden ötesini elde edemediler. Anadolu'da merkezi bir hakimiyet kurmayı başaran Osmanlılar gibi ilerleyemediler ve periferik bir güç olarak kaldılar. Bu durum, her iki toplumun mimarisinin kentsel dokunun oluşum ve gelişimine ne şekilde katkıda bulunduğuna da yansımıştır. Bu çalışmanın bir ileri adımında Aydınoğulları'nın periferik ve Osmanlılar'ın merkezi otoritesinin mimari ölçekteki yansımaları irdelenebilir. Anadolu Selçuklu mimarisindeki bileşik fonksiyonlu tek yapılardan, Osmanlı klasik döneminde inşa edilen külliyelerin gelişim ve değişiminde Batı Anadolu beylik dönemi yapı gruplarının yeri bu bağlamda araştırılabilir.

Introduction

Until the 14th century, Western Anatolia was home to ancient and subsequently Byzantine cultures. During Seljuk rule in Anatolia, for purposes of security petty dynasties were encouraged to settle in this border region between their territories and the Byzantine lands (Map 1). The dynasties, known as *uc beylikleri* [frontier principalities], helped the Seljuks to control the region in both social and military terms. However, they retained their own economic and socio-cultural customs and did not entirely become a part of the Seljuk central authority. After the collapse of the Seljuk State in the early 14th century, these dynasties grew into Principalities and each declared their rule in particular parts of Western Anatolia (Map 2). In a similar way to the Seljuks, each aimed to become a central

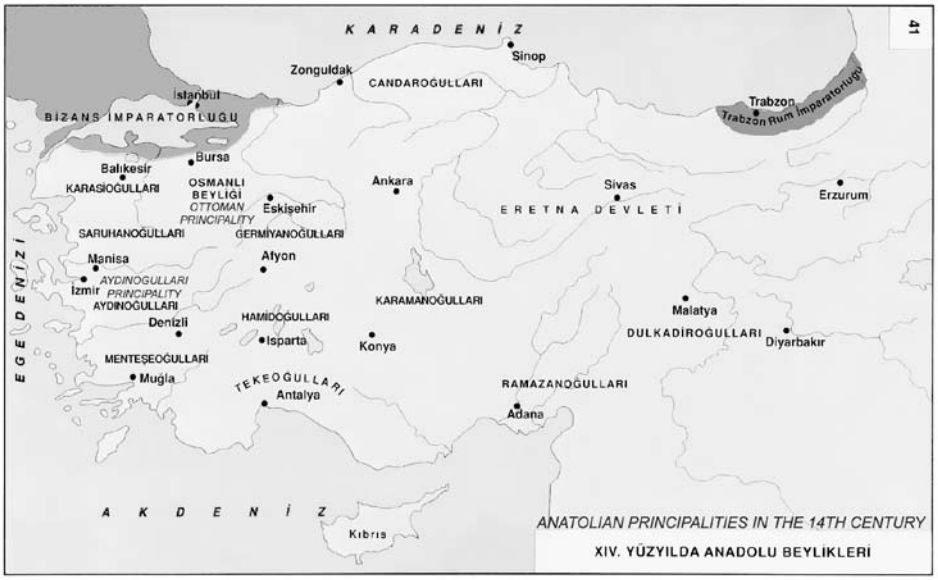


Map 1
Anatolian Seljuk State in the 12th - 13th Centuries.
Source: *Tarih Atlası* [Historical Atlas]. Altın Kitaplar Yayınevi, 2005.

power by dominating the others. There were ongoing wars over political authority and various political and economic alliances were made between the Principalities themselves, early settled Byzantines and Latins in the West. This gave way to administration, institutionalization and the formation of a social culture pertaining to the Principalities. Later, around the middle of the 15th century, the Ottoman Principality declared its absolute rule in Western Anatolia. Although originally a petty dynasty, it became the single and central authority governing the region (Map 3). Architectural and urban development in Western Anatolia between the 14th and 16th centuries was shaped by these changes in political power and the overlap between early settled and newly inhabiting cultures. It was a period of exploration and experimentation in architectural practice within the urban context of growing town centres.

Scholarship on urban studies of medieval Western Anatolia

In comparison to the long-enduring Ottoman period, there is little urban historiography of medieval Western Anatolia under Turkish-Islamic rule during the period of the Principalities. However, in both cases, amateur local historians led the earliest urban explorations of Western Anatolian town centres. Such studies comprised either the documentation of written sources such as *kadı sicilleri* [court records], and *tapu tahrir defterleri* [cadastral surveys], or covered the documentation and description of



Map 2
Turkish Principalities in Anatolia in the 14th Century.
Source: *Tarih Atlası* [Historical Atlas]. Altın Kitaplar Yayınevi, 2005.

Map 3
Ottoman Empire in the 15th - 16th Centuries.
Source: *Tarih Atlası* [Historical Atlas]. Altın Kitaplar Yayınevi, 2005.

physical entities. In other words, they documented the architectural heritage of an individual town, and were not concerned with developing scholarly arguments about Western Anatolian towns in general. The scholarship on Ottoman Anatolian towns in particular progressed with the analyses of written sources[1]. Studies of cadastral surveys and court records enabled social historians especially to reconstruct the demographic, social and economic structure of towns. Research on the societies and economies of Ottoman Anatolian towns increased. In the 1980s, Suraiya Faroqhi, Haim Gerber and Daniel Goffman became some of the most significant figures bringing more integrated research on towns and urban life[2].

By the late 1970s, urban studies comprised of physical histories of towns became professionalized, with the use and combination of earlier documentary studies of Anatolian towns. Uğur Tanyeli's dissertation on the pre-Ottoman, and Sevgi Aktüre's dissertation on the late Ottoman city models are regarded as forerunners[3]. Recent scholarship has seen an increased interest in studies focusing on pre-Ottoman city models[4]. Even though a greater number focus on the Ottoman era, recent studies of architectural history show that explorations of towns that focus on their architectural entities are highly popular topics. The research of Howard Crane and Irene Biermann display more integrated approaches to Ottoman urban studies[5]. Sarah Ethel Wolper's research also discusses the Seljuk towns in relation to their components during the pre-Ottoman period[6]. The former works have been helpful for their informative contribution whereas the latter ones have been influential for their methodological approaches to urban historiography. This chapter studies the architecture of medieval Western Anatolia in terms of its relationship with, and contributions to, its urban context and focuses on the role of *külliye*s [building complexes] in shaping the townscape of medieval Western Anatolia.

*Külliye*s, building complexes and their functions as urban generators

Külliye, or building complex, as used in the terminology of the history of Turkish-Islamic architecture[7], refers to a group of buildings with different functions that surround a mosque[8]. The term is also used for groups of buildings which congregate around the tomb of a *veli* [saint][9]. It is even used for buildings constructed in the course of time by or around any existing building[10]. While the former definition indicates planned building groups, built together as part of an original design, the latter ones refer to groups of buildings constructed over the course of time displaying an additive approach[11]. The examples of building complexes in this study can be defined as building groups embodying various functions including religious, educational, social and/or commercial and that were constructed around a mosque, either at the same time as the original designs, or over the course of time (Fig. 1). Both were significant in the urban context because of their contribution to the development of important town centres in Western Anatolia.

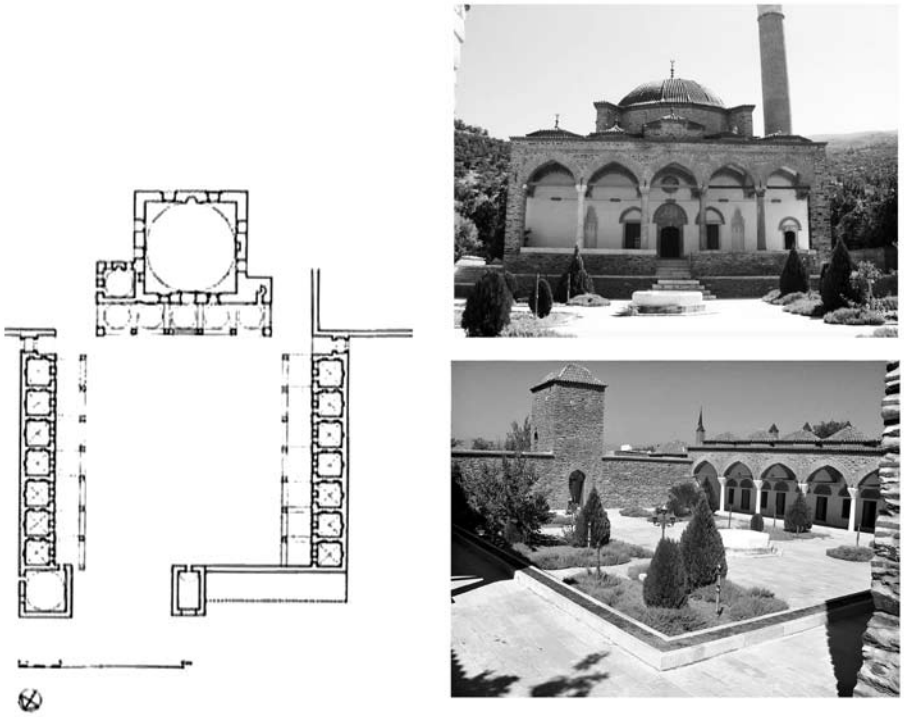


Fig. 1
Yavukluoğlu Complex in Tire, Plan and Exterior Views.
Source for the Plan: İ. Aslanoğlu, *Tire'de Camiler ve Üç Mescit* [Mosques and Three Masjids in Tire], Ankara 1978.

Important public buildings, especially mosques and masjids, were influential in the creation and development of neighbourhoods. Building groups with other public services connected to the mosque – like education, commemoration, social, charitable and/or commercial – were rather more influential in making a neighbourhood grow. They formed small centres through which the urban development pattern was shaped. In this respect, Bursa, the first capital of the Ottoman State, is a good example, as its urban form and structure was to a great extent determined by the building complexes[12]. It is possible to trace similar growth patterns facilitated by building complexes in important town centres in medieval Western Anatolia, especially in Tire.

Members of the ruling institution initiated the construction of building complexes which contributed to the establishment and development of Tire's urban fabric. Members of the royal family occupied the highest rank, followed by important and wealthy statesmen during the rule of the Principalities. Throughout Ottoman rule, upper rank governors and wealthy individuals in the ruling cadre were active as architectural patrons, instead of founders belonging to the royal class, since Tire was an important pro-

vincial town centre but not a capital. The founders not only financially supported the construction but also provided regular income in the form of *vakıf*s [foundations] for the management of these edifices. They founded building complexes for political, commercial, educational, and charitable purposes and especially for *imar-iskan* [settlement and development], encouraging and facilitating urban progress[13]. How the townscape of Tire was transformed and evolved through building complexes founded under the new Turkish-Islamic urban elite is explained below.

The socio-cultural and historical background of Tire

The first settlement of Tire, one of the important town centres of the city of İzmir today, dates back to antiquity[14]. Tire, bearing the ancient names *Thira, Thyera, Tyrha, Apateira, Patire* and *Teira* before Turkish rule, was initially dominated by Hittites, Phrygians, Lydians, Kymmers and Persians[15]. With the conquest of Alexander the Great, the town underwent Hellenistic rule which was followed by the occupation by the Kingdom of Pergamon[16]. A number of documents give information about Tire during the period when it was governed by the Roman Empire from 133 BC. During Roman rule, Tire was located within the holy lands of the Artemis Temple of Ephesus[17]. When the Roman Empire was divided into two, Tire became part of the Eastern Roman, namely the Byzantine Empire. During Byzantine rule, Tire and its centre *Arkadiapolis* (known as Hisarlık Village, bound to Tire today) became important for the region. Accordingly, since ancient times, Tire has been a prominent economic and cultural centre of Western Anatolia because of its location at the junction of ancient routes[18].

The incursion of the Turkish commander Çaka Bey (1081-1097) is the earliest Turkish infiltration of the region[19]. In time, the continuing turmoil of the Byzantine Empire enabled the Turkish tribes to increase their attacks on Western Anatolia. Aydınoğlu Mehmet Bey invaded Selçuk and in 1307 took over Tire and Birgi on behalf of Sasa Bey and himself[20]. He chose Birgi as the capital of the Principality and assigned the rule of Tire to his son, Süleyman Şah, just before his death in 1333[21]. Tire was one of the most important towns of the Aydınoğulları Principality until it was invaded by Yıldırım Bayezid, the Ottoman sultan, in 1390. The ruler of the time, İsa Bey, was forced to settle in Tire and leave the capital dependent on the rule of the Ottoman State[22]. After the defeat of the Ottomans in the Ankara War in 1402, the town was once again ruled by the Aydınoğulları. The revival of the Aydınoğulları Principality did not last long. The town came under absolute Ottoman rule by 1425 during the reign of Murat II[23]. Tire maintained its significance as a cultural and commercial centre during the reign of the next sultan, Mehmet the Conqueror. This important Western Anatolian town was governed as a district of Aydın, Güzelhisar, until it was united to İzmir in the 18th century[24].

From the beginning of the rule of the Aydınoğulları Principality and continuing into the Ottoman period, Tire was one of the largest towns in Anatolia not only because of its population but also because of the extensive activities taking place in the fields

of economics and culture[25]. Between the 14th and 15th centuries, during the rule of Aydınoğulları Principality, Tire was an important Anatolian city on a par with Konya, Kayseri, Sinop, Ankara, Kütahya, Bursa, Niğde, Sivas, Kastamonu, Kırşehir, Amasya and İznik[26].

The Ottoman period of the town in the 15th and 16th centuries was also notable for its commercial activities and population. *Tapu tahrir defterleri* [cadastral surveys] during the reigns of Mehmet the Conqueror (1432-1481) and Süleyman the Magnificent (1495-1566), stated that Tire was composed of 26 neighbourhoods[27]. Towards the end of the 16th century, Tire maintained its prominence as the largest settlement in the area among the medium-sized Anatolian towns with more than 1000 taxpayers and 4000 inhabitants[28]. The town seems to have been an active market centre. Intense commercial activity in food production, the textile trade and metal crafts took place in Tire, particularly under Ottoman rule[29]. The existence of a mint where Ottoman coins were made can also be taken as an indication of the town's significance in the economic sphere[30]. The growth in population and economic development was paralleled by progress in cultural activities. Substantial improvements in both arts and sciences and architectural practice took place during the Turkish rule of Tire. Important scholars, scientists and artists of the 14th and early 15th century were highly welcomed in Tire by the rulers of the Aydınoğulları, and, in the late 15th and 16th centuries, by the Ottoman statesmen[31]. İbn Melek, a scholar and philosopher, was said to reside and write significant works in Tire during the rule of Aydınoğulları[32]. Molla Arap was another prominent intellectual who lived and worked in Tire under Ottoman rule in the second half of the 15th century[33]. In addition, Ali Han Baba, an important leader of the *ahi* [brotherhood, guild] organization, Kazirzade, a renowned musician, and Karakadı Mecdettin, a prominent personality of the period should also be mentioned[34]. The travel accounts of İbn Batuta, who visited Anatolia in the 14th century, and Evliya Çelebi, who wrote in the 17th century, provide useful information in this respect[35].

This elite class was part of the ruling institution holding both political and economic power to a certain extent. Thus, such people were able to initiate the construction of a number of public buildings for the inhabitants of Tire and contribute to the architectural formation and production of the town. They founded significant architectural works, mostly in the form of building groups but occasionally in the form of single buildings, which in turn affected the enlargement and progress of the town. Apart from this elite, the royal class, family members of the Aydınoğulları Principality, were the most significant patrons of architectural projects in the 14th and early 15th centuries. They had a number of monumental public buildings and building complexes constructed, which had religious, social, educational and charitable functions[36]. These architectural activities were conducted with significant support from the upper rank Ottoman governors, distinguished Ottoman statesmen in the late 15th and 16th centuries, when the Ottoman Empire became a central authority ruling in the region[37]. Accordingly, Tire expanded and developed as an important medieval Western Anatolian town as a result of these individuals' efforts. In other words, these people contributed

to the development of the urban fabric of Tire between the 14th and 16th centuries by founding building complexes which served public needs, generated the formation of neighbourhoods and facilitated urban growth. Yet, during Ottoman rule, a considerable number of commercial edifices like *han*s [market places] and *bedesten* [part of a covered bazaar] were constructed forming the commercial centre of the town and affecting the development of the settlement pattern[38].

Development of the urban fabric in Tire

Fig. 2
Tire, General View.

The town of Tire has an elongated east-west direction due to the topographical conditions of the region. The residential areas were located on the gentle slopes of Güme Mountain, overlooking the plain of Küçük Menderes[39]. Accordingly, at present, the town continues to expand northward towards the Küçük Menderes Plain (Fig. 2). We have seen that Tire was an important town centre in Asia Minor during the ancient and Byzantine periods. The limited excavations, which could only take place in the uninhabited areas of the town, show that there are architectural and archaeological remains within the nearby villages of Tire. As for the Byzantine remains, Armağan states that Hisarlık Village, which is bound to Tire today, was the centre of the Byzantine settlement. Hisarlık Village was known as *Arkadiapolis* and the name was mentioned with Tire in written sources. Apart from the village, intense construction activities have taken place in Tire and the areas currently inhabited prevent the excavations necessary to provide more information about the urban fabric of the actual town during the ancient and Byzantine periods. According to the written sources, Byzantine buildings and residences remained scattered within the boundaries of the town of Tire during the 14th

century under the rule of Aydınoğulları. While Hisarlık Village, in the southwest of Tire, was the centre of the Byzantine settlement, it did not continue to develop after the Turkish occupation[40]. The Turkish invaders of the Aydınoğulları Principality did not construct their centre there. Instead, they chose the location of today's Tire, probably due to its topographical conditions. Under Aydınoğulları rule, Tire continued to expand over the sloping outskirts of Güme Mountain during the 14th and 15th centuries. Later, under Ottoman rule, the town expanded over flatter areas and also developed the site of the current town centre, which functioned as the commercial centre in the 15th and 16th centuries.

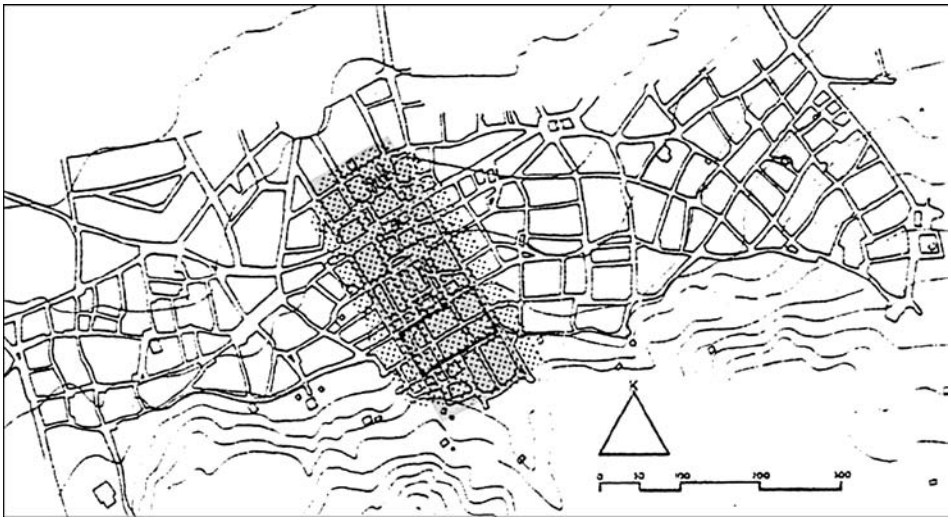


Fig. 3
Plan of Tire towards the End of the 13th Century.
Source: Tanyeli U., *Anadolu Türk Kentinde Fiziksel Yapının Evrim Süreci (11. – 15. yy.)* [The Evolutionary Process of the Physical Structure in Anatolian Turkish Cities (11th - 15th c.)], Ph.D. Thesis in Architecture in Istanbul Technical University, Istanbul 1987.

At this point, Tanyeli claims that, despite a considerable lack of information, it remains possible to trace the urban formation dating from the early settled cultures of Tire due to the grid-iron pattern seen around Tahtakale Mosque[41]. Tanyeli relates the etymology of Tahtakale (*Taht al Kal'a* meaning *Kale altı* [under the citadel]) to the neighbourhood named as Hisariçi, which dates to the reign of the Ottoman Sultan, Mehmet the Conqueror[42]. Accordingly, he argues that the commercial centre around Tahtakale, which dates to the early Ottoman period, was probably occupied in the Hellenistic period, referring to the grid plan of that area in contrast to the rather organic layout of the urban fabric of the rest of the town (Fig. 3-4). Tanyeli's arguments are convincing. As the town plans displaying the urban fabric of the town in the 13th and 15th centuries

indicate, Tahtakale district was probably previously occupied by the early settlements. However, Aydınoğulları did not develop the town from here. Instead, they formed different neighbourhoods located towards the slopes of Güme Mountain. Later, as the town also extended over the flatter areas, Tahtakale neighbourhood became a prominent commercial centre. Most of the commercial activities and the construction of *han*s and *bedesten* gathered around here in the Ottoman period.

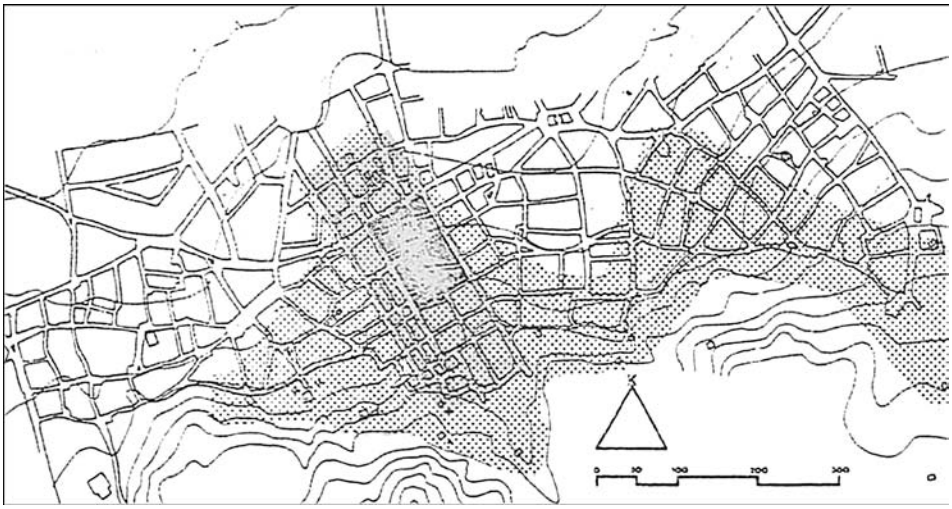


Fig. 4
Plan of Tire during the Midst of the 15th Century.
Source: Tanyeli U., *Anadolu Türk Kentinde Fiziksel Yapının Evrim Süreci (11. – 15. yy.)* [The Evolutionary Process of the Physical Structure in Anatolian Turkish Cities (11th - 15th c.)], Ph.D. Thesis in Architecture in Istanbul Technical University, Istanbul 1987.

After summarizing and evaluating Armağan's and Tanyeli's claims, it can be argued that the commercial centre of Tire was inhabited during ancient times. Later, under Byzantine rule, Tire became a smaller settlement as a part of *Arkadiapolis*, Hisarlık Village[43]. Local inhabitants did not abandon the town as they used this small settlement as a shelter when the Byzantines began to lose their central authority and Turkish infiltrations increased[44]. Tanyeli states that, as a common tendency, the earlier settlement patterns were not taken into account during urban development in the Byzantine period[45]. However, when the Empire's central authority and military power in Western Anatolia began to weaken as a result of Turkish attacks, the distribution of settlement patterns from citadels to flatter areas shifted to the reverse[46]. This explains why Tire maintains traces of its earlier ancient settlements. As for Turkish rule of the town, it is likely that in the Principalities period Tire was chosen as a centre rather than *Arkadiapolis* because of its topographical conditions which provided relatively easy protection and security. Urban growth under Aydınoğulları rule took place on the sloping lands, reflecting their peripheral authority in the region[47]. When the Ottomans declared their absolute pow-

er and central authority in Anatolia, the urban development pattern in Tire expanded over flatter areas. Accordingly, the urban formation, organization and development, and in terms of physical constructs, architectural entities, of today's Tire were mostly formulated under the rule of first the Aydınoğulları Principality and subsequently the Ottoman State.

The role of building complexes in shaping the townscape of Tire

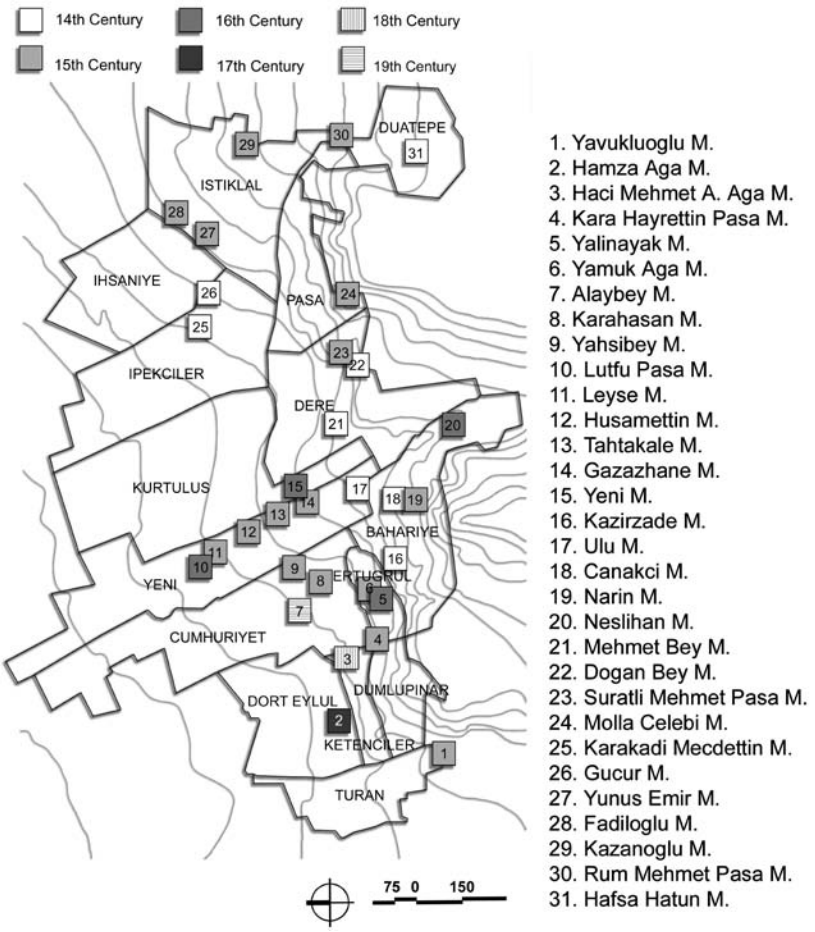


Fig. 5
Distribution of Mosques and Neighbourhoods with respect to Topographical Conditions (after Aslanoğlu and Göksu).
Source: I. Aslanoğlu, *Tire'de Camiler ve Üç Mescit* [Mosques and Three Masjids in Tire], Ankara 1978, and E. Göksu, *Formation and Alteration Process of the Small Town Centers in Anatolia, the Case Study of Tire,* Unpublished Masters Thesis in City Planning in Middle East Technical University, Ankara 1985.

Aslanoğlu argues that the urban setting of Tire displays similarities to Bursa, the early Ottoman capital[48]. Under the rule of the Aydınoğulları Principality, the town expanded over the southern terrain. At the same time, centres were formed at places where topography permitted[49]. These small centres, scattered towards the west and north, were accentuated by the building complexes around which neighbourhoods were formed (Fig. 5)[50]. The Ottoman contributions seem to have affected the expansion towards the east and north in the 15th and 16th centuries and west in the 17th and 19th centuries. As

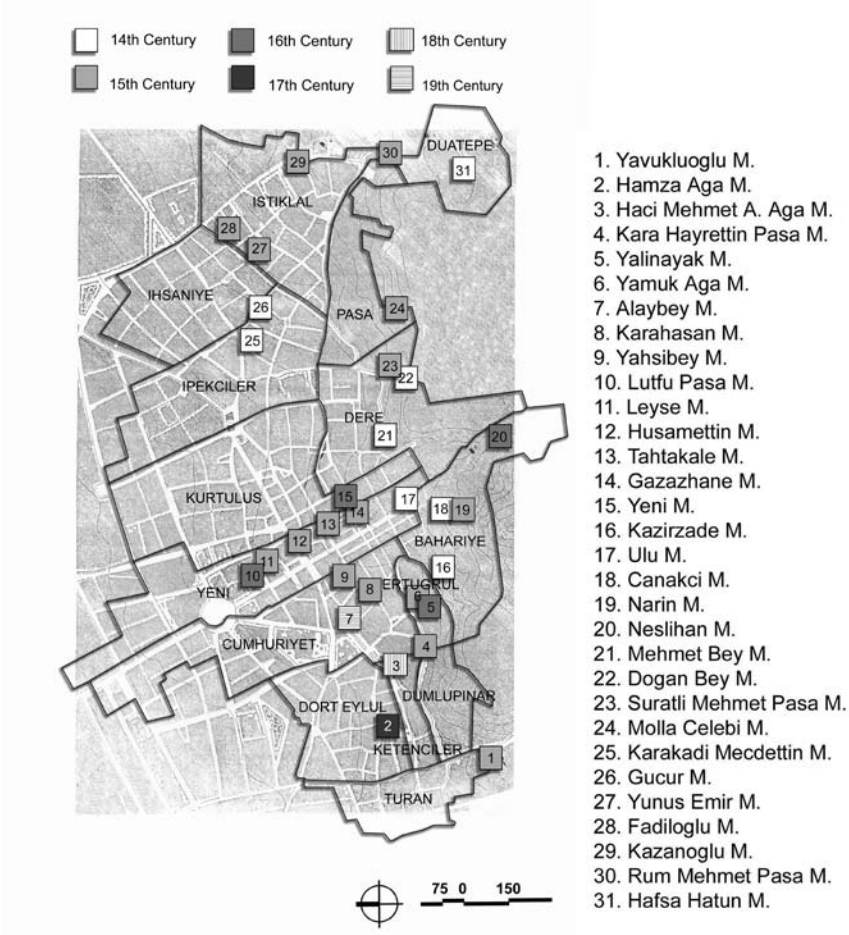


Fig. 6
Distribution of Mosques and Neighbourhoods with Respect to Today's Town, (after Aslanoğlu and Göksu).
Source: I. Aslanoğlu, *Tire'de Camiler ve Üç Mescit* [Mosques and Three Masjids in Tire], Ankara 1978, and E. Göksu, *Formation and Alteration Process of the Small Town Centers in Anatolia, the Case Study of Tire,* Unpublished Masters Thesis in City Planning in Middle East Technical University, Ankara 1985.

we have seen, during the 20th century, Tire continued to develop northward towards the plain.

Considering the developments of the town in chronological order, during the 14th and 15th centuries building complexes and construction activities appear to have been concentrated in the centre. The centre was located along the Bahariye, Ertuğrul, Yeni and Cumhuriyet neighbourhoods, where many buildings dating from the medieval era could be traced. From the Principalities period in the 14th century, commercial activities took place in the centre which was constructed over the pre-existing grid pattern. The rulers of Aydınoğulları founded the Great Mosque and two *han*s, two *hamam*s [baths] and shops near the Mosque in this area. Most of the commercial activities took place around this site. Towards the end of the 14th and in the early 15th century, more public building complexes were built nearby, such as the ones around Gazazhane and Hüsamettin Mosques. With these new edifices and additional functions included in the building complexes, the centre expanded axially towards the north. By the 16th century, the centre took its final form with the foundation of the Leyse Mosque and Lütfü Paşa Complexes in the Ottoman era[51]. The increase in the number of *han*s and the construction of a *bedesten* support the fact that Tire became the leading town in the region, functioning as a highly active marketing centre in the 16th century (Fig. 6).

Building activities also took place on the southern terrain of the town towards the countryside. The Hafsa Hatun Complex, dating to the Aydınoğulları, and Rum Mehmet Paşa, dating to the Ottoman period, were located on the eastern edge of the town. The Yavukluoğlu and Molla Arap Complexes founded under Ottoman rule were built on the western edge. Apart from those on the edges, other building complexes were scattered linearly along the southern terrain, dating back to the 14th and 15th centuries like Kazirzade and Narin. These complexes comprising and facilitating various public services, acted as small centres around which neighbourhoods formed. Over time, building complexes and their surrounding neighbourhoods expanded towards the centre.

