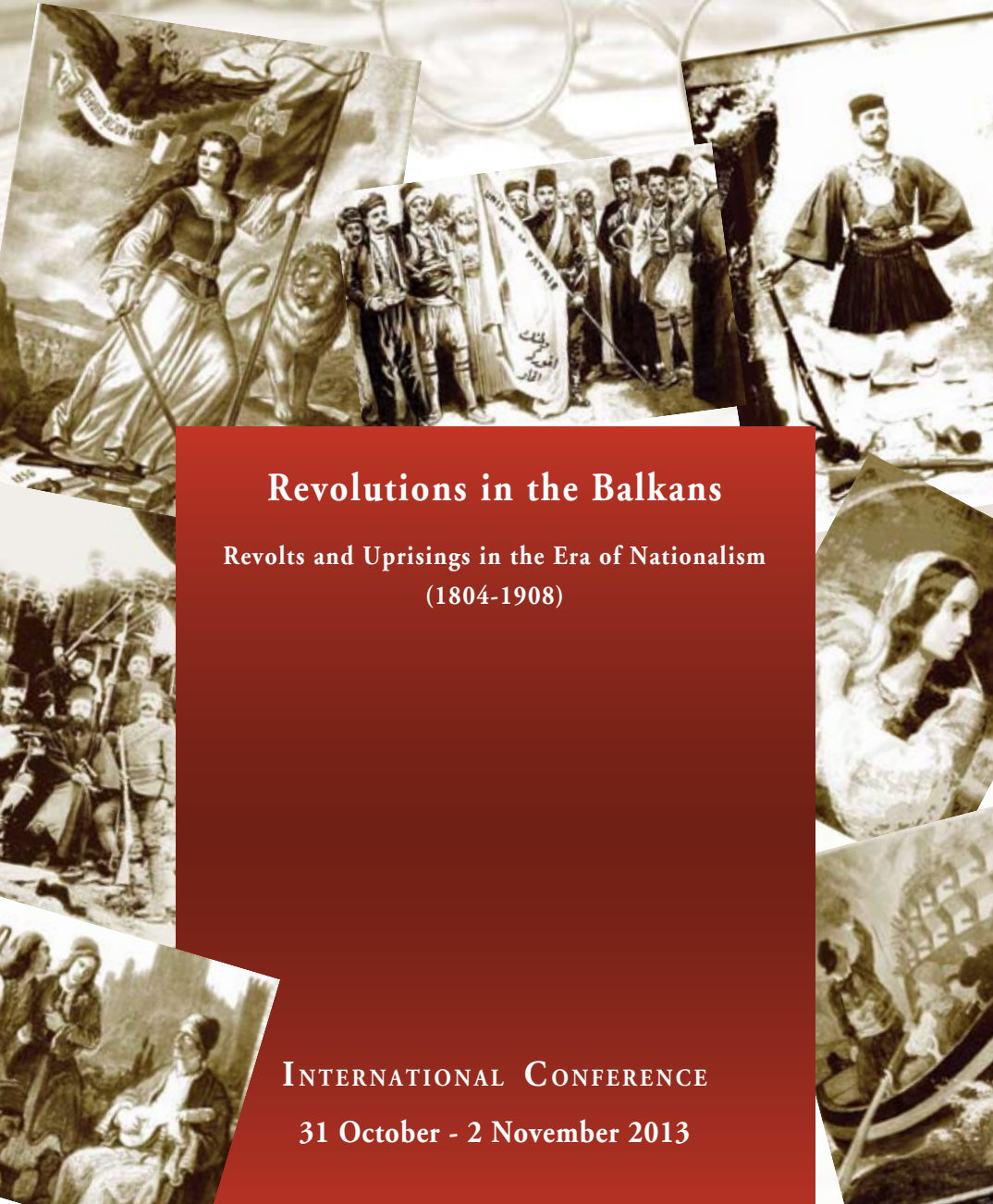




RESEARCH CENTER FOR MODERN HISTORY (KENI)
Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences



Revolutions in the Balkans

Revolts and Uprisings in the Era of Nationalism
(1804-1908)

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

31 October - 2 November 2013

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REVOLUTIONS IN THE BALKANS

Revolts and Uprisings in the Era of Nationalism (1804-1908)

The main aim of the conference is to convey a multi-disciplinary analysis of the question what a “Revolution” in the Balkans was during the long nineteenth century in a broader semantic and social context: Is it possible to build a typology of revolutionary movements in the Balkans? What is the relation of these movements with the ones in Western Europe of that time? Is there a kind of “revolutionary recipe” travelling around Europe via cultural transfers? What are the local characteristics of revolts in different parts of South-East Europe? Who were the revolutionaries? Which is the relation between Revolution and Reform? Which is the historiography and which is the memory of these movements? It is also important to investigate the instances of what was opposite to Revolution, its conceptual ‘other’ under different faces: counter-revolution; reform; evolutionism/ traditionalism; alternative loyalties etc.

The *Research Centre for Modern History (KENI)* belongs to the Political Science and History Department of Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences. Its goals include the undertaking of historical research projects in collaboration with other academic institutions in Greece and abroad, the organising of relevant conferences and lectures and the assembling of archive collections, both hard copy and digital. Within the Centre operate four laboratories: 1) one for the Documentation and Study of Greek War of Independence; 2) one for the Study of Historical Culture; 3) one for Ottoman, Colonial and Post-Colonial Studies and 4) one for the Documentation and Study of the Greek Press from the late 18th century. The academic staff of the Centre consists of Researchers (professors, lecturers and PhD holders from Greece and abroad), of Assistant Researchers (Holders of a Master’s degree or PhD candidates) and of Collaborators (graduate or undergraduate students).

THURSDAY, 31 OCTOBER 2013

16.00-16.30 REGISTRATION

16.30-17.00 WELCOME SPEECHES

Prof. Gregory Tsaltas, Rector of Panteion University

Prof. Christina Koulouri, Dean of the School of Political Sciences, Director of KENI

**NATIONALISMS: FROM THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE TO
NATION-STATES**

17.00-19.30

Chair: Diana Mishkova

Ulf Brunnbauer, *Revolution and Visions of the Future*

Vangelis Kechriotis, *Between the New and the Old: Breaking with the Past in the Balkan States and the Ottoman Empire during the Long 19th c.*

Dubravka Stojanovic, *Continuity in Discontinuities: Revolutions and Overthrows in Serbia 1804-1903*

Defne Çizakça, *Unintentional Revolutions: Turkish Nationalism and the Armenian Stage*

Ileana Moroni, *The Young Turk Revolution: a National Revolution?*

Elena Bouleti, *The Effect of the Young Turk Revolution to the Muslim Cypriot Community: Nationalistic Incentive and its Adjustment to Communal Frame.*

Sia Anagnostopoulou, *The Aftermath of the Revolution of the Young Turks in the Colonized World.*

**MULTIPLE IDENTITIES IN THE ERA OF NATIONALISMS:
CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS**

19.30-21.00

Chair: Ekaterini Aroni-Tsichli

Dimitris Stamatopoulos, *"... The Cross along with the Crescent..": Interpreting the Balkan National Revolutions through a Failed One*

Roumiana Preshlenova, *A Common Muslim-Christian Revolt in the Balkans? The Boycott Movement during the Bosnia Crisis in 1908-1909.*

Elias G. Skoulidas, *The Albanian Greek-Orthodox Intellectuals: Aspects of their Discourse between Albanian and Greek National Narratives (late 19th - early 20th centuries).*

Nicole Immig, *"Zito to ethnos" – Participations of Muslims in Commemorations of the Greek Revolution.*

21.00 WELCOME RECEPTION

FRIDAY, 1 NOVEMBER 2013

MICROHISTORIES: LOCAL REVOLTS AND UPRISINGS

9.30-11.00

Chair: Alexandra Patrikiou

Dilek Özkan, *Were the 1854 Uprisings of Epirus and Thessaly Nationalist? An Ottoman Perspective to Re-Consider the Nature of the Events.*

Akis Papataxiarchis, *The Making of Irredentism from Below: Tax Revolts and the Unfinished Project of the Greek 'Revolution'.*

Vemund Aarbakke-Vassilis Koutsoukos-Georgios Niarchos, *The Tamrash (ТЪМРЪШ) Rebellion (1878-1886).*

Nenad Stefanov, *Hadži Neša's Revolt in Pirost 1836. Societal Actors beyond Nationalist Oblivion. A Reassessment in a Translocal Perspective.*

11.00-11.15 COFFEE BREAK

REVOLUTIONARIES

11.15-14.00

Chair: Dubravka Stojanovic

Stefanos Papageorgiou-Evdoxia Papadopoulou, *A Montenegrin Chieftain at the Service of the Ottoman Empire, the Greek Revolution and the Kingdom of Greece: Vasos Mavrovouniotes (Vasa Brajović).*

Konstantina Zanou, *Between Empire and Nation-State: Greek Nationalists at the Service of the Tsar, 1800-1830.*

Korinna Schönhärl, *The Swiss Banker and the Greek Revolution: Jean-Gabriel Eynard and the Loan of Independence of 1825.*

Chrisa Tzagaroulaki, *Iosif Momferratos. An Ionian Radical in the Era of Nationalism (1848-1868)*

John A. Mazis, *Ion Dragoumis, Diplomat and Participant in Greece's Irredentist Quest: Official Position vs. Private Agenda.*

Michalis Kaliakatsos, *The Ilinden Uprising through the Eyes of a Greek Diplomat: Ion Dragoumis on the Social Question and Pan-Slavism in Macedonia.*

Tasos Kostopoulos, *Organizing the Womenfolk for the Cause: Gender Issues in the Macedonian Revolutionary Movements, 1893-1908.*

14.00-16.00 LUNCH BREAK

FRIDAY, 1 NOVEMBER 2013

THE BALKANS AND THE WEST

16.00-17.45

Chair: Irini Lagani

Philip Carabott-Alexandra Patrikiou, *"An inherent sense of national compassion": Greek Public Responses towards European Revolutionary Refugees, 1848-1852*

Lina Louvi, *Irredentist Unrest and Anti-Western Attitudes in Greece during the Crimean War*

George Giannakopoulos, *H.N. Brailsford and the Macedonian Question*

Despina P. Papadopoulou, *Balkan Antagonisms in France at the Beginning of the 20th Century: the Role of the Greek National Society Ellinismos*

Ana Zivkovic Snowley, *British Responses to the Struggle for Independence in Montenegro until 1878*

REVOLTS AND VIOLENCE

17.45-19.00

Chair: Nikos Theotokas

Edhem Eldem, *From the Chios Massacre to the "Unspeakable Turk": Ottoman Reactions to Western Accusations of Barbarism.*

Thomas W. Gallant, *The Political Economy of Violence Before, During, and After the War of Independence.*

Pinar Şenişik, *Violence Revisited: The Cretan Revolt of 1896.*

19.00-19.15 COFFEE BREAK

COMPARATIVE AND TRANSNATIONAL APPROACHES

19.15-21.00

Chair: Mirela-Luminita Murgescu

Hannes Grandits, *Disintegrating States, Creating States: the Late/Post Ottoman Balkans in a Comparative Assessment*

Anna Karakatsouli, *Liberal and National Insurgencies in Southeastern Europe: A Transnational Approach*

Halil Berktaş, *Falling in (and out of) Love with Revolution*

SATURDAY, 2 NOVEMBER 2013

WILLING TO REVOLT: VOLUNTEERS IN THE BALKANS

9.30-10.45

Chair: John A. Mazis

Ada Dialla, *Russia and the Balkans: the Case of Russian Volunteers in National Movements in the 1870s*.

Ilya Platov, *The Ambiguities of «Liberation»: Russian Public Opinion and the Eastern Crisis, 1875-1878*.

Alberto Becherelli, "If only one insurgent in Herzegovina remains, we must help him". *Garibaldi Volunteers in the Support of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian Uprising (1875-78)*.

Peter Vodopivec, *The Slovenes, the Western Border of the Balkans and the Anti-Ottoman Uprisings in the Balkans (in the Second Half of the 19th and at the Beginning of the 20th Century)*.

10.45-11.00 COFFEE BREAK

WORDS AND IMAGES: REPRESENTING REVOLUTIONS AND REVOLUTIONARIES

11.00-14.00

Chair: Ulf Brunnbauer

Elisabeth Fraser, *Celebrating Empire in a Nationalist Mode: Louis Dupré in Ottoman Greece*.

