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Book Reviews

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Book Reviews

Historical Dictionary of Bulgaria, by Raymond Detrez (Scarecrow Press, Historical Dictionaries of Europe 46, Lanham, MD, Second edition, 2006, ISBN 0-8108-4901-1) 704 pp., \$90.

It has now become commonplace to argue that scholarly pursuits and war go hand in hand. The case of the Balkans can hardly be matched in this respect: a relatively understudied area for far too long, it has now seen something approximating an ‘embarrassment of riches’ after the Yugoslav wars of the 1990s. The stream of studies on the Balkans, however, that saw the light in the last fifteen years or so has not covered equally all areas of the region. Unsurprisingly, studies on Former Yugoslavia proliferated in recent years, making that region—together with Greece—arguably the best-researched areas of the Balkans. Yet books on Bulgaria (not to mention Albania) continued to appear at a far more leisurely pace. Such paucity is reflected not only on monographic studies on specific periods or subjects, but equally on reference books and historical atlases. The field of Balkan studies undoubtedly has picked up since the early 1990s, but a structural imbalance, both regional and thematic, persists.

Given this imbalance, Detrez’s book is particularly welcome. The *Historical Dictionary of Bulgaria*, part of the series ‘Historical Dictionaries of Europe’, is the second edition of a work originally published in the same series in 1997. Many new entries have been added to this edition and some of the original considered by the author to be obsolete were excised. The result is a mine of information on Bulgaria; with over 600 entries, an excellent bibliography, a chronology of Bulgarian history, and useful appendices of rulers, cabinets and acronyms of parties and institutions, this book is a very substantial piece of scholarship and will certainly go a long way towards filling an important gap in Balkan studies.

The first thing that strikes the reader is the author’s fairness towards his subject. Although in general he writes with sympathy for Bulgaria, Detrez does not avoid uncomfortable topics. The entry on ‘Corruption’, for instance, highlights the troubled record of the country in that respect—an issue that has put many obstacles in Bulgaria’s drive to join the European Union. His balanced treatment is also evident in his entries on the Macedonian Question, in which he tries to strike a moderate tone, resisting the appeal of Bulgarian nationalist myths. Another merit of the book is its wide scope, chronological purview and breadth, as the entries cover not only historical events and personalities, but also current affairs, institutions, political parties and Bulgaria’s foreign relations with selected countries. Such an attempt for

comprehensiveness obviously has many positive side-effects and makes the book useful not only to the historian, but to the student of Bulgarian politics and current affairs as well.

Given its scale, the book is remarkably free from error, although some small details, especially in ‘non-Bulgarian’ entries, need attention in case of a reprint: the Karakatchans (or: Sarakatchans), for example, are not ‘Greek-speaking Vlachs’ and they do not ‘constitute a separate Aromanian group’ as the relevant entries suggest, not least because both themselves and the Vlachs have an acute awareness of their differences. The entry on ‘Phanariots’—a Greek (or Hellenised) elite in the Ottoman Empire—includes the generalization that the Patriarch of Constantinople was ‘as a rule’ a Phanariot, which cannot be supported by the available evidence. In some other entries, greater clarity and cross-referencing would had been an advantage: for example, in the entries on Ivan Mihailov and Alexander Protogerov, two prominent Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation (IMRO) members, there is no reference to the fierce ‘civil war’ that raged for some years between their factions and littered the streets of Sofia and Petrich with the corpses of ‘Mihailovists’ and ‘Protogerovists’, nor do we learn from these entries that Mihailov’s men assassinated Protogerov in 1928. The entry on Todor Alexandrov, IMRO’s leader until his assassination in 1924, does not include the debate about the identity of his assassins; the range of possibilities, however, is intriguingly wide and includes Aleko Vasilev, a Pirin-based warlord close to Macedonian communists, the Bulgarian government, the ruthless Michailov and even the gentle Protogerov.

In this connection, it should be added that an entry on another leading Macedonian figure, Dimitar Vlachov, would had been perhaps appropriate. It may be argued, of course, that Vlachov is mainly thought of as a ‘Macedonian’ personality, but the same argument may also apply to the cases of Yane Sandanski and Gotse Delchev (who are included in the book); Vlachov was, after all, member of the Bulgarian Communist Party for many years and a Bulgarian consular agent in Yugoslav Macedonia during the First World War. More surprising is another omission: there is no entry on Grigor Parlichev, a Hellenised Bulgarian author who, in the course of his literary career, rejected Hellenism and reverted openly to Bulgarian nationalism. This is rather odd given that Parlichev was the subject of Detrez’s doctoral thesis. The book includes four good maps of Bulgaria, but none shows the position of the country in the Balkan Peninsula (something that readers might appreciate) and a physical map of the country should also be included. Despite these small picks, however, Detrez writes with authority and guides both the uninitiated and the specialist with a sure hand. His book is a valuable work of reference and is set to remain the standard historical dictionary of Bulgaria for years to come.

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Diplomacy Lessons: Realism for an Unloved Superpower, by John Brady Kiesling (Potomac Books, Washington, DC, 2006, ISBN 1597970174) x + 317 pp., 21.00.