In addition to the complexes in the centre, some building complexes were located in the countryside near the town and closer to the centre on the sloping lands, such as the Karakadı Mecdettin (dating to the 14th century), Kazanoğlu (dating to the 15th century) and Yalınayak Complexes (dating to the 16th century). These were located on the flatter areas in comparison to the ones situated on the southern territory. However, they likewise acted as generators of neighbourhoods, in other words, small centres scattered inside the town. Over time, these became closely connected to the centre due to the increasing population.

The building complexes on the edges, Hafsa Hatun, Yavukluoğlu, Molla Arap and Rum Mehmet Paşa and to a certain extent Yavukluoğlu, and the neighbourhoods formed and developed around them, are still within the countryside rather than the town centre. These buildings were deliberately constructed on the edges, probably to make neighbourhoods develop on the slopes of the mountain thereby assuaging security concerns about invasions. However, as authority stabilized under the reign of the Otto-

mans, from the middle of the 15th century the practical need for transportation, rapid development of the town and such like necessitated the development of the settlement to move towards the flatter areas. This is probably the reason why they could not act as important generators for the development and expansion of the town towards these locations. Their level of inhabitation decreased, although they were considered among the significant neighbourhoods of their period.

Conclusion

This study explored the role of *külliye*s, building complexes, on shaping the townscape of medieval Western Anatolia. Tire was chosen as a case study. The town had been an important centre in Western Anatolia from antiquity onwards. The traces of these early settled cultures can only be detected with the grid-iron pattern of Tire's later commercial centre, known as Tahtakale. Other remains from the ancient and later Byzantine period can be uncovered from the nearby lands of the town. The habitation of today's town does not allow for further excavation.

The urban fabric of today's Tire began to take shape under Turkish-Islamic rule. First, the Aydınoğulları Principality established the settlement on the sloping lands of Güme Mountain on the southern terrain and formed small centres around building complexes. Later, under Ottoman rule, the town expanded towards the flatter eastern and northern areas with the formation of building complexes and new neighbourhoods. At the same time, the commercial centre of the town, around Tahtakale with *han*s and *bedesten*, was thoroughly developed. Thus building complexes and commercial establishments acted as important generators in the formation of new neighbourhoods and the development of those that already existed. In a way, they acted as focal points around which small centres were formed. The infrastructure was constructed to link these centres. Depending on these centres, the borders of the town expanded. Eventually, they not only contributed to the growth and expansion of the town but also, due to their locations, determined the pattern of the urban form and structure (Fig. 6). In this way, building complexes which were founded by members of the ruling institution in the medieval era encouraged and facilitated urban growth.

The preferred location of building complexes was closely related to the extent of the political and economic power of the ruling class. The Aydınoğulları Principality only managed to become a peripheral authority and settled the town on the sloping lands. It differed from the Ottoman, which succeeded in establishing a central authority in Anatolia. During Ottoman rule, the town expanded towards the flatter lands. The effects of these different ruling societies were reflected in their architecture and shaping of the townscape. These effects can also be studied from the architectural features. During the Aydınoğulları period, the compact building groups in the form of single buildings with multi-functions of the Anatolian Seljuk character, started to separate from each other. They tended to scatter and became loosely connected in an organic manner. Later, in the Ottoman era, when they became a central authority, building complexes

became arranged more geometrically, tightly connected and organized in a more detailed way. Accordingly, future research can study the plan layout, mass articulation, functional distribution and such like of building complexes with reference to different ruling groups.

Notes

[1] This paragraph is a summary of the detailed information given about research on Ottoman cities, with an emphasis on social history. E. Eldem, D. Goffman, B. Masters, *Introduction: Was there an Ottoman City?*, in E. Eldem, D. Goffman, B. Masters (eds.), *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, İzmir, and İstanbul,* Cambridge 1999, pp. 9-11.

[2] S. Faroqhi, *Towns and the Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia: Trade, Crafts and Food Production in an Urban Setting, 1520-1650,* Cambridge 1984; Id., *Town Life: Urban Identity and Life Style,* in *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire,* London - New York 2000, pp. 146-161; H. Gerber, *Economy and Society in an Ottoman City: Bursa, 1600-1700,* Jerusalem 1988; D. Goffman, *İzmir and the Levantine World, 1550-1650,* Seattle 1990; Id., *İzmir*, in E. Eldem, D. Goffman, B. Masters (eds.), *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, İzmir, and İstanbul.* Cambridge 1999, pp. 79-134.

[3] U. Tanyeli, *Anadolu Türk Kentinde Fiziksel Yapının Evrim Süreci (11. – 15. yy.)* [The Evolutionary Process of Physical Structures in Anatolian Turkish Cities (11th-15th c.)], Ph.D. Thesis in Architecture in İstanbul Technical University, İstanbul 1987. In addition, Id., *Pre-Ottoman Anatolia*, in Y. Sey (eds.), *Housing and Settlements in Anatolia, A Historical Perspective,* İstanbul 1999, pp. 105-133; Id., *19. Yüzyıl Sonunda Anadolu Kenti Mekansal Yapı Çözümlemesi.* [The Analysis of Spatial Structures in Anatolian Cities at the End of the 19th Century], Ph.D. Thesis, in İstanbul Technical University, Ankara 1978. In addition, S. Aktüre, *17. Yüzyıl Başından 19. Yüzyıl Ortasına Kadarki Dönemde Anadolu Osmanlı Şehrinde Şehirsel Yapının Değişme Süreci* [The Transformation Process of Urban Structures in Anatolian Ottoman Cities from the Beginning of the 17th to the Middle of the 19th Century], in *Middle East Technical University, Journal of the Faculty of Architecture,* 1975, 1, pp. 101-128.

[4] K. Özcan, *Anadolu'da Selçuklu Dönemi Yerleşme Sistemi ve Kent Modelleri* [City Models and Settlement Systems in the Anatolian Seljuk Period], Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis in City Planning in Selçuk University, Konya 2005.

[5] H. Crane, *The Ottoman Sultans' Mosques: Icons of Imperial Legitimacy,* in I. A. Biermann, R. Abou-el-Haj, D. Preziosi (eds.), *The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order,* New York 1991, pp. 173-243. I. Biermann, *The Ottomanization of Crete,* in I.A. Biermann, R. Abou-el-Haj, D. Preziosi (eds.), *The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order,* New York 1991, pp. 53-75.

[6] E.S. Wolper, *Cities and Saints, Sufism and the Transformation of Urban Space in Medieval Anatolia,* Pennsylvania 2003.

[7] A building complex was described as *imaret* or *cami-i şerif ve imaret* in historical accounts and written documents including the Ottoman era. *Külliye* is a later term attributed to these building complexes by scholars. F. Akozan, *Türk Külliyeleri* [Turkish Building Complexes] in "Vakıflar Dergisi", 1969, 8, p. 304; E.H. Ayverdi, *İstanbul Mimari Çağının Menşei, Osmanlı Mimarisinin İlk Devri 630-805 (1230-1402) Ertuğrul, Osman, Orhan Gaziler, Hüdavendigar ve Yıldırım Bayezid* [The Origin of the İstanbul Architectural Era, the First Period of Ottoman Architecture 630-805 (1230-1402) Ertuğrul, Osman, Orhan Gaziler, Hüdavendigar and Yıldırım Bayezid], 1, İstanbul 1966, pp. 97, 422; E.H. Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Çelebi Mehmed ve Sultan Murad Devri 806-855 (1403-1451)* [The Reign of Çelebi Mehmed and Sultan Murad in Ottoman Architecture 806-855 (1403-1451)], 2. İstanbul 1972, p. 553; T. Reyhanlı, *Osmanlı Mimarisi'nde İmaret: Külliye Üzerine Notlar* [*İmaret* in Ottoman Architecture: Notes on Building Complexes"], in "Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları", 1976, 25, 1-2, p. 124.

[8] Yeşil Külliye in Bursa (1414-1424), Fatih Külliyesi in İstanbul (1463-1471) and II Bayezid Külliyesi in Edirne (1484-1488) are examples from the Ottoman period. For further information see G. Cantay, *Türk Mimarisinde Külliye* [Building Complexes in Turkish Architecture], in H.C. Güzel, K. Çiçek, S. Koca (eds.), *Türkler Ansiklopedisi,* 7, Ankara 2002. p. 836; G. Goodwin, *Külliye,* in E. von Donzel, B. Lewis and Ch. Pellat, (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Islam. New Edition,* 5, Leiden 1986. p. 366; A. Kuran, *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture,* Chicago - London, 1971, p. 17; Reyhanlı, *Osmanlı* cit., p. 121.

[9] Seyyid Battal Gazi Külliye in Eskişehir (13th cent.) and Mevlana Külliye in Konya (13th cent.) may be given as examples. For further information see B.A. İpekoğlu, *Buildings with Combined Functions in Anatolian Seljuk Architecture (An Evaluation of Design Principles, Past, and Present Functions),* Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis in Restoration in Middle East Technical University, Ankara 1993, p. 2; Reyhanlı, *Osmanlı* cit., p. 121.

[10] Sahip Ata Külliyesi in Konya (1258-1283) and Sahip Ata Külliyesi in Akşehir (1250, 1260-1261) are examples. For further information refer to M. Katoğlu, *13. Yüzyıl Anadolu Türk Mimarisinde Külliye* [Building Complexes in 13th Century Anatolian Turkish Architecture], in "Belleten", 1976, 12, p. 336. İpekoğlu, *Buildings* cit., p. 3.

[11] İpekoğlu, *Buildings* cit., p. 3.

[12] Crane, *The Ottoman* cit., p. 174.

[13] Ö. L. Barkan, *İstila Devirlerinin Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri ve Zaviyeler* [Turkish Dervishes and Dervish Lodges during Turkish Occupation], in "Vakıflar Dergisi", 1942, 2, pp. 279-304; Id., *Şehirlerin Teşekkül ve İnkişafı Tarihi Bakımından Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İmaret Sitelerinin Kuruluş ve İşleyiş Tarzına Ait Araştırmalar* [Research on the Establishment and Management of Building Complexes with Reference to the History of Urban Development in the Ottoman Empire], in "İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası", 1962-63, 23, 1-2, pp. 239-296; H. İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire, the Classical Age (1300-1600),* London 1973, pp. 121-140. İpekoğlu, *Buildings* cit., p. 3; Reyhanlı, *Osmanlı* cit., p. 122.

[14] M. Armağan, *Devlet Arşivlerinde Tire* [*Tire in State Archives*], İzmir 2003, p. 28; F. Tokluoğlu, *Tire, Tarihi ve Turistik Değerleri* [Tire, its History and Tourist Value], İzmir 1957, pp. 5-6; Id., *Tire,* İzmir 1964, pp. 23-24. Id., *Tire Çevre İncelemeleri* [*Explorations fn the Surroundings of Tire*], İzmir 1973. pp. 31-34.

[15] Armağan, *Devlet* cit., p. 28. E. Göksu, *The Formation and Alteration Process of Small Town Centres in Anatolia, the Case Study of Tire,* Unpublished Masters Thesis in City Planning in Middle East Technical University, Ankara 1985, p. 9. Tokluoğlu, *Tire Çevre* cit., p. 32.

[16] Göksu, *Formation* cit., p. 10.

[17] Armağan, *Devlet* cit., p. 28.

[18] İ. Aslanoğlu, *Tire'de Camiler ve Üç Mescit* [Mosques and Three Masjids in Tire], Ankara 1978, p. 1.

[19] N. Ülker, *Batı Anadolu'nun Türkleşmesi: İzmir Örneği* [The Turkification of Western Anatolia: İzmir], in H.C. Güzel, K. Çiçek, S. Koca (eds.), *Türkler Ansiklopedisi,* 6, 2002, pp. 288-293.

[20] Although Sasa Bey is known in historical sources as the first Turkish invader, it is said that after the conquest of the region by Mehmet Bey, the Beys fought each other over power with Mehmet Bey defeating Sasa Bey and subsequently ruling over the lands. Armağan, *Devlet* cit., p. 29; H. Akın, *Aydınoğulları Tarihi Hakkında Bir Araştırma* [Research on the History of Aydınoğulları], Ankara 1968, p. 18; Aslanoğlu, *Tire'de* cit., p. 1; B. Umar, *Türkiye Halkının Ortaçağ Tarihi, Türkiye Türkleri Ulusunun Oluşması* [The Medieval History of Turkish People, the Formation of the Turkish Nation], Istanbul 1998, p. 144.

[21] Mehmet Bey appointed Hızır Bey to command Selçuk and Sultanhisar, Umur Bey to İzmir, İbrahim Bahadır Bey to Bademiye, Süleyman Şah to Tire and kept his youngest son with him in Birgi. Akın, *Aydınoğulları* cit., pp. 29-30; Z. Arıkan, *XIV. – XVI. Yüzyıllarda Ayasuluğ* [Ayasuluğ between the 14th-16th Centuries], in "Belleten", 1991, 54, p. 130; Aslanoğlu, *Tire'de* cit., p. 1.

[22] Akın, *Aydınoğulları* cit., p. 60; Arıkan, *XIV. – XVI. Yüzyıllarda* cit., p. 137; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Afyonkarahisar, Sandıklı, Bolvadin, Çay, İshaklı, Manisa, Birgi, Muğla, Milas, Peçin, Denizli, Isparta, Atabey ve Eğirdir'deki Kitabelerce Sahip, Saruhan, Aydın, Menteşe, İnanç ve Hamitoğulları Hakkında Malumat* [Information on Sahip, Saruhan, Aydın, Menteşe, İnanç and Hamitoğulları with Reference to the Inscription Panels in Afyonkarahisar, Sandıklı, Bolvadin, Çay, İshaklı, Manisa, Birgi, Muğla, Milas, Peçin, Denizli, Isparta, Atabey and Eğirdir], İstanbul 1929, pp. 116-145.

[23] Aslanoğlu, *Tire'de* cit., p. 1; Tokluoğlu, *Tire Çevre* cit., p. 35.

[24] Aslanoğlu, *Tire'de* cit., p. 1.

[25] Akın, *Aydınoğulları* cit., pp. 171-172; Aslanoğlu, *Tire'de* cit., pp. 1-2.

[26] Göksu, *Formation* cit., p. 15.

[27] Cited by Akın, *Aydınoğulları* cit., p. 86, and by Göksu, *Formation* cit., p. 16.

[28] By the end of the 16th century the other medium-sized towns in Western Anatolia were Manisa, Lazkiye, Urla and Demirci. S. Faroqhi, L. Erder, *The Development of Anatolian Urban Networks during the 16th Century,* in "Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient", 1980, 23, pp. 286-287.

[29] Rice, apple, chestnut, and grapes (among other fruits and grape molasses) were common food products. Cotton had a special importance in the textile trade in addition to limited wool production. Sword making was the most common metal craft in Tire. Faroqhi, *Towns* cit., pp. 29, 31-33.

[30] Armağan discusses the Ottoman coins bearing eagle motives which were minted in Tire Darphanesi in 1425. M. Armağan, *Tire'nin Türk Tarihindeki Yeri* [The Place of Tire in Turkish History], in M. Şeker (ed.), *Türk Kültüründe Tire,* Ankara 1994, p. 18.

[31] Immigrant scholars, scientists, artists, and craftsmen as well as traders and wealthy people who escaped from the chaotic political situation in the east, were welcomed and supported by the rulers of these Principalities. The rulers tried to make as much use of these people as possible. M. Baktır, *Beylikler Döneminde Ulema Umera Münasebetleri* [Relations of *Ulema-Umera* during the Principalities Period], in H.C. Güzel, K. Çiçek, S. Koca (eds.), *Türkler Ansiklopedisi,* 7, Ankara 2002, p. 562.

[32] M. Armağan, *Belgelerle Beylikler Devrinde Tire* [Tire in the Principalities Period Through Documents], İzmir Uğur Matbaası 1983, pp. 21-24; Tokluoğlu, *Tire Çevre* cit., pp. 42-45.

[33] Tokluoğlu, *Tire Çevre* cit., p. 57.

[34] Armağan, *Belgelerle* cit., pp. 33-36. The important personalities of Tire were not limited to the scholars mentioned above. There were many philosophers, authors, poets, etc. Armağan, *Devlet* cit., pp. 105-121.

[35] İbn-i Batuta, *İbn-i Batuta Seyehatnamesi* [The Travel Accounts of İbn-i Batuta] trans. M. Et-Tancı, İstanbul 1983, p. 29. Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi* [The Travel Accounts of Evliya Çelebi], trans. Z. Danışman, 13, İstanbul 1971, p. 120.

[36] Armağan, *Belgelerle* cit., pp. 21-40. The author also gives the list of buildings of the Aydınoğulları period in Tire in chronological order. Armağan, *Belgelerle* cit., pp. 45-46. Moreover, Armağan's recent publication gives the names of the Aydınoğulları family members who influenced construction activities according to the foundation charters. The names were Süleyman Şah, İsa Bey, Musa Bey, Hafsa Hatun (Daughter of İsa Bey), Gürcü Melek, Azeri Melek (Daughters of Gazi Umur Bey) and Hundi Paşa Hatun and her son Ahmet Bey. Armağan, *Devlet* cit., p. 29.

[37] Rum Mehmet Paşa; vizier of Fatih Sultan Mehmet, Lütfü Paşa; groom and vizier of Yavuz Sultan Selim, and Abdullah oğlu Halil Yahşi Bey; commander of Murat II are just some of the names of upper rank governors who actively contributed to Tire's architectural and urban development under Ottoman rule. Armağan, *Devlet* cit., p. 43.

[38] *Han*s were also constructed during the Principalities period, though to a lesser extent. Most of the *han*s and the *bedesten* date to the Ottoman period which indicates that commercial activities became more regulated and professional under Ottoman rule.

[39] Göksu, *Formation* cit., p. 51.

[40] Armağan, *Devlet* cit., pp. 30-31.

[41] Tanyeli, *Anadolu* cit., p. 123.

[42] Referring to Akın, Tanyeli gives the name of the neighbourhood under the reign of Mehmet the Conqueror depending on the *Fatih Dönemi Tahrir Defterleri.* Tanyeli, *Anadolu* cit., pp. 122, 124; Akın, *Aydınoğulları* cit., p. 135.

[43] Armağan states that in written documents of the Byzantine period *Arkadiapolis* was mentioned as a greater settlement than Tire. Armağan, *Devlet* cit., p. 31.

[44] E. Göksu, *Kentler ve Çevre, Tire* [Towns and Environment, Tire], in A.U. Peker, K. Bilici (eds.), *Anadolu Selçukluları ve Beylikler Dönemi Uygarlığı (Mimarlık ve Sanat)* [The Civilization of Anatolian Seljuk and the Principalities Period (Architecture and Art)], Ankara 2006, p. 279.

[45] U. Tanyeli, *Anadolu'da Bizans, Osmanlı Öncesi ve Osmanlı Dönemlerinde Yerleşme ve Barınma Düzeni* [Housing and Settlements in Anatolia during the Byzantine, pre-Ottoman, and Ottoman Periods], in *Tarihten Günümüze Anadolu'da Konut ve Yerleşme. Habitat II,* İstanbul 1996, p. 409.

[46] R. Stewig, *Batı Anadolu'nun Kültürel Gelişmesinin Ana Hatları* [An Outline of the Cultural Development of Western Anatolia], trans. M.R. Turfan, M.Ş. Yazman, İstanbul 1970, pp. 90-91. Özcan, *Anadolu'da* cit., p. 173.

[47] Peripheral authority as opposed to central authority may correspond to authority of the *uc* [frontier] rather than the authority of the *iç* or *merkez* [central government] which has been discussed by scholars, especially from İnalcık. İnalcık, *The Ottoman* cit., p. 188. His recent research also discusses this opposition. H. İnalcık, *The Ottoman State: Economy and Society, 1300-1600,* in H. İnalcık, D. Quataert (eds.), *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914,* Cambridge - New York 1997. pp. 13-14. In addition, Göksu emphasizes the peripheral character of Aydınoğulları while analyzing Tire. Göksu, *Kentler* cit., pp. 279-280.

[48] Aslanoğlu, *Tire'de* cit., p. 1. Baykara also makes similar arguments in that he compares the development of the town with Bursa, as well as with another important city Manisa. T. Baykara, *Türk Şehircilik Geleneğinde Tire* [Tire in the Turkish Urban Tradition], in M. Şeker (ed.), *Türk Kültüründe Tire,* Ankara 1994, pp. 9-13.

[49] Aslanoğlu,*Tire'de* cit., p.1.

[50] The oldest neighbourhood is known to be Paşa district which probably developed around Süratli Mehmet Paşa Mosque and some parts of Dere Neighbourhood. Göksu, *Formation* cit., p. 51.

[51] Göksu analyzes the development of Tire's commercial centre in three distinct phases. Göksu, *Formation* cit., p. 69; Id. *Kentler* cit., p. 282.

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Gastarbajteri: Rethinking Yugoslav Economic Migrations towards the European North-West through Transnationalism and Popular Culture

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Abstract

This chapter argues for a critical reconsideration of the methods applied to the study of the economic migrations from the former Yugoslavia (the so-called *Gastarbajteri*). As an analytical key, I will use two concepts from contemporary social science: trans-nationalism and popular culture. As this chapter illustrates, there is still an absence of critical debate on the topic. The works dedicated to the theme of economic migrations from the former Yugoslavia are primarily based on quantitative research methodology. In the article, I utilize sources based on both – qualitative and quantitative – research methodology, together with data from popular culture narrative and scientific works. The first part of the article sets out the theory and methodology. What follows is an alternative history of this population movement. Additionally, the themes of departure, the concept of the Road, the situations of alterity, leisure time, exo-politics and re-migration are addressed. The final section focuses on the limitations of the two analytical keywords, and will propose alternative patterns with which to regard the phenomenon.

*Článek se snaží představit základní životní situace migrantů, které se vyskytly v průběhu nedlouhé historie fenoménu jugoslávské ekonomické migrace (*Gastarbajteri*). Jako analytický klíč se v něm snažím používat dva termíny současných společenských věd* – transnacionalismus *a* populární kultura*. Jeho pramennou základnou jsou jak akademické práce (statistika, ekonomika, kulturní geografie, sociologie ad.), tak i tzv.* měkká data *(pocházející ze zdrojů populární kultury – filmu, hudby a vtipů) ve formě reprezentací, mýtů a vyprávění. V praxi mezi nimi nedělám větší rozdíly. Věřím jednak v jejich paralelní vypovídací hodnotu a jednak v teorie podle nichž současné společnosti obdobně málo rozlišují mezi seriózní vědeckou prací, uměleckou licencí a mystifikací.*

*Text je rozčleněn do několika podčástí. V úvodu se snažím vypořádat se s teorií a metodologií dosavadních studií fenoménu. V části pojmenované podle vídeňské multimediální výstavy (*40 Jahre Arbeitsmigration*) podávám na základě dat ostatních společenskovědních disciplín obraz historie fenoménu. Další podčást (*Leaving Yugoslavia*) představuje již můj*

*vlastní výzkum v oblasti populární kultury. Na základě tohoto typu pramenů se snažím rekonstruovat motivy rozhodnutí odejít za prací do zahraničí. Následující podkapitola (*On the Road*) je věnována analýze přesunů mezi původní a hostitelskou zemí. Stereotypním reprezentacím je věnována část* Gastarbajter as the Other*, v níž se snažím vypořádat s pohledem většinové populace hostitelské země na migranty. Výsledek mého zájmu o volný čas migrantů je prezentován v kapitole* Saturday Night Turbofolk Fever*, v níž se dotýkám hybridního hudebního žánru* neofolk*, často připisovanému estetice* Gastarbajter*. V následující části (*Gastarbajter Politics*) se snažím nastínit roviny vztahů mezi politickými a ekonomickými migranty. Poslední část (*Return of a Guest-worker*) je věnována návratné migraci a jejím dopadu na populární kulturu a společenské vazby.*

V závěru se snažím nastínit některé další otázky, na které se mi nepodařilo ve článku odpovědět. Tyto se dotýkají zejména teoretického rámce psaní současných dějin a limitů nastíněných tzv. Cultural *a* Postcolonial Studies*. Jako perspektivy nového uchopení problematiky nabízím pojmy* marginalizace *a* hybridita*.*

Introduction

Gastarbajteri were a very important economic phenomenon, with a major social and political influence in the former Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia (hereafter Yugoslavia). This chapter explores economic migration from Yugoslavia and their social and cultural impacts on popular culture which emerged in Yugoslavia (and its successor states). The myth of the *Gastarbajter*[1] making his fortune abroad is omnipresent in most of the countries of former Yugoslavia, and for the last couple of decades it has been part of a new folklore. What were the representations and stereotypes of the people who left the only communist country that not only consented to migration, but on the contrary encouraged it? How were their motivations to go abroad characterized? Where did they go and how did they live? Did they return and how were they accepted back in the home-country?

This chapter does not attempt to answer all these questions in full, it nevertheless uses some of them as an analytical tool. On the basis of qualitative research the principal sources are derived from popular culture, including movies, music, rumours and jokes. It should be noted that statistical data is employed not so much to create an image of a typical *Gastarbajter*, but as one of the few tools of social science that can be effectively applied to this topic. Similarly, references to field research are not an attempt to identify a typical *Gastarbajter* story; but particular narratives are used as an introduction into the whole structure of meanings around the phenomenon. My sources may not reflect the totality of the evidence, but the concern of the chapter is not the relationship between the historical data and representations. Once the representations are present in the discourse (whether popular or academic), they acquire a certain narrative validity. Distinguishing between types of evidence would necessarily detract from the overall enterprise.

Given the massive character of this type of migration from the Federal Socialist Republic of Croatia (later to be referred to simply as S.R. Croatia), and ethnically Croatian

parts of the Federal Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (S.R. Bosnia and Herzegovina), the study of migration was at the start mainly a Croatian matter. At the beginning of the 1970s, when economic migration from Yugoslavia reached its peak, many works of statistics, economics and cultural geography were published[2]. There was also a journal (*Migracijske teme*) concerned primarily with Yugoslav migration, which included research by the renowned Ivo Baučić and Emil Heršak. In Belgrade the topic was studied in the 1970s almost exclusively from the sociological point of view[3] and the work of Vladimir Grečić and Mirjana Morokvašić are still highly regarded today. In this period some documentaries were also made on migration phenomenon[4].

Later, in the 1980s, pro-regime political science monographs were published, which focused on political migration, but also with the theme of economic migration[5]. With the end of Yugoslavia and the creation of its successor states, public demand caused research to shift its concentration to the Diaspora. In Belgrade, Zagreb and Sarajevo, many works were published during the 1990s that treat of the theme of Serbs/Croats/Bosniaks[6] abroad according to a nationalist perspective[7]. The current, 'post-nationalist', research on migration from Yugoslavia is still in its infancy. A monograph which discusses the theme from a sociological perspective[8] has been published in Novi Sad. There was also a thesis written at the Department of History of the Faculty of Arts in Belgrade in 2006[9] that is partly devoted to the *Gastarbajter* themes, as well as an article in a prominent history journal[10]. However, it seems that, in general, social scientists all over the former Yugoslavia have lost their interest in migration. Outside the former Yugoslavia however, many researchers have addressing the theme of economic migration; and some of the concepts they have developed can be applied to the Yugoslav case as well[11]. In order to narrow the research field this article concentrates on the migrants from three of six former republics (nowadays Croatia, Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina), and overlooks the Slovenian, Montenegrin, Macedonian and Kosovar cases.

Writing primarily about the popular culture and its impact on the social memory (of all elements concerned – migrant, homeland and host-country), I will refer to some case studies directly concerned with the popular culture of South Slavic communities but focused mainly on the nationalist period of the 1990s[12]. Later I will touch on the themes surrounding forms of nationalism in exile communities and at home. It is to be underlined that nationalism is not the primary concern of the present paper, although it is inevitably to some extent involved with the theme, and is treated in line with the works of Benedict Anderson[13] and Homi Bhabha[14]. Using both diachronic and synchronic approaches to the history, I consider both migration and elements of popular culture as *le fait social total*[15]. The chapter's approach to contemporary history – in order to delimit the discursive field – is closely connected with other disciplines of social science, namely cultural studies and social and cultural anthropology[16]. The impressionism may seem disturbing to the reader but in my opinion reflects a truth expressed by Walter Benjamin: "History is the subject of a structure whose site is not homogenous, empty time, but time filled by the presence of the now"[17]. In short, this study should be perceived as an attempt to write "history from below" – to translate

certain elements of the discourse of popular culture into the language of the academic community in order to write about ordinary people[18].

40 Jahre Arbeitsmigration

In the first months of 2004 the Historical Museum of the City of Vienna at the Karlsplatz Museum, in collaboration with other cultural institutions of the Austrian capital[19], presented a multimedia exposition called *40 Jahre Arbeitsmigration* [40 Years of Work Migration]. For the first time in Austria, a museum placed the migrants' experience at centre stage – a theme that has often been neglected, both in the host- and in the home-country[20]. The exhibition started with the Turkish village in the Marmara region. Half of its natives work in Austria (the first retired people began coming back in the 1990s). The Sea of Marmara was, for many, the beginning of the *Gastarbeiterroute* used by migrants to move from the home- to the host-country, which terminated at Vienna's well known Mexikoplatz, the centre of grey-economy and black-market ethno-business activities.

First of all it is necessary to rehearse some established statistical data on economic migration from Yugoslavia. It may be paradoxical to refer to a nation-state while writing about transnationalism but local settings should not be overlooked. At the beginning of the 1960s the boom economies of Central, Western and Northern Europe were keen to attract a labour force coming from less developed Mediterranean countries. The only communist state that joined non-communist countries in providing inexpensive but often skilled man-power was Yugoslavia. During the second half of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s the phenomenon of Yugoslavs emigrating to the West grew very substantially. Just under 4 percent of the total population of Yugoslavia was working abroad according to the census of 1971[21]. According to Baučić's study the largest proportion of migrants from the S.R. Croatia emigrated to the Federal Republic of Germany (hereafter Germany), Switzerland and overseas; migrants from 'smaller' Serbia[22] went to France, Austria, Sweden and Benelux; those from S.R. Bosnia and Herzegovina settled in Austria and Germany; S.R. Montenegrins worked in the USA; the majority of migrants from S.R. Macedonia found their ways to Australia and the USA; those from S.R. Slovenia most frequently worked in Austria, Switzerland and Canada; those from the Autonomous Province (A.P.) Vojvodina went to Sweden and the USA; and finally exiles from the A.P. Kosovo were most frequently to be found in Switzerland[23]. The largest number of all Yugoslav migrants migrated to Germany (411,503-436,500 in 1971[24]), and the other countries with significant numbers of Yugoslavs are mentioned above. Altogether Western Europe hosted between 596,869 and 647,000 Yugoslavs, and the overseas countries from 75,039 to 143,500 Yugoslav *Gastarbajteri*.

In some poor agricultural regions of Yugoslavia with a long tradition of emigration the ratio of *Gastarbajteri* to overall population was colossal. Grečić[25] has dealt with the scale of migration from Dalmatia, Lika, Herzegovina and Macedonia, while Marković[26] discusses the persistence of the old tradition of *pečalba* (seasonal work in other parts of

Balkans) in the Pirot region of eastern Serbia. As noted above, the largest proportion of migrants was of Croatian origin (5.8 migrants per 100 inhabitants), and later at the end of the 1960s they were joined by Serbs (1.1), Bosniaks (2.3) and Macedonians (3.2). For some ethnic minorities like Vlachs, who can be categorized in terms of various levels of identity[27] the number of migrants reached up to 9 per 100 inhabitants[28]. Economic migration from Yugoslavia reached its climax in 1973, the year of the energy crisis. In this year there were 830,000 Yugoslavs working in various European countries (514,000 in Germany alone). The S.R. Croatia had 9.6 percent of its active population working abroad, closely followed by the S.R. Bosnia and Herzegovina with 9.2 percent[29].