Nektaria G.Klapaki, *The (Male) Cult of the (Female) Nation: Female Bodies, the Greek War of Independence and the Religion of Greek Nationalism*

Katerina Papatheou, *Greece, Ottoman Empire, and Balkan Nationalism under the Western Magnifying Glass*.

Alexandra Sfoini, "Loyaume" and "Nomarchia": Key Words of the French Revolution in the Greek Vocabulary

Niki Maroniti, *Military "Conspiracies", Reform and Revolutions "Plans" in the Greek Public Discourse during the Years 1880-1909*.

Stefan Rohdewald, *Saints as Weapons: Figures of Religious National Memory and the Imagination of the Nation in Uprisings and Wars in the Ottoman Empire during the 19th Century*.

Karl Kaser, *Balkan Revolutionaries on Images. Changing Symbolism and Visual Representation (1804-1908)*.

Kostas Katsapis, «Ode to Georgios Karaiskakis». *The Hero of the Greek Revolution in Dionysios Savvopoulos' Music*.

Mirela-Luminita Murgescu, "At the Crossroads of Major Storms" or "Mărgelatu Series". *The Romanian Communist Cinema and the 1848 Revolution*.

SATURDAY, 2 NOVEMBER

14.00-15.30 LUNCH BREAK

HISTORIOGRAPHY

15.30-16.30

Chair: Peter Vodopivec

Olga Katsiardi-Hering, *Towards the Historiography of the Greek Revolution: From a Contemporary Historiographical Narration to a Critical Historical Approach of Today.*

Ioannis Koubourlis, *Liberal and Historicist Views of the Greek War of Independence: the European Contribution towards the Formation of the Greek National Narrative.*

Michalis N. Michael, *Violence and Political Power in a Changing Empire: A New Interpretation of the 1821 Executions in Cyprus.*

TRADITION AND MODERNITY

16.30-19.00

Chair: Karl Kaser

Eleni Andriakaina - Pantelis Lekkas - Nikos Rotzokos - Dionisis Tzakis, *The Greek War of Independence: Traditional Rebellion or Modern Revolution?*

Nassia Yakovaki, *The Press in Revolutionary Greece: What Can it Tell Us about the Existence of a Public Sphere?*

Yanna Tzourmana, *Government from Scratch or Debating "the Struggle for Liberty in the World" in British Radical Venues*

Kostis Plevris, *The Transformations of the Balkans' Ottoman Space. Revolutions and Counter-Revolutions inside the City.*

Ekaterini Aroni-Tsichli, *Modernization and Tradition during the Nation Building in Greece in the 19th Century.*

Christina Koulouri, *A 'Frustrated Revolution': the Greek Revolt for the Constitution, 3rd September 1843.*

Lambros Baltsiotis - Dimitris Christopoulos, *Tracing the Borders of the Body Politic: Citizenship in the Post-Ottoman Orthodox Balkans (Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria)*

19.00-19.15 COFFEE BREAK

CONCLUSIONS

19.15-21.00

Hannes Grandits, Christina Koulouri, Antonis Liakos, Diana Mishkova

ABSTRACTS

VEMUND AARBAKKE, VASSILIS KOUTSOUKOS, GEORGIOS NIARCHOS

The Tamrash (Тъмръш) Rebellion (1878-1886)

The protracted decline of the Ottoman Empire brought the wider region of Thrace to the forefront of competing nationalisms. This was indeed a process mirroring developments in many other parts of the Balkan Peninsula.

The first attempt for the creation of an independent statelet in the Rhodope Mountains came in the aftermath of the Treaty of San Stefano (1878) by the Pomak population in the Tamrash region, who opposed the prospect of a Bulgarian administration in the area. The Pomak insurgents declared themselves 'an autonomous Pomak nation' under the leadership of Ahmed Agha Tamrashliyata. An interesting figure involved in the uprising was the British-born Stanislas Graham Bower St. Clair, whose actual role remains a matter of contention. However, the anti-Bulgarian sentiments that fuelled the rebellion soon became irrelevant following the recognition by the Ottoman Empire of the annexation of Eastern Rumelia by the Bulgarian principality in 1885, whilst the final demarcation of the border between the two countries brought most of the rebellious Pomak villages under the Ottoman Empire.

The present paper will shed light into the details of the rebellion of the Pomak population of Tamrash, exploring its roots and motives, in an attempt to determine whether this was the expression of an emerging nationalist sentiment or a movement of purely local interest. On a next level, we will try to see the rebellion in the light of the wider antagonisms of the Great Powers and particularly Great Britain, through the remarkable presence of St. Clair.

This paper is informed by extensive archival research and forms part of an ongoing project, entitled 'Modernity battling tradition: The introduction of Kemalism to the Muslim minority of Western Thrace, 1920-1930', based at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and funded by the national program 'Aristeia' of the operational program 'Education and Life-long Learning'.

SIA ANAGNOSTOPOULOU

The Aftermath of the Revolution of the Young Turks in the Colonized World

The Young Turk Revolution has widely preoccupied the bibliography. However, few studies have dealt with the impact of the Revolution on the colonized world. With my presentation I will try to present the influence of the Revolution firstly on the Muslim community of the colonized Cyprus, and secondly on the colonized India. My approach will be comparative. To what extent did the Revolution create the conditions for the development of a national and anti-colonial discourse in these colonies? How the impact of the Revolution was reflected in Cyprus and in India? Finally, the Revolution continued to be a source of inspiration for an anti-colonial (and/or nationalist) movement years after its bursts out?

ELENI ANDRIAKAINA, PANTELIS LEKKAS, NIKOS ROTZOKOS, DIONISIS TZAKIS

The Greek War of Independence: Traditional Rebellion or Modern Revolution?

The paper revisits, in a novel theoretical context, an old and perhaps never-to-be-answered question: was the Greek War of Independence a 'traditional rebellion' or a 'modern revolution'? Opinions on the matter still differ, both in the historiography of the War, and in the attempts at a more theoretical understanding of it. The paper surveys the paradoxical bedfellows made by the two sides of the argument; and then proceeds to isolate the various and contradictory signs of traditionality and modernity before, during, and immediately after the War itself. To that effect, it employs the flexible and dynamic concept of 'modernization', both in its positive and negative aspects (as 'detraditionalization'); and seeks out not only the contradictory circumstances of the political and social actors involved but also the inevitably imperfect understanding of those circumstances on their part. On such a basis, of the changes effected mainly on the level of knowledge and consciousness, the paper argues that the Greek War of Independence, notwithstanding its beginnings (whether traditional or post-traditional) evolves into and ends up as a decidedly modern 'societal' transformation.

Modernization and Tradition during the Nation Building in Greece in the 19th Century

Modernism and all concepts and ideas related to it are introduced in the Greek society at a national and individual level at the beginning of the Greek war of independence in 1821, following the rise of Greek Enlightenment and the culture that developed accordingly around the European Enlightenment.

The new political models that the first governor of Greece Ioannis Kapodistrias (1828-1831) attempted to introduce and those that predominated after the establishment of the regency regime and the monarch king Otto, brought along a new state of affairs, which ruled out of the political and constitutional scenery all former traditional forces. These hard times were characterized by constant transformations and inconsistencies: a new statutory system tried to take shape; a new economy and a new social balance were built whilst new cultural values were integrated in a society where old-fashioned notions and ideological and socio-political attitudes were still alive.

At times of great changes, there is no cohesive system of beliefs. Every new idea expresses the necessities of its time and confronts older but still existent notions, based on the society's long history and past. This is why evolution is never accepted without objections. Thus, the request for building a European and modern society in Greece had to deal with different reactions from many parts that reflected actions and feelings against modernism and the West and won the favour of the old traditional ways that were considered to be in danger.

Research and study of the multiple uprisings in Greece following the war of independence (1833-1852), aims at approaching the ideas and attitudes as well as the terms under which the traditional Greek society was acquainted with the modernist ideas and how the Greek society reacted to the building of the newly formed Greek state.

The uprisings in Greece after the war of independence did not affect social structures and institutions. There was neither a struggle of one social class against another nor an attempt to reform society. The conflict did not lie amongst social groups but amongst groups of interests.

Moreover, the Greek uprisings in 1848 were not ideologically related to the revolutionary movements of 1848 in Europe. Proclamations of Greek rebels did not include any social demands since Greece was not dealing with the same social problems as the West. So, the Greek uprisings in 1848 did not include any modern ideas but were a mere repetition of the uprisings that took place the years before. However, the armed movements of the rural population that was still at a pre-industrial and pre-capitalist stage were organised by the political or military leaders for their own interests.

LAMBROS BALTSIOTIS, DIMITRIS CHRISTOPOULOS

Tracing the Borders of the Body Politic:

Citizenship in the Post-Ottoman Orthodox Balkans (Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria)

Citizenship policies of states as identified in legislation and administrative practice are revelatory of the hard core of national ideologies but also of the imagined boundaries of the political communities. Through citizenship legislation one can trace what the body politic wants to be or to become.

The paper examines the citizenship policies, in other words the inclusion and the exclusion of specific ethnocultural groups in the nation of three states that have emerged from the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century, namely Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria. The way the revolutionaries and the intellectuals perceived the nation is quite clearly engraved in the early constitutions and nationality acts of every state. Consequently, they were sharpened and modified by the subsequent legislation and the practice of the executive.

What is of particular interest in the case-study of the three post-Ottoman States is the way they combine the western Enlightenment ideals for individual emancipation, the French revolution ideals of equality of citizenry with their internalized notion of the community vis à vis the Sublime Porte. Their perception for the political national community was formed through religious differentiation according to the Ottoman pattern and served a well justified irredentism. Despite the rhetoric and the politics that in some time escorted this scheme, a racial and political unity with the Albanians in the Greek case, the national acceptance of the Muslim Bulgarian speakers (Pomaks) in the Bulgarian case or even the supra national unity of the South Slavs

in the Serbian one, the national inclusion in fact was connected directly with religious affiliation and confession. These three mentioned nationalisms were also formed through their struggle with other neighbouring nationalisms in the Balkan Peninsula, a fact that usually is examined separately and under-estimated.

In conclusion, the paper puts the following question: to what extent the above national states citizenship traditions represent a common «post-Ottoman» paradigm/category within the current citizenship constellations in Europe?

ALBERTO BECHERELLI

“If only one insurgent in Herzegovina remains, we must help him”. Garibaldini Volunteers in the Support of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian Uprising (1875-78)

The peasant's uprisings in Bosnia and Herzegovina in July 1875 reopened the *Eastern Question*. The two interlinked rebellions, in Herzegovina and in Bosanska Krajina, which started as a response to the burden of taxation on the predominantly Orthodox peasants, grew into a movement for the liberation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Ottoman Empire. This insurrection could not be ignored by the Italian *garibaldini* volunteers: liberals, democrats, supporters of the peoples' freedom, who rushed to help any struggle for national independence and social emancipation in Europe. The old leader Giuseppe Garibaldi, who was physically weak but politically still active, wrote in one letter to a friend: “If only one insurgent in Herzegovina remains, we must help him”, encouraging his followers to support Serbian *vojvoda* Mičo Ljubibratić and keep alive the revolutionary *garibaldini* tradition. Their support for the uprisings in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Serbian and Montenegrin armies who were fighting against Turkey, is one example of the “Red Shirts” presence in the European struggles for national independence or integration in the second half of the century. In these men the patriotic and romantic emotions for national struggles did not change over the time and in 1864 with the foundation of the International Workers' Association (First International) their ideology was enriched with social ideas, which became more concrete and explicit. The encounter in 1875 and 1877 between Russian panslavists and populists and *garibaldini* volunteers from Italy and other countries, who rushed to aid the insurgents in Bosnia and Herzegovina, is a typical example of the new European political atmosphere.