This is not a guide to righteousness, but rather to effective policy making. According to the former diplomat author, a realist in public affairs is likely to commit fewer mistakes than the 'proud idealist' who shirks from using the term 'realism' because it is associated with the art of the possible rather the right and wrong. Ultimately, the use of flexible criteria might save international politics some grief. Yet Brady Kiesling, after twenty years in the service of the superpower, resigned and gave up a promising career because he refused to reconcile his principles with a war based on faulty premises and fraudulent evidence. Is the author a realist or an uncompromising idealist? Was his decision based entirely on a practical assessment of the present administration's ability to make effective policy, or was it caused by the disappointment of someone nurtured by high principles? Be that as it may, this work, besides being a handbook for young diplomats, is also a diatribe against scoundrels who prey on idealists. As a diatribe it makes a convincing case against the American caper in Iraq and offers ample evidence on how the blunder was orchestrated. The doctrinaire or self-seeking among the neocons, the representatives of special interests and their client Vice President, the tough guys in the Defense Department and the United Nations and the pious Evangelicals who would pre-empt an Armageddon and therefore the second coming of Christ, all figure in this book.

What makes Kiesling's work relevant to the subject of this journal is his familiarity with the Balkan scene. Having served twice in Athens and thanks to his formal education in archaeology, he is well versed in Greece's history, but also in its society and politics. Several Greek academics and think-tankers remember sharing with him interesting insights over lunch. In 1992 he took up his post as Romanian desk officer and observed four state department officials resign over American inaction in Bosnia. He was also posted to Armenia in time to follow the 1998 national elections. The Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) observers discovered that fraud was committed in favour of Kocharian. Kiesling's description of the elections is very enlightening:

In Armenia the commonest process for exercising control was called carousel voting. Each voter was given a pre-marked ballot before reaching the polling station. After signing in and getting a blank ballot, the voter would pocket the blank ballot, cast the pre-marked one, and then gave the unused ballot to the men in long black leather coats waiting outside, to be marked and handed to the next voter. (pp. 172–173)

About Georgian elections he notes: 'The warlords' reflex to herd around the pre-anointed victor explains why an outsider like Mikheil Saakashvili could win more than 90% of the vote in the 2005 elections with no recourse to fraud of his own' (p. 173).

This reviewer would like to differ with Kiesling on his treatment of Noam Chomsky, the dissident linguist from MIT. Far from belonging to a lunatic fringe, Chomsky would rate as a Social Democrat in Europe. He always reminds his small American audiences that no policy is irreversible in a Democratic society and his points are well argued. Both

Chomsky and Kiesling are missionaries of reason, trying to talk sense in a world of post-modern conflicts in which crass interest mixes with apocalyptic truth.

Brady Kiesling's common sense shines throughout this work. He computes the price the American government is willing to pay at the expense of its democratic institutions in order to curtail terrorism. 'Americans do not know how much of their personal freedom they should sacrifice to the FBI and local enforcement agency will cheerfully use any investigative or coercive power Congress fails to withhold from it, up to and including torture' (p. 195). His best chapter is 'The Diplomatic Cost of Clandestine Intelligence', in which he argues that policy decisions, most of the time, depend on common sense rather than classified information. Misuse of the latter by the American administration inaugurated an era of cloak and dagger policies in which privileged scoundrels prey on the gullible citizen who has been terrorised into surrendering his reason and rights.

Brady Kiesling is not a realist in the tradition of Henry Kissinger. His is a Lockean, rather than a Hobbesian, view of society and the state. When confronted with the dilemma of choosing between a liberal and a realist solution, he opts for the former. A better word to describe his attitude *vis à vis* power is the time-honoured title of 'pragmatist' in the Daniel Boorstin sense of the term. For those who know him from close quarters, Brady Kiesling is the direct opposite of former American Ambassador to the United Nations, John Bolton. He reminds Europeans of the postwar generosity of the United States, its readiness to uphold the rule of law and its willingness to make use of its 'soft power' rather than its muscle.

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Peace at Any Price: How the World Failed Kosovo, by Iain King and Whit Mason (Hurst & Co, London, 2006, ISBN 0801 445396) \$18.40.

This dense and extremely informative work is the joint product of two former incumbents of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) with professional experience in transitional societies, as evidenced by the wealth of primary sources and firsthand research in the text. The first half of *Peace at Any Price* constitutes a detailed account of the various phases of international administration in Kosovo. It is immediately clear that both UNMIK (whose goals were set out in United Nations Security Council Resolution 1244) and the NATO-led multinational military force faced formidable challenges following the withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army and the federal police. These included: the provision of shelter and basic services to 900,000 refugees or internally displaced people; the prevention of retaliatory acts of violence against the remaining Serbs and, more broadly, the protection of minority communities; the establishment of a functioning legal system; the preservation of Kosovo's

multi-ethnic character and the fostering of pacific attitudes through control of the mass media and the educational institutions; and the development of market-oriented institutions in a virtually pre-industrial society.