After the 'oil crisis' the number of Yugoslav migrants decreased. Two processes observed by social scientists in these years were return migration (re-migration) on the one hand, and, on the other, the fate of the second generation of migrants. According to Heršak[30] the biggest wave of returnees (80,000) came back to Yugoslavia in 1974. In the following years the total number of returnees dropped progressively to 30,000 per year at the beginning of the 1980s. The decline of living standards in the country after 1982, however, produced a significant number of new economic migrants. According to Marković, in the 1980s:

> [t]he Yugoslav state, under the heavy burden of international debt, was desperately searching for any money available, especially in the time of global debt crisis at the beginning of 1980s. Gastarbeiters were to hand, having seemingly endless financial resources. Yugoslav banks offered special interest rates and credit arrangements to "workers temporarily employed abroad". Later during the 1980s the regime attempted to kill two birds with one stone: to attract migrant workers' money and to create new jobs. Therefore, gastarbeiters were offered opportunities to invest into socialist enterprises in exchange for working places for their relatives[31].

Such social planning did not entirely succeed, and returning *Gastarbajteri* tended to invest their money more in the private sector (taxi companies, fast-foods etc.). (The problem of re-migration will be returned to later in this study.) Economic migrations were certainly not over with the end of socialist Yugoslavia. It is difficult to make a quantitative distinction between the war refugees of the 1990s and classical *Gastarbajteri*, since the two models existed in parallel and interacted. Some sources state that in 1990 there were 806,000 Yugoslavs in various European countries[32]. In 1995 there were 342,500 migrants from the former S.R. Bosnia and Herzegovina in Germany alone. We may try to ask what the ratio of classical *Gastarbajteri* to war refugees was, but the issue is complicated by the many hybrid forms[33]. According to Marković, "[i]n the late 1980s and during the 1990s the structure of working migrants changed. The children of the socialist middle class, young professionals and students deserted Serbia in a flight from poverty and war"[34]. The total number of migrants and their influence in the successor states of the former Yugoslavia is still considerable. Marković cites statistical data from Serbia which calculates their remittances home in 2005 as constituting 13 percent of Serbia's G.D.P.[35].

The question of *Gastarbajter* families, and specifically the second generation, has interested Yugoslav social scientists no less than issue of individual migration[36]. Even if the typical economic migrant family is often depicted as split – between a man working abroad and a woman with children staying in Yugoslavia[37] – there was still a high proportion of complete families migrating towards the European northwest. Heršak[38] estimates that there were 250,000 family members in *Gastarbajter* families all over Western Europe in 1971. The *Gastarbajter* phenomenon changed family patterns and affected women's behaviour[39]. With the trend towards whole family migration, the interest of the Yugoslav authorities turned first towards the education of migrants' children. During the earlier period there were numerous problems with recognition of grades and diplomas acquired abroad[40]. Subsequently the Yugoslav state organized educational missions in the areas of large migrant concentrations. *Gastarbajteri* could choose whether to maintain their original cultural elements or to lead their children towards assimilation[41].

Leaving Yugoslavia

In one of Goran Paskaljević's early movies[42] the main character decides, after trying everything (including watching the beach in winter), to leave the country for Sweden. In the last and probably the most affecting scene we find him depressed (after having left behind his young and beautiful wife) in a train compartment in the company of other men, all trying to cheer themselves up by eating and drinking. To leave means to abandon family, friends, everyday life and customs for the uncertainty of a new country, problems often aggravated by ignorance of the language. Melancholy for home follows the migrant wherever he moves. Exile may be idealized by some for its transnational quality of "liberation"[43], but for many it is (as Edward Saïd emphasises) a personal tragedy.

What led many Yugoslavs from the beginning of the 1960s to take such a hard decision? According to statistics it was primarily the high unemployment among the generation of young people born in the years after World War II, as well as overpopulation in the agrarian regions and low wages in Yugoslavia[44]. In short, material poverty. One of the migrants' wives quoted in Vuksanović's study[45] explained her husband's motives: "He left to make some *dinars* [the currency of Yugoslavia]. We bred sheep but the sales were low. Five children needed shoes and schools". It was first of all to make money that many Yugoslavs left the country. Other motivations included a desire to learn a foreign language or improve skills and qualifications[46] but the overwhelming consideration was financial. As Marković points out: "[t]he difference in wages between West Germany and Yugoslavia in 1969 used to be about 3:1. During 1990s this difference grew even to 1000:1, but in 'better years' this proportion was about 10:1"[47].

The cash earned abroad could be used for different purposes. I have already mentioned the need for funds for the education of children – and for families with many children this was often the most important factor in decisions to leave the country. Another frequent motive was to make enough money to be able to build a house[48]. Yet another motivation was to save money for a wedding. The hero of Emir Kusturica's movie[49], a

Roma teenager called Perhan, goes to "do business" in Italy just to be able to get the money to wed his beloved. Initially the majority of migrants were from rural areas. As noted above, the situation changed during the 1980s when even the urban population started moving in a north-western direction. In a sense we may consider the sort of criminal activities pursued abroad by Kusturica's hero or one of the characters in Srđan Dragojević's *Pretty Villages Pretty Flame*[50] as another type inherent in the *Gastarbajter* phenomenon. Yugoslav criminals (urban gang members, pickpockets etc.) reacted to the impoverishment of their country by moving their 'business' abroad. The notorious activities of the later Serbian paramilitary warlord Željko Ražnatović 'Arkan' in many countries of Western Europe during the 1970s and 1980s[51] offer a striking example of this export of criminal manpower. There is a Bosnian joke about it: "Did you know that Mujo [Muhammed, together with Haso, Hasan, Fata, and Fatima, a hero of many Bosnian and Yugoslav jokes[52]] opened a bank in Switzerland?" "...Noooo!! How did he do it? ...Simply: with a detonator". Another well-known chapter is the contribution of Kosovar Albanians to the East-West drug route and the traffic in 'white flesh', notoriously attributed to the population of the Montenegro-Sandjak borderlands and Bosnia and Herzegovina. One of my informants[53] stated that he went to Italy at the beginning of the 1990s to "do business"[54], while another[55], was more specific, admitting that he went to Italy to steal cars. The purpose of reciting these examples is not to contribute to the stereotype of Balkan 'black market' participants[56], and this study does not treat all Yugoslav migrants as criminals *a priori*. It is an attempt to initiate a discussion on the participation of marginal criminal groups in the general context of Yugoslav economic migration. In academic works they are simply forgotten, but the pop-culture and narrative provides us with plenty of evidence for their existence.

In the Dalmatian interior (*Dalmatinska Zagora*) and in western Herzegovina there exists a typical local music genre called *ganga*. It may be described as a local variant of a broader Mediterranean tradition of vocal polyphony that can also be found, for example, in southern Albania, Sardinia and Corsica. The themes of *ganga*, presented in the form of a short lilt, are often very profane and almost always a response to the community's present circumstances[57]. Much *ganga* music reflects the trans-border migrant experience common to many inhabitants of these poor agricultural regions. The group Gornji Podji sings a song about a trick played by a *Gastarbajter* who tells his girlfriend that he is in Paris. In reality he is with another girl not far away. Another group, Donji Vinjani, sings about a murderer who left for Germany to escape from justice. Another type of musical tradition characteristic of the Dinaric Mountains is *guslar*. *Gusle* is a typical South Slav music chord-instrument played with a bow by a performer who also sings (*guslar*). In the early, illiterate, period of South Slavic history the g*uslar* also served as the main information source for much of the rural population. In Dalmatinska Zagora and in western Herzegovina the *guslars* still continue singing. Again, for some of them, the migrant experience has been an important theme. In the mid-1980s Ivan Čaljkušić, a *guslar* from Lovreć, recorded an L.P. called "*Naši radnici u tuđini*" [Our Workers Abroad] where he sings about the people from his village going to work to

Austria, Switzerland, France, Belgium, but most of all to Germany. Again – they leave to make money to build houses, to buy cars and pay for their children's education[58].

On the road

Unlike the exhibition at the Vienna Karlsplatz Museum, which had a section devoted to the *Gastarbeiterroute*, the classical works on Yugoslav economic migration pay little or no attention to the journey migrants from the home- to the host-country. Research on the ways in which Yugoslav economic migrants reached their destinations, and especially on the imagery linked to the journey, is still in a very early phase and needs to be further developed. The major stereotype inherent in the pop-culture and in narrative sources is of a *Gastarbajter* leaving for the northwest by public transport – by train (like Paskaljević's character) or bus – and returning with in their own car (preferably a large, black Mercedes). Long-distance passenger trains ran from Yugoslavia to the main destinations in Germany, Italy and Sweden. In the period from 1962 to 1977 there was a daily Direct Orient Express from Paris through Switzerland, Austria, Zagreb and Belgrade[59] to the southeast. According to the narrative of one of my informants[60] the "route for work" was difficult for him in the early period while there was no direct connection between Belgrade and the south of France. He therefore had to use a Hungarian bus company to go to Lyon and there change to local transport. Another source[61] recounted that he had no problem getting from Tuzla to Salzburg when in the second half of the 1980s there were many private bus companies linking the major European and Yugoslav towns. Some foreign recruitment abroad organized the transportation of regular employees. As a marginal example we might once again refer to Kusturica's *Time of the Gypsies*, in which a Roma chieftain comes back from Milan to the suburb of Skopje[62] to recruit his 'workers' (beggars, pick-pockets and prostitutes) directly; he then takes them to Italy in a caravan attached to his American car. According to Ekmečić[63] (whose research is mainly on France, and, in particular, Paris) classic ethno-business activities of Yugoslavs included travel agencies arranging travel to and from Yugoslavia.

One statistical source[64] concerning work accidents suggests that there were more accidents on the road between Yugoslavia and the host-country than during leisure time in a host-country or even on the road between the place of work and the place of stay in the host-country. The 'route for work' is often described as long and dangerous. Even today the bus journey from Belgrade to Paris takes more than 24 hours and in the late 1960s must have been much longer. If a *Gastarbajter* decided to take his own car on such a long trip, and often in a rush – either to be back in the family circle in Yugoslavia or to be in time on the place of work – it is easy to imagine the risks. One of my informants[65] remembers that during the days of the beginning of holidays many local drivers decided to stay at home since the main roads around Graz were dangerous because of tired drivers returning southeast to Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey.

Another possibility was to fly between Yugoslavia and a host-country. During the 1960s and 1970s Yugoslav Airlines (J.A.T.) had access to many European and overseas destina-

tions. Ivanović[66] mentions an incident at West Berlin airport during Christmas 1968 when the travel agency "Jugoslavija" sold more flight-tickets than there were available places on J.A.T. Around 300 people spent more than 36 hours in the departures hall of the airport. He also mentions a telephone call from the airport to the Yugoslav embassy in East Berlin, complaining that the people waiting kept on drinking and eating, singing and causing damage to airport. One can only imagine the hysteria and the despair of people faced with the prospect of spending their Christmas holidays in an airport in a foreign country.

Another theme often mentioned in relation to the journey between a host-country and Yugoslavia was going through customs, with all the associated difficulties. Import duties had to be paid on goods bought abroad when the migrant returned. One informant[67] told me that many *Gastarbajteri* returned from Austria to Yugoslavia with ground coffee which was much cheaper in Austria and so could be sold for considerable profit at home. There is also a joke about the circulation of goods: Mujo sends Fata a jacket from Germany that he bought for 500 German Marks. He doesn't want to tell her the high price of the jacket so when she calls and asks him how much it was he says that 300 German Marks. A week later she calls him again and asks him to send ten more jackets because in Sarajevo they can be sold for 400 German Marks, as she has done with the first one. There is no doubt that customs aggravated many migrants. According to Baučić[68] the behaviour of customs officers was of greatest concern to migrants. Marković observes that: "fears and anxieties connected with homeland authorities were widespread among gastarbeiters"[69]. Marjanović[70], writing about the situation of Serbs in Austria during the 1990s, mentions numerous fees and taxes that had to be paid when they wanted to return home to visit their relatives. The state was often parasitic towards its subjects, and for the vulnerable not-here-not-there *Gastarbajteri* (who were supposed to be wealthier than others) the situation was even harder.

The *Gastarbajter* as the other

Upon arrival in the host-country Yugoslav economic migrants came into contact with the local population. Since they usually could not speak any foreign language and spent most of the time within their communities the migrants were often perceived by the locals as a homogeneous group. Nonetheless there were some stereotypes which became applied to the various ethnic groups coming from Yugoslavia that suggest certain distinctions could have been made. There is a joke about a group of Bosniak workers arriving in Germany. The German boss asks them: "So... You are the lazy ones?". "No!!! The lazy are the Montenegrins. We are Bosniaks, the stupid ones!", responds one of them. In general these stereotypes are much more significant for the discourse within Yugoslavia and its different ethnic groups in the period up to the break-up of the state. In a case-study dealing with Yugoslav economic migrants in Germany[71], Pušić recalls the local perception of the migrants: "[...] the Yugoslavs are considered by the Germans to be hard-working and industrious people, who are quick to learn German and who integrate well into German society". *Gastarbajteri* who settled in Germany were, as noted

above, mainly from the northern parts of Yugoslavia, and were often well skilled and looking for high paying jobs.

Totally different stereotypes emerge from research carried out by the Italian magazine *L'Espresso* in 2000[72]. According to this research Yugoslavs, together with Albanians, and Roma were considered to be "bearers of violence"[73]. Albanians were in addition considered to have "little will for work"[74], and Roma were perceived as thieves. Most of my research indicates that Italy was often perceived by *Gastarbajteri* as less appealing than the richer countries of the northwest Europe. Italy was much more popular among the Roma, Montenegrin, and the mafia, as well the people from the Adriatic coast capable of speaking Italian. Fifteen years separate these surveys, and it is also clear that the context of perception has changed markedly after so long a period when Yugoslavia and its successor states were front-page news. At the beginning of the movie *Before the Rain*[75] there is a scene in a restaurant in London with an angry and aggressive Yugoslavian attacking the guests. Another book[76] narrates the story of a Serb working in France who is stigmatized by French society because of his origin. A friend of mine, a Swiss living in Paris and for various reasons hiding his Swiss identity, used to introduce himself during the 1990s as a Czech. Once he unwittingly did so to a real Czech, and when his ignorance of the language was discovered, he said: "Well, buddy, you know... Nobody wants to be a Serb these days".

It should be repeated that during the earlier period of contact between Yugoslav migrants and the indigenous populations of the host countries, it was rare to find stereotypes which applied to the different ethnic groups which comprised Yugoslavia. Stereotypes of Yugoslavs were not always positive. Ekmečić[77] cites an article from a Paris newspaper[78] that claimed that in the Paris underground 80 percent of the thieves were of North African origin, 10 percent of Yugoslav origin and the last 10 percent of other origins. A woman quoted in Vuksanović[79] recalls: "[t]hey called us Gypsies". Morokvašić[80], dealing with the theme of social and labour movements, maintains that during the early period of Yugoslav economic migrations, *Gastarbajteri* were thought to be strike-breakers, black-legs, egoists and management informants. During the strikes of May 1968 the Yugoslavs left France *en masse* for holidays in their home-country. On the other hand, the same informant quoted a French trade union functionary who said that, "When a Yugoslav wakes up he can be the best activist"[81]. Another example of stereotypes relating to Yugoslav migrants can be found in a sociological article on the theme of the education of migrant children[82]. The teachers at a West Berlin school considered 43.1 percent of pupils of Yugoslavian origin to have disturbed behaviour (aggressiveness, neurosis or hyper-activity). One might ask, however, whether most teachers all over the world do not have the similar view of their charges, regardless of whether or not their parents are migrants[83].

Saturday night *Turbofolk* fever

Most migrant workers – 56.6 percent – were employed in the primary sector[84]. Since they came just to earn money their working days were exhausting (nearly half working

more than 42 hours a week[85]), but what were their activities during their leisure time? How did *Gastarbajteri* (most of whom did not speak the language of the host-country) relax after work? Statistical sources may be a part of the answer:

> The most important leisure-time activities of Yugoslav workers abroad are: reading, watching TV and listening to the radio. [...] Another important activity is cooking, which occupies women two times more than men. Cafés, bars and restaurants are frequented much more by men than by women. [...] Men are attracted to becoming members of sport activities associations, women by folklore and cultural activities[86].

On the other hand, we should also listen to a song from a popular Belgrade rock band of the 1980s, *Riblja Čorba*,[87] about a *Gastarbajter* Saturday night:

> Sparing each mark I only wait till Saturday / On Saturday when compatriots come / I take my tie and I grab a lady / I go to listen the sounds of my homeland / [...] / I drink and I eat *ćevapi* / I loose the buttons from my shirt / [...] / On Sunday I get up at noon / I feel like ground meat.

Marković writes that: "Gathered on Saturday nights in compatriots clubs, Gastarbeiters want to escape from a routine of their work life, to a dreamland of neofolk and turbofolk poetry"[88]. A direct witness in the Serbian press states that during one migrant party in Offenbach, Germany, tens of kilos of *ćevapčići* and *ražnići* and two pigs were eaten and hundred of litres of beer drunk[89].

Thus, Yugoslav migrants cultivated (often re-invented and hybridised) traditions. One of the most striking examples is the musical genre *turbofolk*[90], or more accurately, "newly composed national music"[91], *neofolk*. Eric Gordy described the phenomenon in the following terms:

> *Neofolk* music achieved huge popularity among Yugoslav workers in other countries, who brought a taste for the music back to the provincial towns from which they came. The private taxi companies and cafes that many g*astarbajteri* opened helped to diffuse the music, which with time came to define the tastes of "peasant urbanities" as well. In many cases, the genre was known as *gastarbajterske pesme*, the German term for 'guest worker' having been lifted directly into the Serbo-Croatian language (in Belgrade street slang, a term for job is also *arbajt*). Not all workers abroad went to Germany, of course. Some of the most lucrative international jobs were on construction and engineering projects in the Middle East and North Africa, where local popular music probably contributed some of what later critics of *neofolk* called the 'Islamic *melos*' of the music. Another source of this is domestic folk music, which especially in Serbia and Macedonia, had for a long time been enriched by elements of Turkish music[92].

Neofolk music was an important mark of identity for many *Gastarbajteri*. In Vienna at the end of the 1990s there took place 'competitions' between the Turkish and Yugoslav drivers on who was going to play the music in the car louder. Diesel clothing and Volkswagen Golf cars were obvious fashion complements. Describing migrant leisure in Paris, Ekmečić[93] has written that at the end of the 1970s there were two Yugoslav music stores; and in the *Mutualité* music hall there were regular concerts by Miroslav

Ilić, Vladeta Kandić, Zaïm Imamović and other proto-*neofolk* stars. The phenomenon of *neofolk* is often explained as the result of migration experience. Transnational "peasant urbanities"[94] not only from Yugoslavia but from many other emigration countries continued to maintain strong sentimental connections with traditional musical forms and their musical taste was also influenced by Western dance music. The hybrid music forms[95] that are generated in migration circles[96] often become popular (or unpopular) among both – the population of the host- and home-country. Community radio stations that diffused music among the migrants[97] were a big boost for *neofolk*.

It must be noted that not all Yugoslav migrants were fans of *neofolk* music. *Turbofolk* is described sometimes by its enemies as *etno-tehno – četno-muzika* (ethno-techno-right wing-music), and it is considered as having played an important role in the conflicts of the 1990s[98]. Yet it still remains the stereotypical music form of *Gastarbajteri*, its lyrics often reflecting some of their (often faraway) dreams (fast cars, nice girls, luxury fashion).

Gastarbajter politics

The question of the political activities of Yugoslavs in exile was a major cause for concern among the elites of socialist Yugoslavia from the beginning of the economic migrations in the 1960s until the end of the Federation in the 1990s. Since the period directly after World War II there were many exiles who were hostile to the communist settlement in Yugoslavia. Mostly they were former supporters of the puppet regimes of the war (Croatian and Bosnian *ustasha*, Albanian *ballists*, Slovenian and Serbian pro-German forces) but they also included representatives of the non-communist (mainly monarchist) anti-German resistance (primarily Serbian *chetniks*[99]). Another wave of political migration came after 1971 and crushing of the *maspok*[100] movement in Croatia. From the first years after World War II these groups had been organizing themselves in Western Europe, in the Americas and Australia[101], and with the arrival of *Gastarbajteri* they developed several tactics for influencing the newcomers. On the other hand, the economic migrants had often to prove their pro-Yugoslav orientation before even leaving the country. Most of my informants declared themselves apolitical and some of them even "Yugonostalgic"[102].

Heršak[103] maintains that the "fear of contamination" of *Gastarbajteri* by political exiles was addressed by making black lists of anti-Yugoslav exiles at the Yugoslav embassies and using these to check and influence migrants. From 1964 the regime tried to monitor the leisure time of migrants by organising clubs, libraries and *mediatheques*. Nevertheless, as Ivanović[104] points out, ignorance of foreign languages meant that most migrants read the press published by political exiles. In France for example the conflict between the political émigrés (who had access to the Serbo-Croat broadcasts of Radio France) and the Yugoslav regime took violent form. The *Klub jugoslovenske ambasade* [The Yugoslav Embassy Club] in Paris, popular among the economic migrants, was bombed in 1968[105]. Bošković[106] notes examples of the tactics used by the political exiles to influence the *Gas-*

tarbajteri by pamphleteering. One of these pamphlets was supposed to convince migrants not to save their money in Belgrade banks because of immanent break-up of Yugoslavia. Pressure was sometimes put on migrants to become involved in anti-government agitation in Yugoslavia. One of the best known – Operation *Feniks* (in July 1972) – was supposed to restore Croatian independence in Bugojno. During the 1970s when Croatian exile organizations increased their activities, there were also examples of deliberate isolation of pro-Yugoslav workers and disinformation campaigns[107].

An interesting story illustrating this issue is related by Kovačević[108]. On 15 September 1979 at 3 A.M. a dispute on political matters took place in the Balkan Grill bar in Frankfurt am Main[109] that soon became a battle with chairs, glasses and ashtrays. One of the agents of the political émigrés finally pulled out a revolver and shot dead 38-year-old worker Salih Mesinović and seriously wounded his brother, Nasul. The following night the bar was burned down.

Some political exiles financed their activities by threats and racketeering involving their migrant compatriots. The Croatian trade union Sindikat developed tactics to attract all Croatian workers in Germany[110]. A joke illustrates the racketeering phenomenon: hungry Mujo and Haso come to Munich, do not speak any German and have no money. They walk around and suddenly find a Yugoslav restaurant. They sit in the corner and watch some bearded men eating and drinking. After the meal one of the bearded men tells the waiter: "We are the Chetniks and if you try to make us pay, we will kill you and burn down the restaurant". Mujo looks at Haso and they decide to do the same. They order roast lamb, beer, *rakija*, salads and cheese and, after coffee, when the waiter presents the bill Mujo says: "We are the Chetniks and if you try to make us pay, we will kill you and burn down the restaurant". The waiter asks why they have no beards; but Mujo saves the situation by saying: "We are secret Chetniks, you know..." The anecdote reflects the broader idea of a politically passive migrant population that has come to make money, in contrast to the long-term political exiles.

Since they produced so little in the way of texts and recorded political opinions, it is not easy discover much about the political activities of *Gastarbajteri*. Information in sources of pro-Yugoslav provenance is to be regarded with caution, since most of these works are of the agit-prop variety and may say more about the system than about the migrants. On the other hand, once present in the discourse they do not differ structurally from other sources of information (scientific data, oral tradition, popular culture narrative etc.). We can provisionally sum up by stating that the different waves of Yugoslav migration influenced each other, but more research needs to be done to identify the nature and extent of the exchange.

Return of a guest-worker

By definition, 'temporary work abroad' meant that *Gastarbajteri* would return home once they had earned the money they came for. After having spent some years abroad, however, the *Gastarbajteri* were perceived as 'the Other' even by their compatriots who

had stayed in the home-country. Marković[111] remarks that punctuality, for example was an important change 'brought' from the West. Changes at home in their absence could make the return painful. The theme of long absence undermining relationships in the home-country is frequent in the pop-culture sources. The hero of Kusturica's *Time of the Gypsies* finds his girlfriend pregnant by someone else; so that all his time in Italy dedicated to earning the money to marry her seems to have been wasted. A character in Paskaljević's *Powder Keg*[112] also comes back from abroad. To impress his former girlfriend and win back her heart he spends a great deal of money arranging a romantic evening with a philharmonic orchestra playing music for her on a river boat.

The theme of a man working abroad who finds his wife or girl unfaithful when he returns home is a constant theme of jokes. As we have seen above, the loss of family might be considered as a personal tragedy, but it was also handled with humour. Haso, who has stayed in Bosnia, writes to Mujo, who is working in Germany. The letter says: "1) Fata [Mujo´s wife] is sleeping with everybody in Zenica; 2) Fata is sleeping with me; 3) What do you say to 2)?"

Mujo's answer is: "1) Zenica is not such a big town; 2) Fata is HIV positive; 3) What do you say to 2)?"

In another joke Mujo comes back from Germany to Yugoslavia. He enjoys his first night with Fata and after she goes off for a shower he looks under bed and finds a dozen green peas. When she comes back he asks her: "Why do we have these green peas under our bed?"

"Well, you know, Mujo, you were away for four years and when I was with another man I always left a pea under our bed."

"OK," says Mujo, "But what about these 30 German Marks under the bed?"

"Well, you know, Mujo, in the winter of 1983 the price of peas went up and so I sold them at 5 marks a kilo", responds Fata.

Many *Gastarbajteri* returned to Yugoslavia when they had finally managed to save enough money. There are many houses all over the former Yugoslavia that were built using money earned abroad. During my last visit to Serbia in April 2006 I visited the Negotin region in the eastern part of the country, an area well known as one of the cradles of economic migration. These villages where the "cultural impact of the Gastarbeiter is perhaps most visible"[113] consist in its majority of kitschy cream-coloured houses with statues of lions and falcons in front of them. An evident supplement to the *nouveau riche* architecture is a Western car, often, even, with foreign number plates. The archetypical car is of course a Mercedes. There is a joke about two brothers from the Sandjak region. The older one brings an old Mercedes car from abroad, while the younger one brings a new Porsche. The neighbours gossip: "So you know the older one brought a Merc from Switzerland and the younger one just some foreign tin-can".

Consumer-based values are most visible among the *Gastarbajter* youth[114]. Marković comments that: "It seems that many Gastarbeiter parents have tried to compensate for

Fig. 1
Gastarbeiter neighbourhood, Negotin region, eastern Serbia, April 2006.
Source: courtesy of Ondřej Vojtěchovský.

this neglect [being absent as their children are growing up] in two ways. One has been to surround their offspring with material wealth. The other has been not to request any particular achievements from their children"[115]. There is another joke about a Roma boy, Cigo, who comes back with his parents from abroad. He goes to the police-station and says he wants to buy a policeman. The inspector thinks a bit, drives him home and complains to his mother. She apologizes, saying: "Sorry inspector-efendi, since we returned from Sweden our Cigo wants to buy every kind of shit".

Conclusion

This chapter attempts to present the most important situations encountered by Yugoslav guest-workers during the relatively recent and short existence of the phenomenon of state-directed work migration and its overlap with post-communist contemporary developments. In addition to statistical and other academic sources I have used sources from pop-culture that help to decode meanings sometimes overlooked by scholars. It has not been the purpose of this study to draw sharp divisions between 'hard' data and the evidence of cultural production, or between popular and academic discourse. Since

fiction and myth are part of the conceptual repertoire of contemporary societies[116] a study of the transnational landscape of Yugoslav economic migrants would not be valid if sources from pop-culture were neglected.

Another problem arises in any attempt to write the contemporary history of ordinary people. As historians we are often constrained by traditional narratives of chronology and causality. Can we properly use the approaches of the other social sciences, or should we continue using a mainly diachronic model? In terms of causality, how can we defend our methodology as the only valid one? Ultimately, is it not best to employ both, the diachronic and the synchronic model, in order to better represent the changing and eclectic quality of the contemporary world?

Concerning the motivation behind migration, I found several common economic forces, such as the wave of unemployment and poverty in the 1960s Yugoslavia. The migrants in general left the country to be able to attain a better standard of living. Most of them were employed in manual jobs (mainly in heavy industry and sometimes in services). There was also a (very visible) minority of people who left Yugoslavia for criminal and semi-criminal business. The whole *Gastarbajteri* phenomenon can also be understood in terms of the social dimensions of economic migration. It may be that the sadness and nostalgia of the migrant as often depicted in pop-culture sources is a 'necessary tax' on the prospects for social advancement which are found abroad. The section dealing with *Gastarbajteri* travel routes develops the idea of studying migration processes from the perspective of Cultural Geography. My research into the mental mapping[117] of the voyage vectors needs to be developed further, and here I have just sketched some of the transport channels (bus, train, car and plane). The section dealing with the crossing of borders also refers to the smuggling activities that were practised by economic migrants among others. Why is the 'on the road' approach so widely used in pop-culture (road-movies, road-novels, truck driver music etc.) but so little in academic works?

The *Gastarbajteri*, often supposed to be hardworking, as well as violent and aggressive, are perceived as 'the Other' by locals. The popular music of the migrants – *neofolk* – is often described as *Gastarbajteri* invention. Migrants were varied in their political activity. Political exiles already settled in Western Europe tried to influence *Gastarbajteri*, as did the Yugoslav regime, but studies of the direct impact of the *Gastarbajteri* on anti- and pro-Yugoslav politics abroad remain to be done. *Gastarbajteri* seem in general to have been politically passive and less nationalist in sentiment than previously supposed. My original (ethno-centrist) hypothesis of separation on the basis of primordial bonds has not proved correct. Even fifteen years after the break-up of Yugoslav federation some former migrants still claim the latter as their country[118]. New questions have to be posed in the light of qualitative research[119] on the hybridization of identities in the transnational social landscape, particularly on the marginalizing mechanisms of the host society and the hybrid nature of migrant culture.

The last part of my study dealt with the return of *Gastarbajteri* to the home-country and the situations of alterity they encounter there. Their consumerist values are un-

questionable and visible in all aspects of the material culture of returnees. Many works have been also devoted to the position of migrant in the context of late capitalism and its logic of consumption. Using the latest technological media migrants seem to cultivate transnational cultural forms that are linked to more than one national state[120]. The cultural elements seem to change their rhizomatic forms[121] according to the laws of Chaos or *Kairòs*[122]. Can these statements be applied equally to the cultural experiences of migrants from Balkans, especially from the former Yugoslavia that is often decribed as a nest of ethnic hatred and primordial tribalism?

From the point of view of classic contemporary history the *Gastarbajteri* seem to be invisible. They are marginalised in both the home – and host-country and few of them produce any 'classical' evidence. The lack of textual sources written directly by economic migrants must be compensated for by narrative, jokes and other pop-culture sources that help us to uncover the main situations and their meanings for these not illiterate but still non-writing people. Writing about the text and language matters – there is a joke about Mujo coming to Germany without speaking German. He calls a waitress and draws a steak on the paper. She brings him a steak. Then he draws a bottle of wine. She brings him a bottle. Finally when Mujo is paying the waitress draws a bed. Mujo is astonished: "How the hell did she know that I am a carpenter?"

Notes

1 The concept of *Gastarbeiter* (Guest-worker, *Gastarbajter* in Serbo-Croatian, pl. *Gastarbajteri*) arose first in the discourse of political economy (in Federal Republic of Germany during the 1950s) and later it entered other disciplines of social sciences and popular culture. It refers to temporary work migrants coming to West Germany (F.R.G., and later to other booming countries) as a "reserve army of labour" (K. Marx) supposed to return in the home country after accomplishing their purpose. The first *Gastarbeiters* came to F.R.G. from Spain, Portugal, Italy and Greece in the late 1950s. Since the beginning of the 1960s they were joined by workers from Turkey and Yugoslavia. The official Serbo-Croatian term to refer to this wave of migration is "temporary work abroad" (*privremeni rad u inostranstvu*). I distinguish between speaking of neutral *Gastarbeiters*, and *Gastarbajteri* from the former Yugoslavia. Writing about the latter I will use the Serbo-Croatian spelling (to be pronounced phonetically: Gastarbaïter/i). For labour migration from Yugoslavia see, for example, E. Heršak, *Panoptikum migracija*, in "Migracijske teme", 1993, 9, 3-4, pp. 227-302, or the note about guest-workers in C. Colera (ed.), *Une communauté dans un contexte de guerre: la "diaspora serbe" en Occident*, Paris 2003.

2 In Zagreb there were three main institutes that dealt with the issue of labour migration: *Centar za istraživanje migracija* [Centre for Migration Research], *Ekonomski institut* [Institute for Economy] and *Institut za geografiju sveučilišta u Zagrebu* [Institute for Geography of the Zagreb University]. Later a new institute was founded – *Institut za migracije i nacijonalnosti* [I.M.I.N., Institute for Migrations and Minorities], that focuses primarily on interdisciplinary research into the subject.