HALIL BERKTAY

Falling in (and out of) Love with Revolution

(a) Why and how is it that *revolution* and *revolutionary* have come to carry overwhelmingly positive connotations? (b) If revolutions do not happen purely because they are desired, is it equally true that they are purely objective phenomena? (c) To what extent can we distinguish between totally spontaneous (unplanned) and not-so-spontaneous (quasi-planned) revolutions -- or at least between *untheorized* and *theorized* revolutions? (d) From 1815 onward, what impact did the presence of generations of *lifetime revolutionists* have (long before Lenin's *professional revolutionaries*) on the political scene? (e) How did Marxism take over (the theory and practice of) revolution? (f) What does it mean to say that Marx and then the entire Marxist tradition *over-theorized* revolution? Key stage 1: postulating a direction of history, and defining revolution vs counter-revolution in that framework. Key stage 2: promoting the necessity and inevitability of revolution. Key stage 3: creating path-dependency (reform vs revolution as mutually exclusive from the outset). Key stage 4: arguing for a special revolutionary party. Key stage 5: ascribing specific road maps to particular countries/revolutions. (g) The collapse of communism, the collapse of this entire theoretical edifice, and the breakdown of the continuity of *revolutionist memory*. (h) Stripped of its Marxist scaffolding, what happens to revolution?

ELENA BOULETI

**The Effect of the Young Turk Revolution to the Muslim Cypriot Community:
Nationalistic Incentive and its Adjustment to Communal Frame**

The aim of this paper is to trace the ways through which the ideology and ultimately the revolutionary movement of the Young Turks influenced the Turkish community of Cyprus. That is, the channels through

which the Young Turk ideology reached the community and especially the transformation that these ideas underwent in order to serve the communal-colonial reality of the Turkish-Cypriots.

The Young Turk revolution, being the last nationalist movement to occur in the Ottoman Empire, mobilized the populations of the mainland, in an effort to salvage the state and control the centrifugal powers that threatened it. However the Turkish Cypriot community could not be regarded as part of these populations. By the Cyprus Convention (1878) Cyprus was bestowed to Great Britain by the Ottoman Empire and thus when the Young Turk ideology appeared the Turkish Cypriots had already been subjected to the status of a minority community that was being administered by a Christian colonial power. The colonial administration utilized the communal division along religious lines to sustain and manipulate the two communities. Especially in the case of the Muslims a systematic effort was made by the British administration to infiltrate its main administrative norms –such as the local *Evkaf*- in order to control it. The Muslims of Cyprus reacted in a disorganized and spontaneous way, but by no means had they remained passive towards that intrusion. In their struggle to safeguard communal institutions by colonial infiltration and at the same time to redefine their position in the island under the new regime, they adopted Young Turk ideas and adjusted them to their specific needs and aspirations. An attempt will be made to decipher that controversial process.

ULF BRUNNBAUER

Revolution and Visions of the Future

In retrospect, national historiographies integrated national-revolutionary movements and uprisings in a teleology of the nation. In this story, the protagonists of these events and processes had a clear goal: the establishment of an independent nation state. Their struggle is incorporated in a long national history that stresses heroism and victimization. Yet in real life, revolutionaries neither in the Balkans nor anywhere else rarely agree on a coherent goal of their action. Revolutions are moments in which different and often competing visions of the future are articulated; they are historical junctures in which social actors believe to be able to recreate the world, even if they have only a vague idea of how their ideal world should look like. In my talk I want to discuss visions of the future that were articulated in the context of presumably national revolutionary moments in the Balkans in the 'long' nineteenth history. I will also try to trace the ideational and social sources of these visions, such as Christian eschatology or Marxism, and to identify patterns through a comparison of Balkan revolutionary movements.

PHILIP CARABOTT & ALEXANDRA PATRIKIOUT

"An inherent sense of national compassion":

Greek Public Responses towards European Revolutionary Refugees, 1848-1852

The revolutionary fever of 1848-49, which swept much of continental Europe, seemingly did not find its equal in Greece. The model kingdom in-waiting did experience its fair share of local uprisings against the central government; however, the extent that these were linked to the 'opening of a new era' where 'reason took the place of respect and self interest the place of tradition' (A.J.P. Taylor, 1953), is arguably limited.

Reversing one of the conference's key themes (Europe and the Balkans), we propose to trace a set of public responses towards a number of European revolutionaries. Fleeing the 'battlefield', Italians, Hungarians and Poles (among others) crossed the Adriatic and sought shelter in the Greece of Otto, 'King by Grace of God'. Using Press accounts, contemporaneous publications and parliamentary and Senate proceedings, *inter alia*, our aim is to examine how representative agents and individuals of a nascent Balkan state 'perceived' these 'wretched refugees'; the material and moral assistance they offered them (and the reasons and motives for doing so, thereof); the narrative(s) they constructed to account for the people's abortive revolutions; the symbolic capital they made of the revolutionaries' 'universal' struggle by the people and for the people.

Our paper will also test the hypothesis that these responses were compelled by a sentiment of reciprocity towards "our brothers from Europe" following the "European solidarity" shown during the Greek War of Independence. Given that the offer of refuge to these "asylum seekers" was justified on the basis of the

Greek “national inherent” characteristics of “hospitality” and “compassion”, this hypothesis links the paper to another sub-theme of the conference, that of alternative forms of group identity.

DEFNE ÇIZAKÇA

Unintentional Revolutions: Turkish Nationalism and the Armenian Stage

On 1 April 1873, *Vatan Yahut Silistre* was staged at the Gedikpasa theatre in Istanbul. At the end of the nationalist play crowds took to the streets chanting the last words of the play, *muradimizi isteriz* or we want our Murat. The protesters burnt some buildings, shouted slogans against the present Sultan Abdul Aziz and called for a new ruler: the crown prince Murat. The staging of *Vatan Yahut Silistre* and the riot which followed played a considerable role in the dethronement of Sultan Abdul Aziz in 1876, which in its turn played an important role in the establishment of the first parliament of the Ottoman Empire, conceptualized by Sultan Murat the 5th who succeeded Sultan Abdul Aziz.

Vatan Yahut Silistre was written by the Turkish playwright Namik Kemal, and was staged by an Armenian director: Agop Vartovyan. The following paper tries to chart the political, cultural and historical circumstances that enabled an Armenian director to stage the first Turkish nationalist play Istanbul had seen, and the impact this theatrical piece had on the desire for reform.

Vartovyan was one of the last aesthetic exemplars of a fluid Ottoman identity. He grew up amongst the Armenian theatre community in Istanbul, became the director of the Gedikpasa theatre and was granted an exclusive authorization from the Ottoman Porte to stage plays in the Turkish language. What political sentiments and alternative loyalties led Vartovyan to choose a controversial Turkish nationalist play? How did the Armenian community react to his leadership and how did Vartovyan position himself within it? By answering these questions I hope to show the unusual role played by an Armenian citizen in constructing Turkish national identity, as well as highlighting the influence of art in complex political settings.

ADA DIALLA

Russia and the Balkans: the Case of Russian Volunteers in National Movements in the 1870s

The question Russia and the Balkans is hardly novel. A number of studies exist on the subject which examines this inter-relationship within the context of the Eastern Question, with emphasis on the role of Russia as a Great Power intervening in Balkan affairs. Soviet historiography has also dealt with the relations of the Russian revolutionary movement with the corresponding movements in the Balkan countries.

The aim of our presentation is to examine the circulation of such concepts as constitutionalism, nationalism, national liberation movements, political reform and revolution, not only from the European West towards ‘the periphery’, implying the diffusion from the center of world hegemony toward the non-hegemonic states and societies. It is aimed at highlighting a voyage with many stops and avenues taking into consideration interaction between the countries in the periphery of Western Europe. In the Balkan-Slavic milieu Russia could function as a vehicle of Western ideologies towards the Balkan south. But there was also another trajectory which needs to be examined: the one from the Balkan south to the Russian north. Entanglements and transfers involved concrete people. In this respect my case study will be the Russian Volunteers in the Balkan Region during the eastern crisis of 1875-1878.

EDHEM ELDEM

From the Chios Massacre to the “Unspeakable Turk”:

Ottoman Reactions to Western Accusations of Barbarism

For rather understandable reasons, questions of traumatic memory and remembrance in an Ottoman/Turkish context have mostly focused on the Armenian genocide during World War I. The scope and nature of the event itself, combined with the multilayered and still ongoing political struggle that has pitted Armenian claims and remembrance against Turkish denial and amnesia, explain that it should have acquired such prominence in scholarship. While there is no doubt that the genocide was an event

of truly unprecedented violence and proportion, it may be interesting to remember that it happened almost a century after the first modern massacre for which the Ottomans have been held responsible by western public opinion, namely the Chios massacre of 1822. In a century marked by secessionist and independence movements, the Ottoman state resorted several times to repressive and punitive measures which easily degenerated into all-out massacres. Some fifty years after Chios, Bulgaria became the scene of such events, leading to Carlyle's famous diatribe against the "unspeakable Turk" and to Gladstone's condemnation of Ottoman presence in Europe. The paper attempts to capture the ways in which the Ottoman elite looked back at these violent episodes up until the early years of the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, and to assess the tactics they developed in order to deal with the recurrent accusations of barbarism emanating from the West. Through the combined use of archival documents and historical texts, mostly designed for 'internal consumption,' one can try to read a wide variety of perceptions of past events, ranging from forgetfulness to denial, and from justification to acceptance. One can hope that this may contribute to a better understanding of the formation of a new discourse on systematic violence directed against civilian populations, caught in a tug of war between the requirements of an ever more demanding *raison d'État* and a rising consciousness of the emergence of an international moral order.

ELISABETH FRASER

Celebrating Empire in a Nationalist Mode: Louis Dupré in Ottoman Greece

French artist Louis Dupré's beautifully illustrated travel book, *Voyage à Athènes et Constantinople*, is a fascinating example of the contradictions in Western European understanding of Balkan revolts against Ottoman rule. Based on notes and drawings made during the artist's voyage in the Ottoman Empire in 1819, the book was produced in France from 1825 to 1839, after the outbreak of Greek insurrections in 1821, a popular cause in France. This contextual gap between the moment of travel and the moment of production accounts for the work's contradictory aspects. It is overtly philhellenic, taking the side of the Greek rebels in their conflict with the Ottomans, seeing in the insurgence a revival of ancient ideals and culture. Yet key aspects of the work, particularly its images, tug against and undermine its underlying turcophobia and, ultimately, its nationalist, essentialist message of Hellenic regeneration. Dupré's colorful plates are striking and even hauntingly memorable, arresting the viewer's attention. His close-up depiction of boldly posed figures introduces an ambiguity into his travel account that belies its ideological frame. In particular, the costume images, resembling Ottoman-produced costume albums, implicitly celebrate a notion of empire-as-diversity that contradicts Dupré's nationalist text. Showcasing multiplicity and codifying difference, the genre of the costume book was particularly well suited to the representation of Ottoman diversity. Dupré's images, too, put on display a dazzling array of Ottomans and their sheer variety invokes the wide reach of the Ottoman Empire: Tartare, Armenian, Albanian, Souliote, Mamluk, Turk, Moldavian, and Greek cohabit his pages. Dupré's philhellenic discourse jars with the cosmopolitan world of empire his book in fact reveals. Despite himself Dupré allows us to glimpse the eastern Mediterranean world before the formation of nations we now take for granted. In its contradictory representations, I argue, Dupré's work challenges us to complicate nationalist and teleological assumptions about Balkan revolutions.

THOMAS W. GALLANT

The Political Economy of Violence Before, During, and After the War of Independence

One of the supposed hallmarks of the modern state is its monopoly over legitimate violence. Beginning with the work of Max Weber, it has been argued that a critical element in modern state formation has been the state's ability to control and to organize who and in what circumstances violence can be legally deployed. A characteristic of the pre-modern state was the presence of multi-nodal sources of legal violence. As part of state formation, these alternative sources of violence were suppressed and, with few exceptions, only agents of the state, usually the police and the military, could wield violence legitimately. The police acted as the key institution of internal social control, while the military either defended the nation-state's boundaries or aggressively expanded them. This paper examines state building after the War of Independence in the Kingdom of Greece. I argue that during the Ottoman period there developed an institution I call military

entrepreneurship. This refers to men for whom violence was a way of life, if not an occupation. The paper then examines the role that these men played during and after the revolution. I argue that concomitant with the development of military entrepreneurship was the flourishing of a cultural ethos that privileged masculine aggressiveness and that fostered very high levels of interpersonal violence. After independence, there was a struggle over the political economy of violence between, on the one hand, the Greek state and its desire to monopolize legitimate violence and to change the culture of masculine aggression that produced it, and, on the other, its ongoing need to call on the services of military entrepreneurs, who formed the backbone of the irregular forces that played so critical a role in the history of Greece during the 19th century. The result of this struggle was that the Greek state was never able to effectively exert a monopoly over legitimate violence, and this had a profound impact on the historical development of the relationship between Greek citizens and the state.