In the 'emergency' period of international administration (June 1999–October 2000), and despite occasional successes in the face of debilitating obstacles, it is argued that both UNMIK and KFOR did not manage to capitalise sufficiently on the 'massive moral authority' (p. 78) they initially enjoyed among Kosovo Albanians. The promised deployment of an international police force was much slower than anticipated. UNMIK's choice of attempting to disempower the KLA by absorbing many of its commanders into the civilian Kosovo Protection Corps (KPC) backfired as the latter's members engaged in violent acts against Serb civilians and were simultaneously involved in a number of illegal activities. The prosecution of KPC and former KLA members was blocked in order to both avoid risking the lives of the civilian administration and to prevent the destabilisation of the region. The disproportionate representation of Kosovo Albanians in the judiciary led to an overwhelming disparity between the handling of cases concerning Serbs, and those concerning Albanians. UNMIK's groundless optimism regarding respect for the rights of the Serb minority only served to exacerbate inter-ethnic tensions. Moreover, its inability to address the issue of the systematic exclusion of citizens of the Serb-majority North from access to public services allowed for the gradual development of a parallel, Belgrade-run services-oriented structure that was at odds with the international community's commitment to promoting equal rights for all citizens. The market-based approach of the European Agency for Reconstruction and the European Union Pillar, perceived as panacea for the invigoration of the regional economy, did lead to some advances, albeit 'superficial and tenuous' (p. 92).

These weaknesses were somewhat redressed in what the authors regard as the next phase of international administration (October 2000–June 2002), characterised as one of consolidation and the replacement of a humanitarian agenda with a more political one. Under the leadership of Hans Haekkerup (Bernard Kouchner's successor as Special Representative of the UN Secretary General [SRSG]), three 'landmark political developments' (p. 93) were achieved: the establishment of a constitutional framework that paved the way for the setting up of provisional institutions of self-government; the conduct of parliament elections, which ceded substantial local authority to its elected members; and closer collaboration with the post-Milosevic administration of the Republic of Serbia. As regards the economy, the authors point to the importance of the Central Fiscal Authority (CFA), which became a relatively efficient government treasury that managed to transform Kosovo's budget to being largely domestically funded. Inter-ethnic relations also improved, though UNMIK found that the increased property sales from Serbs to Albanians was affected largely through threats and physical intimidation. Kosovo's apparent progress soon proved 'superficial and inchoate' (p. 94). Although there was considerable improvement in the security situation of Kosovo, this was achieved at the cost of implicitly assenting to the terms of the nationalists: 'In practice this meant that UNMIK came to accept as normal the *fait accompli* of ethnic cleansing' (p. 97). The year 2001 witnessed a series

of illustrations of this point, from the eruption of violence in Mitrovica to the Nis bus bombing.

The following phase (May 2002–February 2004) was marred by the increasingly confrontational stance of domestic institutions, the media and local people towards UNMIK, as well as by the weakening of the interim administration itself in terms of morale and vitality. Despite the ambitious agenda of Michael Steiner, the new SRSG, ‘few were able to overcome the zero-sum logic of Albanian versus Serb or the lack of consensus in the international community’ (p. 140). The Prime Minister at the time, Bajram Rexhepi, voicing a view shared by most local politicians, opined that UNMIK ‘is an obstacle to Kosovo’s development. ... They’ve given us control of education, health, social affairs, culture, the environment—but these are small-budget affairs. How can we do good for the people of Kosovo if we do not have an executive role in justice, the economy and foreign affairs?’

UNMIK’s public image was not improved by a crisis that broke out in mid-2003 between KFOR and the immensely popular KPC over the latter’s links with an emerging terrorist group. Although the impunity enjoyed by former KLA fighters seemed to be eroding after several were indicted for crimes against humanity, attempts to purge the KPC were undermined from the beginning as they had already been allowed to become entrenched. In the meantime, Serbs continued to be largely excluded from domestic institutions, while UNMIK’s incapacity to ensure the safe return of displaced people and refugees placed additional strains on inter-ethnic relations. As for the economy, attempts at privatisation foundered *vis-à-vis* bureaucratic complications, legal setbacks and infrastructure failings, which had already allowed socially owned enterprises to either stagnate or succumb to criminal groups.

The final phase of international administration (March 2004–May 2006), suitably termed ‘the Reckoning’, was inaugurated by the eruption of inter-ethnic violence that caused thousands of Kosovo Serbs to leave their homes, while mobs assaulted international staffers. This explosion had taken place not merely owing to internal reasons (nationalism, populism, economic privation, etc.), but to a significant extent because of UNMIK’s persistent refusal to address the status question, a cause of grave concern for Kosovo Albanians who suspected that Belgrade was successfully pressuring the international community so as to hinder them from achieving independence. Despite advances in some areas such as the media, surveys have indicated that the civilian mission, its police and the courts have been among the least popular institutions in Kosovo. As for the considerable postwar economic development, owed largely to donor funds, by 2004 it had begun to subside: GDP growth plummeted and unemployment rates soared higher than 30 per cent, while an anemic private sector re-emerged reminiscent of the pre-socialist era. As Gerald Knaus, the Director of the European Stability Initiative, has indicated, the next generation of Kosovars ‘has very little to look forward to except declining standards of living’ (p. 230). Thus the new SRSG, Søren Jessen-Petersen, was entrusted with the task of implementing radical changes with regard to the resolution of the country’s status and of preparing the way for the gradual downscaling of the civilian mission and the takeover of vital policy sectors by the Kosovan government. Indeed, by early 2006 negotiations had already

begun on whether the country would become independent or retain its status as a Serbian province.