3 See the monothematic issue of review "Sociologija, Časopis za sociologiju, socijalu psihologiju i socijalnu antropologiju", XV, 1973, 2.

4 For example Želimir Žilnik's *Nezaposljeni ljudi* [Unemployed], 1968) and Bogdan Žižić's *Gastarbeiter* (1977).

5 M. Bošković, *Antijugoslovenska fašistička emigracija*, Belgrade - Novi Sad 1980; S. Kovačević, *Hronologija antijugoslovenskog terorizma 1960-1980*, Belgrade 1981; M. Doder, *Jugoslavenska neprijatelska emigracija*, Zagreb 1989; F. Ekmečić, *Posljednih sto godina Jugoslavena u Francuskoj*, voll. 1.-3., Paris 1985.

[6] I follow the established use of 'Bosniak' to refer to the Bosnian Muslim population and 'Bosnian' to refer to the population of Bosnia-Herzegovina, regardless of ethno-religious identification.

[7] As striking examples see V. Grečić, M. Lopušina, *Svi Srbi sveta*, Belgrade 1994; M. Galić, *Politika u emigraciji: Demokratska alternativa*, Zagreb 1990; M. Imamović, *Bošnjaci u emigraciji*, Sarajevo 1996.

[8] G. Vuksanović, *Na putu do kuće, studija o domaćinstvima i porodičnim odnosima povratnika sa rada u inostranstvu*, Novi Sad 1997.

[9] V. Ivanović, *Jugoslavija i SR Nemačka (1967-1973): Između ideologije i pragmatizma*, Unpublished thesis (Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu [Faculty of Arts, Belgrade University], 2006).

[10] P. Marković, *Gastarbeiters as the Factor of Modernization in Serbia*, in "Istorija", 2005, 2, pp. 145-163.

[11] K.J. Bade (ed.), *Sozialhistorische Migrationsforschung*, Göttingen 2004; G. Bowman, *Migrant Labour: Constructing Homeland in the Exilic Imagination*, in "Anthropological Theory", 2002, 2, 4, pp. 447-468; A. Kofler, *Migration, Emotion, Identities: The Subjective Meaning of Difference*, Wien 2002; D. Lepoutre, I. Cannoodt, *Souvenirs de familles immigrées*, Paris 2005; S. Mezzandra (ed.), *I confini della libertà. Per un'analisi politica delle migrazioni contemporanee*, Rome 2004; S. Vetrovec, R. Cohen (eds), *Migration, Diaspora and Transnationalism*, Aldershot 1999.

[12] I. Čolović, *Politika simbola – ogledi o političkoj antropologiji*, Belgrade 1997; E.D. Gordy, *The Culture of Power in Serbia: Nationalism and Destruction of Alternatives*, Pennsylvania State University 1999; H. Jansen, *The Violence of Memories: Local Narratives of the Past after Ethnic Cleanising in Croatia*, in "Rethinking History", 2002, 6, 1, pp. 77-94; M. Ravarino, *Schermi di guerra, le guerre jugoslave tra storia, cinema e società*, unpublished thesis, University of Turin, 2005; S. Vucetic, *Identity is a Joking Matter: Intergroup Humour in Bosnia*, in "Spacesofidentity", 2004, 4, 1.

[13] B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London - New York 1991.

[14] H. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, London 1994.

[15] Marcel Mauss quoted in P. Berger, T. Luckmann, *La construction sociale de la réalité*, Paris 1996, p. 254.

[16] Here we should refer to M. Augé, *An Anthropology for Contemporaneous Worlds*, Stanford University 1999 (orig. *Pour une anthropologie des mondes contemporains*, Paris 1999).

[17] W. Benjamin, *Illuminations*, London 1999.

[18] T. Hitchcock, *A New History from Below*, in T. Sokoll (ed.), *Essex Pauper Letters 1731-1837*, Oxford University 2001.

[19] N.G.O. Initiative Minderheiten, bookstore Stadtbücherei am Gürtel and Filmarchiv Austria, presented online on http://www.gastarbajteri.at (14 June 2006).

[20] For the concept of "the double absence" see A. Sayad, *La double absence: Des illusions aux souffrances de l'immigré*, Paris 1999.

[21] 3.9 percent according to I. Baučić, *Radnici u inozemstvu prema popisu stanovištva Jugoslavie 1971.*, Zagreb 1973.

[22] S.S.R. Serbia without the autonomous provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina.

[23] Baučić, *Radnici* cit., p. 37.

[24] Numbers quoted in *ibid*., p. 28: the first is taken from the Yugoslav 1971 census; the second is statistical data from FR Germany.

[25] V. Grečić, *Savremene migracije radne snage u Europi*, Belgrade 1975, p. 225. For economic migration from Herzegovina, see also S. Juka, *Vanjske migracije iz zapadne Hercegovine*, in "Migracijske teme", 1995, 11, 2, pp. 187-206. Juka writes that according to the statistical data of 1971, in the communes (*općine*) of Posušje, Grude a Ljubuški in western Herzegovina, one third of the active population was working abroad.

[26] Marković, *Gastarbeiter* cit., pp. 145-163.

[27] See D. Dimitrijevic, *Le rituel de la slava et l'imaginaire communautaire de l'unité. Les Roumains de Homolje et les Serbes en France*, in "Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales", 2005, 16, 2, pp. 91-117.

[28] Baučić, *Radnici* cit., p. 83.

[29] Heršak, *Panoptikum* cit., p. 238.

[30] *Ibid*., pp. 284-285.

[31] Marković, *Gastarbeiter* cit., p. 151.

[32] For example M.J. Davidović, *Druga generacija ekonomskih emigranata u zemljama Zapadne Evrope: Sociološka analiza*, Belgrade 1998.

[33] For interpretation of Bakhtin's concept of hybridity see Bhabha, *The Location* cit., especially chapters *The commitment to theory* and *Signs taken for wonders: Questions of ambivalence and authority under a tree outside Delhi, May 1817*.

[34] Marković, *Gastarbeiter* cit., p. 152.

[35] *Ibid*., p. 158.

[36] See for example I. Baučić, *Aktualna pitanja jugoslavenskih građana na radu u inozemstvu: Rezultati popisa stanovištva 1981. i anketiranja 1983/1984 godine*, Bilten Koordinacionog odbora RK SSRNH za naše građane u inozemstvu, 1985, 8, III; Davidović, *Druga generacija* cit.; B. Petrović, *Deca stranih radnika školskog uzrasta u SR Nemačkoj*, in "Sociologija, Časopis za sociologiju, socijalu psihologiju i socijalnu antropologiju", XV, 1973, 2; M. Švob, Z. Ivezić, Z. Kotarac, *Djeca u dopunskoj školi*, in "Migracijske teme", 1989, 5, 1, pp. 21-26; J. Widgren, *Druga generacija Jugoslavena u Švedskoj i njezino značenje za razvitak švedsko-jugoslavenske suradnje*, in "Obilježa i značenje migracija iz Jugoslavije u Švedsku, Rasprave o migracijama", 1980, 66.

[37] Baučić, *Aktualna* cit., p. 47, gives a quantity of 35.8 percent of families of this type.

[38] Heršak, *Panoptikum* cit., p. 287.

[39] For the topic of gender aspects inherent in economic migrations from Yugoslavia see M. Morokvašić, *Jugoslawische Frauen. Die Emigration- und danach*, Basel - Frankfurt am Main 1987; and A. Kofler, *Migration* cit., 2002.

[40] Often by the educational institutions of Catholic Church, see Heršak, *Panoptikum* cit., p. 284.

[41] See for example V. Marjanović, *Šta žene Srbi u Austriju*, in D. Milovanović, A. Vlajković (eds.), *Dijaspora i otacbina: 1998-2000*, Belgrade 2001, pp. 79-83.

[42] *Čuvar plaže u zimskom periodu* [Beach Guard in Winter], 1976.

[43] See the discussion between "transnationalists" and "assimilationists" summed up by M. Bommes, *Transnationalism or Assimilation*, http://www.jsse.org/2005-1/transnationalism_assimilation_bommes.htm (26.6.2006). For further basic reading on concept of transnationalism see E.L. Guarnizo, M.P. Smith (eds), *Transnationalism from Below*, New Brunswick 1998.

[44] Grečić, *Savremene* cit., p. 234.

[45] Vuksanović, *Na putu do kuće* cit., p. 81.

[46] A. Petak, *Motivi zapošljavanja u inozemstvu*, in "Naše teme", 1969, 3, p. 412, quoted in Grečić, *Savremene* cit., p. 260.

[47] Marković, *Gastarbeiter* cit., p. 152.

[48] Appositely *Ibid*., p. 155.

[49] *Dom za vešanje* [Time of the Gypsies], 1988.

[50] *Lepa sela lepo gore* (1996). During the Bosnian War one character is accused by his military commander of having learned German by robbing German women-pensioners. He counters by referring to the disastrous corruption of the late communist rule in Yugoslavia, represented by the generation of the

commander. In another scene we see the character coming from Germany with a lot of presents for his family – a typical *Gasterbajter* comeback to be analysed later in this chapter.

[51] "As an armed robber, assailant and murderer he had convictions or warrants in Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden, Germany, Austria, Switzerland and Italy. He was imprisoned in Belgium in 1974, escaped in 1977, rearrested in the Netherlands in 1979 but escaped again in 1981. At one point, he was wounded in a clash with police. He fled from dozens of European prisons, including the compound which today is a high security prison for war criminals in the Scheveningen suburb of the Hague." Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia (24.6.2006, entry - Жељко Ражнатовић Аркан).

[52] See Vucetic, *Identity is a Joking Matter* cit.

[53] A Bosniak in his early early thirties originally from Novi Pazar now living in Prague.

[54] In original – *šverc*. The word *šverc* comes from German "Schwarz" (black). It refers to black or grey business activities related mainly to buying and selling goods.

[55] A Bosnian Serb also in his thirties from the Bileća region in eastern Herzegovina.

[56] I will deal with the topic of stereotypes later in this chapter.

[57] During the years after 1995 the most popular *ganga* were tributes to Ante Gotovina, a Croatian war hero currently being tried by the Tribunal for Crimes in Former Yugoslavia in Hague, while others were supporting the nationalist party H.D.Z. against Croatian Social Democrats.

[58] All examples in these two paragraphs are to be found (and downloaded) at http://www.ganga.hr/ (13 January 2006).

[59] Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia (entry – Orient express, 3 July 2006).

[60] A Serb in his sixties who has been working in Toulon, France since the beginning of 1970s.

[61] A Bosniak (or Bosnian, or *Bosanac*, as he calls himself) in his late thirties, originally from the region of Tuzla, now living in Chrudim, Czech Republic.

[62] As viewers we are not supposed to know whether the Roma slums presented in this movie are in Sarajevo or some other big town in the southern part of Yugoslavia with Muslim influence. According to relevant sources the movie was shot in Skopje.

[63] F. Ekmečić, *Posljednih sto godina Jugoslavena u Francuskoj,* vol. 2, *1946-1984*, Paris 1985.

[64] Baučić, *Aktualna* cit., p. 59.

[65] Austrian professor from Graz.

[66] Ivanović, *Jugoslavija* cit.

[67] See note 56.

[68] Baučić, *Aktualna* cit., p. 83.

[69] Marković, *Gastarbeiter* cit., p. 149.

[70] Marjanović, *Šta žene Srbi* cit.

[71] P. Pušić, *Jugoslaveni u Njemačkoj*, in "Migracijske teme", 1985, 1, 1, pp. 37-52.

[72] Quoted in U. Bosetti, *Integrati, assimilati, gastarbeiter o solo cittadini?*, in "Questotrentino", 18 March 2000.

[73] *"portatori di violenza"* in orig.

[74] *"poca voglia di lavorare"* in orig.

[75] 1994, directed by Milcho Manchevski.

[76] Milan Ratković, *Le Serbe*, quoted by M. Pavlović, *Naši pisci u inostranstvu: Primer Francuske*, in D. Milovanović, A. Vlajković (eds.), *Dijaspora* cit., pp. 211-217.

[77] Ekmečić, *Posljednih sto godina* cit., vol 2.

[78] *Le Parisien,* (17 August 1982).

[79] Vuksanović, *Na putu do kuće* cit., p. 97.

[80] M. Morokvašić, *Jugoslavenski radnici u inostranstvu: Klasna svest i borba radničke klase u zemljama imigracije*, in "Sociologija, Časopis za sociologiju, socijalu psihologiju i socijalnu antropologiju", 1973, 15, 2, pp. 273-289.

[81] Morokvašić, *Jugoslavenski radnici* cit., p. 278.

[82] Švob, Ivezić, Kotarac, *Djeca* cit.

[83] Another kind of mental border relates to the stereotypes migrants have of locals. Unfortunately I did not manage to get all the information I wanted in this area from my field research. It may be that my informants did not want to present their stereotypes of Germans, Austrians, Italians or French to a Czech scholar. Most of the academic works that deal with the *Gastarbajter* phenomenon do not mention these borders at all and since the migrant populations rarely produce any type of text that can be quoted, the stereotypes of locals is a topic to be further studied. The following statement reflects this theme: "They [German women] have for example a day when they go out – to play cards or drink coffee – only with other women. They call it 'women's day'... If the weather is nice on Sunday a German wife makes potato salad and some sandwiches, she puts them into a knapsack and they go by bike or by bus some twenty or thirty kilometres to have a picnic... She won't sit – like we do – all Sunday at home and wash, clean, cook and bake" (Vuksanović, *Na putu do kuće* cit., p. 234.) German women are therefore seen as much more emancipated than their Yugoslav counterparts, who are seen through the lens of generalization as part of a much more traditional and patriarchal cultural field.

[84] Baučić, *Radnici* cit., p. 67.

[85] Id., *Aktualna* cit., p. 51.

[86] *Ibid*.., pp. 65-75.

[87] *Gastarbajterska pesma* [Gasterbeiter song].

[88] Marković, *Gastarbeiter* cit., p. 154.

[89] V. Ranković, *Da se zna kad Srbi slave*, in "Vesti", 4 July 2003.

[90] "The term *turbo folk* itself was coined by Rambo Amadeus, who used it jokingly during the late 1980s in order to describe his own strange smorgasbord sound combining various styles and influences. At the time, the term was nothing more than a humorous soundbite thought up by a clever musician with a knack for comedy. Obviously, the phrase was somewhat funny since it combined two clashing concepts – 'turbo', invoking an image of modern, industrial progress and 'folk', a symbol of tradition and rural conservatism, suspicious of any inovation. All in all, it was good for a chuckle or two and that was about it. [...] Asked to comment, Rambo Amadeus famously quipped: 'I feel guilty for turbo-folk as much as Albert Einstein felt guilt over Hiroshima & Nagasaki'". (Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia (entry – turbofolk, 8 June 2006). Speaking about his motivations for creating the concept Rambo Amadeus says: "I want to isolate that gold Mercedes with diamond wheels and to observe it as a work of art. ... The same I want to observe the man who has a gold necktie, who listens to Šemsa Šuljaković and knows which kafana has good food and how to make easy money. But other than that, he understands nothing and knows nothing, he doesn´t know whose body his head is on and he is happy as sheep. That man interests me as an artist. ... I want to break into his consciousness and make civic culture of it". Gordy, *The Culture of Power* cit., p. 119. There is a good deal of polemic literature on the theme of *turbo folk*. Outside the works quoted in this paper see: B. Dimitrijević, *Globalni turbofolk*, in "NIN2", 20 June 2002; M. Đurković, *Ideološki i politički sukobi oko popularne muzike u Srbiji*, http://www.sac.org.yu/komunikacija/casopisi/fid/XXV/d10/html_ser_lat (8 June 2006); M. Miloslajević, *Ideologija kiča*, in "NIN", 1 October 1998; in English see for example: L.V. Rasmussen, *From Source to the Commodity: Newly Composed Folk Music of Yugoslavia*, in "Popular Culture", 2005, 14, 2, pp. 241-256; in French see the interview of Slobodan Georgijev with Rambo Amadeus translated from revue "Vreme", http://www.balkans.eu.org/article5795.html (8 June 2006).

[91] "*novokomponovana narodna muzika*" in the original.

[92] Gordy, *The Culture of Power* cit., p. 107.

[93] Ekmečić, *Posljednih sto godina* cit., vol 2.

[94] "Many newcomers continued to maintain close connections with their villages of origin as well, received food from relatives in the village, and took leave of their factory jobs to participate in the harvest. Andrei Simić defined this group as the "*peasant urbanities*," and their intermediate status has been commented on by many observers.", Gordy, *The Culture of Power* cit., p. 107, using the concept of A. Simić, *The Peasant Urbanities: A Study of Rural-Urban Mobility in Serbia*, New York 1973.

[95] Zoran Ćirjaković makes a list of other hybrid musical forms comparable to *neofolk:* among others Algerian *raï*, Indian *bhangra* or Nigerian *afrobeat*, see Z. Ćirjaković, *Turbofolk naš i svetski*, in "Nova srpska politička misao", http://www.nspm.org.yu/Intervjui/2005_cirjak_turbofolk.htm (23 October 2006).

[96] See M. Oriol, *La chanson populaire comme création identitaire: le Rebetiko et le Raï*, in "Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales, 16, 2005, 2, pp. 131-142., http://remi.revues.org/document1807.html (26 October 2006).

[97] Ekmečić, *Posljednih sto godina* cit., vol 2., quotes many smaller Paris radios (R. Soleil, Paris, Tomate, Notre Damme and R. 13) that started to transmit the programs in Serbo-Croatian during the 1980s.

[98] *"The three key components of this war are: alcohol, greasy food, and folk music."* (Zoran Kostić-Cane, Partibrejkers), Gordy, *The Culture of Power* cit., p. 119.

[99] For a reliable analysis of the *Chetnik* movement – often glorified in the works of Serbian nationalist orientation – see A. Sidoti, *Partisans et Tchetniks en Yougoslavie durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale: Idéologie et mythogènese*, Paris 2004.

[100] *Maspok* or *masovni pokret* [mass movement] was a programme based on Croatian national revanche that for a certain period was supported by Croatian communist elites. The years that follow its defeat are often referred as "the years of Croatian silence"; see M. Thompson, *A Paper House: The Ending of Yugoslavia*, London 1992, p. 114.

[101] For information about exile political groups see M. Bošković, *Antijugoslovenska fašistička emigracija*, Belgrade - Novi Sad 1980; S. Kovačević, *Hronologija antijugoslovenskog terorizma 1960-1980*, Belgrade 1981; M. Doder, *Jugoslavenska neprijatelska emigracija*, Zagreb 1989; F. Ekmečić, *Posljednih sto godina Jugoslavena u Francuskoj*, voll. 1.-3., Paris 1985 and X. Raufer, F. Haut, *Le Chaos balkanique*, Paris 1992.

[102] *Jugonostalgija* is a term that was deployed after the break-up of Yugoslavia by nationalist elites to denote a heterogenous group of antinationalist opposition – later the concept was adopted by this opposition to denote themselves. See for example R. Iveković, *Autopsia dei Balcani. Saggio di psico-politica*, Milano 1999, and D. Ugrešić, *Kultura laži (antipolitički eseji)*, Zagreb 1996.

[103] Heršak, *Panoptikum* cit., p. 284.

[104] Ivanović, *Jugoslavija* cit. p. 147.

[105] Ekmečić, *Posljednih* cit.

[106] Bošković, *Antijugoslovenska* cit., p. 192.

[107] According to M. Doder, *Jugoslavenska* cit., in May 1980 there was for example a rumour among migrants from Livno (Western Herzegovina) working in Germany that the Yugoslav secret services planned a bomb attack during the mass dedicated to the controversial Cardinal Alojzije Stepinac in Livno church.

[108] Kovačević, *Hronologija* cit.

[109] One of the German cities with the biggest ratio of Yugoslav migrants, often humorously referred as Frankfurt *na majce*.

[110] Bošković, *Antijugoslovenska* cit.

[111] Marković, *Gastarbeiter* cit., p. 158.

[112] *Bure baruta* (1998).

[113] Marković, *Gastarbeiter* cit., p. 148.

[114] See Đ. Jureša-Persoglio, *Vrijednosne orijentacije omladine-povratnika u gradu Zagrebu*, in "Migracijske teme", 1987, 3, 1, pp. 43-63.

[115] Marković, *Gastarbeiter* cit., p. 157.

[116] A. Appadurai, *Après le colonialisme. Les conséquences culturelles de la globalisation*, Paris 2005, p. 104, (orig. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, University of Minessota 1996).

[117] For clarification of the concept see Yi-Fu Tuan, *Images and Mental Maps*, in "Annals of the Association of American Geographers", 1975, 65, 2, pp. 205-213.

[118] When I asked one informant – a woman in her thirties from the Paris agglomeration – in Palavas (South France) beach in the summer of 2006 a question of her origins, she replies that she came from Yugoslavia.

[119] For the methodology of qualitative research see Corbin J., Strauss A., *Les fondements de la recherche qualitative. Techniques et procédures de developpement de la théorie enracinée*, Fribourg 2005, (orig. *Basics of qualitative research*, Newbury 1990).

[120] Appadurai, *Modernity at Large* cit.

[121] "Rhizome" is an invention of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, also quoted by A. Appadurai, "Principles of connection and heterogeneity: any point of a rhizome can be connected to anything other, and must be". G. Deleuze, F. Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, Minnesota 1987, p. 516, (orig., *Mille Plateaux. Capitalisme et schizophrénie*, 2, Paris 1980).

[122] See A. Negri, *Du retour. Abécédaire biopolitique*, Paris 2002, p. 126.

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God and King: Interaction between Jewish and Greek Laws in Antiochus III's Jerusalem

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Abstract

In attempting to define the main aspects of the codification of Jewish law, the problem of the relationship between law and religion constantly arises. The Law was not only the institution which guided the behaviour of men, but also (and above all) the manifestation of divine will. According to Jewish tradition the Law originated from God. In the Hellenistic Age this belief remained firm, but faced a challenge in the form of Greek political, ideological, and cultural influences. This chapter will briefly analyse the historical context in which the Jewish and Greek legislative traditions confronted one another. The particular ideological background out of which these traditions emerged will also be analysed.

Nel tentativo di definire gli aspetti principali di una codificazione della legge giudaica, sorge costantemente il problema del rapporto tra quest'ultima e l'elemento religioso. La Legge, secondo la tradizione giudaica, non era soltanto l'istituzione regolatrice della condotta tra gli esseri umani, ma anche, e soprattutto, espressione della volontà divina, dalla quale traeva la sua origine.

In epoca ellenistica, tale concezione rimaneva saldamente ancorata ai suoi cardini principali, ma dovette spesso fronteggiare le influenze esterne di matrice greca, foriere di sensibili cambiamenti politici, ideologici e culturali. Tenendo presente quanto esposto, questa breve sintesi cerca di delineare un quadro generico del contesto storico in cui le tradizioni legislative giudaiche e quelle di formazione greca vennero a confronto e di quel particolare sfondo ideologico sul quale maturarono.

The presence of Alexander the Great (356-323 BC) in the Middle East, and his conquest of Persia, brought to Asia new forms of thought, custom, and habit that profoundly changed the political and social structures of the conquered territories. His

actions marked the beginning of a complex period of transformation. His death was followed by the emergence of a new and intricate network of relationships between the Greeks and native populations whose traditions and cultures were now exposed to the political whims both of Alexander's heirs and of the local ruling elites. The former sought to secure the loyalty of the subject countries, while the latter wished to preserve their political power and influence. This situation marked the beginning of the Hellenistic Age (323-31 BC), a period of intense interaction between Greek and Middle-Eastern peoples.

In this chapter I will discuss two examples of the juridical interaction between Greeks and Jews in Jerusalem during the Hellenistic Age. I will pay specific attention to documents from the period of Antiochus III (223-187 BC), one of the most important rulers of the Seleucid Kingdom. I will explain the meaning and differences between what were known as regional law and the "law of the fathers" which, according to the Jewish perception of foreign power, emerged from the interaction between the Greeks and the Jewish political authorities in Jerusalem. After reviewing the most important sources relating to Hellenistic Judaism I will focus upon two distinct questions. The first is the issue of the divine origins of the Jewish *Torah* [Law]. Here I will analyse important biblical passages to explain the gradual and complex process of codification of Jewish law. Secondly, I will assess historical events from the end of the Babylonian Captivity in 537 BC until Antiochus III's conquest of Jerusalem in 200 BC. Here I will analyze aspects of the interaction between different laws while focusing in particular on the Jews' ideological perception of law in general.

In the pages that follow I will maintain the conventional distinction between the terms Hebrew and Jew, which has its origin during the period of the Babylonian Captivity (586-537 BC). The leading citizens of Jerusalem were first removed in 597 BC, but the so-called Great Deportation took place in 586 BC at the hands of king Nebuchadnezzar (625-582 BC). The last Babylonian king, Cyrus (539-530 BC), permitted the descendants of the deportees to return to their native land in 537 BC after many years of captivity. The word "Hebrew" is used for those who lived in Jerusalem during the period before the Great Deportation, while the word "Jew" refers to those who returned after the Captivity. The latter ethnic reference derives from the Persian name of the province that later became Judea.

The ancient sources

Greek and Latin works such as the histories of Polybius (203-120 BC) and Livy (64BC-17 AD) are invaluable for understanding public events in the Hellenistic kingdoms, particularly in relation to military questions and political organisation. Archaeology sheds light fundamentally on the topographical context. Epigraphical and papyrological sources provide detailed information concerning institutions, administration, bu-

reaucracy, forms of local worship, diplomatic relations, social and religious systems, and the interaction between kings and their subjects. The obvious difficulty for historians of the ancient world, however, is the absence of sources that would permit a more accurate knowledge of daily events. This is especially true for those areas that were not involved in great wars and trade.

An interesting case is the city of Jerusalem. Hellenistic historiography has little to say about the Syro-Jewish region and focuses instead upon the Hellenistic kings and the Roman presence. Literary sources for this period ignore the city's history and its evolution because they are more concerned with the international context. Furthermore, the loss of various parts of Polybius' *History*, the *Historical Library* of Diodorus Siculus (90-27 BC ca.), and of the works of Arrian (95-175 AD ca.) limits our understanding of Greek perceptions of the cultural development of Jerusalem. Many years later Photius (820-898 AC), in his summary of the historical writing of Diodorus, recounted some episodes related to Jewish culture, but his information treats only indirectly matters related to Moses's actions[1]. Moreover, in comparison with other holy sites, the lack of epigraphical sources from Jerusalem increases the difficulty for the modern historian[2]. A fragmentary inscription, found near Hephzibah (the ancient Scythopolis) refers to some royal letters between king Antiochus III and his officer Ptolemy, son of Thraseas (199-195 BC). This document, however, deals with the situation in the Syro-Jewish area and does not refer to the behaviour of this monarch towards the inhabitants of Jerusalem[3]. The recent discovery of an inscription concerning part of the correspondence between king Seleucus IV (187- 175 BC) and Heliodorus[4], is not enough to fill the documentary void. Thus the behaviour of Seleucid king toward Jerusalem and the Jewish people remains obscure.

In his *Jewish Antiquities* Flavius Josephus recounts the history of the Jewish people up until Roman times. Books XII-XIII describe the events of the Hellenistic Age and contain much information which does not come from biblical sources. While Josephus's work needs to be read with its apologetic and conciliatory purposes in mind[5], it nevertheless remains the most important history of Jerusalem in the Greek language. In some respects Josephus represents the ideal alliance between Classical and Middle-Eastern culture. Another important source is the Neo-Platonic writer Philo of Alexandria (13-45 AC) who addresses various questions relating to Jewish doctrine from a philosophical viewpoint[6]. The principal feature of Philo's works is his allegorical interpretation of the Holy Scriptures and the commentary on Mosaic Law. Philo's writings are highly representative of the interaction between Greek and Jewish culture.

Other sources for this period are the two books of the *Maccabees*, which are written in Greek and thus classified as apocryphal according to the Hebraic perception of the Holy Scriptures[7]. The first book of the *Maccabees* deals, from the Jewish point of view, with the Hasmonean dynasty and covers the era from the accession of Antiochus IV in 175 BC to the death of Simon Maccabeus in 134 BC. The second book of the *Macca-*

bees is not a continuation of the first. Instead, it deals specifically with the years 175 BC to 161 BC, which saw the great persecution of the Jews of Jerusalem at the hands above all of Antiochus IV (175-164 BC).

This review of the relevant sources is necessary in order to establish some historical context. Biblical sources are also important, however, for understanding in particular the cultural background of the Jews. The work of biblical philologists, for example, has produced important works on ancient Hebrew and Jewish institutions. The *Torah* or Pentateuch – the Five Books of Moses, namely *Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy* – contains the fundamental divine laws that were to become the foundation of Jewish institutions. The Old Testament is the most important reference point for reconstructing the ideological development of Jewish culture, although solid familiarity with the historical events which influenced each part of the Bible is another prerequisite for understanding the period.

Also important is the post-biblical corpus of rabbinical tradition. This includes various traditions of interpretation of the Old Testament and of Mosaic Law, based on a method of non-literal textual analysis known collectively as *Midrash*. According to tradition, the first written recording of this Oral Law was the *Mishna*, which means "repetition". It was probably written after the Babylonian Captivity and the rebuilding of the Second Temple, and was transmitted by the *Tannaïm* or "teachers" who pased on the knowledge they had learned from previous mentors. Another important rabbinical work is the *Talmud* (literally "teaching"), of which two versions exist: the Jerusalem Talmud dating from the 4th century AD, and the Babylonian Talmud from a century later. Parts of the Talmud were written by authoritative interpreters of Mosaic Law who assumed the title of *Rabbi* (Master), meaning that they had a deep knowledge and understanding of biblical writings and Hebrew history.

In the following sections I will deal only briefly with these latter sources because they are linked more closely to a tradition later than that being studied here. Hence, this analysis of Jewish law is based wholly on ancient biblical sources and Greek authors.

The idea of Mosaic law

Jerusalem and the surrounding area provide an interesting setting for an analysis of Hellenistic laws and the manner in which they were implemented in subject territories. Hellenistic institutions were derived from ancient Greece and were based on the concept of the *polis* or city-state, which demanded direct participation by the citizens in political life. Near Eastern institutions, however, were founded during the Persian Empire and were based on the concept of absolute monarchy[8]. The Jewish approach to the concept of Mosaic Law can help us understand the substantial resistance to the new Hellenistic institutions[9]. In the Old Testament the term Law is synonymous with the Hebrew word *Torah*, literally meaning to "throw down"[10]. According to the Old Testa-

ment Yahweh *threw down* the Ten Commandments to Moses who then transmitted them to the Hebrew people. In this interpretation the Creator codified his will in the Ten Commandments. The Law was created by God and, through Moses, was revealed to mortals[11]. According to the religious concept of Hebraism, prior to Creation God represented all human, spatial, and natural laws. The Torah was created before everything else[12]. This universal law remained concealed to men and was revealed only when necessary and then only to a privileged few, chosen for their special worth and disposition[13]. Thus Moses had the honour and the duty to learn the divine law and to transmit it to the Hebrew people. By means of God's revelation, and only thanks to his will, divine law became human law. In the Old Testament, Moses is said (by his father-in-law Jethro) to have distributed duties on the basis of a hierarchical order. He devolved legislative power upon the chief members of the tribes and families, who then resolved minor problems, while Moses himself dealt with the most important ones[14]. This hierarchy of the law, which is discussed in the books of *Deuteronomy* and *Chronicles*[15], is seen by some as the origins of the rivalry which was to develop later between the monarchy and the Church.

The lay counterpart of Mosaic Law in the Syro-Jewish area is also mentioned in the Old Testament. Certain passages refer to a legal system which had different origins from that of Moses. This lay system emphasised the king's importance in matters of law. For example, according to the book of *Exodus*, when Moses went up to Sinai he took Joshua with him, leaving Aaron and Hur with the people[16]. Here Moses represented the figure of the prophet, Aaron the priest, and Joshua, in accordance with tradition, represented the lay community. In *Deuteronomy*, Joshua was the only person to follow Moses into the tent to receive instructions from God[17]. Many other examples of this can be found in the Bible, especially in the books of *Joshua* and *Samuel*[18]. However, the tendency to subordinate the king's power to that of God's representative was more pronounced and thus those who considered themselves as potential successors to Moses could claim the right to exercise legal and judicial power.