GEORGE GIANNAKOPOULOS

H.N. Brailsford and the Macedonian Question

This paper proposal stems from my overall doctoral thesis on aspects of early twentieth British liberal thought on Central and South-Eastern Europe. It aims to account for H.N. Brailsford's understanding of the Macedonian Question as conveyed in his 1906 book on *Macedonia: Its Races and their Future* (London: Methuen). Throughout the first decade of the twentieth century Brailsford emerged in the Edwardian political scene as one of the foremost connoisseurs of the Balkans. He also played a key role in the creation of the Balkan committee in London in the aftermath of the Illinden uprising (1903). From 1897 to 1913 Brailsford made frequent visits to the region spending in total more than sixteen months in a variety of preoccupations: as a member of the Philhellenic legion in the Greco-Turkish war of 1897; as a foreign correspondent for sections of the British liberal press; as a representative of relief funds and humanitarian organizations; as an expert in fact-finding missions with respect to the causes of the Balkan wars. To that end, the main aspiration of this paper is to locate Brailsford's understanding of the Macedonian Question among the different patterns of perception of the Balkans and the diverging languages of Phil-Hellenism in early twentieth century Britain. This task is a first step towards a broader re-evaluation of his thinking on international affairs with particular focus on the questions of war and peace, autonomy/independence and national self-determination.

HANNES GRANDITS

Disintegrating States, Creating States: the Late/Post Ottoman Balkans in a Comparative Assessment

How do states and societies disintegrate? How do new states emerge? Are there any patterns that we can discern in the successive waves of state creation in the nineteenth century? What is the relationship between international norms and local societal conflicts? These questions will be at the core of this presentation aimed at bringing a wider comparative perspective to the changing territorial order in the Balkans. The presentation aims to illustrate the complexity of the process of state creation and the way the local and the universal interact in an increasingly globalising world in the nineteenth century.

NICOLE IMMIG

“Zito to Ethnos” – Participations of Muslims in Commemorations of the Greek Revolution

Studies on the Greek Revolution 1821 have shown that the protagonists and the people participating in the upheavals against the Ottoman Empire were by no means of one Greek monolithic ethnic or national group, but consisted of a variety of linguistic and ethnic, but also religious entities. These included e.g. ethnic Albanians or Vlachs and Albanian or Italian speaking revolutionaries of different religious denominations. As for non-orthodox, but Christian protagonists and populations, the incorporation into the new Greek nation-state after the revolutionary changes was intensively debated, but nevertheless made possible. This was less the case for Muslim populations living in the territories, which in the cause of the 19th and

the 20th century were incorporated into the Greek Kingdom. Concerning the Muslim population research has so far assumed that Muslims left the annexed territories either in the context of military confrontations and the retreat of the Ottoman military and administration or as a consequence of the following territorial and political changes. That is generally accepted concerning the Greek Revolution and the formation of the Greek State in 1821-1830, but is also stated for further territorial expansion e.g. the incorporation of Arta and Thessaly in 1881. Nonetheless research within the framework for my doctoral thesis has shown that here a great part of the Muslim Population preferred to remain in the region instead of emigrating to Asia Minor and to participate politically, socioeconomically as well as culturally on a local, regional and state level. This included the involvement and participation in national commemorations as well as festivities for the Greek Revolution, which are in the focus of this paper. The paper gives an insight into how the liberation of the “Ottoman Yoke” in 1821 were commemorated in regions which had just experienced their own “Revolution” by becoming a part of the Greek kingdom and illustrates by which means Muslim representatives took part in these commemorations.

MICHALIS KALIAKATSOS

The Ilinden Uprising through the Eyes of a Greek Diplomat: Ion Dragoumis on the Social Question and Pan-Slavism in Macedonia

The paper will be looking at the way in which Ion Dragoumis – a Greek diplomat in the Ottoman Empire and one of the most emblematic figures of Greek nationalism – responded to the social upheaval of the Slavic-speaking populations that led to the Ilinden uprising (1903). The aim will be to trace Dragoumis’ ideas concerning the causes, the character and the objectives of the Ilinden uprising and to examine the historical factors and the political and ideological principles which determined his views. The paper will also discuss Dragoumis’ observations with regard to the demographic, social and political conditions which favoured the increasing influence exerted by the revolutionaries upon the Slavic-speaking villagers of Macedonia. Both the complexity of the political situation in Macedonia and Dragoumis’ ‘Slavo-phobia’, a product of the ‘San-Stefano syndrome’ and of the dominant at the time direction of Greek nationalism, dictated most of the terms of his interpretation of the Ilinden uprising. As shown by a comparative reading of his texts, while he acknowledged the primarily social dimensions of the agrarian question in Macedonia as well as the genuine response of the revolutionary appeals among the socially and politically oppressed Slavic-speaking peasantry, Dragoumis denied the sincerity of the autonomist and liberational declarations of IMRO. He did not manage or did not wish to distinguish between the different trends within the Slavic movements in Macedonia and indiscriminately regarded these as being conducted under the auspices of Bulgarian expansionism and Pan-Slavism.

ANNA KARAKATSOULI

Liberal and National Insurgencies in Southeastern Europe: A Transnational Approach

On the aftermath of the Napoleonic wars a continuous rash of liberal-nationalist revolutions spread out from Spain (1820) to Naples and Sicily (1820), Piedmont and Greece (1821), Brazil (1822) and finally France and Belgium (1830). In a context of world crisis, political and ideological shock waves were passed backward and forward between the Old and the New World pushing into modernity peripheral societies such as the Spanish or the Greek one. Our aim is to explore the concept of “converging revolutions”, used by C.A. Bayly in his analysis of that succession of liberal and national insurrections, focusing on the similarities in the quasi simultaneous revolts around the Mediterranean. Irregular guerillas were long familiar in the Balkans in the case of Serbian frontier warfare since the end of the 18th century. In the 1820s contemporaries identified strong common features between the Spanish guerilla, the Italian Risorgimento and the Greek War of Independence. All three concerned asymmetric wars fought with unconventional means against tyranny and oppression. This paper intends to compare the cases of liberal insurrection in Southern Europe focusing on strategies adopted and plans drawn of a possible cooperation to regenerate the Mediterranean between rebels of different nationality but of shared love for freedom. It will also address cases of individuals circulating across the Mediterranean basin following the chronological succession of the insurrections and offering their services to another nation’s cause. This transnational movement of an informal “liberal International” finds its

expression in the Balkans through the Philhellenes, a motley crowd of freedom fighters that flowed in Greece transferring the “revolutionary recipe” of their experience in antecedent fronts of Southern Europe. Last but not least, this paper aims at setting the complex, often conflicting exchanges between locals and foreigners in the broader context of the political, social and intellectual history of the early nineteenth century.

KARL KASER

Balkan Revolutionaries on Images.

Changing Symbolism and Visual Representation (1804-1908)

Textual and visual representations differ significantly as soon as it comes to the question of various modes of perception, knowledge and identity production. The recent ‘Batak Affair’ in Bulgaria demonstrates the deep emotional dimensions of pictures that are related to national identity such as the brutal suppression of an uprising as well as a successfully completed revolution against Ottoman domination.

Having this in mind, my paper will investigate the changing symbolism and visual representation of Balkan revolutionaries from the early 19th century to the dawn of the First Visual Revolution provoked by the Balkan Wars 1912-13. A first comparative analysis of pictorial representations suggests the conclusion that the gradual substitution of painting by photography in the second half of the 19th century caused a visual secularization and de-nationalization of uprisings against the Ottoman Empire. Whereas ex post facto-painting as well as history painting offers the artist to symbolically furnish paintings with seemingly necessary ideological attributes, photography does not or cannot because the situations of creating painterly and photographic images are completely different.

First analysis shows that many group pictures of revolutionaries on paintings comprise an Orthodox priest and a national flag in central positions, indicating the ideological centrality of the Church and the nation in the motivation of revolutionaries. Most of the photographs of revolutionary bands are missing these elements. Instead, the leader of the rebellion is in the center of the picture, no symbols of Church and nation is visible. The question arises whether photographs or paintings show reality resp. the ‘true’ motivation of the revolutionaries. Did they fight for the liberation of Church and nation or for much narrower aims?

KOSTAS KATSAPIS

«Ode to Georgios Karaiskakis».

The Hero of the Greek Revolution in Dionysis Savvopoulos’ Music

In the last months of 1969 Dionysis Savvopoulos, already main representative of the protest song in Greece, releases his second album with the title *A Fool’s Garden*. The moment is very important. In Greece since April 1967 the democracy has been abolished by the Colonels, while the western world is dominated by youth revolts, the antiwar movement and the counter culture. Under these circumstances, Savvopoulos released in 1969 his second album. Already, in his first LP- the famous *The Van* (1966) - social and political conditions (as the student movement or the struggles for democracy) are present in the work of the songwriter. The same is happening in the *Fool’s Garden*, given the fact that May of ’68 or hippism constitute a social context that is easily found in the songs of the album. The last of these songs is perhaps the most interesting. Its title is “Ode to Georgios Karaiskakis”, but it is certain that Savvopoulos chooses the hero of the Greek Revolution, as an attempt to escape from the junta’s censorship. There are at least three versions about the person that is “hiding” behind the invocation of Karaiskakis: one version wants the song to refer to the Argentine revolutionary Che Guevara, a global symbol of youth. The second version wants Karaiskakis to be an allegory of Alekos Panagoulis, and there is also a third scenario according to which Savvopoulos writes a song and dedicates it to the tragic figure of Kostas Georgakis. The question posed by this paper is why Savvopoulos uses a Greek Revolution’s hero to refer to a contemporary symbol of youth. We believe that if we want to understand Savvopoulos’ choice, we have to place it among his broader effort to give a new meaning to the Greek Tradition, which together with the Folk Song (Demotiko Tragoudi) and a specific interpretation of the Revolution of 1821 was the main pillar of the suggested by the Colonels ideology.

Towards the Historiography of the Greek Revolution: From a Contemporary Historiographical Narration to a Critical Historical Approach of Today

The aim of this paper is to discuss the evolution of the historiographical approach of the Greek Revolution from the era of its outbreak until our times. Political texts on the preparation and during the outbreak of the Revolution, as well as texts of the memoirs of the Revolutionaries, politicians, intellectuals as well as of the first historiographical approach after the end of the Revolution by Greeks and foreigners (European politicians, travelers, Philhellenes) will be compared with the evolution of the historiographical approach during the years to come. *Revolt/ Rebellion/, Revolution/Επανάσταση, Greek War of Independence/Ο Αγώνας για την Ανεξαρτησία* will be the terms around which our discussion will be concentrated: The Revolution as the 'last act' of the 'regenerated Greece'/ the Revolution as a contemporary fact/event, the Revolution as a case of the Eastern Question/ as War of Independence, Revolution/ Rebellion/Revolt-Uprising/*Aufstand*, National War of Independence / Social-class struggle phenomenon / European event / Capital modern completed Revolution/ the Greek Revolution among the other ones in South-eastern Europe. It will be discussed in the framework of the classicism, romanticism, in the aspect of a scientific historical approach and in any case in the framework of Nationalism as an ideology.

VANGELIS KECHRIOTIS

Between the New and the Old:

Breaking with the Past in the Balkan States and the Ottoman Empire during the Long 19th c.

Accounts regarding the transition from the traditional Empires to the modern nation state, often disregard the fact that the two forms of state-building have coexisted for long years. This is also the case with respect to the Ottoman Empire and the Balkan states. Since the emergence of the first nation-states in the region in 1830 until the final dissolution of the Empire, long years of interaction and mutual influence have given shape to policies and practices with a hybrid character. The nation-states retained much of the imperial heritage despite their effort to break away from it, while the Empire, in order to defend itself against separatist movements and imperialist incursions wished to transform itself to a national state, imitating the attitudes of neighboring states, claiming thus an imperial authority of a colonial type. Moreover, the transition from the Empire to the nation was not a smooth one, as various interim regimes, mostly in the form of autonomous principalities, were introduced to safeguard each time the delicate power balance. Similarly to what we assess for Ottoman Studies, in Balkan studies, a picture of the local societies was drawn as emerging through a promethean clash between the old and the new, the pre-modern and the modern, the nation-state and the Empire. This paper will draw comparisons between Greece, the Ottoman Empire and the short-lived autonomous principalities with a Greek-Orthodox majority, Crete and Samos in terms of the narratives they used to describe transformation and the break with the past in order to shed light to this neglected aspect of interaction.