In the latter part of their study, King and Mason offer a brief assessment of the factors to which they attribute the world's failure to transform Kosovo, or UNMIK's inability to be as effective in its 'straightforward physical, administrative and institution-building functions' as in the task of establishing a 'multi-ethnic democracy subject to the rule of law' (p. 260). The eight standards that have been set as benchmarks for Kosovo's progress are used to assess the success of the Interim administration. First, the achievement of establishing *new institutions* from a 'total institutional vacuum' was undermined by the cronyism of the political parties, the widespread bias in the otherwise free media and the parallel health and educational structures set up by necessity for the Serbs. Second, steps taken towards *combating serious crime and corruption* were difficult and ultimately unsuccessful due primarily to the weaknesses of the justice system. Third, *freedom of movement* was underscored by the lack of safety for all ethnic minorities and the prevalence of impunity. Fourth, the goal of encouraging *the return of displaced people and refugees* has been unrealisable owing to the unchecked hostility to minorities, the absence of protective measures for property rights, and the volatile political and economic climate. Fifth, the success of establishing institutions and regulators for the development of a *market economy* has been eroded by the absence of productive activity and the existence of an expansive black market. Sixth, the deficit in the area of justice has made it difficult to form a clear picture of *ownership and property rights*. Seventh, the violent episodes in early 2004 led to the discontinuation of the first efforts to establish *dialogue with Belgrade*, which did not resume until late 2005. And eighth, despite the growing professionalisation of Kosovo's most trusted institution, *the KPC*, efforts to make it multi-ethnic have been unsuccessful.

The authors attribute UNMIK's underperformance to six chief sources of failure: the failure to comprehend the nature of the conflict that led to the 'somewhat arbitrary' alliance with Albanian militants; the ideological failure to grasp the necessity of transforming Kosovar society, rather than simply supporting it; the multi-institutional nature of the international presence, which created such a 'degree of incoherence' that internal compromise became a 'cumbersome' process (p. 250); UNMIK's lack of 'preparedness' when compared with KFOR, manifested most clearly in the civil mission's 'organisational culture [which] placed a premium not on completing tasks but on following procedures' (p. 251); the costly absence of political will on the part of the leading countries, which prevented UNMIK and KFOR from showing more decisiveness at critical junctures and led to the creation of a 'sense of impunity' (p. 254); and the failure to set up a timetable and adhere to it, as well as the concomitant attempts to offer short-term solutions to long-term problems, which made progress difficult and contingent upon factors that lay outside the mission's immediate sphere of control.

So what do King and Mason deem to be the lessons of Kosovo? 'An international administration,' they write, 'must be prepared to confront and defeat the forces that preserve the unacceptable aspects of the status quo' (p. 263). This entails that a mission ought to possess an 'overall vision' (p. 258); to focus on creating a 'just and sustainable

peace' (p. 257) and place priority on its core objectives; to be 'action-oriented' and 'prepared to assert its authority from day one' (pp. 258–259), but also predisposed to improve its performance over time; to set up a well-coordinated central authority with an independent and professional courts and police; and finally, to be willing to abandon the relativist assumption that cultural phenomena such as corruption and cronyism are traditional societal features in which Western institutions ought not to meddle.

One aspect of the work carried out by the civilian administration in Kosovo the authors could have devoted greater attention to is the extent to which the Milosevic and post-Milosevic administrations have been responsible for dissuading Kosovo Serbs from claiming a position in the administrative structures. A fragmented civil society, weak civic bonds and what is perceived as a segmented political culture must have undoubtedly had an effect in cultivating exclusionary mentalities and practices at the expense of minority groups. Nevertheless, it is a crucial question to clarify the precise reasons why abstentionism rather than participation has constituted the dominant trend among Kosovo Serbs. Another point relates to the situation of the Romani people, a topic which the authors only touch upon. It is worth recalling that in the aftermath of the crisis more than 120,000 Kosovo Roma sought to acquire refugee status in various European countries, while ample evidence by human rights groups suggests that the thousands that remained in Kosovo have suffered reprisals and persecution. Despite these omissions however, it should be clear that King and Mason have succeeded in constructing a revealing account of what they perceive as a largely unsuccessful attempt at establishing a viable multi-ethnic society, and moreover one that yields valuable lessons for future efforts in post-conflict administration.

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Social Policy Developments in Greece, edited by Maria Petmesidou and Elias Mossialos (Ashgate, Brookfield, VT, 2006, ISBN 0 7546 4370 0) 425 pp., £60.

There is currently considerable discussion concerning the European Social Model and its future characteristics. It touches upon a reflection of what its main features are and how these are affected by more recent changes in social policies at the national and European levels. Questions such as these featured prominently in the recent wave of student demonstrations in France against the so-called 'contract employment', which sought to abolish redundancy procedures for first-time jobseekers. One thing is certain: the re-orientation of social policies and the re-definition of social rights are far-reaching and thus affect the very foundations of social citizenship. This discussion, however, seems to assume that there is a common point of departure for all welfare systems in Europe. In practice it tends to ignore the different realities it addresses. Indeed, pressure for change takes different forms and responds to a variety of challenges in European

countries. If objectives of social solidarity and social cohesion are to preserve their attractiveness in modern welfare retrenchment conditions, the starting point of each system has to be taken into account.