Beside the written tradition, as expressed in the Bible, there existed a tradition of Oral Law. How was this to be explained within the context of Mosaic law established by the Ten Commandments? The solution was that all laws which originated from a source other than Mosaic Law were to be theoretically regarded as a part of the universal law which is concealed and only disclosed to resolve specific issues. In such a way, extra-biblical laws could be integrated without challenging the institutions derived from Mosaic Law. Contrary to what might be expected, therefore, there was provision for the insertion of man-made laws alongside Mosaic law. They were considered valid because they were derived ultimately from divine will.

I do not intend to venture further into questions related to ancient legislation because the complexity of such an undertaking would require a chapter of its own. Regarding Hebraic laws, it is important to consider the impossibility of separating the religious el-

ement from the political. For the Hebrews, the law hailed directly from God and therefore all legal documents and decisions were essentially manifestations of divine will.

After the Babylonian exile

An edict of king Cyrus of Persia in 538 BC allowed the Hebrew people in Babylonia to return to Jerusalem and rebuild the Temple[19]. The returnees would surely have brought with them new customs and habits from their years in captivity. In fact, many Babylonian myths, such as the Universal Flood or the Tower of Babel, eventually appeared in the Scriptures, especially in the book of Genesis.

The first codification of Mosaic Law was undertaken during the Persian Age when king Artaxerxes (465-424 BC) commissioned Ezra, a Jewish scribe and priest, to restore religious and civil affairs in 458 BC[20]. In theory Ezra established juridical norms in order to protect the Jewish religion against pagan influences and to provide the Jews with a detailed code which indicated the correct forms for ceremonies, sacrifices, tributes, and so on. In practice, Ezra's reform signified the supremacy of the high priesthood over all other potential leaders. Previously Moses's successor was represented by the office of the Prophet, who directly received the hidden law from God. However, with the new code the high priest became the foremost religious and political authority[21]. Following Deuteronomy, the priesthood had the duty to preserve ancestral tradition and oral law and, consequently, to ensure the proper interpretation of the Torah[22]. The high priest's office was lifelong and hereditary. It is also probable that the high priest was backed up by a council of elders[23]. Notwithstanding these privileges it is important to note that the high priesthood was always subject to the decisions of the kings.

During the Persian and the Hellenistic Age several codes of law circulated in the Syro-Jewish area[24]. These had developed in response to specific questions and later assumed broader juridical value. Moreover, these laws were often adopted for a specific period and did not survive the passage of time. The situation becomes more complicated when the laws deriving from extra-biblical sources are taken into account[25]. This was the case of the documents discovered in the Qumran caves, which were the centre of different ideological movements, often hostile to the political and religious power in Jerusalem.

The Hellenistic Age witnessed a tendency to identify the Torah with the Pentateuch which, according to tradition, was written by Moses under divine inspiration. In the so-called Letter of Aristeas – an apocryphal text recounting the story of the translation of the Mosaic Law from Hebrew into Greek – it is evident that the author had in mind the Pentateuch and not the entire biblical tradition[26]. Moreover, during the Hellenistic period several versions of the Pentateuch – that is, the Greek-language version of the Torah – co-existed throughout the Syro-Jewish area. Each of these contained textual variations determined by the specific political, religious, and social context from which they emerged. Translation gave rise to complex problems of interpretation. In partic-

ular, although the Greek version followed the original syntax and style, the original meaning could and did change considerably[27]. As a result it is difficult to give a precise meaning to the word 'codification' because the concept was subject to the will of those who transmitted the Law.

We have a certain amount of information on the methods of transmission. The core religious aspects of the law, such as the observation of the Sabbath and the rule of circumcision, were almost certainly transmitted within each clan. Celebrations of these ritual ceremonies were marked by public reading of the sacred text which served to inform the population of its duties[28]. The verse "This is the *Torah* for man" (II Samuel 7:19) highlights the link between divine law and mortals[29]. It is probable that the texts were read in Greek given that the Hebrew language had been in disuse for a long time, especially in Diaspora communities such as that of Alexandria[30]. Oral dissemination of Mosaic Law proceeded alongside the written one and, as common awareness of the law increased, differing perceptions led to disagreement.

With the coming of Hellenism, and the increased circulation of non-Jewish thought, Mosaic Law faced a new challenge. Greek culture slowly mixed with Jewish culture, above all among the educated and secular classes. Jews of the Diaspora particularly welcomed the innovations of western culture. In Jerusalem traditionalist Jews were slower to accept this development, although soon even they would have to yield to the strong influence of Hellenism.

Antiochus III and Jerusalem

We can see then that in Jerusalem during the Hellenistic Age biblical tradition, oral law, local customs, and Greek institutions gradually mixed and co-existed. In some cases, this process produced institutions that attempted to satisfy the demands of local rulers and foreign conquerors alike. From the time of Alexander the high priest was the principal legislative and political authority. Following Josephus, however, we know that the so-called Aaronides – descendants of Aaron whose legitimacy rested, significantly, on their descent through bloodline from Moses's brother – attended principally to the Law and to the interpretation of the Ten Commandments[31].

The power of the high priest was thus manifested through the written law and its interpretation, while the right to exercise oral customary law ensured the ongoing influence of the sacerdotal caste. In spite of this, dissident groups were present in Jerusalem and the behaviour of the high priest was often influenced by the these political movements. Moreover, the office of high priest was disputed among many factions looking to increase their power[32]. In fact, these rivalries provoked continual divisions and effectively destabilised the city's institutions.

An interesting situation developed in the early 2nd century BC as a consequence of the Fifth Syrian War between 202 and 198 BC. The vast fertile area around Jerusalem was coveted by the Lagid kings of Egypt as it provided a solid economical base and was also an important starting point for the eastern trade routes. On the other hand, it represented for the Seleucids an important access to the Mediterranean Sea. For this reason the area had often been the focus of conflict between the two kingdoms, even if it had remained in Egyptian hands. Although we do not have reliable sources relating to the Fifth Syrian War we do know that the Seleucids, led by Antiochus III, defeated the Lagids under the command of Ptolemy V (204-180 BC), and went on to annex a great deal of land in the Syro-Jewish area, including Jerusalem[33]. Contemporary sources inform us that following the conflict two wealthy and prestigious families in Jerusalem began to compete for political influence[34]. The Oniads, holders of the office of high priest, sought to maintain the Jewish tradition which they believed were threatened by the political and cultural influences of foreign powers. The Tobiads, agents of the mercantile aristocracy, proposed assimilation into Hellenistic culture as a means of opening new trade routes and developing the economy[35].

Book XII of the *Jewish Antiquities* contains important information concerning the attitude of Antiochus III toward the Jews of Jerusalem[36]. For example, a letter written by the king around 200 BC to an officer, Ptolemy son of Thraseas[37], contains the king's instructions for the reform of political and institutional arrangements in the city and of the Temple[38]. Antiochus decided to grant various benefits to the Jewish community as a reward for the help he had received against the Egyptian garrisons, which had been located within the citadel and whose presence prevented the Seleucid king from taking control of the city. This grant included funds to restore the Temple and to celebrate the sacred rituals.

It was normal for the king's instructions to be publicly reproduced so that they would be accessible to the population. Generally, royal letters were cut in stone inscriptions and represented the permanent mark of the king's will. Sometimes royal documents were written on scrolls and fixed in a visible place like a temple wall or a public square. Unfortunately, it is impossible to know how the letter from Antiochus to Ptolemy was transmitted because our source does not give that information. According to Niese's version of Josephus's text[39], the entire work presents a subdivision in paragraphs and Antiochus's letter begins in paragraph 138 and ends in paragraph 144 (§§ 138-144). The letter contains a great deal of legal jargon which had gradually developed within the Hellenist chancery. An accurate understanding of this technical Greek style is essential to establishing the period and the specific local chancery in which a particular letter was written. Many terms occur in more than one letter from the same period. For example, the king's decision was conveyed through the Greek word *ecrinamen* (or 'we have decided', § 140) which essentially means to choose, decide, or judge. In this case, the use of the plural suggests the participation of the king's council in the judgment,

while the singular form 'I want' or I give' (§§ 141 and 143) probably expressed showed the king's own will[40]. An equally interesting point is that, in his letter to Ptolemy, Antiochus gave his reasons for the decision to enforce legislation in Jerusalem. In § 140, the king mentions the *epichorios nomos* (county or regional law), while in § 142 he mentions *patrios nomos* (law of the fathers). For the purpose of clarity I will here translate the Greek texts of both sections:

(§ 140)

Above all, we have decided, because of their religious piety, to give them [the Jews] a contribution of sacrificial animals, wine, oil, and incense, for a value of 20000 drachms, and wheat meal, measured, according to their regional law, in sacred artabas, in the amount of 1460 medimmes of grain and 375 medimmes of salt.

This section, therefore, refers to the enforcement of regional law concerning the value and the quantity of the supplies given to the Temple for ritual ceremonies. Such supplies were given partly in money and partly in goods, according to Hellenistic norms[41]. More specifically, this regional law was related to the sacred *artabas*. This measure was used by administrators in Ptolemaic Egypt and corresponds, according to Bickerman, with the Hebrew *epha*[42]. The *artabas* was taken over by the Seleucid administration and shows that the customs of previous rulers persisted not only in Jewish legal regulations, but in Seleucid regulations as well. Such interaction of legal proceedings satisfied both local and foreign interests.

The second section that I have examined is the following:

(§ 142)

All those who belong to the people shall be ruled in compliance with the law of the fathers and, moreover, the council of elders, the priests, the scribes, and the sacred singers shall be freed from the capitation-tax, from the crown-tax and from the salt-tax.

The mention of the "law of the fathers" is quite striking. The tax exemption granted to the members of the Jewish elite appears to be linked, grammatically and conceptually, to the call of law of the fathers. However, this is in fact not so. Rather, the Greek text contains a disjunctive particle, which in such a context, must be translated along with the conjunction "moreover". In this way, the mention of law of the father and the matter of the tax exemption(s) would seem to have different origins.

Numerous documents from the Hellenistic period testify to the practise of exempting temples and sacred places from taxation. For example, a letter of 220 BC written by the Macedonian king Philip V (238-179 BC) to the city of Mylasa concerning the Temple of Zeus, mentions a tax exemption one of the king's predecessors granted to the sacred

land[43]. In a royal decree of 213 BC, Antiochus III and his wife Laodices promised fiscal benefits to the city of Sardis in return for honours received[44]. A letter written sometime between 196 and 193 BC by Zeuxis, viceroy of king Antiochus to Heraclea at Latmus, mentions fiscal benefits related to property, imports and exports, and agricultural products[45]. Tax exemption, then, was an important tool which was reserved for loyal cities and/or temples. Perhaps, however, the benefits granted to Jerusalem had a special significance.

The expression "law(s) of the father" gives rise to an interesting question. Herodotus, while recounting the political beliefs of Otanes, Megabyzus, and Darius, used the expression to refer to ancient traditions and institutions[46]. Aristotle, when discussing the response of Cleitophon to the motion of Pythodorus in 411 BC, sees in the law of the father the constitutional models of Solon and Cleisthenes[47]. Xenophon uses the expression in a similar way[48]. The appeal to the law of the father thus represented the essence of ancestral institutions. The practice of re-establishing civic laws can be verified in other Hellenistic sources and documents. An inscription of 201 BC from the isle of Nisyros shows that king Philip V, by means of an envoy, restored the ancestral laws of the fathers of the city[49]. Another inscription from Phrygia and dated 188 BC, informs us about a letter king Eumenes II (197-158 BC) wrote to the inhabitants of the community of Torayon in which he granted them the constitution of a Greek polis. Thanks to this cession they could make their own laws and review royal edicts with which they were not satisfied[50].

The restoration of the law of the fathers represented for the Jews of Jerusalem a great privilege. It meant, according to Bickerman, the right to assert the precepts of the Torah, the Sacred Law as written by Moses[51]. Tcherikover goes on to believe that the expression not only encompassed the written law, but also the oral law and customary laws handed down by the ancestors[52]. The right to autonomy in conformity with the law of the fathers, therefore, meant for the Jews the possibility of restoring lost norms. It fell to the priests to manage this process[53]. Whereas the previous Ptolemaic power had exercised rigid control over the activities of temples and sacred places, Antiochus's reform meant the revival of an ancient tradition. While it is true that Mosaic Law had remained the moral reference point for Jews, thanks to Antiochus's reform the Temple came again to be the most important political institution. This was true above all in regard to the transmission of law. In this way, the king restored a situation which had existed in the times of the Persian kings and in that of Alexander.

Josephus provides another document concerning the Temple of Jerusalem (§§ 145-146). It is an edict in which king Antiochus III fixed certain norms concerning admittance to the sacred spaces of the sanctuary[54]. Another letter, written by Antiochus III to his viceroy Zeuxis sometime between 212 and 205 BC, displays a similar expression of tolerance (§§ 147-154). It refers to two thousand Hebrew settlers transferred from Babylon to Phrygia who were to have the privilege of ruling themselves by means of

their own laws[55]. Although there is no direct reference to the law of the fathers the desire of the king to avoid any interference was clear. All of this suggests a measure of political compromise between the Greek conquerors and the subject people. The Hellenistic monarchs, by re-establishing ancient freedoms and granting concessions, maintained control of their territory and consolidated their power. This approach was necessary in order to prevent the kind of disorder that had taken place in Jerusalem during the Fifth Syrian War[56].

According to biblical tradition, following the Babylonian captivity the high priest was, by the will of God, the main interpreter of Mosaic Law[57]. For this reason the absence of any reference to this important figure in the letter from Antiochus III to Ptolemy son of Thraseas is rather puzzling. The explanation, according to Bickerman, is that the principal ruling institution was the *gerousia* (elders' council), which managed foreign policy[58]. This is partly true, but one must still try to assess the motives of the king. The restoration of the law of the fathers led to a renovation of the city constitution, based on ancient local tradition and ancestral norms. There is a sense of ideological subordination to the Hellenistic authority here because of the manner in which the grant was formulated. But the stress is on *ideology*, because the king authorized Yahweh to rule in Jerusalem, and his earthly representative was the high priest[59]. On this reading any reference to the high priest was unnecessary.

For this period, then, the council of elders and the high priest were the principal sources of power in the city of Jerusalem, even if both were subordinated to the king's authority. These ruling elites cooperated in administering the city and its neighbouring territory. It is also possible that both competed for the favour of the king in order to increase their political influence. If the high priesthood was linked to the sacerdotal caste, the *gerousia*, which included the foremost aristocratic clans of Jerusalem, constituted its political counterpart[60]. The scribes also played an important role during this period[61]. They were experts in matters of law who preserved ancestral norms and continually revised new legislation issued by foreign conquerors. Indeed, the scribal tradition was the origin of the various biblical interpretations which were later absorbed into the rabbinical tradition.

Conclusion

The Hellenistic conception of the law differed from that of the Classical period. During the latter the law represented not only the principal civic institution, but also the main point of reference for citizens. Alexander the Great introduced reforms that subordinated civic law to the decision of the king, who henceforth was to be the foremost legislative authority in all his dominions[62]. This demonstrates the differing perceptions of power between the Greeks and the Middle-Eastern kingdoms, represented most typically by the Persian Empire. When Alexander arrived in the Middle East, he was fasci-

nated by the antiquity and exotic tradition of the cultures he found there. These traditions differed markedly from the constitutional approach of the Greeks and Macedonians, and before long Alexander adopted the absolutist methods of the Persian kings. One result of this decision was a gradual transformation in Greek law. Referring to the Hellenistic monarchies, Architas of Tarentum said that the king was *nomos empsychos* (animate law), as opposed to *nomos apsychos* (inanimate law)[63]. The concept of *nomos empsychos* can thus be understood as a general norm of behaviour. Hellenistic kings would be the guarantors of the law, but would not be limited by it[64].

Unfortunately, few sources survive from the early Hellenistic Age. Among the sources from the Old Testament, for instance, the books of *Maccabees* begin their account of history with the reign of Antiochus IV, that is, at least 25 years after the ordinance of Antiochus III to Ptolemy mentioned above. Moreover, the references to Jerusalem in ancient sources are cursory, casual and, at times, tendentious. On the other hand, the acceptance of the Jewish Torah as divine is clear, as is the emphasis upon the power of the high priesthood following the Babylonian exile. The high priest became the most important interpreter of divine law as well as the main administrator within Jewish politics. The Greek invasion of the Syro-Jewish area by Alexander and his successors turned out to have not only military but also cultural and ideological consequences. Notwithstanding the resistance of a small number of orthodox Jews, Hellenism succeeded in influencing many aspects of Jewish society. As the Egyptians considerably restricted the authority of Temple and city the Jews reached the conclusion that their only hope of safeguarding their ancient traditions lay with Antiochus III. Thanks to his grants the Jews maintained their traditions. These edicts allowed them to restore the Torah, that is, the ancestral laws of their fathers. But in obtaining this concession they accepted the supremacy of the king. On this reading, then, the Jews accepted compromise in order to perpetuate their religion and their particular way of life.

Notes

1 Photius, *Bibl*., 244, 379-380 b. 31.

2 The very name of the city, *Hierosolyma*, reminds us of various Hellenistic cities called *Hierapolis*; cf. Hecateus (*apud* Diodorus, *Historical Library*, XL, 3). Philo also called Jerusalem *Hierapolis*; cf. *De specibus legibus*, 36. The Greek world "*Hieros*" means "sacred".

3 Y.H. Landau, *A Greek Inscription found near Hephzibah*, in "Israel Exploration Journal", 1966, 16, pp. 54-70. A complete bibliography is given by B. Virgilio, *Lancia, diadema e porpora. Il re e la regalità ellenistica*, Pisa 2003, pp. 286-291.

4 H. M. Cotton, M. Wörrle, *Seleukos IV to Heliodoros. A New Dossier of Royal Correspondence from Israel*, in "Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik", 2007, 159, pp. 191-203.

5 See L. Troiani, *Per un'interpretazione della storia in età ellenistica e romana contenuta nelle «Antichità Giudaiche» di Giuseppe (libri XII-XX)*, in "Studi Ellenistici", 1984, 1, pp. 39-50. The leading critical edition of the entire work of Flavius Josephus, though lacking a translation, is B. Niese (ed.), *Flavii*

Iosephi Opera, Berlin 1955, 7 vols. (second edition). Another edition with an English translation is R. Marcus (ed.), Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities, Books XII-XIV*, London 1943, 4 vols..

[6] On the work of Philo of Alexandria see E. Schürer, Vermes G., Millar F., Black M., Goodman M., *Storia del popolo giudaico al tempo di Gesù Cristo (175 a.C.-135 d.C.)*, Brescia 1985, pp. 1061-1160 (revised version of the original *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, Leipzig 1901).

[7] The most complete commentaries on the two books of the *Maccabees* are P. M. Abel, *Les Livres des Maccabées*, Paris 1949, and the works of J. A. Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, New York 1976, and *II Maccabees*, New York 1986. Also valuable for the so-called Maccabean period are books XII-XIV of Flavius Josephus's *Jewish Antiquities*, cited above.

[8] For general remarks see E. Bickerman, *Institutions des Seleucides*, Paris 1938.

[9] For a broad synthesis of the concept of Law following rabbinical Judaism see Stemberger G., *Ermeneutica ebraica della Bibbia*, Brescia 2000; translation of *Hermeneutik der Jüdischen Bibel*, in Dohmen C., Stemberger G., *Hermeneutik der Jüdischen Bibel und des Alten Testaments*, Stuttgart 1996, particularly pp. 199-220.

[10] The word *Torah* is the causative form of verb *JRH*.

[11] For the Ten Commandments see *Exodus* 20: 1-17 and *Deuteronomy* 5: 6-21.

[12] *Proverbs* 8: 22-36; *Midrash, Sifre, Deuteronomy*, p. 37.

[13] According to the *Talmud* (*bShabbat* 88b) the Torah was hidden for 974 generations before the Creation of the World. The concept of the hidden laws (*torot*) was already present in *Deuteronomy*. See Stemberger, *Ermeneutica* cit., pp. 204-206.

[14] *Exodus* 18: 13-26.

[15] *Deuteronomy*, 1: 9-18; 2 *Chronicles* 19: 11-14.

[16] *Exodus* 24: 12-13.

[17] *Deuteronomy* 31: 14.

[18] See, for example, *2 Samuel* 8: 17 and *Joshua* 24: 25-27.

[19] *Ezra* 1: 2-4.

[20] *Ezra* 7: 11-28.

[21] Schürer, *Storia* cit., I, pp. 192-194.

[22] See *Deuteronomy* 17: 8-12 and the commentary of E. Bickerman, *La chaîne de la tradition pharisienne, in his Studies in Jewish and Christian History*, Leiden 1980, vol. II, pp. 246-269, more precisely p. 267.

[23] Schürer, *Storia* cit., I, pp. 192-194.

[24] E. Bickerman, *Some Notes on the Transmission of the Septuagint, in his Studies in Jewish and Christian History*, Leiden 1976, I, pp. 137-166.

[25] For Qumran see Stemberger, *Ermeneutica* cit., pp. 42-64.

[26] *Pseudo Aristeas*, § 30. On the *Letter of Aristea* see O. Murray, *The Letter of Aristeas*, in "Studi Ellenistici", 1987, 2, pp. 15-27, and L. Troiani, *Il libro di Aristea e il giudaismo ellenistico*, in "Studi Ellenistici", 1987, 2, pp. 31-61.

[27] E. Bickerman, *The Septuagint as a Translation*, in his *Studies in Jewish and Christian History* cit., I, pp. 167-220. Related to the Aramaic translation of the biblical text is the paradoxical definition given by Rabbi Jehuda: "He who translates one verse in his original meaning is a forger; who adds anything is a blasphemer", *Talmud, tMegillah* 3, 41.

[28] Bickerman, *Septuagint* cit, pp. 171-173 and pp. 198-200.

[29] *II Samuel* 7: 19.

[30] Bickerman, *Septuagint* cit., pp. 171-173.

[31] Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, XIII, 78. See also Hecateus (*apud* Diodorus, *Historical Library*, XL, 3); *Ecclesiasticus* 45: 25.

[32] For instance, the case of Jason, brother of the high priest Onia, who tried to obtain the office through corruption; see *II Maccabees*, 4: 7-10.

[33] E. Will, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique*, Nancy 1982, II, pp. 118-119; also Polybius, *Histories*, XVI, 18-19, 22 a, 39; XXVIII 3, 5; Hieronymus, *in Danielem* 11, 13-14; Justin, *Epitomes* XXXI, 1, 1-2; and Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, XII, 130.

[34] Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, XII, 154-236.

[35] A detailed reconstruction of the rivalry between the Tobiads and the Oniads can be found in A. Momigliano, *I Tobiadi nella preistoria del moto maccabaico*, in his *Quinto contributo alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico*, Rome 1975, pp. 597-628.

[36] Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, XII, 138-144 for the Letter of Antiochus III to Ptolemy, son of Thraseas, concerning grants to the city of Jerusalem and to the Temple; pp. 145-146 for the Edict of Antiochus III concerning the purity of the Temple of Jerusalem; pp. 147-154 for the Letter of Antiochus III to viceroy Zeuxis relating to the transfer of 2000 Hebrew families from Babylon to Phrygia.

[37] For a detailed commentary on this letter see E. Bickerman, *La charte séleucide de Jérusalem*, in his *Studies in Jewish and Christian History* cit., II, pp. 44-85.

[38] Landau, *A Greek Inscription* cit., pp. 54-70. For a reconstruction of the family of Ptolemy and Thraseas see C. P. Jones, C. Habicht, *A Hellenistic Inscription from Arsinoe in Cilicia*, in "Phoenix", 1989, 43, pp. 317-346, and D. Foraboschi, *La Cilicia e i Tolemei*, in "Studi Ellenistici", 2003, 15, pp. 181-190.

[39] B. Niese, *Flavii Iosephi Opera*, Berlin 1955.

[40] B. Virgilio, *Le esplorazioni in Cilicia e l'epistola regia sulla indisciplina dell'esercito acquartierato a Soli* in "Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph", 2007, 60, pp. 165-239; also pp. 221-225.

[41] Bickerman, *La charte* cit., pp. 53-54.

[42] Bickerman, *La charte* cit., pp. 55-56.

[43] Virgilio, *Lancia* cit., pp. 276-279.

[44] Virgilio, *Lancia* cit., pp. 234-236.

[45] M. Wörrle, *Inschriften von Herakleia am Latmos. I: Antiochos III., Zeuxis un Herakleia*, in "Chiron", 1988, 18, pp. 421-476.

[46] Herodotus, III, 80-82.

[47] Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 29, 3.

[48] Xenophon, *Hellenica*, II, 3, 2.

[49] Cf. W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, Leipzig 1960, n. 572.

[50] Virgilio, *Lancia* cit., pp. 295-298.

[51] Bickerman, *La charte* cit., pp. 69-72.

[52] Tcherikover V., *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*, trans. S. Applebaum, Philadelphia 1959, pp. 83-84.

[53] *Ibid*., p. 84.

[54] For an interesting point of view see E. J. Bickerman, *Une proclamation séleucide relative au temple de Jérusalem*, in his *Studies in Jewish and Christian History* cit., II, pp. 86-104.

[55] The most important commentaries on this document are A. Schalit, *The Letter of Antiochus III to Zeuxis regarding the Establishment of Jewish Military Colonies in Phrygia and Lydia*, in "Jewish Quarterly

Review", 1960, 50, pp. 289-318 and G. Cohen, *Seleucid Colonies*, in "Historia Einzelschriften", 1978, 30, pp. 5-92.

[56] On Antiochus IV, cf. Schürer, *Storia* cit., I, pp. 180-182 and pp. 191-221.

[57] *Judith*. 4: 8 and 11: 13-14.

[58] Bickerman, *La charte* cit., pp. 48-49, 81. The *gerousia*, which became known as the *synedrion* in the Roman Age, originated during the Persian domination. This institution comprised the elders of the families and of the rich aristocracy which constituted the political elite of Jerusalem. It is probable that in the Ptolemaic period many land owners and priests entered the *gerousia*. On this see M. Hengel, *Giudaismo ed ellenismo: studi sul loro incontro, con particolare riguardo per la Palestina fino alla metà del 2. secolo a.C.*, Brescia 2001, pp. 71-73 (revised version of *Judentum und Hellenismus: Studien zu ihrer Begegnung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Palästinas bis zur Mitte des 2. Jh. v. Chr.*, Tübingen 1969).

[59] E. Will, C. Orrieaux, *Ioudaïsmos-Hellènismos. Essai sur le judaïsme judéen à l'époque hellénistique*, Nancy 1986, pp. 100-102.

[60] Hengel, *Giudaismo* cit., pp. 71-73.

[61] See also the *Letter of Aristeas*, p. 310.

[62] Virgilio, *Lancia* cit., pp. 64-65.

[63] Architas in Stobeus, IV, 1. 135.

[64] Virgilio, *Lancia* cit., p. 65.

[65] There has been wideranging scholarly controversy regarding this document. See in particular: H. Willrich, *Urkundenfälschung in der hellenistisch-judischen Literatur*, Göttingen 1924; Bickerman, *La charte* cit.; A. Alt, *Zu Antiochos' III. Erlaß für Jerusalem (Josephus, Ant. XII 3, 3 §§ 138-144)*, in "Zeitschrift Antike Welt", 1939, 16, pp. 283-285; R. Marcus, *Appendix D: Antiochus III and the Jews (Ant. 12. 129-153)*, in his ed. of *Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, Books XII-XIV*, London 1943, pp. 743-761; Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization* cit., pp. 79-84; Will, Orrieux, *Iodaïsmos-Hellènismos* cit., pp. 97-112; and J.D. Gauger, *Authentizität und Methode. Untersuchungen zum historischen Wert des persisch-griechischen Herrscherbriefs in literarischer Tradition*, Hamburg 2000, pp. 195-204.

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Source

The main question regarding this letter, in which Antiochus III established the statute of the city of Jerusalem, has been its authenticity. Past scholars believed Flavius Josephus or some other ancient Jewish historian had forged it. However, several decades ago the classical historian Elias Bickermann proved that it was a genuine document issued by the Seleucid chancery[65].

(138) Βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Πτολεμαίῳ χαίρειν. τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ παραυτίκα μέν, ἡνίκα τῆς χώρας ἐπέβημεν αὐτῶν, ἐπιδειξαμένων τὸ πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλότιμον καὶ παραγενομένους δ' εἰς τὴν πόλιν λαμπρῶς ἐκδεξαμένων καὶ μετὰ τῆς γερουσίας ἀπαντησάντων, ἄφθονον δὲ τὴν χορηγίαν τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τοῖς ἐλέφασι παρεσχημένων, συνεξελόντων δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ φρουροὺς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, (139) ἠξιώσαμεν καὶ αὐτοὶ τούτων αὐτοὺς ἀμείψασθαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν ἀναλαβεῖν κατεφθαρμένην ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τοὺς πολέμους συμπεσόντων καὶ συνοικίσαι τῶν διεσπαρμένων εἰς αὐτὴν πάλιν συνελθόντων. (140) πρῶτον δ' αὐτοῖς ἐκρίναμεν διὰ τὴν εὐσέβειαν παρασχεῖν εἰς τὰς θυσίας σύνταξιν κτηνῶν τε θυσίμων καὶ οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου καὶ λιβάνου ἀργυρίου μυριάδας δύο καὶ σεμιδάλεως ἀρτάβας ἱερᾶς κατὰ τὸν ἐπιχώριον νόμον πυρῶν μεδίμνους χιλίους τετρακοσίους ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἁλῶν μεδίμνους τριακοσίους ἑβδομηκονταπέντε. (141) τελεῖσθαι δ' αὐτοῖς ταῦτα βούλομαι, καθὼς ἐπέσταλκα, καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀπαρτισθῆναι ἔργον τάς τε στοὰς κἂν εἴ τι ἕτερον οἰκοδομῆσαι δέοι: ἡ δὲ τῶν ξύλων ὕλη κατακομιζέσθω ἐξ αὐτῆς τε τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Λιβάνου μηδενὸς πρασσομένου τέλος. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἐν οἷς ἂν ἐπιφανεστέραν γίγνεσθαι τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐπισκευὴν δέῃ. (142) πολιτευέσθωσαν δὲ πάντες οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους, ἀπολυέσθω δ' ἡ γερουσία καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ γραμματεῖς τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ ἱεροψάλται ὧν ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς τελοῦσιν καὶ τοῦ στεφανιτικοῦ φόρου καὶ τοῦ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων. (143) ἵνα δὲ θᾶττον ἡ πόλις κατοικισθῇ, δίδωμι τοῖς τε νῦν κατοικοῦσιν καὶ κατελευσομένοις ἕως τοῦ Ὑπερβερεταίου μηνὸς ἀτελέσιν εἶναι μέχρι τριῶν ἐτῶν. (144) ἀπολύομεν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτοὺς τοῦ τρίτου μέρους τῶν φόρων, ὥστε αὐτῶν ἐπανορθωθῆναι τὴν βλάβην. καὶ ὅσοι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἁρπαγέντες δουλεύουσιν, αὐτούς τε τούτους καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν γεννηθέντας ἐλευθέρους ἀφίεμεν καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτοῖς ἀποδίδοσθαι κελεύομεν.

(138) King Antiochus to Ptolemy, greetings. Because the Jews, when We have occupied their land, have demonstrated their zeal to us, and when we came to their city they received us well and they met us with the *gerousia* (elders' council), and they offered provisions in abundance to the soldiers and to the elephants and they helped take the Egyptian garrison in the citadel, (139) We have decided to reward them, to restore their city, which was destroyed by the hardships of the wars, and to repopulate it, bringing together all the missing persons. (140) Above all, We have decided, because of their religious piety, to give them a contribution of sacrificial animals, wine, oil, and incense, for a value of 20000 drachms, and wheat meal, measured, according to their regional law, in sacred *artaba*, in the amount of 1460 medimmes of grain and 375 medimmes of salt.

(141) I want, therefore, that these benefits be granted them in the way that I have established and that the work on the Temple be finished, i. e. the portico and all that needs to be rebuilt.

Moreover, the timber obtained from Judea, from other countries and from Lebanon, is to be exempted from tax. Equally, the same holds for all other materials, if they are needed to make more glorious the rebuilding of the Temple. (142) All those who belong to the people shall be ruled in compliance with the law of the fathers and, moreover, the council of elders, the priests, the scribes, and the sacred singers shall be exempt from the capitation-tax, from the crown-tax, and from the salt-tax. (143) In order to repopulate the city more quickly, I grant its current inhabitants and those who return until the month of Yperberetaios exemption from taxes for three years. (144) Finally, We exempt them, in the future, one-third of the tributes, in order to compensate their losses. We free those who were carried off and enslaved, and their sons, and We command that their goods be restored to them.