NEKTARIA G. KLAPAKI

The (Male) Cult of the (Female) Nation: Female Bodies, the Greek War of Independence and the Secular Religion of Greek Nationalism

Drawing on Anthony Smith's theory of ethnosymbolism as well as on theories of functional equivalents of religion, and building upon the recent re-evaluation on the relationship between religion and modern Greek nationalism in Greek historiography, this paper examines how nineteenth-century Greek literature, inspired by the Greek War of Independence, participates in the displacement of religious elements by modern Greek nationalism in modern secular contexts, whilst creating a new secular mythology. Focusing on the case of Solomos, the paper specifically argues that the secular religion of modern Greek nationalism his poetry programmatically serves, requires not only the appropriation of old 'sacred' myths, religious motifs and symbols and their displacement in secular contexts for secular purposes, but also the creation of a new secular mythology through the invention of modern, secular deities. Solomos' poetry meets this

twofold condition by reviving the ancient Greek deities, and by personifying and deifying composite female figures, abstract concepts and patriotic values. Thus, the Olympian gods and the Muses inhabit the same sphere with modern secular goddesses, such as Liberty, Glory and Victory, and appear in the context of the Greek War of Independence to inspire, mobilize and assist the insurgent Greeks. Further considering the gendered dimension of the symbols of the new religion, the paper suggests that the secular religion of Greek nationalism requires the use of female bodies precisely because the latter function as the object of (political) desire of the male Greek warriors, who are called to take up arms in order to liberate the enslaved (female) Greek nation from an Oriental despot. Thus, an act of (political) desire attracts and also binds the male patriotic subject to the feminized object of the Greek nation. Last, Solomos' use of the female bodies of Liberty, Glory and Victory to represent the enslaved Greek nation is compared with the usages of female allegories of Liberty, Justice and the Republic in Revolutionary France, and the love for *La Patrie* these female allegories were meant to inspire in the male French republicans.

TASOS KOSTOPOULOS

Organizing the Womenfolk for the Cause:

Gender Issues in the Macedonian Revolutionary Movements, 1893-1908

Between 1893 and 1908, the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) dominated politically the Slav-speaking Macedonian hinterland, its activities culminating in the abortive 1903 Ilinden Uprising only to degenerate later into a multitude of factions fighting between themselves while trying to promote a variety of national and/or social agendas. Blending the heterogeneous ingredients of nationalist, populist, socialist or anarchist/"direct action" ideological inputs with "a spirit of local Macedonian patriotism", as H.N. Brailsford put it at the time, IMRO was not restricted to a terrorist agenda imposed on a reluctant or politically amorphous mass base, as some conservative analysts have tried to assert. Its main novelty was the development of a new pattern of social mobilization, representing an intermediate link between the traditional conspiracy mechanisms of early Balkan nationalism and the mass "party of a new type" developed during of the 20th century by various national liberation movements around the world.

Some parts of IMRO's social structure, such as the role of the intellectuals or the actual degree of peasant participation in it, have already been discussed by historians and political scientists, although usually in a rather superfluous and ideologically biased way. The mobilization of women into this movement has on the contrary been neglected up to now. Due mainly to the archaisms still dominating the Balkan national historiographies on the Macedonian Question and to the equally stereotypic perceptions visible in the treatment of this same question by imperial discourse, this neglect contradicts with the abundance of information contained in primary sources about the internal IMRO discussion on the role assigned to women in the liberation struggle, the actual implication of women in day-to-day revolutionary activity or the organization's agenda on "public morality" which was intrinsically linked to the female social conduct. Based mostly on personal memoirs and primary documents, this paper will examine all the above questions, providing also a short comparison with the respective "women policies" of the organization's rivals.

IOANNIS KOUBOURLIS

Liberal and Historicist Views of the Greek War of Independence:

the European Contribution towards the Formation of the Greek National Narrative

The Greek Revolution of 1821 became an important reference point for Great European Intellectual movements during the first half of the 19th century. What European scholars of the period identified in the Greek uprising, was not just that it was a major political challenge – which of course concerned the applicability of liberal ideas to the foundations of a fundamentally new state – but also that it brought prominent theoretical issues to the forefront, such as how the Greeks survived under the Ottoman Empire as a separate nation and also what the historian ought to trace in the historical past of nations that had been conquered and consequently do not have "proven written records" for the entire course of their history.

Various answers given by representatives of the so called French “generation of the 1820s”, of British liberalism and of German historicism – according to a more or less schematic division into sub-trends – dominated in the philhellenic intellectual circles at the time, and in doing so showed the way for Greek scholars in subsequent years to produce their own historiographical narrative about the history of their nation.

The focus here will be on the critical analysis of liberal and historicist approaches regarding the Greek revolution and the creation of the Greek state. Our purpose is on the one hand to highlight European contribution in the shaping of Greek national narrative and on the other hand the comparison of this narrative to alternative narratives of Greek national history which were created during the Greek War of independence (1821-1832).

CHRISTINA KOULOURI

A ‘Frustrated Revolution’: the Greek Revolt for the Constitution, 3 September 1843

On 3 September 1843, military and political forces proclaimed a coup against the King of Greece Otto I, demanding representative and constitutional government. Otto, who was ruling as an absolutist monarch, was obliged to concede and convene a constitutional assembly. The 3rd September was immediately established as a national holiday in parallel with the 25th March, which commemorated the Greek War of Independence (since 1838). At the symbolic level, the two dates were connected as the two faces of the same Revolution.

Actually, the Greek War of Independence was considered both by its protagonists and its immediate heirs as ‘unfinished’ at both the national and the political level. At the national level, the irredentist Megali Idea was aspiring to accomplish the task left unsettled in 1830 with the creation of the ‘small’ independent Greek state. At the political level, the Revolution would be integrated by voting a constitution, inspired by the liberal constitutions voted by the revolutionary national assemblies, which would limit the monarch’s power. Despite the temporary success of the 3rd September revolt, Otto finally sought to perpetuate an absolutist rule; another revolt would oblige him to abdicate in 1862. This was also when the national holiday of the 3rd September ceased to be celebrated.

This paper intends to investigate a revolt inspired by political liberalism (and nationalism) some years before the European Revolutions of 1848, which remains largely unexplored. Up to now, historical research has focused mainly on the events of the revolt in the context of the Greek party system, the intervention of the so called Great Powers and the political agenda of King Otto. In our paper, we will analyse the 3rd September revolt as an eventual political integration of the Greek Revolution taking into account the development of a public sphere in Greece, the democratization of politics and constitutionalism, the emergence of new social subjects like students and the military, and the tension between a foreign dynasty conceiving Greek people as ‘subjects’ and the local nation-minded elites who wanted to be ‘citizens’.

LINA LOUVI

Irredentist Unrest and Anti-Western Attitudes in Greece during the Crimean War

Even before the outbreak of the 1853 Russian-Turkish war, which culminated in a major European conflict, there had already been clashes at the Greek-Ottoman borders. In Athens, there was a “Megali Idea” fever and the press was inciting Greeks to re-conquer Constantinople, 400 years after its fall. A bit later, in Epirus, Thessaly and Macedonia, volunteer armed groups from Greece, in cooperation with local leaders, were calling for a revolution. The uprising of Greeks during the Crimean war was one of the first manifestations of defiance towards the decisions and wishes of the Great powers. But the prospect of the Megali Idea triggered such an enthusiasm, that Europe had to dictate to the Greek Kingdom, in a violent and humiliating manner, to withdraw its army from the borders.

This paper examines the political and ideological viewpoints of an important segment of Greek public opinion, as expressed or reflected in the press of the time, concerning Europe and its alleged responsibility for the failure of these irredentist movements. The policies of European nations towards Greece, during this major crisis of the Eastern Question, compromised the pro-European attitudes and contributed to the development of a new ideology (already there, but latent), which turned its back to the West and was dominated by the orthodox-byzantine identity.

NIKI MARONITI

**Military “Conspiracies”, Reform and Revolutions “Plans” in the Greek
Public Discourse during the Years 1880-1909**

This paper focuses on the various, many-faceted ways in which different political and social subjects in Greece comprehend and interpret military “conspiracies”, reform and revolution “plans” taking place in the neighbouring area of Balkans, as well as in the broader context of Europe or “civilized” West. Also to examine how these interpretations influence and redefine their own perspectives on similar military interventions or social/political movements taking place in Greece during the same “transitional” period. More specifically, the aim of the paper is to study different kinds of texts (for example, articles and “campaigns” in newspapers and periodicals, proceedings of the Greek Parliament, brochures, literature pieces) and try to clarify how general notions (as reform, revolution, movements, uprising, conspiracy, violence, social groups/classes, elites, people, power, autocracy, etc.) have been analyzed in different political and cultural contexts, acquired alternative meanings and potentially legitimized different discourses and practices on behalf of political and social hegemonic /power groupings.

JOHN A. MAZIS

**Ion Dragoumis, Diplomat and Participant in Greece’s Irredentist Quest:
Official Position vs. Private Agenda**

The first decade of the 20th century represents a dynamic time for Balkan nationalism. During that period of time the struggle for Macedonia brought about conflict between Balkan peoples and the Ottoman Empire as well as conflict between competing national interests. It is also the time of the Young Turk Revolt when cooperation between the Ottoman state and many of its non-Muslim, non-Turkic people seemed (for a brief period of time) possible.

In my paper I will examine the work of the Greek intellectual, writer, and diplomat Ion Dragoumis. While serving in diplomatic posts in Monastir, Deadeagach and Istanbul Dragoumis chose to ignore the instructions of his government and instead pursued his own policies which he thought were better suited to achieve Greece’s irredentist goals.

I believe my paper is a good fit for this conference as it deals with a number of the points you highlight in the conference overview; it addresses point b. *People*, as it examines the work of a well-known and controversial protagonist of the events under examination. It also deals with points g. *Europe and the Balkans* and h. *Tradition, Modernization and Reform*. What I will prove is that 1) The various national centers (in this case Athens) were not always in firm control of their agents, 2) Those agents (in this case Dragoumis) at times changed their thinking and strategies not only as a result of developments on the ground but also as a result of diplomatic changes in Europe and political reform movements (such as that of the Young Turks).

MICHALIS N. MICHAEL

**Violence and Political Power in a Changing Empire:
A New Interpretation of the 1821 Executions in Cyprus**

The 9th of July of 1821 in Ottoman Cyprus was the day when many Orthodox, amongst which the high clergy of the Church of Cyprus were executed in Nicosia as a result of müselliim Mehmed Silâhşor’s (known as Küçük Mehmed) actions. These events have been and still are among the most important reference points for the Ottoman period of the history of Cyprus (1571-1878). Until today, the events of July 1821 have been used to create a framework for analysing and interpreting the entire Ottoman period of the history of Cyprus. In the majority of Greek history texts, these events are analysed within the framework of nationalistic historiography without extending the analysis to include the Ottoman structure that existed in the period before the Tanzimat reforms, that is, the first decades of the nineteenth century. Traditional historiography tends to link the high clergy of Cyprus and, more specifically, Archbishop Kyprianos (1810-1821) to the activities of Filiki Eteria and the Greek Struggle of Independence. As a highly ideological con-

struction, traditional historiography tries to create and demonstrate a growing movement to overthrow the Ottoman framework that existed on the island, a view expressed mainly by the high clergy of Cyprus. The events of 1821 and the historiography that followed -and still continues - present the Church of Cyprus as a 'national institution' that always represented an 'existent nation'. However, despite the nationalistic framework in which these events are studied by the traditional historiography in an effort to analyse and interpret them, a basic contradiction is noted. While these are presented as part of the Ottoman reaction to the transfer of the Greek Struggle of Independence to Cyprus by the Cypriots and while the high clergy of the Church is included among those who wanted to overthrow the Ottoman power (traditional historiography always refers to Kyprianos as ethnomartyr), the injustice of the massive executions is also emphasized. The same historiography notes that the Cypriot high clergy and other prominent figures were never actually involved in activities against the Ottoman state and never tried to include the island in the Greek Struggle of Independence. This paper based on archival sources (Ottoman and others) tries to show the contradictions of the traditional historiography and argues that the events of 1821 are more connected to an Ottoman reality in Cyprus as well as in other areas of the empire at the beginning of the 19th century and less with the Greek Struggle of Independence. This has to do with the emergence of a new status quo, especially in areas with an increased Orthodox population such as Cyprus where the local Orthodox power integrated into the Ottoman framework, expressing the Ottoman character of the area with its existence and undermining to some degree the Muslim administrative elite. At the same time, the appearance of an Orthodox administrative elite is accompanied by the activities of an Ottoman-Orthodox class of wealthy people (merchants, educated and active within their community), which appears to create a framework of economic dominance in the area by a non-Muslim group of people.