Not all welfare systems are similar. Typologies of welfare regimes have often been guided by the examples of northern and western European experiences, mainly because these were better known to researchers. Southern European countries had in some way to fit into predefined categories and tended to be considered as 'less developed' (p. 4) forms of these models. The emergence of a 'southern European welfare model' has thus been greeted with much interest by those who could not settle for the more dismissive view, as previously voiced. This model, however, fell into the same trap as the more generic ones. It treated as a footnote cases with potentially different characteristics. It eloquently often refers to the 'Latin rim countries' with which Greece shares many characteristics, but its specificities did not receive the attention it merits (pp. 4–5).

There are reasons for such lacunae. Apart from the most obvious obstacle (i.e., a language that is not that easily accessible to foreign researchers), the research had not produced a sufficient body of knowledge for international comparisons. As an Oxford Don once famously remarked to the reviewer: 'People don't queue up to read about Greece.' Fortunately, this point of view is less and less the case, with a new generation of researchers aware of European developments that study various aspects of historical and current trends of the Greek welfare system.

The volume edited by professors Maria Petmesidou and Elias Mossialos (University of Thrace and London School of Economics, respectively) intends to fill a gap in the literature. It aims to put Greece on the map by presenting to the English-speaking audience important landmarks concerning the Greek welfare system and its developments. Though it does not have the ambition of being a comparative work, it presents a solid basis for comparative analyses of its various aspects. By gathering in this volume a number of recent works, it offers an opportunity to open up the debate on the 'Greek specificities'. In doing so, it has a number of merits. The variety of discipline standpoints from which the subject is approached (sociology, political science, economics) and the dialogue between them, the interrelations with other policy fields such as the tax system, housing and urban development policy, macroeconomic policy and so on, are a great advantage to the sum of the work. A central question underlying practically all contributions is whether there exists a welfare state in Greece? The answer, however, depends on comparison with other models.

The volume includes articles that provide an overview of the system and its historical development. Petmesidou distinguishes three stages of the social protection system in Greece: the 1950s to the late 1970s marked by the slow and uneven development of social welfare; the 1980s characterised by the belated and weak formation of a welfare state amid unfavourable economic conditions; and the period since the 1990s dominated by the pressing need for reform in order to overcome historical legacies. State-economy and state-society relations are key explanatory factors of the present state and rigidities of the welfare system. Gravaris, in a thought-provoking article, presents an alternative way to understanding the historical trajectory of the Greek welfare system. Borrowing from Lowi's 'policy makes politics' approach (Lowi 1964),

he explores the link between types of macro-economic policy and (types of) social policy. In trying to explain the 'apparent paradox' of the 'negative correlation between economic growth and welfare state growth' (p. 55) characteristic of Greece, he offers a different reading by showing how social policy was displaced towards regulatory and distributive policy types and the corresponding interest politics.

By contrast, Venieris undertakes an overview of more recent welfare reforms with a focus on employment and social insurance, both among the high-priority social policy issues. Papatheodorou tries to answer the question whether income taxes and social security contributions achieve their distributional goals, when tax-evasion and contribution avoidance are taken into account. This and similar efforts are limited by the lack of appropriate statistical data—a problem that is often underlined by other researchers in Greece. Tsakoglou and Mitrakos use available data to provide a better insight into the structure of inequality and poverty in modern Greece (1974–1999). They conclude that inequalities are primarily due to disparities within, rather than between, socio-economic groups. High poverty risks are mostly faced by rural households and the elderly, the unemployed and people with low educational qualifications. The authors deduce the possible directions of policies to fight inequalities and poverty. Matsaganis examines social security (contributory and non-contributory) benefits and underlines the need for rationalisation via more comprehensive and universal benefit systems. Featherstone and Tinios address the 'Gordian knot' of the pension system—a top reform priority, but consumed in a number of fragmented efforts ('reform by installments') amid high uncertainty and resistance from stakeholders. The article makes a point concerning the need for reformers to build trust with their interlocutors in order to promote cooperative solutions to the problem.

Seferiades focuses on employment policy and questions the appropriateness of its conception, which basically reflects the European Employment Strategy (EES) of the European Union. Greece, as a country of high unemployment (above 10 per cent in 2005), low labour costs and a large informal economy (approximately 30 per cent), does not fit the presuppositions of the EES. Thus, the problem is much deeper than limited coordination, consultation or monitoring implied by the EES, which tend to de-politicise unemployment issues by focusing on procedural and managerial aspects. Family is one of the pillars of south European welfare systems. Papadopoulos examines in this context the limited state support for the unemployed; he shows that it contradicts the assumption that the unemployed will tend to rely on unemployment compensation benefits. Rather, they have to rely on the family that thus has to bear the costs of economic restructuring.