From: Flavius Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, XII, 138-144: Letter of King Antiochus III to Ptolemy Son of Thraseas, concerning the Grants of the City of Jerusalem (200-198 BC).

"People of Every Mixture". Immigration, Tolerance and Religious Conflicts in Early Modern Livorno

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Abstract

In this chapter we present the specific case of Livorno, an Italian port city newly founded in early modern times, which drew inhabitants of many kinds: marginal people, artisans and great merchants, not exclusively Catholic. The growth of the city and the port and the presence of various "nations" made Livorno in the modern age a particularly dynamic place for international exchange, an important hub that connected the Mediterranean trade with the macro-economies of the European colonial powers. Fundamental studies conducted on sources preserved in European and Italian archives have provided a detailed picture of its importance for the trade of the northern powers in the Mediterranean and shown the constitution of "foreign" economic groups that maintained networks of relations with the commercial centres of their countries of origin. Moreover Livorno was also a centre from which intercultural relations were projected out over the Mediterranean and beyond, since merchants from "Leghorn" [Livorno] traded even with Hindu merchants in India.

The opportunities for peaceful co-existence established by the Privileges for Eastern and Western Merchants, which are known because of their success with the name of the "Livornina" or Leghorn privileges, guaranteed in fact a certain degree of 'tolerance' and supported the development of trade and the growth in the city of a population of immigrants from both neighbouring regions and distant countries. The history of the population of Livorno is in fact a history of growth, politically planned and assisted; just as the formation of an urban elite and the organisation of foreigners in nations was the result of the pragmatic policy of the Grand Dukes of Tuscany and their interest in developing merchant networks. The particular case of the English community of Livorno illustrates concretely how the immigration of populations of different faiths and cultures created conflicts and divisions, and allows us to discuss the controversial *topos* of cosmopolitism and tolerance towards non-Catholic minorities, the privileges of the Jewish population, the mixing of languages and ethnic groups. The documents of the Medici Grand Duchy and the records of the tribunal of the Inquisition throw into relief how in an Italian port city in the'confessional age', thanks to the protection of state mercantilism, it was possible to establish a regime of co-existence including Catholics, Protestants and Jews, which allowed individuals to establish business and sometimes friendly relations, although it was not possible, except in cases of formally leaving one's original faith, to cross the barriers of religious denomination and enter fully into the ranks of citizens.

Si presenta qui il caso particolare di Livorno, una città portuale italiana di nuova fondazione in cui, nella prima età moderna, confluirono marginali, artigiani e grandi mercanti non sempre di religione cattolica. La crescita della città e del porto e la presenza delle «nazioni» resero Livorno in età moder-

na un punto di scambio internazionale particolarmente dinamico, un importante nodo dei traffici tra l'area mediterranea e le macroeconomie delle potenze europee coloniali. Studi fondamentali condotti sulle fonti dei grandi archivi europei hanno fornito un quadro circostanziato della sua importanza per i traffici delle potenze nordiche nel Mediterraneo e segnalato la costituzione di gruppi economici 'stranieri' che mantenevano reti di relazione con le piazze commerciali dei paesi di provenienza. Senza contare che Livorno fu anche centro di irraggiamento di rapporti interculturali nel Mediterraneo e non solo, se mercanti 'livornesi' trafficavano perfino con gli indù dell'India.

L'opportunità di convivenza stabilita dai Privilegi ai mercanti ponentini e levantini, conosciuti per il loro successo con il nome di "Livornina" garantì infatti un certo grado di "tolleranza" e supportò lo sviluppo dei traffici e la crescita nella città di una popolazione di immigrati da regioni circonvicine e da paesi lontani. La storia della popolazione di Livorno è infatti la storia di un incremento sollecitato e aiutato così come la formazione di una élite cittadina e l'organizzazione degli stranieri in Nazioni fu il risultato di una politica pragmatica e interessata allo sviluppo delle reti mercantili. Il caso particolare della comunità inglese di Livorno illustra concretamente come l'immigrazione di popolazioni di fedi e culture differenti creasse conflitti e divisioni, e mette in discussione il controverso topos del cosmopolitismo e della tolleranza verso le minoranze acattoliche, i privilegi della popolazione ebraica, il mescolarsi di lingue ed etnie. I documenti del granducato mediceo e i processi del tribunale dell'Inquisizione mettono in risalto come in una città portuale italiana in età confessionale, grazie alla protezione di un mercantilismo di stato, fu possibile stabilire un regime di coesistenza fra cattolici, protestanti ed ebrei, che permise ai singoli di entrare in relazioni d'affari e talvolta di amicizia, non fu però possibile, salvo nei casi di abiura della fede originaria, attraversare i confini dell'appartenenza religiosa, ed entrare a pieno titolo nel novero di cittadini.

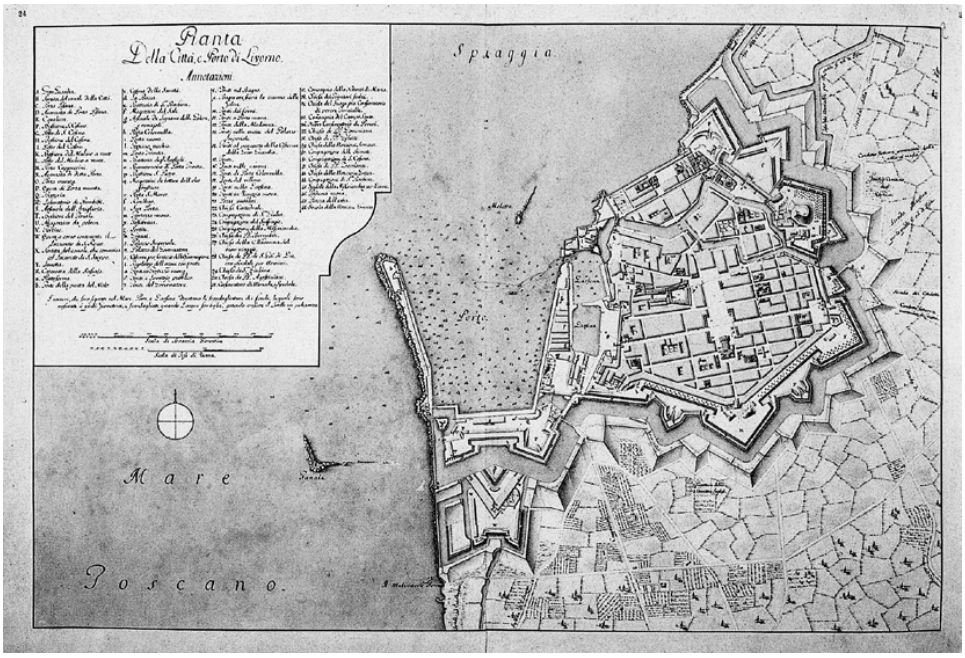
The foundation period of Livorno is roughly from 1575 (the year in which grand duke Francesco I entrusted the task of drawing up a project for it to the architect Bernardo Buontalenti) until 1606, when Livorno officially received city status. But Florence's interest for this locality went far back in time, to when it was only a small walled village near the little natural port. It was acquired from the Genoese in 1421, and subsequently dominated by a Medici fortress built between 1518 and 1533. The project for a city of 12.000 inhabitants actually began to take shape when the first stone was laid on the morning of 28 March 1577, quite a few years before the phenomenon of the foundation of port cities became widespread in Europe between the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century[1]. Thanks to merchant trade and to the great economic stimulus created by the requirements for construction materials necessary to build the city, the population in a few years jumped from the 500 inhabitants of 1590 to 3000 in 1606, reaching 30.000 inhabitants in the middle of the 18th century. Livorno hence is the most relevant example in Italy of the demographic growth of a non-capital city, so much so that within a century many military areas around the city were urbanised and a whole new quarter was built ("Venezia Nuova" [New Venice]) on an artificial extension of the coastline[2].

Urbanisation proceeded along with the promulgation of a series of provisions to attract men and women to Livorno. Among these, we single out for both their real and symbolic importance the edicts of 30 July 1591 and 10 June 1593, which have entered history as the *costituzioni Livornine* [the Leghorn constitutions]. Guaranteeing ample social and religious freedoms to "merchants of any nation" they were issued primarily in view of attracting to Livorno and Pisa (both were included in the edicts) the Jews and 'Marranos' that because of the persecutions of the Inquisition were fleeing from the Iberian peninsula. Thus the very important Jewish settlement in Livorno was constituted: at the end of the 17th century about 10% of the population was of Jewish origin[3]. But along with the Jews coming from Spain and Portugal numerous other foreigners were attracted by the broad guarantees granted in the grand dukes' privileges. Even earlier, from the

1570s on, numerous Greek sailors and artisans found work on the Grand Duke's galleys. Already by the end of the 16th century the first groups of Armenian merchants, of French artisans (Marseillese specialised in the soap industry), Corsican sailors, and English and Flemish merchants and captains had come to reside in Livorno, structuring their communities around their own statutes and organs of self-government[4]. The opportunity of co-existence established by the Privileges to the 'eastern and western merchants', known on account of their success as the "Livornine", in fact guaranteed a certain degree of 'tolerance' and supported the development of trade and the growth in the city of a population of immigrants from both neighbouring regions and distant countries.

Livorno hence is by definition a place of immigration, but it was also a place of emigration and circulation. Its history is characterised by movements of individuals and groups, who gave rise to complex and articulated commercial, social and family networks. The story of how these groups of different nationalities and religions interacted and entered into conflict shows in a concrete way, on the one hand, how the immigration of populations of different faiths and cultures in the early modern age created conflicts and divisions, and how, on the other, the civil and religious authorities tried to favour and govern their presence and their co-existence.

The construction of a city



Map 1
Plan of the city and the port of Livorno, about 1749.
Source: Florence State Archives, Segreteria di Gabinetto 696.

In the 17th century the growth of a city could not be taken for granted. In Ferrara, where a strategy of urban enlargement of great entity had been implemented, we can see that the architectural enterprises undertaken by the Duke Ercole I d'Este did not achieve the slightest results in terms of demographic, political or economic growth of the whole city: indeed, the expansion of the area surrounded by the city walls was followed a few years later by a contraction of the inhabited area[5].

The question arises spontaneously: how was it possible to achieve the development of Livorno at a time of demographic decline in an unhealthy territory surrounded by swamps and marchland, where for centuries, although it had been enjoyed important privileges, there had only been a small fortified settlement containing a few hundred inhabitants?

Let us go back to the mid 16th century, when Livorno appeared to be a walled settlement of about 500 inhabitants, although it was important as it was the Florentine state's only access to the sea because of the silting up of the port of Pisa (*Porto Pisano*).

For the traveller coming to Livorno from Pisa in the mid 16th century, the landscape would have appeared wild, swampy or covered with forest, not easy to reach by boat. The traveller would have had to cross deep ditches and swampy pools. On horseback the trip was complicated by the winding and rough road, dangerous because of wild animals, particularly wolves. The air was unhealthy because of the swamps to the north of the little walled settlement and because of deposits of seaweed. From the sea, the coast might appear to be provided with a complex port system. But the towers that had marked the port of the seafaring republic of Pisa had partially collapsed and now stood by a sandy coast instead of a place to anchor. And "it was necessary to pass the Pisa river mouth [the mouth of the Arno] far out to sea because it is shallow", keeping as a reference point "a tall white tower called 'Marzocco' which marks the beginning of the basin of the port of Livorno". To a gentleman following the court of Cosimo I Medici and his wife Eleonor of Toledo, living in Livorno seemed like hell: "the price of food is more than double what it is in Pisa and it is not surprising, since this is a town of sailors and thieves". Notwithstanding its strategic and commercial importance, Livorno continued to be an isolated outpost with respect to the Tuscan territorial context, "a place where one does not ordinarily go", endowed with scarce agricultural resources, and where the precarious environmental situation limited the possibilities for development of a town. It was more likely that the existing population would leave rather than that new inhabitants might arrive.

The intuition that a port city furnished with the necessary structures such as *lazzaretti* [quarantine-houses], storage areas, housing and services could develop and take off with success was due to Grand Duke Francesco I, who in 1575 registered the changes that were taking place in the Mediterranean because of the arrival of English and Flemish ships. He entrusted the task of drawing up a project for a fortified city that could contain 12.000 inhabitants to his trusted architect, Bernardo Buontalenti. New stimulus for building houses and issuing populationist privileges came – from 1590 on – from Grand Duke Ferdinando I, considered the real father of the new city.

The Grand Duke's commitment led to developments on several fronts: building powerful fortifications; incrementing the arrival of ships in the port; building housing and warehouses, populating the new city. Many interrelated measures were carried out between 1590 and 1593, years in which a great famine struck Italy, allowing the Grand Duke to make Livorno take off as a port for the grain trade and attracting labourers and artisans in search of work.

The process of urbanisation inside the fortifications, favoured by huge investments from the state coffers or those of bodies controlled by the Grand Duke, was accompanied by a systematic populationist policy aimed to attract, through economic facilitations, artisans and specialised workers; and through customs concessions and guarantees, to promote the settlement of merchants of every origin. Decrees issued in rapid succession attracted new inhabitants with very varied specialisations. The first "Bando", issued in 1590, was addressed to Greeks, expert sailors and ship-builders. The second, in October 1590, was addressed to foreign craftsmen: manufacturers of ropes, shipbuilders, carpenters, wood-workers, masons, ironsmiths, stoneworkers, fishermen, sailors "and every manual worker except agricultural day labourers and diggers". The third, of 10 July 1591, is the invitation directed to all eastern and Jewish merchants and to non-Catholics guaranteeing

economic privileges, customs privileges and – extremely important – the right to practice their religion, protected from the Inquisition. The Bando attracted non-Catholic merchants, ensuring in time the settlement in Livorno of Jews, Armenians and northerners of Protestant faith. At the beginning of the 17th century, the construction of the Uniate Greek church and of the synagogue lead to the constitution of meeting places for foreigners. The Greeks, and at the end of the 17th century the Armenians, bought houses in the immediate vicinity of their churches; the Jews gathered in a quarter (not a ghetto closed by walls) that developed behind the Cathedral, where the synagogue had been built[6]. With the construction of the "Bagno della Galere" (a large enclosed area) for slaves, Livorno became a centre of arrivals where Muslim and Christian slaves could be ransomed and where the corsairs could sell their prizes: an extremely profitable activity in which the Medici family itself participated, financing the ships and vessels of the corsairs. Braudel noted that in the first years of the 17th century Livorno was like the Algiers of Christianity, in that its economy revolved around corsair warfare and the ransom of the booty[7].

The growth of the building infrastructure was sometimes ahead of the influx of population, more often it was behind. The growth of the population and of merchant trade was supported by enormous investments to expand the port structures. In 1590 a new *darsena* [port basin] was dug; between 1611 and 1621 the Cosimo pier (today the Medici pier) was built; in the mid 17th century the 'Fernandeo' port; *lazzaretti* where merchandise coming from areas stricken by the plague could be unwrapped, spread out, and according to the methods of the day, disinfested; storehouses and grain deposits. The building of the fortifications and the urbanisation of space laid out for the city were in the first phase the economic fly-wheel that, at a time of epidemics and famines, attracted inhabitants; the privileges and the protection from the Inquisition guaranteed to the eastern, western and northern merchants transformed the port for cereals into a great Mediterranean emporium.

The population increase of Livorno is the story, as Elena Fasano Guarini writes, of a desired, promoted and assisted growth. The facilitations and privileges brought to the new city inhabitants from the Arno Valley and from centres in the Appenines in the territory of Pistoia and the Mugello area, and attracted inhabitants from the neighbouring republic of Lucca and from the Ligurian and Provençal rivieras[8]. News of new Christians fleeing from the Iberian peninsula in boats and the matrimonial *processetti* [witnesses' declarations that persons coming from abroad are free to contract marriage] give us a concrete picture of the stories of many, men and women, who arrived often in groups by land or in boats, in search of fortune or at least of a possibility of work in the new city. Construction of the fortifications[9] and of the houses attracted inhabitants; the growth of the population was tumultuous; sometimes new housing was built faster than new tenants arrived, but more often it was the other way around. And there were difficulties and obstacles for the newly arrived before they could put down roots. The merchants preferred to live in the more comfortable and tranquil city of Pisa, and for many long years Livorno was a frontier outpost, inhabited by a very mobile population, largely male due to the preponderance of sailors, diggers, soldiers and slaves.

It was very difficult to root a stable, hard-working and disciplined population in a precarious situation, while work was booming in an enormous construction site, in a place of transit for "many very evil seafarers whence the city is corrupted". Decrees aimed at discouraging the frequent phenomenon of leaving the city; they show us that many people, after having obtained privileges and houses, settled their affairs and left Livorno.

The systematic study of the marriage documents available from 1611 on has shown that the immigrants, prevalently male, at least until 1650 put down roots by marrying brides who were already residents of Livorno[10]. The fragmentation of real estate and the possibility of transmitting it through the female line as dowry goods contributed to the rooting of the wedded couples. Be-

cause of the lively demand for lodgings, renting houses came to constitute a subsidy for the urban subsistence economy[11].

The building of sanitary structures for the treatment of merchandise from places stricken by plague favoured stops in the port of Livorno, although not without creating negative attitudes towards the Grand Duchy's bureaucracy[12]. The ships in port, needing repair and supplies, stimulated the ship repair activities and Tuscan agricultural production. It is enough to read the list of the cargos of the galleys and ships, or the registration of the gifts in kind (vegetables, wines, fruit, cheese and live animals) offered by the Tuscan court to personages who were passing through, to get an idea of the amount of work and business possibilities that the port offered to a large part of the population of the city and its hinterland. The arrival of the ships from the north, bringing herring and dried cod, solved in part the lack of fresh fish that characterised the diet in the many meatless days imposed by the rules of the Council of Trent. Livorno became for all of central and northern Italy the port of arrival and distribution of foodstuffs – not just grain. The products of the New World converged there to be re-exported: besides herring and cod, sugar – some of which refined in Livorno itself – coffee, tobacco, cacao, both luxury products and products of wider use entered into the diet and the consumption habits of the populations of Tuscany and of Italy[13]. For the international merchants, Livorno was the deposit port and the logistic centre for the maritime distribution goods between the Mediterranean and northern Europe; it became the port where eastern and western products could be found. Ships could unload products from their place of origin and leave with a cargo of every sort of merchandise. The huge warehouses, the efficient *lazzaretti* and quarantine system and the international consent that guaranteed neutrality made the 'porto franco' of Livorno the centre of Mediterranean commerce. The working of Mediterranean coral also favoured the importation of precious stones from India by way of the India Company and from Portuguese Goa[14].

The intermediation trade was encouraged by the geographic position of Livorno at the centre of the Mediterranean, by the customs exemptions and by the policy of religious tolerance promoted by the Medici. The Tuscan policy of equidistance on the international level with respect to the great European powers favoured the settlements of foreign merchants. In the 1570s the first English ships entered the port of Livorno and their presence increased rapidly from 1604 on when the Anglo-Spanish Peace of London was signed, making the Mediterranean routes less dangerous. Along with the arrival in the Mediterranean of English ships the settlement of English merchants in Livorno began. The grand ducal authorities from the beginning looked at the English settlement with favour and in this connection it is significant that copies of the "Livornina" privilege of 1593, with the invitation to foreigners to settle in Livorno and the promise of a certain religious 'tolerance', was also sent to Queen Elisabeth I. In 1597 the Grand Duke recognised the first English consul, the French consul and the Dutch-German consul, and soon the foreign communities began to give themselves a structure and call themselves "nations".

The Livorno of the nations

With a solemn ceremony, when there were already more than 3000 inhabitants, on 19 March 1606 Ferdinando I granted to Livorno – "the pupil of the Grand duchy's eye" – the title of 'city'. The secular ceremony took place in the 'old' Fortress and the Duomo was consecrated lavishly by the Florentine nuncio. Other Tuscan centres, such as Prato or Colle, had first obtained their own bishop as a necessary preliminary step towards receiving the title of 'city'; on the contrary, in Livorno the Duomo was the only parish for the whole city, and it was officiated by a simple parish priest until 1628, when it was raised in status to become a *collegiata* having a prevost and canons. The government of the city was entrusted to a governor with military and civil competences.

A great deal of effort was expended to define the status of the urban élite which was forming. In 1604 Ferdinando chose the 'citizens' of the new city, whose number was fixed at 100. From these, 12 were selected to be *Gonfalonieri* and 22 to be *Anziani* [elders], and given the right to carry out the municipal functions. In the list of names of the *fedelissimi* [very faithful persons] chosen by the Grand Duke himself, the presence of foreign Catholics (or persons that declared themselves officially to be such) stands out (in 1604 Thomas Hunt, Italianised as Untò, an Englishman; Giorgio Squillizzi and Filatti Stamatti, Greeks; Giovanni Dieman, Irish; Matteo Bonatt, German), to whom in 1616 were added Giorgio Vega Pinto, Portuguese, and a new Christian[15]; Benjamin Sproni of Antwerp; and in 1665 the Armenian Antonio Bogos and other merchants coming from other states in Italy and in Europe. The 'foreigners' in the core of the local 'notability' consolidated the links between the Florentine court and the corporate groups, organised in "nations", of the non-Catholic foreigners who resided in or transited through Livorno.

Fig. 1
Clara Van de Wingaert (del Vigna), wife of Benjamin Sporon.
Source: Livorno, Biblioteca Labronica, Ms. III.

The foreigners' communities had the status of autonomous bodies with the name of "nations" (in the sense that the term had at that time: i.e. of a community of foreigners and partially independent ethnic-religious minorities), in particular the Sephardic Jews were given ample powers of government of their communities, with the right to *ballottare* [ballot] – that is to accept or refuse by vote – new arrivals, and to administer justice, civil and penal (at the lower levels) among Jews[16] The Greeks were administered by a confraternity (a semi-religious association) that, among other things, had the task of keeping a register of the residents and of checking on their behaviour[17]. The foreign merchant communities were headed by consuls, soon recognised with letters patent from the sovereigns of the countries they represented.

The policy of facilitating the formation of an open citizenry, giving citizenship to some foreigners, ensured informal but continuing links between the city and the court for the social management of the community and the organisation of trade, and made Livorno a successful port city.

Even within the framework of the broad protection granted to the foreigners, political and practical reasons counselled the Grand Dukes to issue decrees that increased the penalties in case of relations between Jews and Christians. Jewish physicians were forbidden to cure Christians even if they were accompanied by a Christian physician; Jewish clients of prostitutes were punished with very heavy fines; it was severely forbidden for Christians to serve in Jewish homes or even for Christians to be employed by Jews. The documents of the Roman Inquisition show that for two centuries, from the end of the 16th to the middle of the 18th century suspicions were active with respect to 'new' Christians, and scrupulous investigations were carried out to establish whether the Jews coming from countries where they were not allowed to profess their faith openly were guilty of apostasy. For their

part, the *massari* [officials of the Jewish community] and other influential members of the élite did their best to keep careful control over their nation, establishing who belonged and who did not, and punishing by excommunication any deviation from the religious or behavioural norms[18]. There were conflicts within the Armenian community too, so much so that in 1667 some missionaries were sent to Livorno to check on the residents: only after having submitted to the profession of the Catholic faith were they allowed to build a church of the Armenian rite.

All the foreign communities present in Livorno reproduced on a smaller scale the same divisions and religious differentiations that were present in their countries of origin. The Greek nation of Livorno was divided between the Catholic (Greek rite) members and the Orthodox. The Armenian nation was divided between a Levantine minority of Catholics and a Persian majority that professed the Monophysite faith[19]. A Catholic minority was present in the Dutch Protestant community and a Protestant minority was certainly present – although well-hidden under prudent Nicodemite attitudes – in the Catholic French community (and after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes quite a few Huguenots found refuge in Livorno). In the second half of the 17th century the Jewish community underwent a lacerating division between the "orthodox" and the followers of Sabbatai Sevi, the Jew from Smyrna who in 1666 was identified by his supporters as the long awaited Messiah. The English community of Livorno, from its very first years of existence, was internally divided between Protestants and Catholics: at least until the 1620s with a preponderance of Catholics, and from then on with a Protestant majority. All these circumstances show how, in an Italian port city in the "confessional age", thanks to the protection of state mercantilism, it was possible to establish a regime of co-existence between Catholics, Protestants and Jews, which permitted individuals to enter into business relations and sometimes even friendship; crossing the institutional boundaries was not possible however, on the administrative and juridical level.

Fig. 2
Benjamin Sporon (Sproni) a merchant from Antwerp who became citizen of Livorno.
Source: Livorno, Biblioteca Labronica, Ms. III.

In the city of Livorno, notwithstanding the privileges of the *porto franco* [free port] and the possibility of establishing a co-existence with foreigners, religious boundaries marked the juridical and institutional boundaries – as did the cultural and ethnic boundaries. The "nations", like small cells – in a walled city that because of its dimensions was compared to a "snuffbox" – entered into relations without being able to upset the static equilibrium marked by the religious confession of the group they belonged to, as well as by social and cultural cohesion. In daily life instead, lifestyles, fashion, taste and the curiosity for the exotic came together and were interwoven: inventories allow us to visualise the houses well furnished with furniture from all over, decorated with seascapes and portraits, with common dishware but also with special services for new products, glasses for beer, cups for chocolate. The sumptuary laws, the lists of linen and clothing, some portraits of merchants show that men and women had fashionable wardrobes, varied and colourful, ornamented with ribbons and jewels. The number of coffeehouses (the first one was opened by an Armenian),

of pastry shops and inns that offered food, bread and sweets according to the countries of origin of the owners; the diffusion of specialised places for games and physical exercises, and of theatres are indications of a lively social life projected outside the home. In the meantime, notwithstanding the fact that it was allowed to keep the business and accounting records in one's own language, the Tuscan language was widely used, written and spoken, and became the means of communication for everyone. In 1647 the Agustinian Father Nicola Magri published the first history of Livorno from its origins to his own time. Among the many pages that describe the material construction of the city he dedicated a passage to the character of "livornesi": *gente di ogni miscuglio* [people of every mixture], but "almost all of the same humour", friends of foreigners, lively, curious, active, always attentive to fashions and novelties, non conformists[20].

Practices of tolerance: the English case

The English case is emblematic of how the immigration of populations of different faiths and cultures created conflicts and divisions even within a well-off minority like that of the foreign merchants who decided to stay in Livorno. Here we should remember that we are speaking of a small community, of a few dozen families, in a city of thousands of inhabitants, growing at an amazing rate. But even if the numbers were few, the presence of the English merchant community was very visible from the economic, political and religious points of view. Moreover, it was a very well structured body: merchants and merchants' agents were in fact part of the *British Factory*, a kind of mercantile corporation that grouped together all the English engaged in trade, constituted in the course of the 17th century[21]. It is therefore interesting to investigate the dynamics which arose from the presence of these rich and cultivated foreign non-Catholic immigrants, keeping in mind that often these merchants would stay in the city for a certain number of years, with the idea however of returning to England. Around the merchants, as we will see, there gravitated a world of artisans, sailors and prostitutes whose identities oscillated between the country of origin and the host city.

In reality – on the basis of the 1593 privileges – in Livorno, Protestant merchants were granted the possibility of professing their own religion without being molested, on the condition however that they not must not proselytise nor give 'scandal' with their behaviour. Obviously it was not difficult to cross the indefinite and abstract line that divided the behaviours considered permissible from those that the Inquisition considered 'scandalous'. The margins of real religious liberty that English Protestants could enjoy in Livorno were in reality the fruit of numerous and variable factors. On the one hand there were the Medici authorities, both local and central, who wanted to favour the wealthy community of merchants in every way, without however coming into open conflict with the ecclesiastical authorities and, in the first place, with the Inquisition. On the other hand there was the Catholic Church with its multiplicity of articulations, that often had different attitudes: it was not rare that the local ecclesiastical and inquisitorial institutions had a more 'indulgent' attitude towards the English of Livorno than did the central authorities, who were less affected by immediate political considerations. Political considerations that – we must not forget – often brought the English government to intervene in support of the requests of the English merchants in Livorno.

This multiplicity of factors sometimes gave rise to a game of hypocrisies, bluffing and trickery which is often hard to decipher. Over the years there were two fields in which conflict between the Tuscan political and religious authorities and the English nation of Livorno exploded: the request to have a Protestant minister in the city and that of guaranteeing the English dead a decorous burial in a walled cemetery. Measures were taken to expel Anglican ecclesiastics that had served as ministers for the community in 1644, 1645, 1649, 1666, 1668 and 1670: periods of tacit tolerance towards Anglican ministers and periods of bitter polemics alternated. It was only at the

end of 1707 – after the usual tug-of-war between the resident English diplomat and the Tuscan authorities – that a religious minister was allowed to reside in Livorno as chaplain of the English community. An analogous story of alternating tacit concessions and polemics characterised the request to put a fence or wall around the piece of land where ever since the end of the 16th century English Protestants had been buried. The Inquisition decidedly opposed this concession, on the one hand to emphasize even in a symbolic way the unworthiness of those who died outside the Catholic Church, and on the other for fear that a wall might hide Protestant ceremonies. Apparently it was only in 1706 that the cemetery could be enclosed by a little wall and iron fencing[22].

The opposition on the part of the Catholic Church towards any concession seems to have been determined essentially by the fear that similar privileges could ingenerate a kind of plebeian Latitudinarianism. They did not fear hypothetical conversions of Livornese to Protestantism, but rather the fact that any concessions might spread the opinion that it was socially acceptable to be Christians without belonging to the Catholic Church, and that Catholic rites and the cult were not fundamental questions for saving souls. This was the scandal that the Catholic Church feared and tried to avoid.

On the part of the English, often the demands of religious freedom had an eminently symbolic meaning as a claim to identity: it was unacceptable for English merchants, some of them very rich, to undergo the humiliation of burying their relatives in an open field, where dogs could roam as they pleased, and to have to send their children to be baptised in a Catholic church: behind the requests to have a minister and to fence the cemetery it would seem that there were motivations connected more with social prestige than with religious matters. The Dutch, English and Jewish burial places were outside the walls, and although they were unfenced it was not by chance that they contained sumptuous funeral monuments, sometimes of marble and artistically sculptured.

While religion represented a characterising identitary element for the rich merchants of the British Factory, the situation was different for those foreigners that decided to leave the faith in which they had grown up. A thorough study of the abjurations by Protestants preserved in the papers of the Inquisition in the Archive of the Archdiocese of Pisa could perhaps give us a more accurate picture of the foreign men and women of Livorno who chose to convert to the Catholic Church (the Inquisition series is composed of 32 large bundles which regard the years 1574 to 1734, but unfortunately even today only about 10 of them have indexes and repertories)[23]. On the basis of a first survey, which however will have to be confirmed by more systematic research, we estimate that in the century and a half considered in the papers preserved from the Inquisition in Pisa about 150 abjurations of English people are recorded (but probably, considering the lacunae in the documentation, it can be estimated that the total number of English men and women who converted to Catholicism is much greater). Often those who abjured were sailors or modest tradespeople. Of some of them we only know the very few things that those who abjured were asked: their name, age, parents and birthplace. Hence it is difficult to establish the nature of the real motivations that made them chose conversion. The stereotyped formulas that we find in the Inquisitorial records in general refer on one the hand to the attractiveness of the Catholic ceremonies and rites, and on the other to the unity and concord that characterised the Catholic Church with respect to the many lacerations of the Protestant world. In many of the abjurations there are references to conversations with English Catholic priests who did not live in Pisa or Livorno. Often it appears, however, that rather than being a sign of real spiritual travail, these conversions were in effect the result of choices among opportunities and that the passage to the Catholic Church was felt to be the essential premise for becoming completely integrated in the life of the city. At the same time, obviously, this step meant symbolically cutting the bridges with one's original culture.