ILEANA MORONI

The Young Turk Revolution: A National Revolution?

A lot of controversy surrounds the 1908 Young Turk revolution. Even though it is accepted today that Ottoman history does not constitute an "exception" (as it was once thought), the Young Turk revolution is still generally viewed as a *sui generis* event, not fitting in any of the models developed by social scientists. It is indeed difficult to assess to which extent it actually mobilized large segments of Ottoman society and whether or not it brought about radical change; for this reason, there is even controversy on whether it is a "real" revolution or simply a *coup d'état*.

This paper will be offering a reappraisal of the Young Turk revolution, placing it in the general discussion on revolutions. I argue that change brought about by the Young Turk revolution is indeed radical, at least on one level, that of political structure: thanks to the revolution, *from 1908 onwards political power in the Ottoman Empire is legitimized in the name of the nation*. First, I will show why this is a radical change, and how it is brought about: who carries out the revolution, and how the élites that emerge from the revolution create this new legitimating ideology – which ensures that they become a *national élite*, autonomous from the "traditional" power that was structured around the sultan. Then, I will show what this means for subsequent developments in the Ottoman Empire and, later, in the Turkish republic; indeed, I will suggest that it is possible to read modern Turkish history as the history of a revolution that started in 1908 and is yet to be completed.

MIRELA-LUMINIȚA MURGESCU

"At the Crossroads of Major Storms" or "Mărgelatu Series".

The Romanian Communist Cinema and the 1848 Revolution

The paper focuses on way the Romanian Communist Cinema displayed the 1848 Revolution: the topics, the main characters, the main events, the cinematic discourse about the 1848 Revolution compared with the official texts. We will analyze especially the commercial and popular success series known as "Mărgelatu Movies" (action movies set during the pre-1848 Wallachia, focusing on the adventures of the rebellious gun-man Mărgelatu (6 movies – 1980-1987).

DILEK ÖZKAN

Were the 1854 Uprisings of Epirus and Thessaly Nationalist?

An Ottoman Perspective to Re-Consider the Nature of the Events

It is known that the Ottoman-Russian conflict on Crimea moved to a war in 1853-1856. While the Russia was defeated as a result of European support, it generated several important developments in the Ottoman history. Meanwhile, a large rebellion in Ottoman provinces Epirus and Thessaly rose up during the war. Many historians commented and interpreted the events as an organized intervention of the Greek government due to the pro-Russian policy of the Greek authorities. Indeed, the Greek government and the Greek newspapers had an impetus behind the rebellion to head up. Military arches, political parties and press in Greece commented on the unrest claiming that it is an evidence of popular discontent and began to talk about seizing measures to occupy frontier provinces. In fact, the border guards who had posts as irregular troops had a significant role to get the uprisings start up. Most of them had close ties with the illegitimate economy of the region and in the course of the events together with bandit bands they began to attack both Muslim and Christian homes, robbing and causing bigger damage to the whole region. This situation led many historians to disregard the nationalistic side of the uprising but to focus on the economic and idiosyncratic motives of the protagonists.

However, Ottoman approach to these events was not conducted sufficiently by scholars until now and the present paper aims to undertake it. Therefore, applying to Ottoman archival documents, it aims to perceive the nature of the events better. More specifically through reports of the Mehmet Fuat Paşa who was assigned to the region by the Porte to suppress the uprisings, we could get the information day by day how the Ottoman troops suppress an uprising using different means of methods. These reports also include some pro-nationalist propaganda leaflets and booklets written in Greek, caught from the revolutionists, which reveals hints insights on the nature of the uprising. By this way, the paper at hand except giving portrait of an uprising which expanded relatively long time, will re-consider established theories about the uprisings and discuss the role of different actors both from part of state and society.

DESPINA P. PAPADOPOULOU

Balkan Antagonisms in France at the Beginning of the 20th Century:

the Role of the Greek National Society Ellinismos

Our research intends to investigate the action of the Greek national society Ellinismos in France at the beginning of the 20th century, in the context of the rising Balkan nationalisms and of the Macedonian Struggle in particular.

At the initiative of its president, the Greek professor Neoklis Kazazis, the branch of the society published the journal «L'Hellénisme» in Paris from 1904 until 1912. A year later, the members of the society founded in France an international league, the "Ligue pour la défense des droits de l'hellénisme" in order to defend the rights of the Greeks who lived within the Ottoman Empire. Several well-known French politicians and scholars participated in the activities of the philhellenic league which included the organization of lectures and the publication of articles in French newspapers.

We aim to focus on questions that explore:

- the action of the society in France during the Macedonian Struggle
- the political agenda that derives from the lectures and the articles
- the impact of the initiatives of the members of the society on public opinion in France and in Greece
- the political conditions that permitted the emergence of such philhellenic movements in the French context
- the attitude of the Greek state towards the mobilization of political and cultural elites on its behalf
- the social characteristics of both French and Greek members of the society

We propose to consult several types of primary and secondary sources in the course of our research, such as the articles included in the journal «L'Hellénisme», the statute of the "Ligue pour la défense des droits de l'hellénisme" and the list of its members, the reports of Greek ambassadors in France, articles about the league included in Greek and French press and published lectures of the members of the league.

A Montenegrin Chieftain at the Service of the Ottoman Empire,

the Greek Revolution and the Kingdom of Greece: Vasos Mavrovouniotes (Vasa Brajović)

The paper follows the life of Vasos Mavrovouniotes, one of the most interesting and characteristic figures of the Greek Revolution. The fugitive of Montenegro and Asia Minor managed to adapt himself in the best way possible to the country that he chose as his new homeland, and to become a leading figure with high influence both in the military and in the political arena. Vasos forms part of that small group of Balkan irregular military men, who, without being a member of the traditional Christian elite of professional soldiers (*martolos*) of the Ottoman period, managed to join himself in the new military and political elites that emerged from the Greek struggle for national independence, offering his services to the new powerful agent on the southern end of the Balkan Peninsula: the Greek revolutionary administration.

Mavrovouniotes, served the Greek revolutionary government and King Otto's regime, and those in turn favoured and endowed him with high military grades and honours, upgraded him, and enabled him to acquire an appreciable political, social and economic standing. The Mavrovouniotes household constitutes a typical family example, of an emerging social group which managed to join, survive and thrive in the newly established Greek Kingdom because of its capacity to adapt to the new post-revolutionary reality.

AKIS PAPATAXIARCHIS

The Making of Irredentism from Below:

Tax Revolts and the Unfinished Project of the Greek 'Revolution'

During the two decades that followed the Greek revolution Ottoman society was thriven by uprisings of various kinds and magnitudes, particularly at its Christian margins – uprisings ranging from minor disturbances in the Aegean islands to the Cretan 'Revolution' of 1843. This was a period of flux and semantic confusion. As the empire struggled to survive a succession of crises, its Christian (but sometimes also the Muslim populations) exploited the possibilities opened by early Tanzimat reforms to pursue various projects: to protest against ayan authority or to react to injustices in the administration of taxes. These revolts often took the form of factional strife between different segments of the same ethno-religious group or between different sections of the elite. They were fostered by a combination of factors: the reform of the institutional framework that regulated tax collection and municipal organization, the socio-economic rearrangements brought by the opening of the Ottoman economy and, most important, the formation of an inter-state, trans-national, Greek speaking public in the context of which new opportunities for the circulation of ideas and the articulation of political protest were offered. Yet, these uprisings, classified under various rubrics (as tarachi/disturbance, ihtilal/stasis/insurrection, *exergesi*/revolt or *epanastasi*/revolution), often remained 'unnoticed' by local and national historiographies since they contradicted the official canon of the harmonious national 'community'.

In this paper I will analyze from a microhistorical perspective such an event, a 'tax revolt' that took place in Ayvalik/ Kydonies in 1842 -three years after the promulgation of the *batt-ı şerif* in 1839 and the application of the new Municipality Law in 1840 and one year before the September Revolution- in order to investigate the dynamics of irredentism. More particularly, following a research tradition initiated by François Furet and Keith Baker in the study of French Revolution, I want to address a set of questions that involve the use of the 'Greek Revolution' as a trope. How did the 'agonistic' perspective in the Kingdom culturally appropriate these instances of social unrest in the Empire? How did these uprisings at the 'lower' level of politics feed the irredentist project at the upper level? How did this minor revolt in Ayvalik become part of the imaginary *topos* of the 'Revolution' as an unfinished project?

In considering the interaction between the national revolution, the local revolt and the irredentist project, I will argue that the Ayvalik uprising –as much as other revolts that took place in urbanities with strong Christian Greek speaking conglomerations- shaped, as much as it was shaped by, the early dynamic of Greek irredentism. In contrast to other uprisings and disturbances among Christian or Muslim populations in the

Anatolian or other Balkan frontier zones of the Empire, in the Ayvalik case the existence of the young Kingdom and a sizeable diaspora of exiled Kydoniates made the difference. The Hellenic Kingdom was a point of reference in the elaboration of the insurgents' strategies and in the ideological framing of their mobilization. Yet, on the other hand, the political mobilization of the reayas and its extrapolation in the inter-state, Greek speaking public –and particularly its management by the Greek press at the advent of the September Revolution– contributed in the making of the irredentist project 'from below' and the eventual formulation of Megali Idea. In this regard revolts of this kind offer us the inside, informal story of Greek irredentism.

KATERINA PAPANATHANAS

Greece, Ottoman Empire, and Balkan Nationalism under the Western Magnifying Glass

This paper takes a comparative approach by looking at the literary-historical processes of the construction of Greek national identity inside the seething "cauldron" of Balkan nationalism through the screening of correspondences, contributions in the western periodical press of Greek Diaspora, European diplomats' and travellers' accounts (in Greece and Empire Ottoman), literary and philological works. The examination involves also the interesting iconography related to the Greek war of Independence in relation with the Ottoman Empire in the Western periodical press.

ILYA PLATOV

The Ambiguities of «Liberation»: Russian Public Opinion and the Eastern Crisis, 1875-1878

An unprecedented mass mobilization in favor of the Slavs has occurred in Russia during the Eastern Crisis of 1875-1878. At the very core of this mobilization, there is a set of representations forming a "myth of the Slavic crusade": the liberation of the Orthodox Slavs of the Balkans from the Turkish yoke, leading also to moral and spiritual regeneration of the Russian people. This myth is a complex and heterogeneous coexistence of images and ideas, characteristic of a society caught between tradition and modernity. According to an incisive observation of the French historian Alphonse Dupront, it is characterized by an ideological *chiaroscuro*, where "the Christian liberation is the traditional language, valid for all; the liberation of nationalities is the modern language which takes its origin in the universalism of the revolutionaries; liberal, this language celebrates diversity while at the same time scrupulously maintains the fiction of a common 'Europeanization.'" According to the famous populist publicist Nikolay Mikhailovsky, it is the only issue that was capable to generate a widespread unanimity among different representatives of the political spectrum. Revolutionaries such as Nikolay Ogarev and reactionary publicists such as Mikhail Katkov found themselves in agreement for the only time in their lives. Yet "liberation" proved to be a slogan full of ambiguities, and the unanimity of 1875-1876 will begin to fizzle in 1877-1878 when the Russian state will decide in its turn to endorse this mission of liberation. My paper will explore the various meanings of "liberation" and in the public discourse of this era on the basis of the press, imagery and the writings of Russian volunteers in Serbia of this period.