Karamessini's and Davaki's contributions to the volume introduce the gender perspective of social policy making. Among the new issues promoted by European social policies is the gender dimension of (in)equality and unemployment and affirmative action programmes confronting these. Karamessini underlines the importance of increasing the participation of women in the labour market without sacrificing the quality of job opportunities offered to them. Davaki stresses the unpaid work of women in the welfare role of the family; she examines family policies in their capacity to enlarge women's choices in terms of career and family, to acknowledge their unpaid

care work and to take into account new family patterns. Overviews of the National Health System introduced in 1983 and of the social care system and of the challenges they face are offered by Davaki and Mossialos' and Petmesidou's contributions.

More recently, Greece was faced with a strong immigration wave for which state institutions were hardly prepared. Cavounidis analyses Greek attempts to deal with the issue while immigration policy seems rather underdeveloped. Psimmenos focuses on social exclusion affecting immigrants and the way street-level welfare services interact with them on an everyday basis. Instead of universal standards, particularism and discrimination are reproduced. The volume concludes with a chapter by Peter Taylor-Gooby summing up the specificities of the Greek welfare system, as they appear through the previous chapters, and the reform challenges it faces in a European context. Greece might be a test case for the European strategy in combining welfare development and competitive capitalism.

Overall, this volume presents an important part of research carried out in Greece in the field of social policy; it would be unrealistic to expect a full account. It is certainly up to the ambitions put forth in the introduction, and identifies the challenges faced by current welfare policies. The volume also serves as a reminder that policy formation, administrative organisation and the actual process of service delivery are part and parcel of the reality of social rights currently undergoing profound changes in Western and Southern Europe.

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Reference

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Myths and Boundaries in South Eastern Europe, edited by Pål Kolstø (Hurst & Co, London, 2006, ISBN 185065767X) 357 pp., \$136.

An edited volume is an experiment in polyvocality, but usually ends up in relative cacophony; *Myths and Boundaries in South-Eastern Europe* is no exception. Starting from its relative strengths, the book sets off with an astute introductory chapter written by its editor. Kolstø presents the agenda of a fascinating volume, one that investigates all aspects of myth-making, myth-functions and the multiple intersections between myths, politics and boundaries in the Balkans. Unfortunately, this project barely leaves the ground.

The bulk of the book is indeed composed of studies that examine the proliferation of myths in the context of South Eastern European societies, with particular emphasis

on the countries that comprised the Former Yugoslavia. Particular instances are illuminating since they are rarely mentioned in the existing English-speaking literature on the Balkans. I am thinking, particularly, of Bojan Aleksov's discussion on 'dissonant voices' in the historiography on the forced Islamisation of the Serbian population during the time of the Ottoman Empire, and Srećko M. Džaja's analysis of chronicles of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that aimed at imprinting a relatively distinct Bosniac identity. While the other contributions do not lag behind in engaging seriously with the historiography of the Balkans, they are less original in their selection of material.

The theoretical complexity of Kolstø's introduction is largely neglected, however, in the main chapters of the book. What we are left with is a general agreement on taxonomy: four types of myth are considered as typical of Balkan societies. They are myths of being *sui generis*, which aim to demonstrate the separateness and uniqueness of a particular nation; the *antemurale* myth, where the nation is seen as a member of a larger cultural entity (e.g., Western Christianity) and is usually perceived to lie at the borders of this larger entity and to face the threat of an expansionist cultural other; myths of *martyrium*, which present the nation as the perpetual powerless victim of a larger, and often bloodthirsty, group; and finally, myths of antiquity whose purpose is to convince people of the continuity of the nation as far back in history as possible in order to justify its claim of control over a particular territory.

Most contributions are permeated by a general unavowed feeling that myths are largely a product of political manipulation—that their content and possible uses are directly a product of co-temporal political events and targeted at mobilising the general population. Here, the theoretical lacunae of the volume becomes apparent: there is no discussion of how this manipulation becomes possible in the first place, what are its mechanisms, why myths are an effective type of narrative in order to manipulate the population, or even more seriously, whether we should still be referring to manipulation at all. Moreover, the discussion is limited in scope; there is a risk that the reader might get the impression that myths are solely the predicament of national identities, or that nationalism is the only political force worth studying in the Balkans. The anticipated focus on boundaries is also superficial: there is nothing more than scant remarks about the tendency for national identities to become differentiated from those of neighbouring groups. One also expected an analysis of boundaries that internally divide the national group—boundaries that reflect differences of ethnic affiliation, gender, race and class, and more references on the relationship between the production of boundary lines and the geopolitics and geo-economics of the Balkan region.

I certainly would like to exempt Zoran Terzić's contribution from these brief critical comments. Terzić's piece stands out because he decides to embrace and subsequently re-articulate in academic language the ambiguities of artistic production. Its focus is on cultural production in Yugoslavia from the 1950s down to the 1990s. Terzić examines works with both nationalist and anti-nationalist connotations, refraining from making any simplistic causal connections that reduce the realm of art to the field of politics and vice versa. Although it is impossible to give credit to the numerous artistic works he comments upon, it is striking to note that he always succeeds in bringing out the paradoxes and ambiguities these involve; how, for example, in the 1960s and 1970s paintings

that carried a nationalist message still abided by the dominant socialist realist aesthetic, or how poetic artistic representations of the 1990s were often perceived to be faithful depictions of historical events.