In the skeletal autobiographies contained in the records of the abjurations pronounced by the English of Livorno, then, we never see signs of real spiritual travail. But, whatever the motivations were,

it is certain that this step, in addition to the spiritual sphere, had great impact on the daily life of the converts. If nothing else, adhering to Catholicism implied a radical change in the converts' eating habits. In contrast to the Anglicans, Catholics in the early modern age were not allowed to eat meat, eggs, milk, butter, cheese or lard on Fridays, Saturdays, during the forty days of Lent nor on the eve of religious festivities – for a total of more than one third of the year[24]. It was not just the fact of believing that the pope was Christ's vicar, of venerating the saints, of following a sumptuous liturgy in Latin, of confessing one's sins to a priest that immediately distinguished a Catholic from a Protestant in early modern Livorno: it was also the diet. In the 17th and 18th century eating meat on the prohibited days was more and more interpreted by the Inquisition as a clue to an irreligious attitude. In the case of a convert from a Protestant confession, the dietary infraction might be a sign of apostasy. It is not surprising therefore that the major part of the not very many investigations that were started by the Inquisition against English people in the 17th and 18th centuries regarded cases of English Catholics accused if eating meat when it was prohibited.

So on the one hand there were the 'de luxe' immigrants: the rich merchants, with strong political and economic bonds with their mother country, who imposed with tenacity the opening of spaces of tolerance for their religious and national identity, on the other there was a sort of small community composed of English (or Italian-English) Catholic families that resided in Livorno, devoting themselves in general to small scale trade and crafts, although there were some families in which the husband was a soldier or a sailor and the wife a servant or a prostitute. This community was not completely integrated with the Italians, and it was at the margins of the English 'nation', with which however it maintained a close relationship. These English people apparently lived with a double identity as they were regarded with suspicion and scarce sympathy both by the English factors, because they were Catholic, and by the Catholics because they were ex-Protestants. In this case too we must emphasize that the numbers involved were not large. The cases of marriage of English women with Italian men or vice versa are only a few dozen in two centuries[25].

Abandoning one's own culture, confronting a completely different world was not painless even within the family. At the end of the 17th century and during the entire 18th century, there were some clamorous cases of Englishwomen converting to Catholicism that often greatly agitated the relations between the English resident in Livorno and the Tuscan political and religious authorities. If, as we have said, many of the abjurations of which we find traces in the Inquisition papers were motivated by a desire to integrate rather than by religious travail, these 18th-century cases seem instead to originate in the first place from a conflict with the family of origin. Passing to Catholicism represented the refusal of the religion of one's own family. It would be necessary to carry out further research on these young women of the 18th century who wanted to embrace the Catholic faith. It would be interesting to discover whether part of their motivation derived from an attraction to a Church that in exactly those years was developing what has been called a "feminisation" of its devotional practices[26]. It is significant that the English envoy Davenant underlined that "the ceremonies of the Roman church, the invisible and extrinsic things, the priests' robes, the singing, and sounds, the incense, the images and very ornamented figures" were "very suitable to attract the spirit of weak and incautious children" especially when they were "accompanied" by proselytising ecclesiastics or *donnicciuole* [pious little women][27]. Aside from what we may learn from further research, it is in any case very significant that at the centre of almost all the cases of religious conflict between the English merchant community and the Tuscan authorities in the 18th century there were events regarding young women, sometimes even girls, who fled from their Protestant homes and families, finding shelter with Catholics[28].

The English community of Livorno from the 1620s was by far the most important English community in Italy from both the numerical and the economic point of view (Livorno – Leghorn

– was "the" English port for the Levant for at least two centuries) its history shows in an emblematic way the problems of co-existence that the settling of people of different religions and cultures created even in a decidedly favourable situation for "others". It is evident however that the Tuscan government (both at its highest levels and at local level) implemented a precise policy and measured itself in a very pragmatic way with the limits imposed by confessional society.

"Of many peoples one" is the motto that in 1656 circulated in the Mediterranean and in Europe, impressed on the golden *tollero* of 3,48 grams bearing the portrait of Ferdinand II, Grand Duke of Tuscany, on the obverse. On the reverse the tallero presents a classical view of Livorno seen from the sea: in the foreground there is the lighthouse and the port full of vessels with their sails; in the background the city appears, well defended by its fortifications. The legend reads *Diversis gentibus una*. We do not know exactly how the iconography of this coin was decided. Since the gold florin was no longer current, the new coin had the aim of competing with the Spanish pieces and the German *ungheri* in the emporia of the Levant. Evidently it was thought that the image of Livorno would prove attractive on the international markets, especially in the Mediterranean area, in which the monetary flow of gold and silver guaranteed exchange between the Christian and the Muslim powers[29]. And it was certainly a carefully meditated choice to represent the specificity of the new city, extolling its role in Mediterranean trade in the name of tolerance in diversity, and presenting the composition of an open and cosmopolitan population as the result of a precise political and economic programme.

Fig. 3
Obverse of the golden tollero of 1655, showing the port and the city of Livorno.

From the point of view of the city, the coin, in which the urban and social characteristics were represented in synthesis, shows that the growth of a process of belonging and identitary cohesion was already perceptible and not just hoped for. To conclude, let us also note that the processes and events brought to light by recent studies on the history of Livorno, a few of which we have mentioned, show how practices of tolerance were often the result of compromises and bitter conflicts and that the process of assimilation was less straightforward and easy than the Medici propaganda and the myth of Livorno as a cosmopolitan and tolerant city have claimed.

Notes

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2 L. Frattarelli Fischer, *Lo sviluppo di una città portuale: Livorno, 1575-1720*, in M. Folin (ed.), *Sistole/Diastole. Episodi di trasformazione urbana nell'Italia delle città*, Venice 2006, pp. 271-333.

3 R. Toaff, *La nazione ebrea a Livorno e a Pisa (1591-1700),* Florence 1990, pp. 419-435.

4 For the social history of Livono see P. Castignoli, *Studi di storia. Livorno dagli archivi alla città*, Livorno 2001; L. Frattarelli Fischer, *L'insediamento ebraico a Livorno dalle origini all'emancipazione*, in M. Luzzati (ed.), *Le tre Sinagoghe. Edifici di culto e vita ebraica a Livorno dal Seicento al Novecento*, Livorno - Turin 1995; L. Frattarelli Fischer, *Per la storia dell'insediamento degli armeni a Livorno nel Seicento*, in *Gli armeni lungo le strade d'Italia, Atti del Convegno internazionale (Torino -Genova - Livorno, 8-11 marzo 1997),* Pisa-Rome 1999; Id., *Alle radici di una identità composita. La «nazione» greca a Livorno,* in *Le Iconostasi di Livorno, Catalogo della mostra (Livorno 7 aprile - 24 giugno),* Pisa 2001; Id., *Ebrei a Pisa e Livorno fra Inquisizione e garanzie granducali*, in A. Prosperi (ed.), *Le inquisizioni cristiane e gli ebrei, Atti dei Convegni Lincei*, Rome 2003, pp. 253-295; S. Villani, «Cum scandalo Catholicorum...». *La presenza a Livorno di predicatori protestanti inglesi tra il 1644 e il 1670*, in "Nuovi studi Livornesi", 1999, 7, pp. 9-58; Id., *"Se è vero secondo Galileo che il mondo ha suo moto quotidiano, non è da meravigliarsi della instabilità d'ogni cosa in esso". Charles Longland: un 'rivoluzionario' inglese nella Livorno del '600*, in C. Ossola, M. Verga, M. A. Visceglia (ed.), *Religione cultura e politica nell'Europa dell'età moderna. Studi offerti a Mario Rosa dagli amici*, Florence 2003, pp. 591-607.

5 M. Folin, *Un ampliamento urbano nella prima età moderna: L'addizione erculea di Ferrara*, in M. Folin (ed), *Sistole/Diastole. Episodi* cit., pp. 51-174; F. Ceccarelli, *Contrazione urbana e crisi insediamentale: Ferrara nel XVII secolo, un excursus*, *ibid.*, pp. 175-205.

6 Frattarelli Fischer, *L'insediamento* cit.

7 F. Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, Paris 1949 (ed. it. Turin 1979), II, p. 921.

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9 On the role of the port city in grand ducal policy see F. Angiolini, *Sovranità sul mare ed acque territoriali. Una contesa tra granducato di Toscana, repubblica di Lucca e monarchia spagnola*, in E. Fasano Guarini, P. Volpini (eds.), *Frontiere di terra, frontiere di mare: la Toscana moderna nello spazio mediterraneo*, Milan 2007, pp. 39-65 [forthcoming]; Id., *Spagna, Toscana e politica navale*, in M. Aglietti (ed.), *Istituzioni, politica e società Le relazioni tra Spagna e Toscana per una storia mediterranea dell'Ordine dei cavalieri di S. Stefano*, Pisa 2007.

10 Fasano Guarini, *La popolazione*, in *Livorno progetto e storia di una città* cit., in particular, the tables showing the placet of origin of the brides and grooms, p. 208-211.

11 L. Frattarelli Fischer, *Case e proprietari a Livorno nel Seicento*, in "Quaderni storici", 2003, 113, pp. 364-380.

12 Carlo M. Cipolla, *Il burocrate e il marinaio. La "Sanità" toscana e le tribolazioni degli inglesi a Livorno nel XVII secolo*, Bologna 1992

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14 G. Yogev, *Diamonds and Coral. Anglo Dutch Jews and Eighteenth-Century Trade,* Leicester, 1978, pp. 102-109; F. Trivellato, *Juifs de Livourne, Italiens de Lisbonne, Hindous de Goa. Réseaux marchands et échanges interculturels à l'époque moderne*, in «Annales H. S. S.», 2003, 58, pp. 581-603.

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tini (ed.), *L'identità dissimulata. Giudaizzanti iberici nell'Europa cristiana dell'età moderna,* Florence, 2000, pp. 99-149.

16 R. Toaff, *La nazione ebrea a Livorno e a Pisa (1591-1700),* Florence 1990, 419-435.

17 On the settlement of the Uniate Greeks and of the so-called schismatic Greeks, see G. Passatelli (ed.), *Le iconostasi di Livorno – Patrimonio iconografico post-bizantino* (with essays by D. Dell'Agata Popova, A. d'Aniello, L.Frattarelli Fischer, G. Passatelli), Pisa 2001; D. Vlami, *Commerci et Identitè dans les Communautés Grecques.Livourne aux XVI-IIe Siècles*, in "Diogéne", 1997, 171, pp. 75-95 ; id., *ΤΟΦΙΟΡΙΝΙ, ΤΟΣΙΤΑΡΙΚΑΙΗΟΔΟΣΤΟΥΚΗΠΟΥ. Έλληνες έμποροι στο Λιβόρνο. 1750-1868. Athens 2000.*

18 L.Frattarelli Fischer*, Ebrei a pisa e Livorno nel Sei e Settecento* cit., pp. 253-295.

19 G. Panessa, M. Sanacore, *Gli armeni a Livorno. L'intercultura di una diaspora,* Livorno 2006.

20 N. Magri, *Discorso cronologico delle origini di Livorno in Toscana*, Napoli 1647.

21 M. d'Angelo, *Mercanti inglesi a Livorno 1573-1737. Alle origini di una "British Factory",* Messina 2004.

22 Cf. Stefano Villani, *«Cum scandalo catholicorum...»* cit., 1999, 7, pp. 9-58; Id., *Alcune note sulle recinzioni dei cimiteri acattolici livornesi,*in "Nuovi Studi Livornesi", 2004, 11, pp. 35-51.

23 The repertories have been produced in three dissertations prepared under the guidance of Prof. Luigina Carratori of the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy of the University of Pisa: D. Bondielli, *Inventario del fondo del Tribunale della Inquisizione pisana (anni 1574-1628)*,1995-96; R. Pirisi, I*nventariazione del fondo del tribunale della Santa Inquisizione pisana (anni 1615-1616)*; S. C. Casella, *Inventariazione del fondo del Tribunale dell'Inquisizione pisana (anni 1642-44, 1672-74)*, 2003.

24 The Reformation in England brought a general relaxation of fasting practices, which however were confirmed by a series of edicts and statutes. It is significant, though, that the obligation not to eat meat on certain days was declared to be for economic reasons, so as not to damage the fishing industry as the statute of Edward VI of 1549 stated explicitly. In 1560 under Elisabeth II a fine was imposed on those that butchered animals during Lent; and during the 1562-1563 parlamentary session, Cecil imposed on a reluctant Parliament an order that anyone eating meat on a 'fish day' would be fined £3 or 3 months of prison (this time too, though, the measure was justified on the basis of economic considerations). Notwithstanding this, abstinence from eating meat became less and less observed and eating meat on the forbidden days become more and more a manifestation of explicit Protestantism. New edicts were made by James I in 1619 and 1625, by Charles I in 1627 and 1631, by Charles II 1661 and (understandably) by the Catholic James II in 1687. After the Glorious Revolution, however, even though they were not abrogated, these rules were generally abandoned. Cf. *The Several Statutes in force for the observation of Lent: And Fish-dayes, at Lent : And Fish-dayes, at all other time of the YEAR. With full and ready notes in the margent, Shewing the effect in brief,* London, printed by Robert White, 1661 (electronic edition < http://justus.anglican.org/resources/pc/england/several_statutes.html>). In general on meatless days, see M. Montanari, *La Fame e l'abbondanza: Storia dell'alimentazione in Europa*, Rome-Bari 1993, pp. 98-103; 141-144.

25 For a study of marriages in Livorno, cf. M. P. D'Alessandro, *Immigrazione a Livorno nel Seicento attraverso le fonti ecclesiastiche: uno studio dei libri di matrimonio e dei processi matrimoniali, laurea dissertation*, under the guidance of M. Della Pina, University of Pisa 1996-1997. In her dissertation, M. P. D'Alessandro has made a systematic study of the marriage registers from 1646 to 1649 and from 1682 to 1686. In the 14 years that D'Alessandro has carefully analysed 4 marriages of English men with Livornese women are mentioned. As to marriages of women of British origin celebrated in Livorno, there are only 3. On the utilisation of these sources cf. also D. Puleo, *Una fonte per lo studio dell'immigrazione e dell'insediamento a Livorno: i processi matrimoniali dell'Archivio Arcivescovile di Pisa*, laurea dissertation under the guidance of A. Menzione, University of Pisa 1987-1988; and A. Menzione, *Immigrazione a Livorno nel secolo XVII attraverso i processi matrimoniali. Alcune note*, in «Bollettino di demografia storica», 1990, 12, pp. 97-102.

26 For the "feminisation" of religious practice, cf. M. Rosa, *Settecento religioso. Politica della Ragione e religione del cuore*, Venice 1999; A. De Spirito, *Il «sesso devoto». Religiosità femminile tra Settecento e Ottocento,* in G. De Rosa, T. Gregory, A. Vauchez (eds.), *Storia dell'Italia religiosa, II, L'età moderna*, Rome-Bari 1994, pp. 453-476; and M. Caffiero, *Dall'esplosione mistica tardo-barocca all'apostolato sociale (1650-1850)*, in L. Scaraffia, G. Zarri (eds.), *Donne e fede. Santità e vita religiosa in Italia*, Rome-Bari 1994, pp. 327-373.

27 Archivio di Stato di Firenze [State Archives, Florence]**,** *Mediceo del principato*, 4239, c. 188.

28 S. Villani, *Donne inglesi a Livorno nella prima età moderna,* in L. Frattarelli, O. Vaccari, *Sul filo della scrittura. Fonti e temi per la storia delle donne a Livorno***,** Pisa 2005, pp. 377-399.

29 S. Balbi de Caro (ed.), *Merci e monete a Livorno in età granducale* (with texts by S. Balbi de Caro, L. Frattarelli Fischer, A. Mangiarotti, E. Stumpo), Milan 1997**.**

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Id., *Cristiani nuovi e nuovi ebrei in Toscana fra Cinque e Seicento. Legittimazioni e percorsi individuali*, in P.C. Ioly Zorattini (ed.), *L'identità dissimulata. Giudaizzanti iberici nell'Europa cristiana dell'età moderna,* Florence 2000, pp. 99-149.

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A 16th-Century German Traveller's Perspective on Discrimination and Tolerance in the Ottoman Empire

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Abstract

The chapter examines the perception of religious plurality in the work of the Augsburg physician and traveller Leonhard Rauwolf (1535?-1596). From 1573 to 1576, Rauwolf lived in the Levant as an employee of the Augsburg merchant firm of Melchior Manlich and his associates and visited the Syrian and Mesopotamian provinces of the Ottoman Empire. During his travels he acquired first-hand knowledge of the religious heterogeneity that characterized the Near East. The study argues that Rauwolf was impressed by this plurality and seized the opportunity to observe the religious rites and customs of diverse groups but in the final analysis was unable to overcome the religious intolerance of 16th-century Europe and the anti-Catholic, anti-Muslim and anti-Jewish stereotypes of his time.

Der Beitrag untersucht die Wahrnehmung religiöser Vielfalt im Werk des Augsburger Arztes und Orientreisenden Leonhard Rauwolf (1535?-1596). Rauwolf hielt sich im Auftrag des Handelshauses „Melchior Manlich und Mitverwandte" zwischen 1573 und 1576 in der Levante auf und bereiste die syrischen und mesopotamischen Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches. Dabei lernte er die religiöse Heterogenität, die dort herrschte, aus eigener Anschauung kennen. Der Beitrag argumentiert, dass Rauwolf zwar von dieser Vielfalt beeindruckt war und von der Möglichkeit, die religiösen Riten und Gebräuche unterschiedlicher Bevölkerungsgruppen zu beobachten, regen Gebrauch machte, aber letztlich nicht in der Lage war, die anti-katholischen, anti-muslimischen und anti-jüdischen Stereotypen seiner Zeit zu überwinden.

During his stay in the Syrian city of Aleppo in the mid-1570s, the German traveller Leonhard Rauwolf, a physician from the imperial city of Augsburg, heard a remarkable story about the Ottoman sultan Suleyman. According to Rauwolf, Suleyman once discussed with his advisers whether the Jews in his territories should be tolerated or exterminated. Most members of his council expressed the opinion that the Jews did not merit toleration since they burdened the people with their abominable usurious practices. The sultan then asked his councillors to regard the forms and colours of the flowers that were arranged in a bouquet in their midst. Did they share his opinion that each flower in its particular shape and colour added to the beauty of the others? When the councillors agreed, the sultan pointed out to them that he ruled over many different nations – Turks, Moors, Greeks and others. Each of these nations contributed to the wealth and reputation of his kingdom, and in order to continue this happy situation, he deemed it wise to continue to tolerate those who were already living together under his rule. His advisers liked this proposition so well that they unanimously accepted it[1].

Viewed in isolation, this remarkable parable on religious toleration and the coexistence of various nations in one realm reads like an early precursor of 17th and 18th-century writings that pointed to religious diversity in extra-European empires in order to confront European readers with their own intolerance[2]. Indeed the variety of religious beliefs in 16th and 17th-century western and central European monarchies was much more restricted than in the contemporary empires of the Ottoman sultans or the Indian moguls. European rulers typically sought to impose confessional conformity on their subjects, and where conformity proved impossible to enforce, granted only a grudging tolerance to certain Christian minorities. Jews were still banned from many European countries, and where they were accepted they often faced severe legal, political and economic restrictions[3].

Here I will explore Leonhard Rauwolf's observations on religious diversity, discrimination and tolerance in the Ottoman Empire. To put his views into perspective, I will begin by briefly pointing out his social and cultural background. Then I will turn to his travel narrative, focussing on his references to the situation of Christian minorities and Jews. In conclusion, I will examine how Rauwolf's confrontation with religious diversity affected his own views on discrimination and tolerance.

Leonhard Rauwolf, probably born in 1535, grew up as a Lutheran Protestant in the imperial city of Augsburg. While most inhabitants of Augsburg had become Protestants during the Reformation, an influential minority remained Catholic, and the Peace of Augsburg (1555) confirmed the city's bi-confessional nature[4]. Rauwolf studied medicine at the universities of Tübingen (1554) and Wittenberg (1556) and continued his education at the French universities of Montpellier and Valence at a time of rising confessional tensions between Catholics and Huguenots. Back in Augsburg, he married Regina Jung, the daughter of a Protestant city physician, in 1565. After practicing medicine in the Catholic dukedom of Bavaria and the Protestant imperial city of Kempten, he secured the lucrative post of city physician in Augsburg in 1571. The reputation which Rauwolf had acquired by 1573 is illustrated by the fact that the city kept him on its payroll when he undertook his voyage to the Orient in the service of the Augsburg merchant Melchior Manlich, a relative of his wife[5]. A daring businessman, Manlich entered the Levant trade via Marseille on a large scale: he purchased seven ships and chartered two more. It was Rauwolf's task to provide medical services to Manlich's employees in the Levantine ports and explore new trading opportunities[6].

That its author was a commercial employee, physician and dedicated botanist distinguishes Rauwolf's travel narrative from the majority of 16th-century European reports on the Ottoman Empire, which were written in the context of diplomatic missions[7]. And in contrast to most other travellers, Rauwolf did not visit the capital of Constantinople but the Syrian and Mesopotamian provinces. His narrative, which is divided into three parts, basically follows his itinerary: the first part describes his voyage from Augsburg to Tripoli and Aleppo, the second chronicles the journey from Aleppo to Baghdad and the return voyage through Kurdish territory, and the third part is an account of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land and his return to Germany. Into this narrative the physician inserted descriptions of the Ottoman administrative and judicial system, of cities and markets, local customs and religious practices.

Rauwolf recorded numerous encounters with Catholics in the Ottoman Empire. He met French and Italian merchants in Tripoli and Aleppo and undertook the journey from Tripoli to Jerusalem in 1575 in the company of a Carmelite monk. A Franciscan guided him on his tour of the holy sites in Jerusalem[8]. While he abstained from extended polemics, Rauwolf clearly marked his own confessional stance. He noted that the pilgrimage to the Holy Land had declined sharply since, through God's grace, the Holy Gospel had been reintroduced in its clear and unadulterated form and now showed Christians a better way to salvation, the forgiveness of their sins and the recognition of truth – an unequivocal reference to the Protestant Reformation[9]. He criticized

the inquisitorial practices of the Jesuits in India, the granting of letters of indulgence in the Holy Land and the commercialisation of Catholic pilgrimages[10]. Moreover, he lamented that the Pope, who pretended to be God's representative on earth, wished to impose his will on all people. Since the idolatries and errors of the "papists" had already been described by many learned authors and were common knowledge, he saw no need to dwell on them more extensively[11]. Still, it is clear that Rauwolf had thoroughly absorbed Lutheran confessionalism and was highly conscious of the fault lines separating Catholics and Protestants.

Moreover, Rauwolf's characterizations of Islam implicitly convey anti-Catholic sentiments as well[12]. According to the German physician, Muslims tried to cleanse themselves of their sins through "outward ceremonies and good works" – precisely the criticism that Luther and his followers voiced against Catholicism. Muslims' belief in justification by works, he thought, manifested itself in the giving of alms, pilgrimages, fasting, sacrifices, avoidance of certain types of food and drink, ritual washing and prayers. And Rauwolf remarked that Muslims might become aware of their errors by studying Holy Scripture more diligently – exactly what Protestants were supposed to do in order to recognize the "papist" errors[13].

Apart from Catholics, many other Christian minorities were present in the Ottoman provinces which Rauwolf visited. He encountered Syrian Christians and Maronites and travelled from Aleppo to Baghdad in the company of Armenian merchants[14]. Reports about Christian communities in Persia, who followed the teachings of Prester John, nourished his hopes for the spread of the Christian faith. In Lebanon the Augsburg physician treated a Maronite patriarch and visited his monastery, while in Jerusalem he found "Christians of various nations" – Catholics, Abyssinians, Greeks, Armenians, Georgians, Nestorians, Syrians, Jacobites – who were all free to practice their faith in their own chapels. The Turks did not attempt to convert these Christians to their faith but were content to extract an annual tribute from them[15].

Rauwolf portrayed these Christian minorities in a series of short chapters, in which he obviously relied on earlier works[16]. He judged these groups both by general characteristics and by their affinity to Christianity, Islam or Judaism. Throughout he paralleled character traits and religious practices: the Armenians, for example, were associated with positive traits like devoutness, honesty and hospitality, while their religion seemed to agree with the Reformed faith in many points. Like central European Protestants, Armenians rejected papacy, the celibacy of priests, letters of indulgence and purgatory. Still, they retained certain "errors" and "annoying customs", like loud lamentations of the dead. Syrian Christians and Nestorians, on the other hand, appeared both "outwardly miserable" and "corrupt in their religion". The Abyssinian faith supposedly showed many similarities to Judaism, and the Maronite creed agreed with Roman Catholicism in many respects[17].

While he repeatedly mentioned discrimination against Christians in the Ottoman Empire – mocking in the streets, subjection to high taxes and special tariffs, the selection of young boys for the Sultan's service and the enslavement of Christian prisoners[18] – Rauwolf did not fail to mention that Christian groups like the Armenians and the Greeks had their own churches and that Christians and Jews were allowed to celebrate their religious holidays without much interference[19]. The contrast between this toleration of divergent religious observances and the intolerance of contemporary Europe, where Catholics and Protestants often clashed over public demonstrations of faith, can hardly have escaped Rauwolf. Yet there were clear limits to his acceptance of religious diversity. Nowhere are these limits more apparent than in his remarks on Jews in the Ottoman Empire.

It is doubtful whether Rauwolf had much contact with Jews before he set out on his journey to the Orient. Jews had been banned from the city of Augsburg in the late Middle Ages but had established several small settlements in nearby villages by the middle of the 16th century[20]. Most

likely, he regarded them as a demographically and legally marginal group. In sharp contrast, he encountered a numerically strong and economically powerful Jewish population in the Ottoman Empire, where Jews had their own communities and were allowed to practice their faith in public. Upon his arrival in Tripoli in 1573, he noted that Jewish brokers, who were fluent in many languages and knew the exact value of trade goods, played an important role in economic life. In both Tripoli and Aleppo the Jews had built large, impressive synagogues[21].

In the description of his journey from Aleppo to Baghdad on the Euphrates River in 1574, Rauwolf's depictions of the Jewish passengers on board the ship take on a decidedly negative note. He claimed that they denounced him and a fellow Dutch passenger for secretly drinking wine with the ship's captain[22]. On the return journey from Baghdad to Aleppo via Mosul in present-day northern Iraq, Rauwolf again found himself in the company of three Jewish merchants and observed some of their ceremonies, but when he mentioned Jesus Christ they mocked and cursed him[23]. Nor did he refrain from traditional anti-Judaic stereotypes. Jews in the Ottoman Empire, he claimed, were worse defrauders and usurers than central European Jews. The fact that they farmed most tariffs from the sultan was supposed to do great harm to merchants. At the outset of his journey to the Holy Land, Rauwolf reminded his readers that the Jews had shamefully crucified their saviour on Mount Calvary, and in describing Jerusalem Rauwolf contrasted the former glory of Israel's capital and the fertility of biblical Canaan with the present ruin of the city and the barrenness of the countryside. He interpreted this decay as God's punishment for the Jews, which served as a warning to all Christians. In general, the former people of God had declined into blindness and superstition and they were hated and despised by everyone. The Turks would not have tolerated them, Rauwolf thought, if they had not purchased certain privileges with large sums of money[24]. He did not mention that Jews in Christian European monarchies also had to pay for their privileges but pointed out that Muslims would neither eat their meals in the presence of Jews nor condone Jewish-Muslim marriages or accept conversions unless the Jew had converted to Christianity first[25]. Jewish doctors, he conceded, were more skilled and more experienced practitioners than their Turkish colleagues, as they were able to study medical authorities like Galen and Avicenna. But despite their superior knowledge, Rauwolf believed, their medical successes were limited because Turkish patients did not trust them and they were more interested in their own fortunes than in the welfare of their patients. Here the common stereotype of the "Jewish doctor" becomes blended with that of the Jewish usurer[26].

We may conclude that the religious diversity which he encountered in the Ottoman Empire in the 1570s was intriguing, but also deeply unsettling to the German physician and traveller. He had the opportunity to observe the religious practices and lifestyles of Muslims, Christian minorities and Jews firsthand, and he encountered numerous examples of everyday contacts and cooperation between these religious groups. But notwithstanding his observations of practical tolerance, he was unable to overcome the anti-Catholic, anti-Muslim and especially the anti-Jewish prejudices of his times. In this context it is important to remember that religious confrontation, not tolerance, marked Rauwolf's life after his return from the Orient. In the 1580s, the decision of the Augsburg city council to adopt the new Gregorian calendar aroused fierce opposition from the city's Protestants, who refused to live and work according to a "popish" calendar. The city council banned the ringleaders of the Protestant opposition from the city and installed new Protestant ministers. Since they refused to attend the services of these new ministers, Rauwolf and his colleague Adolph Occo lost their positions as city physicians in 1588[27]. Rauwolf then moved to the Austrian town of Linz. The only document we have from his stay there is a petition in which five physicians, including Rauwolf, protested against the medical practice of a "godless, incapable,

inexperienced, vain, avaricious Jew". The petition calls to mind popular stereotypes which are also present in his travel narrative[28]. Rauwolf eventually became an army surgeon and died in an encampment of the Austrian army in Vác, Hungary, in the summer of 1596 – in a war against the Ottoman Empire which Rauwolf knew like few other Europeans of his time[29]. In an age of intolerance, the religious diversity of the Ottoman Empire constituted a challenge which, in the final analysis, even an astute and learned observer like Leonhard Rauwolf was unwilling to embrace.

Notes

1 L. Rauwolf, *Aigentliche beschreibung der Raiß, so er vor diser zeit gegen Auffgang inn die Morgenländer, fürnemlich Syriam, Iudaeam, Arabiam, Mesopotamiam, Babyloniam, Assyriam, Armeniam etc. nicht ohne geringe mühe vnnd grosse gefahr selbs volbracht: neben vermeldung vil anderer seltzamer vnd denckwürdiger sachen / die alle er auff solcher erkundiget / gesehen vnd obseruiert hat. Alles in drey vnderschidliche Thail mit sonderem fleiß abgethailet ...*, Lauingen 1582, pp. 70-71; cf. K.H. Dannenfeldt, *Leonhard Rauwolf: Sixteenth-Century Physician, Botanist, and Traveler*, Cambridge, Mass. 1968, pp. 202-3.

2 See G. Adams, *The Huguenots and French Opinion, 1685-1787. The Enlightenment Debate on Toleration*, Waterloo, Ontario 1991, pp. 63-64; W. Demel, *Als Fremde in China. Das Reich der Mitte im Spiegel frühneuzeitlicher europäischer Reiseberichte*, Munich 1992, pp. 192-198, 212-243; J. Osterhammel, *Die Entzauberung Asiens. Europa und die asiatischen Reiche im 18. Jahrhundert*, Munich 1998, pp. 77, 313.

3 On the limits of religious toleration in 16th- and 17th-century Europe, see O.P. Grell, B. Scribner (eds.), *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation*, Cambridge 1996. On the situation of Jews, see J.I. Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism, 1550-1750*, Oxford 1985.

4 On the bi-confessional nature of 16th-century Augsburg, see P. Warmbrunn, *Zwei Konfessionen in einer Stadt. Das Zusammenleben von Katholiken und Protestanten in den paritätischen Reichsstädten Augsburg, Biberach, Ravensburg und Dinkelsbühl von 1548 bis 1648*, Wiesbaden 1983; B. Roeck, *Eine Stadt in Krieg und Frieden. Studien zur Geschichte der Reichsstadt Augsburg zwischen Kalenderstreit und Parität*, 2 vols., Munich 1989.

5 For biographical sketeches, see Dannenfeldt, *Leonhard Rauwolf* cit., pp. 13-30; D. Henze, *Enzyklopädie der Entdekker und Erforscher der Erde,* vol. 4, Graz 2000, pp. 546-552; M. Häberlein, *Rauwolf, Leonhard*, in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 21, Berlin 2003, pp. 217-18.

6 Rauwolf, *Aigentliche beschreibung* cit., pp. 9, 269, 463-64. On the Manlich company's Levant trade, see A.-E. Sayous, *Le commerce de Melchior Manlich et Compagnie d'Augsbourg à Marseille et dans toute la Méditerrannée entre 1571 et 1574*, in "Revue historique", 1935, 176, pp. 389-411; G. Seibold, *Die Manlich. Geschichte einer Augsburger Kaufmannsfamilie*, Sigmaringen 1995, pp. 140-145.

7 See A. Höfert, *Den Feind beschreiben. "Türkengefahr" und europäisches Wissen über das Osmanische Reich 1450-1600*, Frankfurt am Main - New York 2003.

8 Rauwolf, *Aigentliche beschreibung* cit., pp. 32-34, 93, 262-63, 266-300, 319-21; Dannenfeldt, *Leonhard Rauwolf* cit., pp. 158-160, 166-67, 170.