KOSTIS PLEVRIS

The Transformations of the Balkans' Ottoman Space: Revolutions and Counter-Revolutions inside the City

Speaking about revolutionary movements in the Balkans, we shouldn't ignore the transformations that the revolutions imposed on the built space, as well as the new symbolisms inside space and the everyday life that modernity altered. Revolutions are *social* events and discontinuities inside history. Therefore, their political project should be interpreted in their social totality and not in a narrow sense. What can we learn from this approach is that the Balkan Revolutions, starting from the Serbian uprisings and ending to the building of the Albanian state, transformed social identities and everyday life of the Ottoman Balkan space. If we seek older ways of the organization of everyday life we can find spatial expressions related to different social relations, such as: "a plot of land of an area of 100 okades of wheat" or "a plot of land of an area up to where the throw of a stone reached". We will bring

more similar examples in order to conclude that the modern concepts of space (the absolute point or the concept of the Newtonian relative distance), cannot be assumed prior to the social relations that brought them into existence. The Balkan Peninsula had been penetrated by powerful ideologies (symbolic representations) formed by the modernist narratives of the 19th and 20th century. Nationalism tore previous representations of a common Ottoman space apart. Evolutionism and taxonomy rendered impossible to use currents of thought that did not possess a core of a particular causal logic, quite alien to the Ottoman conception of spacetime.

A new urban form was also produced by the revolutions. Looking at the national capitals we can see the new context of the built environment, but also, the organization of space in order to hinder social upheavals. Right next to this space rest the remnants of another everyday life; people that participated in the revolutions massively and spontaneously, see before them also in space, another social equity than the one the revolutions originally projected. Inside the capitals there took place a revolutionary transformation of space and a counter-revolutionary protection of that space. The urban lens is necessary to fully interpret the revolutions in the Balkans.

ROUMIANA PRESHLENOVA

A Common Muslim-Christian Revolt in the Balkans?

The Boycott Movement during the Bosnia Crisis in 1908-1909

The annexation of the former Ottoman province by Austria-Hungary in 1908 caused the well known Bosnia Crisis of 1908-09. The resulting problems were subject to confidential diplomatic negotiations while the visible part of the conflict impressively occurred in the public sphere. A non-violent, but impressive boycott of Austro-Hungarian goods and ships started in the main ports of the Ottoman Empire, and spread over Serbia, Montenegro, and some non-European Muslim countries. Similar actions were planned in Romania as well. This was a new form of revolt in the Balkans that united Muslims and Christians in their reactions toward foreign intervention in the region and brought to the forefront the issue of legitimacy of international treaties imposed by the European Great Powers. Direct German and Russian intervention allowed the crisis to be settled – Austria-Hungary had to pay for the 600.000 annexed Muslims, and Bulgaria had to compensate Constantinople for the declared independence. Ironically, the main enemies in the crisis, Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria, on the one hand, and the Ottoman Empire, on the other, proved allies only few years later in WWI. The obscene deal between the Ottoman, Habsburg, German, and Russian Empires pressed modern nationalism in an unprecedented way, especially in Serbia.

The proposed paper will focus on ethnic and religious nationalism at the end of the long nineteenth century, on the instruments of mobilizing public opinion, on implications related to aggressors and colonialism in the Balkans.

STEFAN ROHDEWALD

Saints as Weapons: Figures of Religious National Memory and the Imagination of the Nation in Uprisings and Wars in the Ottoman Empire during the 19th Century

The practices and discourses of veneration of lieux de mémoire as Saint Sava, Cyril and Methodius, the Kosovo Myth and Kliment Ohridski changed during the 19th century significantly. Within the framework of the making of Serbian and Bulgarian national movements, they became, step by step, important crystallisation points for the definition of national identities or visions of progressive national modernity and a common future, although initially their traditional veneration was – in the cases of Cyril and Methodius – to a great degree Slavonic, or transnational. One can distinguish more or less clearly a *secularisation* of the saints in the 19th century, within the context of historicism and nationalism and only in some texts a *sacralisation* of nationalism. During uprisings, revolutions and wars, these discourses became a means for the mobilization of the imagined nation: They were used to legitimize territorial claims and military action, in the case of Saint Kliment in 1886 „terroristic” action, against vilified neighbours with religious fervour and nationalized historic narratives. The imagination of continuous national histories and territories by shaping the remembrance of national Saints served to delegitimize the

Ottoman Empire in Europe and to establish the narrative about a foreign „Turkish yoke“ in the modern and revolutionary sense of „Fremdherrschaft“, as developed in the German territories against Napoleonic rule (Christian Koller). The paper tries to put these regional (post-) Ottoman discourses into a shared European context.

KORINNA SCHÖNHÄRL

The Swiss banker and the Greek revolution:

Jean-Gabriel Eynard and the Loan of Independence of 1825

Why are financiers and bankers willing to invest money in revolutionary movements, when the outcome of the conflict is not yet clear? The Swiss banker Jean-Gabriel Eynard, whose papers kept in Geneva archives are extremely rich, and his activities for Greece in the 1820s are an excellent case-study which can provide us with answers to this question. After the Greeks had started their struggle for independence in 1821, it soon became apparent that their own funds were not sufficient. The Provisional Government started looking for money on the international capital market in London. In 1824, a first loan was issued via the Greek London Committee. But only a tiny amount of money really reached the insurgents. So in 1825, the Greeks tried to get a second loan on the capital markets in London and Paris, and the Swiss banker Eynard organized a syndicate for a Greek loan in Paris. Although the Greeks finally chose a competitor's offer from London, the French initiative showed the confidence of French financial and political elites in the Greek struggle for independence and was thus of highly symbolic value. For Eynard, this proved to be the starting point for his commitment to the Greek state, which was to last 40 years and which he continued against all political and financial odds. But why was Eynard, who was not an avowed Philhellene in the early 1820s, willing to support the insurgents with financial assistance? This paper analyzes the reasons for his relief actions for Greece in 1825 and afterwards and focuses on his political beliefs and business conduct. Especially his diaries and letters since 1814 can give us an insight into his intellectual world and explain his conversion to Philhellenism.

PINAR ŞENŞİK

Violence Revisited: The Cretan Revolt of 1896

The aim of the present paper is to understand the complex and dynamic relations between Muslim and Christian communities of Ottoman Crete. Late nineteenth-century Ottoman Crete witnessed profound socio-economic and political transformations and changing practices. Within this context, negotiations and conflicts in Ottoman Crete is well worth considering, not only for understanding the internal dynamics of Crete but for the larger themes of Eastern Mediterranean region as a place where Christianity, Islam, ancient regimes and nation-states interacted and intersected throughout human history.

This paper seeks to provide a profile of the so-called “nationalist liberation struggle” of Cretan Christians in 1896 and attempts to analyze how those people were politicized and nationalized, and why they were engaged in rebellious activities. The standard argument focused on the union of Crete with Greece (*enosis éνωσις*) and interpreted it as the absolute political and national aim of the Christian insurgents and the major reason for the Cretan revolt. Indeed, this paper argues that Cretan Christians aimed to change the political, economic and social structure of the Cretan society and to seize power by overthrowing the Ottoman administration and forcing the evacuation of the Ottoman troops from the island. The Cretan revolt of 1896 provided important insights into the consolidation of the Cretan Christians and the exclusion of the Cretan Muslims. In a way, it illustrates how exclusion and violence drew certain boundaries between the Orthodox Christian and Muslim communities of the island. Cretan Christians voiced their own demands, such as the nomination of a Christian governor, the restoration of the Halepa Convention, and finally the withdrawal of Ottoman forces from the island. Furthermore, the Cretan revolt of 1896 acted as important means to integrate most of the Christian inhabitants of Ottoman Crete and created the sense of ‘differences’ between the Muslim and Christian communities.

ALEXANDRA SFOINI

“Loyaume” and “Nomarchia”: Key Words of the French Revolution in the Greek Vocabulary

The French Revolution was the occasion for the reformulation of the definitions of basic concepts as “révolution”, “liberté”, “égalité”, “fraternité”, “nation”, “patrie”, “peuple”, “citoyen”, etc. At the same time a lexical creativity, a large quantity of words appeared, some of them totally new or with new significations, temporary or persistent (aristocruche, athéisér, décaput, humanicide, loyaume, monarchien, patriotisme, etc.).

This paper examines aspects of lexical and semantic developments in Greek language focusing on the era of the French Revolution (1789) and the Greek War of Independence (1821). This important period was characterized by intensified contacts with Western Europe, mainly France. In this process, the Greek translations of French literature played an important part as well as the French presence in the Ionian Islands. Also, Greek intellectuals, some of them living in Paris, expressed an open admiration of the new French model of the nation in their political and journalistic works and the new political language was largely based on the concepts coined as the result of the French Revolution. Most of the modern notions were introduced from the French language, which in his turn had acquired a large amount of Greek Latin loan words. The intercultural dimension provide the tools for analysing the ways in which the new terms and concepts were introduced to Greek and incorporated in language and discourse, but also for studying the transfer and transformation of these concepts as it passed from revolutionary France into Greek context. These modes and processes are exemplified by the expression of revolutionary notions and terms in Greek as reflected in several texts of the period, i.e. pamphlets, translations, newspapers, periodicals, dictionaries.

ELIAS G. SKOULIDAS

The Albanian Greek-Orthodox Intellectuals: Aspects of their Discourse between Albanian and Greek National Narratives (late 19th - early 20th centuries)

Bearing in mind the methodological proposal of Miroslav Hroch related to the role of the intellectuals in the process of the national movements and the work of Nathalie Clayer about the Albanian national movement, our paper is an attempt to detect aspects of the discourse of Albanian Greek-Orthodox intellectuals.

According to traditional national historiographies, Albanian and Greek, intellectuals like A. Pykaios (Byku), Th. Mitko(s), P. Koupitoris (Kupitori), were involved in one of the two national discourses.

Our approach is focused on the consistency or any changes of their stance. Furthermore, we look into the impact the Albanian revolutionary activity during the late 19th century had on their perceptions (i.e. the uprising of the League of Prizren).

We try to understand the attitude of these intellectuals to the claims of the Greek nationalists due to their narratives connected with a variety of ideas regarding the Albanians (from the theories of C. Paparhigopoulos up to the establishment of a dual monarchy under the king of the Greeks).

We focus on their «fluid» identities and issues related to the «construction» of national programs such as:

- the relation of the two languages, Albanian and Greek.
- the role of the religions related to the procedure of the two national movements.
- the theories of common «historical continuity», as were expressed by Pelasgian theories, transferred from Western Europe.
- their relation with the Greek nation-state.

ANA ZIVKOVIC SNOWLEY

British Responses to the Struggle for Independence in Montenegro until 1878

This paper aims to highlight the factors determining the British views of Montenegro as they developed over the nineteenth century. My analysis will show how cultural and geopolitical contexts contribute to the fluctuations in representations of Montenegro during this period. It is part of my research on the representations of the Balkans, looking specifically at Montenegro, in the works of British writers from the nineteenth century to the present, seen from a postcolonial perspective. I locate my investigation within

the landscape of balkanist discourse theory as mapped by Wolff (1994), Todorova (1997), Goldsworthy (1998), Norris (1999) and Hammond (2007, 2010), among others.

My paper will demonstrate how the responses to Montenegro, from early nineteenth-century travel, naval and diplomatic accounts to Gladstone's essays and Tennyson's poem just before the Congress of Berlin in 1878, are rarely determined by Montenegro itself, but primarily by cultural climate at home and wider geo-political factors. Thus, the true determinants of perceptions can be found in the tradition of Romantic sensibility and its views of otherness, as well as in a specific perspective that places Montenegro against a changing backdrop of further and larger 'others' - Islam, the Ottoman Empire, and Russian and German imperial power.

My paper will show how discourse on Montenegro changes and how denigratory representations amount to glorification and heroization, and as such only survive as long as there is an additional factor, i.e. an 'other' that is regarded as an alien or threatening to the British. In addition, writers' responses to Montenegro reveal a pattern in British perceptions of the Balkans generally, one that has much to do with the historical, political and geopolitical context within which the looking takes place as it has with the characteristics of its immediate object. For British observers - travelers, diplomats, soldiers, journalists, politicians - the foreground has often been determined by its changing background.

In the light of imperial and balkanist discourse theories, my paper will trace the way British perceptions to Montenegro developed during the nineteenth century. I intend to show how these responses have arisen in a perspective that places Montenegro against a changing backdrop of 'otherness' - Napoleonic France, Islam, Ottoman power and Russian Imperial intentions. Starting from the earliest accounts of the nineteenth century, I have included a range of British writings about Montenegro, many of which have not been analyzed previously.