Returning full circle to Kolstø's introductory text, one might have qualms about his proposal to combine what he terms as the 'enlightenment' with the functionalist approach. It is difficult to see how an approach that aims to dismantle all myths as falsehood can be reconciled with the treatment of myths as narratives that promote social cohesion. Nevertheless, Kolstø opens up the space for a rich debate on the content, functions and narrative structures of myths, and on their relationship to the construction of borders. This is no small achievement, though the rest of the volume does little to move the debate much further.

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Stewards of the Land: The American Farm School and Greece in the Twentieth Century, by Brenda L. Marder (Mercer University Press, Macon, GA, 2004, ISBN 0-86554-906-0), 502 pp., \$30.

The story of the American Farm School in Thessaloniki is coterminous with the missionary work of American Protestant Evangelicalism in the Near East. The Balkan version of this work introduced Western ideas in Bulgaria and northern Greece and contributed to animal husbandry and agricultural production. Religious conversion, at least in Greece, does not appear to have been the necessary price for the benefits that the founder of the Farm School, Dr John Henry House, and his devout family offered the children of the Balkans.

The lives of John Henry and Susan Adeline were not devoid of Balkan drama. On 3 September 1901, Ellen Stone and Katerina Tsilka, both Protestant missionaries in Macedonia were abducted by a band of Bulgarian Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation (VMRO) members and held to ransom for the significant amount of US\$125,000. Mrs Tsilka after four months in captivity gave birth, to a healthy baby girl on 22 December 1901. Because of his knowledge of Bulgarian, Dr House became the principal intermediary in the negotiations for the release the three ladies. Thanks to the able handling of his task, the amount paid to the bandits was US\$65,000 and the captives were released intact near Stromnitsa on 23 February 1902.

The incident did not divert Dr House from his main objective of setting up a vocational agricultural school open to the natives of the region, then under Ottoman rule. After the purchase of 53 acres in the northeastern outskirts of Thessaloniki, Dr House secured American financial backing towards the US\$4,000 of the school's annual operational costs. On 10 October 1903, the eleven board members obtained the act of incorporation from New York for the nondenominational 'Thessalonica Agricultural

and Industrial Institute'. With this act, the school, fashioned after the notion of vocational public institutions in the United States, became a legal body according to the laws of the state of New York—a tax exempt, fundraising corporation. In 1907 it was recognised by the Ottoman government and granted tax-free status. The first part of this fascinating story covers the perilous period between 1904–1949 when the school was under the guidance of the House Family. They steered it through changes of statehood, world wars and civil carnage, and even the abduction of some of its students by a band of Communist 'andartes' in January 1949.

Charles Lucius House succeeded his father, John Henry, as Director in 1917. A Princeton graduate and a complex individual, as the author will not tire to remind us, he braved the submarine-infested Atlantic to reach Macedonia. 'A maverick by any measure, he possessed a defiantly independent nature, replete with paradox. If by today's norm, his father was an old fashioned missionary and humanitarian, then Charlie was an educator and humanist' (p. 102).

The second part of the book continues up to 2003 and is marked by the extraordinary career of Bruce Lansdale as the Director of the Farm School and his wife Tad. The postwar progress of the institution under the guidance of the Lansdales reads like a saga. This is not simply a documented account of a vocational school's minutiae, but a fascinating story of real people and their struggle to improve themselves as well as others. During Lansdale's last ten years, the school flourished. Dimitris Zannas, a scion of an old Thessaloniki family, granted the institution 125 acres at a time when the value of land had skyrocketed because of the development and extension of the airport. When Lansdale retired in 1990, the Farm School was in the best shape of its career.

Thanks to her long sojourn in Greece, Brenda Marder has produced a well-documented and sensible interpretation of Greek life and character throughout the twentieth century. Her narrative is sparkling and her ability to transfix the reader will be recognised by those who venture through its hefty size. The work is also a piece of nostalgia for the days when the United States produced generous and dedicated emissaries who won the hearts and minds of their beneficiaries.

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Citizenship and the Nation State in Greece and Turkey, edited by Faruk Birtek and Thalia Dragonas (Routledge, London, 2004, ISBN 0-4153-4783-1), 195 pp., £70.

Citizenship and the Nation State in Greece and Turkey is the brainchild of a series of cross-disciplinary seminars initiated by Greek and Turkish scholars in 2002. The volume demonstrates that, contrary to popular opinion, 'talking-shop' can be an intellectually productive enterprise. The publication's editors, Faruk Birtek and Thalia

Dragonas, have keyed into two of the hottest debates in academic circles since the collapse of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union: nation-state formation and civil society. By investigating these phenomena in two successor states of the Ottoman Empire, the volume forcefully stakes its claim: an understanding of the complex interplay between notions of empire, state, nation and citizenship in Greek and Turkish history can substantially contribute to the contentious debates that have engulfed comparative political theorists and social scientists around the world. Furthermore, in a field that often suffers from narcissistic navel-gazing, the project designers wisely opt for the cross-fertilisation of comparative and interdisciplinary studies. Indeed, for Greeks and Turks, looking each other in the face can be a valuable strategy for better self-understanding. This volume is thus as valuable to specialists of Greek and/or Turkish studies as it is to non-specialists, who may have only a passing knowledge of the Greek and/or Turkish cases, but will certainly be familiar with the immensely important themes that the book tackles.