9 Rauwolf, *Aigentliche beschreibung* cit., pp. 377.

10 *Ibid.*, pp. 226-27, 330-31, 355, 382, 385.

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 428-29; Dannenfeldt, *Leonhard Rauwolf* cit., p. 200.

12 W. Neuber, *Grade der Fremdheit. Alteritätskonstruktion und experientia-Argumentation in deutschen Turcica der Renaissance*, in B. Guthmüller, W. Kühlmann (eds.), *Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance*, Tübingen 2000, pp. 249-65, esp. p. 262.

13 Rauwolf, *Aigentliche beschreibung* cit., pp. 357-58, 360-63; Dannenfeldt, *Leonhard Rauwolf* cit., pp. 180, 193.

14 Rauwolf, *Aigentliche beschreibung* cit., pp. 66, 137, 257.

15 *Ibid.*, pp. 218-221, 273-284, 394-95; Dannenfeldt, *Leonhard Rauwolf* cit., pp. 145-149, 195-96.

16 Rauwolf, *Aigentliche beschreibung* cit., pp. 410-31. Here Rauwolf relied on works like Sebastian Franck's *Chronica und beschreibung der Türckey* (1530). See Neuber, *Grade der Fremdheit* cit., pp. 261-62; Dannenfeldt, *Leonhard Rauwolf* cit., pp. 197-201.

17 Rauwolf, *Aigentliche beschreibung* cit., pp. 414-26.

18 *Ibid*., pp. 100-1, 132, 301, 395-405.

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 367, 406-7; Dannenfeldt, *Leonhard Rauwolf* cit., pp. 182-83.

[20] S. Ullmann, *Nachbarschaft und Konkurrenz. Juden und Christen in Dörfern der Markgrafschaft Burgau 1650 bis 1750*, Göttingen 1999, pp. 40-44.

[21] Rauwolf, *Aigentliche beschreibung* cit., pp. 34-35; Dannenfeldt, *Leonhard Rauwolf* cit., p. 50.

[22] Rauwolf, *Aigentliche beschreibung* cit., pp. 143, 147; Dannenfeldt, *Leonhard Rauwolf* cit., pp. 83-85.

[23] Rauwolf, *Aigentliche beschreibung* cit., pp. 237, 255, 258-60; Dannenfeldt, *Leonhard Rauwolf* cit., pp. 130-31, 137-38, 140.

[24] Rauwolf, *Aigentliche beschreibung* cit., pp. 35, 95, 299, 324-26, 405; Dannenfeldt, *Leonhard Rauwolf*, cit., p. 202.

[25] Rauwolf, *Aigentliche beschreibung* cit., pp. 405-6.

[26] *Ibid*., pp. 263-64, 410.

[27] Dannenfeldt, *Leonhard Rauwolf* cit., pp. 231-32. On the conflict about the Gregorian calendar in Augsburg, see esp. Roeck, *Eine Stadt in Krieg und Frieden* cit., vol. 1, pp. 125-88; Warmbrunn, *Zwei Konfessionen* cit., pp. 360-75.

[28] J. Schuster, *Leonhart Rauwolff als Kämpfer gegen das Kurpfuschertum 1593*, "Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin" 1923, 14, pp. 125-26.

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‘Clash of Civilizations’, Crusades, Knights and Ottomans: an Analysis of Christian-Muslim Interaction in the Mediterranean

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Abstract

In a world that has become so powerfully gripped by a possible escalation of a ‘clash of civilizations’ that could spiral out of control, interest in the history of Christian-Muslim encounters and violence is on the rise. The aim of this chapter is to provide some historical depth to a debate that often tends to be shallow in its appreciation of a complex legacy of interaction between different people. It will commence with an overview of the recent debate that emerged in response to the ideas of Samuel P. Huntington. It will then consider the historical implications of the crusades in the way they have come to colour contemporary West-Muslim relations. Finally, the chapter will consider a number of naval battles between the Knights Hospitallers of St. John the Baptist and the Ottoman Empire as a case study in early modern Christian-Muslim interaction. This relationship will be looked at from the religious angle, but other factors that informed this conflict, such as status and masculinity, will also be considered.

L-interess fl-istorja tar-relazzjonijiet u l-vjolenza bejn l-Insara u l-Musulmani qed jiżdied, ħekk kif qed tikber il-biża’ xi konflitt bejn iż-żewġ ċiviltajiet. Minkejja li hu maħsub li r-reliġjon m’għadiex importanti fil-ħajja tal-lum, kwistjonijiet li jmissu b’xi mod il-fidi għadhom kapaċi llum daqs il-bieraħ li jqajmu reazzjonijiet qawwija. Dan l-artiklu jibda billi janalizza l-kunċett komtemporanju ta’ ‘konflitt bejn iċ-ċiviltajiet’ u b’ħarsa ġenerali lejn r-relazzjonijiet moderni bejn l-Ewropa u l-Mediterran. Minn hemm jagħti ħarsa lura lejn l-idea tal-Kruċjati, bħala esperjenza li ħalliet impatt fundamentali fuq ir-relazzjonijiet bejn l-Insara u l-Musulmani. Fl-aħħar parti, l-artiklu jittratta l-Mediterran fil-perjodu modern bikri, b’ħarsa partikolari lejn il-Kavallieri ta’ San Ġwann u t-Torok Ottomani. Hemm tendenza li s-sekli sittax u sbatax jiġu bħal mgħafġa bejn il-Medju Evu u ż-żmien ta’ wara l-1798, u jiġu meqjusa bħala perjodu ta’ taqbid kważi infantili bejn kursara, li wħud minnhom kienu jilbsu s-salib, filwaqt li oħrajn kienu jilbsu n-nofs qamar. Fil-fatt dan l-artiklu jiffoka propju fuq dan il-perjodu sabiex jitfa dawl fuq il-varjetà ta’ relazzjonijiet soċjali, ekonomiċi u reliġjużi li kienu jseħħu bejn l-Insara u l-Musulmani f’dan iż-żmien.

L-interazzjoni bejn l-Insara u l-Musulmani kienet, inevitabilment, affetwata minn kunċetti u twemmin reliġjuż. Minkejja dan, fatturi oħra bħal ma huma l-politika, klassi

soċjali u maskulinità, ħallew ukoll l-effett tagħhom fuq dawn ir-relazzjonijiet. Meta dawn l-elementi jiġu meqjusa flimkien mat-twemmin reliġjuż, wieħed ikun jista' jifhem b'mod aktar sħiħ u wiesa r-relazzjonijiet bejn l-Insara u l-Musulmani. Mill-banda l-oħra, huwa mportanti li jkun magħruf il-fatt li jekk id-dinja kontemporanja trid tgħix fil-paċi, t-twemmin reliġjuż irid jinżamm fil-qalba ta' kull ħsieb w inizjattiva li jipprovaw iqarrbu lil-Insara u lil l-Musulmani sabiex jifthemu fuq dawk l-affarijiet li ma jaqblux dwarhom.

Introduction

Fascination with a 'clash of civilizations' between Christians and Muslims has gripped people's imagination and there is growing interest in the history of Christian-Muslim encounters and violence. For all the talk about secularism and a decline in religion, issues of faith are as capable today, as ever, to stir deep and widespread passionate reactions. This chapter will commence with an analysis of the contemporary idea of a 'clash of civilizations' and with an overview of current European-Mediterranean relations. The chapter will then move backwards in time to consider the impact which the Crusades of the Middle Ages had on Christian-Muslim relations. It will analyse how a particular understanding of the Crusades moulds modern discourses about Christian-Muslim relations. The third and main part of this chapter deals with the early modern Mediterranean. The main focus is on the Hospitaller Knights of St. John and the Ottoman Turks. The 16th and 17th centuries, sandwiched between the Middle Ages and the post-1789 era, tend to be dismissed as a time of petty squabbles between marauding corsairs, some donning the cross, and others the crescent. This chapter focuses precisely on this period to highlight the extensive social, economic and religious encounters and exchanges that took place between Christians and Muslims in the Mediterranean.

A clash of civilizations?

A series of Danish newspaper cartoons that appeared in the year 2005 depicting the Prophet Mohammed, as well as Pope Benedict XVI's lecture in Germany in September 2006, aroused passionate and at times violent reactions among Muslims, which made many think back on Samuel P. Huntington's article and book about civilizations and the ways they clash. The term a 'Clash of Civilizations' was first used by Bernard Lewis in an article he wrote in *The Atlantic* in 1990, in which he outlined the grievances which the Arab / Islamic world had toward the West / Christianity[1]. Huntington elaborated the term in an article he published in 1993. In his vision, the Third World War would see the Judeo-Christian West ranged against a Confucian-Islamic alliance[2]. Under the generic labels of 'West' and 'Islam' he set down a pattern of thinking which followed strict black and white contours, and which was found to be exceptionally convenient following the 11 September 2001 terrorist attack upon the World Trade Centre in New York City. This latest act seemed to be the logical culmination of the Confucian-Islamic connection designed to promote acquisition by its members of the weapons and weap-

ons technology to counter the military powers of the West[3]. In reality, however, the attack upon the US was not done through ballistic missiles or chemical weapons, but by the carefully planned suicide attack of a small group of deranged militants who used American civilian planes[4].

The main criticism hurled at Huntington is that of oversimplification. His eight-civilizations division was too categorical and it implied an exaggerated level of civilizational isolation and homogeneity. According to him a civilization is the "highest cultural grouping of people and the broadest level of cultural identity people have"[5]. But the concept of civilization is a complex and imprecise one, used along with or instead of other notions such as culture, race and nation[6]. Sweeping statements about civilizations can only therefore lead to imprecise readings of past and current events. Huntington considers the 'West', primarily North America and Western Europe as a whole, disregarding the fundamental differences not only between the two but also within Europe itself[7]. Even 'Islam' cannot be taken as one homogenous group. There are, for instance, noticeable differences between Muslims in the Middle East and Muslims in North Africa (the latter's belief in saints brings them quite close to South European Catholics in fact). There is then, particularly in North Africa, the traditional dichotomy between the Muslims of the cities and the Berbers of the desert, a dichotomy forever immortalized by Ibn Khaldun[8]. The Persian Gulf War (1990-91) brought traditionally anti-American Syria to join the US in its war against Iraq. Once aggression had occurred, the United States and other Western governments became involved for geopolitical reasons that transcended cultural differences[9]. West-Islam co-operation over Kuwait was not the first of its kind. Fernand Braudel observed that in the 17th-century Mediterranean, 'Men passed to and fro, indifferent to frontiers, states and creeds...'[10]. Around 1548, Jean de la Valette, an official of the Catholic military-religious Order of St. John, agitated for the transfer of their headquarters from Malta to Tripoli in North Africa. Among other reasons he gave for such a move, he argued that he felt confident enough that the Catholic Order and the Muslim Berbers of North Africa could co-operate in their opposition to the Muslim Ottoman Turks[11].

Points of convergence such as those outlined above have a tendency to be ignored. After all, the Crusades of the Middle Ages are enough of a potent example to anyone who sees the possibility of a 'West' vs. 'Islam' conflict. In popular mentality and in some official discourses in the Arab World, Israel is regarded as a Crusader state and as such it should be wiped out just like the medieval crusader states were. According to Mehmet Ali Agca, who tried to kill Pope John Paul II on 13 May 1981, the Pope was the 'supreme commander of the Crusades'[12]. Although Huntington makes it clear that he sees Western intervention in other civilizations as a dangerous source of instability, his ideas are often taken to imply the contrary[13]. Paul Johnson, on the other hand, was very blunt when he put forward his argument that the 'civilized nations' ought to take it upon themselves to recolonize Third World Countries 'where the most basic conditions of civilized life had broken down'. This evocation of 19th-century imperialist language found immediate resonance among US policy-makers and the media[14]. Works like

Huntington's and Johnson's serve to heighten discourses of the familiar (Europe, the West, 'us') and the strange (the Orient, the East, 'them')[15]. The phenomenon of Islamic fundamentalism is a sign of bewilderment and guilt that the border with the 'other' has been crossed[16]. The 'other', in this case, is modernity, which has become inseparable from the West and by implication evil, as well as attractive[17]. Just like Communism, Islamic Fundamentalism is bred in a situation of lack of democracy, huge social inequalities, poverty and deprivation. This was why in 1948, Ernest Bevin (post-war British Foreign Secretary), underlined how the real danger seemed to lie in the moral and material exhaustion of Western Europe, which made it ripe for communist infiltration[18]. That was why Marshall Aid was an all-encompassing programme of political, economic and social regeneration and integration. Similarly the challenge of achieving stability in the Mediterranean has to address security not in a vacuum, but in conjunction with the socio-economic base of that challenge, and with an awareness of the historical heritage of the region[19].

Over time, a situation of 'centre and periphery' has developed in the relationship between Europe and the Mediterranean. It is a relationship of inequality existing in geographical space and in historic time. The theories of Andre Gunder Frank and Immanuel Wallerstein – emphasizing the expanding control and exploitation of the material resources of the periphery by the core[20] – can be seen in operation in the control of Europe over the gas pipelines on the southern shores of the Mediterranean which fuel the energy needs of Europe[21]. The idea of the Mediterranean as the periphery of Europe leads to the implication that 'Europe' and 'Mediterranean' are two mutually exclusive categories[22]. This is a discourse that harks back to the Pirenne thesis and debate. According to Henri Pirenne, the cultural and economic unity of the two shores of the Mediterranean was broken in the 7th and 8th centuries with the Muslim invasions[23]. For centuries after the Mediterranean Sea witnessed incessant battles between cross and crescent. In the post-1989 era, the return to such a conflict seems to preoccupy many leading analysts[24]. Between the 16th and the 17th centuries, first the economic, then the political hearts of Europe shifted from the Mediterranean to North-Western Europe. The Mediterranean became important only in terms of its validity to European plans. Thus, in the days of European colonial empires, the Mediterranean was the highway of Europe to the East. In the post-1989 era it is turning into the first line of resistance against Islamic fundamentalism and against illegal immigrants from less developed countries[25].

The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), the Western European Union (WEU) and the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) have been seeking to establish and develop bilateral relations with a select group of Mediterranean non-member states, rather than adopt a comprehensive approach or collective security plan for the whole Mediterranean region[26]. Such a strategy contrasts sharply with the better-organized approach of these same organizations to Eastern Europe, which shows that their commitment to Mediterranean security is at best a limited one. The failed attempts at forging a trans-Mediterranean international institution, such

as the 'Conference on Security and Cooperation in the Mediterranean' (CSCM)[27], contradict notions of Mediterranean unity. It is clear that the three subregions of the Mediterranean, that is, Southern Europe, North Africa, and the Levant (not to mention the individual countries) all follow independent and sometimes conflicting aims[28]. The 19th-century Eastern Question and NATO membership of Greece and Turkey were primarily concerned with keeping Russia out of the Mediterranean. In a similar fashion, it is now being perceived that NATO's main strategy is to keep Islamic Fundamentalism out of the Mediterranean.

Perceptions of the crusades

The French historian Joseph François Michaud said: "The history of the Middle Ages has no more imposing spectacle than the wars undertaken for the conquest of the Holy Land"[29]. The Crusades certainly had an overarching impact on the development of European and Mediterranean medieval societies. Their legacy has reverberated throughout the ages since, and discourses about the crusades continue to be heard in the contemporary world. As already outlined above, the crusades come up with incredible regularity in the Arab / Muslim world. The response of Iran's Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei to Pope Benedict XVI's speech was to remark that this was "the latest chain of the crusade against Islam started by America's Bush"[30]. In the Western hemisphere, interest in the crusades is evident during occasions such as when a briefing by the Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding (CAABU), given in the year 2000 in the British House of Commons, was entitled 'The Crusades Then and Now'[31]. A main thrust of this presentation was that the crusades fundamentally affect contemporary Muslims' perceptions of the West. Three years earlier the same House of Commons had set up a commission to investigate Islamophobia and the situation of Muslims in the United Kingdom[32].

The crusades were launched in support of a cause which can be portrayed with equal force as the most noble and the most ignoble. To contemporaries a crusade was an expedition on behalf of Christ, which had been authorised by the Pope, and whose participants took vows and enjoyed the privileges of protection at home and indulgences. At the basis of any crusade lay the premise that one was fighting to recover Christian property or to resist aggression. Death met as a crusader was equated with martyrdom so that immediate entry into paradise was to be expected. Essentially, anyone who took the necessary vow could be a crusader. By taking such a vow, one became subject to ecclesiastical authority, with all the duties and privileges that this brought with it (such as exemption from secular law courts). This vow also implied that a person would put his/her normal occupation aside for a while to go crusading[33].

In the 19th and 20th centuries, images and perceptions of the crusades proliferated in Europe. In the 19th century, many commentators were critical of the crusades, but they also espoused a rather rosy-coloured image of Christian chivalry engaged with an exotic Muslim foe. The Victorians were much attracted by the ideas and precepts of medieval

chivalry. In both England and France crusading pedigree was proudly displayed in heraldic devices. In music, art, and literature, crusading themes kept re-emerging – Sir Walter Scott, for instance, wrote a number of novels about the crusades (e.g. *Ivanhoe*, 1819, *The Talisman*, 1825). In the 20th century, crusading language found resonance in the great wars that afflicted it. Some accounts of the First World War, brushing aside the harsh realities of trench warfare, saw the war as 'a noble crusade fought in defence of liberty, to prevent Prussian militarism dominating Europe and to free the Holy Places from Muslim domination'. Crusading imagery also re-emerged during the Second World War, when General David D. Eisenhower published his account of the campaign under the title *Crusade in Europe*[34].

According to Jonathan Riley-Smith, the obsession with the crusades in the Arab / Muslim world originated when the Ottoman Sultan Abdulhamid II (ruled 1876-1909) publicized his conviction that the European powers had embarked on a new crusade against him and his empire[35]. It was a theme first picked up by pan-Arabism and later by pan-Islamism, with the latter steadily overtaking the former. The Lebanese author Amin Maalouf laments the fact that the crusades had the effect of making the Muslim world turn in upon itself and miss out on world-wide developments, leading to a dichotomy between Islam and modernism. This is because progress came to be seen as the embodiment of 'the other'[36]. Political and religious leaders of the Arab world constantly refer to Saladin, the fall of Jerusalem and its recapture. President Nasser of Egypt was often compared to Saladin and the Suez expedition of 1956 by the French and English was also portrayed as a crusade[37]. Moreover, pamphlets in Libya in the 1980s depicted the Americans as crusaders[38]. Against such modern perceptions of the crusades, it is useful to analyse what Arab chroniclers who were contemporaries of the crusades observed. In their writings the terminology changes from 'Saracen dogs' to 'Christian pigs'; from the urge to acquire the Holy Sepulchre to maintaining control of the Holy Rock from where Mohammed rose to Heaven; from the 'pious Geoffrey' to the 'pious Saladin'[39]. Just as Joinville recounted how King St Louis wept whenever he thought of God's power and benevolence, so Maqrizi described the Sultan of Egypt, Malik al-Salih in the same terms. The chronicler Abu Shama II reported Saladin's appeal to raise an anti-Crusade movement. He quoted Saladin as reproaching the Arabs for their lack of unity when compared to the great solidarity shown among the infidels. Saladin described the Franks as giving their utmost, sacrificing everything and sharing everything between themselves, all in the name of their faith in God[40]. Heeding Saladin's appeal, the Arabs and Muslims managed to reverse the conquests of the crusaders. The Emir Faisal was, in fact, prompt to remind this to the French representative at Versailles after the First World War, when France was trying to stake its claim to Syria dating back to the crusades[41].

That the term 'crusades' should feature so much in today's world is a result of the particular spin that 19th- and 20th-centuries Europeans and Sultan Abdulmahid II gave it. There is a strong trend among Arab and Muslim scholars to evaluate and reinterpret the crusading phenomenon in the light of recent experiences such as colonialism, Arab

nationalism, the establishment of the state of Israel, the liberation of Palestine and the rise of Islamic fundamentalism[42]. The single greatest grudge that the Arab world holds against the West is that it helped to create and still sustains the state of Israel. On the other hand, it is also very probably the case that hatred of Israel is what galvanises the Arab world and gives it some sense of cohesion, without which it is quite likely that Arab countries would be at each other's throat. If, according to Akbar Ahmed, the West does not recognise this heritage, understanding between West and East will be hampered[43]. The use of the term crusade by Osama bin Laden and his followers is therefore pregnant with political and religious significance. They are expressing both a historical vision, as well as an article of faith that have helped to provide moral justification for the actions of both Arab nationalists and radical Islamist[44].

Hospitallers and Ottomans in the early modern Mediterranean (c.1565-c.1700)

The Knights Hospitallers of St John the Baptist and the Ottoman Empire represented, in theory, if not always in fact, the essence of religious militancy. The Hospitallers had originated a few years before the First Crusade as a hospice dedicated to the care of the sick, poor and pilgrims that went to Jerusalem. The socio-political situation of the Levant over the next two centuries caused the evolution of the Hospitallers into an institution that merged without any effort the double mission of *servus pauperum* and *miles Christi*. Their subsequent stay on the islands of Cyprus and Rhodes led to them becoming formidable sea-faring warriors and by the early 16th century they could be described as one of the most formidable foes which the Ottomans had to face[45]. The Ottoman Turks had risen as warriors in the Anatolian marches of the decaying Byzantine Empire, and as Ottoman sultans they always remained *gazi* (Holy War) sultans, but they extended the concept of *gazi* to bring the whole Islamic world under their protection[46]. The claims to universal empire by the Ottomans had their foundation in the will of God, but they were also based on the concept of the justice of conquest. God had imposed on Muslims the duty to propagate Islam by force of arms, and the Koran adjured believers 'not [to] think that those who were slain in the cause of Allah are dead. They are alive and well provided for by Allah;...'[47]. Much of the early modern Mediterranean was under Ottoman control, though this was continually contested by the Christian powers in the west, especially by Habsburg Spain. The final colossal battle of the 16th century occurred at Lepanto in 1571, where an alliance of Christian navies defeated the Ottoman one. One of the most potent depictions of this battle is that of Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574), in which he shows Christ, St Peter and other saints helping the Christian fleet, while demons try in vain to help the Turks. It is a powerful reminder of how faith underpinned the beliefs and actions of early modern people. After Lepanto, Spain had to focus its energies on the low countries in revolt and its colonial possessions, whereas the Ottomans had to deal with a reinvigorated Safavid Empire to their East[48]. Both sides were therefore engaged in conflicts with their co-religionists. The result of this was that Christian-Muslim conflict in the Mediterranean was 'down-

sized', allowing the two sides to adjust to a *modus vivendi* and occasionally even find points of convergence.

A number of early modern texts are utilised here to gain as contemporary a view as possible of this situation, in terms of the encounters between Hospitallers and Ottomans. These sources consist mainly of the diary of Francisco Balbi di Correggio about the 1565 Siege of Malta, the diary of the 17th-century Spanish adventurer Alonso de Contreras, and a series of printed accounts of naval encounters between the navies of the Hospitallers and the Ottomans. Balbi and Contreras left a written record of what the life of early modern adventurers was like. Their works allow us to obtain an intimate glimpse of a life dominated by war and religion, where the boundary between these two was often blurred.

Balbi was a 16th-century Italian-Spanish who left the most extensive first-hand account of the 1565 Ottoman siege of Hospitaller Malta. He was not a member of the Order but he served in the Spanish corps throughout the siege[49]. Balbi, being a Christian, spared no literary effort to show that the Christians were better than the Muslims, however, throughout his work one can read the subtle recognition by a soldier of the others' military abilities. At the beginning of his account, he outlined the many good qualities that the leader of the Hospitallers, Grand Master Jean de la Valette, possessed. He went on to say that it took "... a man of his wisdom and courage to be able to resist the onslaught of Suleiman ...", thereby recognizing that only someone who was equally portent could match the great and fearsome Sultan Suleiman the Great[50]. Most of the time Balbi referred to the Ottomans as either the 'Turks' or the 'enemy', avoiding pejorative terms such as 'barbarians'. However, after the fall of the Fortress of St. Elmo, when the Ottomans massacred most of the remaining defenders, and threw into the sea the mutilated bodies of the dead Christians, he could not desist from calling them "Turkish barbarians"[51]. At the same time, Balbi also recorded how one Ottoman commander accused the other of cruelty in his treatment of the Christian captives, and how the other replied that there was to be no quarter[52]. What Balbi fails to mention is that La Valette, upon seeing the floating corpses, first wept, and then responded with equal savagery by having some of the Turkish prisoners beheaded, and their heads shot, instead of cannonballs, into the enemy camp[53]. Thinking, perhaps, that such a vindictive act was less excusable than that of a Pasha, since it emanated from a Christian knight, Balbi thought it best to leave it out of his account. One could almost say that in these bloody acts, Christians and Muslims found a point of convergence – there was a sullen recognition by both sides that even more than before, the context was now one of 'an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth'[54].

The second character to be considered here is that of Contreras. He was a 17th-century Spaniard from Madrid, who travelled throughout the Mediterranean and the Caribbean, served the Order on many occasions, and was finally received as a Hospitaller brother servant-at-arms in the Priory of Castille[55]. He wrote a diary of his life, which commenced with his setting off to serve the King of Spain at the age of fourteen in 1595[56]. Besides being involved in a number of duels and fights with all sorts of people,

Contreras was actively engaged throughout all his life against the two main foes of his native Spain – the Ottoman Turks and Muslims in the Mediterranean, and the Protestant English in the Atlantic. His first proper military engagement was on board the Spanish galleys that sailed from Naples and Sicily to lead an attack on the western coast of Greece, then part of the Ottoman Empire[57]. During one of these early expeditions, when he was not even eighteenth years old, he narrates how he managed to single-handedly capture a gargantuan Turk:

> I poked him with my sword and said in Arabic to him, 'Lie down on the ground.'
> This gargantuan Turk looked at me and started to laugh. At that time, though I was equipped with a sword and shield, I had a face as smooth as a girl's.'[58]

It is telling that both the Turk and Contreras shared a common notion of manliness, and the lack of it, as denoted by facial hair. In early modern times beards were an essential denominator of masculinity[59]. The growth of facial hair denoted that a boy had effectively passed from the feminine realm of women and children, to that of men and adults. Contreras was therefore perfectly capable of understanding the Turk's mocking of him because his face was still "smooth as a girl's." It emerges that in early modern times, Mediterranean men, whether they donned the cross or the crescent, shared a similar understanding of the role of the body in forging one's manliness.

In Contreras' diary, as in Balbi's account, there are references to moments of sheer savagery, committed by both Christians and Muslims alike, such as when a skirmish with some Moors at Cape Bonandrea in North Africa led to some brutal acts being committed by both sides[60]. From Contreras's diary, however, there also emerges an example of how the religious beliefs of Christians and Muslims could converge. He described a cave on the island of Lampedusa in the central Mediterranean which contained an altar of the Blessed Virgin, as well as the tomb of a Turkish marabout (a West African Muslim spiritual leader) who was considered by Muslims to be a saint. In this cave, visiting Christians and Muslims would both leave offerings at their respective shrines – food, clothes, money, and so on. The reason for these offerings was that the cave was used by escaping galley slaves – of both faiths – as a safe haven until they could be rescued by their own people. If anyone else besides the escaping slaves – and excepting the Hospitallers – dared to remove these items, it was believed that their galley would be precluded from leaving the harbour[61]. This story indicates how beneath the wider labels of 'Christianity' and 'Islam', there were sub-practices peculiar to certain regions and people. It also shows how geographical conditions (e.g. Lampedusa's location) and human factors (the need to provide for escaping slaves) led Christians and Muslims to find a common solution to their shared problem, one that was underpinned by religion and war.

The conflation of religion and violence led to the development of tracts that dealt with naval encounters between Christians and Muslims. These printed accounts – described as either a *Relazione* (a report) or an *Avviso* (a notice)[62] – tended to be short pamphlets that gave a day-by-day and a blow-by-blow account of a particular naval encounter. It

was a genre well known in early modern Europe through which states and individuals sought to glorify themselves. The medium of the printing press was therefore harnessed by the Order of St John to spread the fame of its warriors and their actions. Such tracts served to show the continued relevance of a religious-military order dedicated to defending a Christian Europe from its Muslim foes. They were also meant to capture the imagination of prospective candidates aspiring to join the Order who would be lured by the promise of adventure, glory, and the salvation of their soul through the ultimate Christian sacrifice – the laying down of one's life in defence of others and in the name of God. Since Christians wrote these texts, it is necessary to be aware of the inevitable bias against the Muslim side. At the same time, such bias may not be totally unwelcome. After all, objectivity is hardly ever an achievable goal and subjectivity brings us closer to what contemporaries thought and felt. Though Muslims were naturally demonised in such writings, they were not always dismissed as barbarians. The Christian gentlemen who wrote or inspired such texts could at times fraternise with the gentlemen on the other side, even if they were Muslim. The unwritten code of chivalry was like a common meeting ground for both Christians and Muslims, and for some it may have felt like a religion all of its own. Therefore, these tracts allow one to look at Christian-Muslim war from the religious angle, but they also highlight the importance of status and masculinity in informing conflict.

Such expeditions served three purposes. Firstly, they served an economic purpose, not only through the capture of booty and slaves, but also by diminishing the potential of attacks on Christian lands and vessels. Secondly, they served a religious purpose, in that war was waged to glorify God. Finally, it was also a way of keeping the knights themselves busy at sea, rather than idle at land[63]. These tracts were generally penned by an anonymous author, in praise of the Captains and Knights that partook in such battles[64]. The qualities of these men were highlighted – nobility of birth, Christian charity, proficiency in the use of arms, and a readiness to give everything and sacrifice everything for the Order and for God[65]. The wearing of the red habit with the white eight-pointed cross of the Order was a badge of excellence and distinction in Europe, and a symbol that instilled fear and resentment among Muslims[66]. Manly excellence was also linked to nationality – hailing from France or Italy, in particular, was seen as a guarantee of one's naval aptitude[67]. The language used was vivid, active and gripping, and it sought to place the reader in the midst of the action and to show the great valour of the knights[68]. Many of these tracts, by finishing with the words *LAUS DEO* (Praise be to God) gave the whole text (and the battle described therein) the character of a prayer[69]. Through the placement of prayer at the heart of the narrative and action, these tracts could almost be describing a pilgrimage. Before a battle commenced, knights and soldiers prepared themselves through confession, prayer and the invocation of God and the saints to their cause. After all, at the end of their pilgrimage-battle, death could be waiting, and one had to be on guard and ready[70]. Moreover, when the galleys returned victorious to Malta, street processions were held to praise God and the Virgin Mary for the victories obtained, thereby bringing the pilgrimage-battle to a fitting end[71]. A final

but crucial element to be considered here is the attitude towards their Muslim enemies, called generically the 'Turks'. Although the title of 'barbarians' was at times attributed to the latter, there often was a subtle hint that Christian valour was met by Muslim valour[72]. The good military qualities of the Turks – their soldiers, their artillery and their leaders were recognised and taken into account[73]. After all, if the courage of the knights was to shine properly, it could only do so when opposing equally courageous warriors. The stubbornness of the Turks was also admired, although it could easily turn into irrational obstinacy, and that was deemed to be unmanly[74].

Conclusion

This chapter provides an overview of the history of Christian-Muslim interaction (both conflict and convergence) in the Mediterranean from the Middle Ages to modern times. It was concerned with showing how the concept of 'clash of civilizations' oversimplifies and glosses over a more complex social and historical palimpsest. The case was also made for giving due consideration to the Crusades as a central organising principle that underlines contemporary Christian-Muslim relations. In early modern times, then, encounters and violence between Hospitallers and Ottomans serve as a case study into the multi-faceted nature of relations between faiths or civilizations. Both Hospitallers and Ottomans were religious warriors, committed to fight each other, even unto death. Moreover, they shared a certain understanding of what constituted military valour and manliness. Christian-Muslim interaction has, inevitably, been underwritten by religious concepts and beliefs. However, it has been argued here that other factors, such as politics, status and masculinity also informed these exchanges, both amicable and hostile. By taking these elements into account, alongside religion, a fuller understanding of Christian-Muslim relations in the past can be achieved. On the other hand, it is important to recognise that if peace is to have a chance in the contemporary world, faith has to form an important part of the equation in solving Christian-Muslim issues.

Notes

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3 *Ibid.*, p. 49.

4 E.W. Said, *The Clash of Ignorance*, "The Nation", 22 October 2001.

5 Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations?* cit., p. 24.

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[38] Id., *The Crusades Then and Now*, cit., pp. 3-4.

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