DIMITRIS STAMATOPOULOS

"...The Cross along with the Crescent...":

Interpreting the Balkan National Revolutions through a Failed One

The paper will focus on a failed uprising in the Greek peninsula in 1808 against the sons of Ali paşa Tepelenli, Muhtar paşa in Thessaly and Veli paşa in Peloponnese. These revolutionary activities should be considered as results of the debarkation of the French armies in the Ionian islands one year ago, however the political legitimization of these revolts drew on the argumentation of the Serbian revolution: the main goal of the revolutionaries was not to put in question the Ottoman regime per se but to resist against the "corrupt" power of Ali paşa and his sons recalling the demands of the Serbian renegades against the role of the Janissaries of Belgrade's pašalik. On the other hand the revolt taken place in the Peloponnese was based on the declared collaboration of the Christian and Muslim elites although who was the inspirator of this movement remains still unclear. The possibility of an establishment of a tributary autonomous state on the southern verge of the Ottoman Empire was proved excessively ambitious, it failed but highlighted the limitations and the future potentialities of the revolutionary process in the Ottoman Balkans at the level of mass mobilization, political leadership and ideological orientations. The present paper will deal with the transitional character of these revolts insisting on a comparative perspective of differences and similarities with other revolutionary movements, especially these of the first revolutionary wave activated by the Napoleonic Wars, the Serbian and Greek, trying to interpret the following paradox: why Balkan revolutions inspired by the ideas of the French Enlightenment turn progressively to a monolithic Christian-centered nationalist discourse?

NENAD STEFANOV

Hadži Nešas' Revolt in Pirot 1836. Societal Actors beyond Nationalist Oblivion.

A Reassessment in a Translocal Perspective

Still interpretations of the uprisings in the 19th century until 1878 are predominantly conceptualized in a narrative of increasing decline of and growing repression by the ottoman authorities. This counts especially for the rebellions between 1836 and 1840 in the area of Niš, Pirot and Belogradčik important examples

within the national master narratives for the inability of political reform within the Ottoman Empire. At the same time these uprisings are the object of contention between a nationally centered Serbian and respectively Bulgarian master-narrative, claiming to be a manifestation of Bulgarian national consciousness or loyalty of the rebels to Miloš Obrenović in a Serbian national perspective.

In this paper these rebellions are reassessed by putting their local roots and dimensions into the foreground. Within the national master narrative the story of these uprisings is usually told from the perspective from a – imagined – national center to which those allegedly are gravitating by their very nature, and where the local context is neglected. By “de-centering” the analysis and strengthening the local context it is possible to reconsider the local dynamics of societal conflicts in a period, where in Ottoman Empire the first reforms were introduced.

Relating these uprisings in the Central-Balkans to the reforms within the Ottoman Empire in a broader – translocal – frame it is possible to avoid the essentialism of a “centralistic” national master-narrative and at the same time to depict the interrelatedness to broader developments and more remote political actors of that time and at the same time to point out the tension between local and external actors.

By conceptualizing the relationship of Miloš Obrenović to the uprising not as the protagonist of national liberation but as one political actor in the tradition of Tepedelenli Ali Pascha or Osman Pazvantoglu in the Vidin area in the decades before, it is possible to avoid a teleological view of national liberation and to put under scrutiny how political actors as Obrenović related themselves in this concrete context.

A considerable amount of sources of the correspondence of Prince Miloš with his Kapučehaja/Diplomat at the Porte, as well as other local sources, shows his interaction and cooperation with the Ottoman authorities, i.e. the Vali of Bitola/Monastir in order to curb this revolt.

Also the correspondence of local actors from Pirot with Miloš and their petitions to the Sultan allows it, to develop an idea of the self-understanding of the local actors beyond a reified understanding in terms of “national identity”.

This way also the different strata, and thus different orientations and interests within the local society become visible, hinting on a conflict between local urban and rural societal segments that transcends ethnic and confessional lines, where f. e. the Christian Corbadziji and Kodzabasi in the towns did not wholeheartedly support the uprisings and seek for different ways to solve conflicts.

By concentrating on the local actors and their societal context it is possible to carve out their specificities and differences to the actions of militant groups, the so called “cheti” twenty years later in the mid-1860ies and particularly in 1876 in Bulgarian parts of the Ottoman Empire, where a growing involvement of external international actors and a militarization of such practices becomes visible. Thus an alleged continuity of the essence of peasant uprisings until 1878 can be put into question.

DUBRAVKA STOJANOVIC

Continuity in Discontinuities: Revolutions and Overthrows in Serbia 1804-1903

After the First and the Second Serbian uprising turbulent history of modern Serbian state started. Until the overthrow in 1903, all the princes and kings that were at the head of the state were removed from power or assassinated. From the leaders of the First uprising Karadjordje (killed in 1817) and the Second uprising Milos Obrenovic (overthrown in 1839), through the cases of Aleksandar Karadjordjevic (overthrown in 1858), Mihailo Obrenovic (killed in 1868) Milan Obrenovic (overthrown in 1889) and Aleksandar Obrenovic (killed in 1903) all leaders of Serbia were violently removed from power.

Although those events were not revolutions, their consequences had a revolutionary impact on Serbian political and social scene. Every overthrow was followed by the change of almost whole political elite and by revenge that affected the whole society. All of them were followed by violence that deepened social and political divisions. In spite of proclamations promising the “step forward”, those events proved to be a “step back”. Processes of modernization were not only stopped, but revoked. The instability of institutions became chronic and the peaceful political change a faraway goal.

Such situation was a result of the concurrence between two rival local dynasties. But deeper political problems were the consequence of the ideological split between two ruling houses. The Karadjordjevic

dynasty became a symbol of nationhood and war attempts to “liberate and unite” Serbian people with the Russian international support. The Obrenovic dynasty identified itself with the modernization and development of the country with the Austrian and German help. This controversy marked the 19th century Serbia and was the base of all the turnabouts. In such atmosphere the revolutions were identified with the solution of crucial political questions and were concerned as the “best way out” which deeply marked the political culture in modern Serbia.

CHRISSA TZAGAROUAKI

Iosif Momferratos. An Ionian Radical in the Era of Nationalism (1848-1868)

The Ionian Radicalism (1848-1864) is a privileged area of the Greek national historiography that has chosen to mitigate contrasts and conflicts, at the service of constructing a national past of consensus and unity. In order to revisit this stereotyped view, this paper intends to study the case of Iosif Momferratos (Kefalonia, 1816 – 1888), a democratic politician of the Ionian Radicalism. The jurist Momferratos through his political articles and speeches in the Ionian and the Greek Parliament is defending democratic values and envisaging the overthrow of the existing authoritarian regimes and the establishment of national states as a stepping stone to the creation of a federal “Europe of the nations” on the basis of equality, reciprocity and justice. Momferratos’ thought refers to the French Revolution principles, radical liberalism, European Revolutions of 1848 and especially to the views of Giuseppe Mazzini and the Italian Risorgimento.

The proposed paper attempts to approach Iosif Momferratos “alienating” him from the local Ionian and Greek environment, in the frame of uprisings, revolutionary movements and revolts in the Balkans from 1848 until 1868, when he finally retires from parliamentary and political life. Specifically, the paper examines the way in which Momferratos perceives the nature and the mission of the nation, and to what extent his ideas are consistent with the dominant trend of his times.

YANNA TZOURMANA

Government from Scratch

or Debating ”the Struggle for Liberty in the World” in British Radical Venues

The proposed paper suggests an approach of the meandering development of the qualification of citizenship and state formation within the context of the British radical discourse and the thought-worlds that arose in north-western Europe and the United States leading to the demise of the dominant early modern structures of religious uniformity, social hierarchy, and the manuscript assumed authority of the dead. Drawing attention to the significance of the complex dialectic of utilitarian ideas and rational dissent this paper aims at bringing out the translation of utilitarian thought and dissenting views into the political categories that aimed at defining the framework of principles and the overall pattern of values of the modern state; more specifically, the modern Greek state. Converged upon the language of cosmopolitanism, on the wider liberal stress of the vision of independence, British radicalism debated “government from scratch” assuming control over specific sites of assembly where reason and emotion, natural and historical reasoning of freedom and rights, innovation and renovation could be freely mixed continuously dissolving into the overlapping, the fragmented state of the happiness yet to become.

PETER VODOPIVEC

The Slovenes, the Western Border of the Balkans and the Anti-Ottoman Uprisings in the Balkans (in the Second Half of the 19th and at the Beginning of the 20th Century)

The paper will first focus on the Slovene views of the geographical borders of the Balkans and particularly of the Western border of the Balkans in the 19th and in the first half of the 20th century. The Slovene newspapers did in the second half of the 19th century with a great sympathy report on the situation in Greece, Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia, Bosnia and Montenegro. Among liberal intellectuals particularly the Serbs, the Montenegrins and the Bulgarians had a reputation as daring fighters against the Ottoman oppression. They thus with admiration commented the anti-Ottoman uprisings in Bosnia, Bulgaria and Greece, the Iliden Uprising in 1903 and the Young Turks revolution of 1908.

The Slovene volunteers participated in the uprisings in Bosnia and Bulgaria in the 1870s, the typographer Miroslav Hubmajer, who fought in Bosnia and Bulgaria, even became a leader of an anti-Ottoman unit in Bosnia. Some Slovene intellectuals also sympathised with the Serbian opposition to the Austrian administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina after 1878 and the anti-Austrian revolt in 1882. Fran Maselj Podlimbarski, a retired Austrian officer, who served in Bosnia, published in 1913 a novel entitled *Mr. Franjo*, which was not only a piece of literature, but as well an interesting document. In the book, greeted with a great approval by its readers, he described conditions in Bosnia in the beginning of 1880s on the basis of his diary expressing sympathies with insurgents. Austrian authorities at the beginning of WW I banned the book and began criminal proceedings against the author.

The revolts, uprisings and revolutions in the Balkans attracted the Slovene admirers and commentators in the first place from the national-liberation point of view. However some of their sympathizers were also interested in the political and constitutional regimes of the Balkan states, which they often presented to the Slovene readers in the light of the criticism of the liberal opposition in these countries.

NASSIA YAKOVAKI

The Press in Revolutionary Greece:

What Can It Tell Us about the Existence of a Public Sphere?

A fascinating manifestation of the Greek Revolution was the publication of political newspapers. As known, during the years 1821 and 1827 (apart from the three handwritten newspapers of 1821-1822) six different newspapers were published in five different towns (namely Kalamata, Messolonghi, Athens, Nafplion and Hydra). Such an activity has been acknowledged as a corollary of a political administration based on constitutional principles and endorsing the rights of freedom of speech and of the printed word. It is intriguing however to note that this phenomenon has remained relatively understudied. This paper attempts to draw attention to this intricate dimension of social and political life in revolutionary Greece, primarily in order to address a broader question: to what extent does it form part of an already existing, albeit small, public sphere and how such a development may be related to the outbreak of the Greek Revolution? In this respect, several challenging issues could be investigated regarding the shift of political culture, as exemplified by the Revolution, by creating a possible bridge in order to overcome the conventional and ideologically charged division between an Ottoman and pre-revolutionary past and a national revolutionary moment marking the beginning of a modern nation-state era. This could lead, for instance, to complex and at first sight contradictory questions such as: how does the *Loghios Hermes*, a literary journal, connect with the Revolution? How may the *Philiki Etaireia*, i.e. a secret society, connect with the rise of a Greek public sphere? The tentative suggestion that is going to be checked is that via the evidence offered by the Greek newspapers of 1821 to 1827 it is possible to discern continuities and transformations of a national public in the making since the early 19th century.

KONSTANTINA ZANOÙ

Between Empire and Nation-State: Greek Nationalists at the Service of the Tsar, 1800-1830

This paper concerns Ioannis Kapodistrias (1776–1831) and a bunch of other Greek intellectuals, political ideologists and diplomats, who were connected to the Russian administration during the short-lived Russian protectorate of the Ionian Islands (1800–1807) and who later found refuge in the tsarist court and its extensive international diplomatic service, sharing their lives between Russia, Italy and Greece. Kapodistrias, who, after a successful career as the tsar's minister for foreign affairs, became governor of the newly established Greek state, represents a brand of Ionian transnational patriotism that swung between Christian Orthodox imperial ecumenicity and Greek nationalism. His intellectual production (put hitherto into the shade by the prevalence of his political activity) suggests that there was a trajectory of Greek nationalism that went beyond western Enlightenment doctrines and perceived national identity in religious, conservative and anti-revolutionary terms.

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