The book is divided into two sections, the first of which bears the title 'Empire and Nation State'. The most challenging and notable contributions to this section are the first two chapters, which focus on the formation of the Turkish and Greek nation-states, respectively, albeit with entirely different approaches. In the opening essay, Caglar Keyder deconstructs the historical conditions that shaped the distinguishing attributes of Turkish nationalism and finds at their root a national myth predominated by notions of an unbroken ethnic history and an imagined and irreclaimable territory of *Orta Asya*, or Central Asia. Keyder maintains that the evolution of Turkish nationalism is unique from other anti-colonial and third-world national awakenings in that it did not reflect an anti-Western nativism. Rather, in its formative period, Turkish nationalism was confined to the elite and was used instrumentally as a means of mobilisation towards modernisation. In the author's own words, Turkish nationalism was a defensive reaction designed to 'compete with the European Tradition on its own turf'. Keyder also uses the piece to allude artfully to how Turkish nationalist constructs have affected Turkish identity over the *longue-durée*, resulting in the gulf that stills divides the country's elites and masses. By contrast, Kostas Kostis' look at the formation of the modern Greek state is not so much deconstructivist as it is a critical survey of the relevant literature and an attempt to set the record straight. Kostis laments the tendency of academics to overlook the Ottoman context within which the Greek state was actually created, bringing our attention to the timeframe between the immediate post-revolutionary period and the formation of a modern state. By honing in on the intricacies of the years 1830–1914, he forcefully argues that, until the late nineteenth century, it would be incorrect to speak of a Greek nation-state in the modern sense of the word.

Aside from these two stellar contributions, the other three pieces in the section also have strong merits. Going against the scholarly grain, Faruk Birtek examines Greece's impact on the shaping of modern Turkish identity, a refreshing and counterintuitive line of investigation in a field where scholars tend to be preoccupied with understanding the Ottoman legacy in the Balkans. According to the author, looking at the reverse side of the equation reveals that the 1919 Greek invasion was particularly decisive as it fixed Turkey's republican identity to the concept of national mobilisation. Equally

insightful is Hakan Erdem's essay on the Ottoman reaction to the Greek War of Independence. Erdem's painstaking investigation of the available Ottoman archives has allowed him to offer a precious glimpse into how a nascent form of Turkish nationalism and republicanism began to materialise in response to the increased Ottoman exposure to Enlightenment ideas.

The second portion of the book, entitled 'Nation and Civil Society', opens with an informative piece co-authored by Nicos Mouzelis and George Pagoulatos on civil society in postwar Greece. While one cannot help but wish that the authors had restricted their focus to civil rights, citizenship or the concept of social inclusion (instead they attempt to merge all these concepts under one heading), the wide scope is nonetheless admirable and certainly breaks ground for further research in several fields of burgeoning interest. Another of the volume's achievements comes in the three chapters that follow, all of which address women's rights and concepts of citizenship. Yesim Arat explores the radical changes in women's rights that took place after the establishment of the Turkish Republic. While acknowledging the importance of these gains, Arat cautions that 'formal' equality was not delivered in practice and that deep inequalities persisted in many realms, including education, economy, political participation and personal safety. Arat's arguments are further substantiated by Dicle Kogacioglu's essay, which provides poignant empirical research documenting the disparities between written law and the everyday reality of Turkish women. However, whereas Kogacioglu asserts that the persistence of family-related ideals and the state-family link have sustained a social order of gender oppression, Arat chooses to end on a more positive note, recounting how, in recent decades, women have taken a more active role in claiming their lawful rights and have thus acted as vanguards in the wider process of democratisation in Turkey. The Greek perspective on the issue is also included with Efi Avdela's well-argued essay highlighting the dichotomy between duties and rights and between the legal position of women in the family and in the polity in Greece from 1864–1952.

In the final chapter, Thalia Dragonas, Busra Ersanli and Anna Frangoudaki present and interpret data on the views of Greek and Turkish teenagers collected through an international study entitled 'Youth and History: The Comparative European Project on Historical Consciousness among Teenagers'. This unprecedented look into Greek and Turkish students' historical and political socialisation allows the authors to provide a socio-psychological explanation of the way students conceptualise history, nation, religion and family. Dragonas et al. then go beyond the immediate findings of the survey (which unsurprisingly report that both Greek and Turkish teenagers tend to hold highly ethnocentric views) to pose important questions about how curriculum reform might help engender peaceful coexistence and collaboration between nations in the modern era.

Although the book could be improved by the inclusion of a concluding chapter that links the findings of the individual papers, this is more of an afterthought as each chapter stands sturdily on its own. Well researched and immensely readable, *Citizenship and the Nation State in Greece and Turkey* is tangible evidence that Greek and Turkish scholars are working at the cutting-edge of numerous social scientific disciplines and are unabashed about tearing down the boundaries between them. Yet, perhaps more

importantly, the vast scale of this collaboration goes a long way towards demonstrating Greek and Turkish scholars' commitment to overcoming their own boundaries and prejudices with respect to one another. For all of these reasons, readers will be happy to learn that the editors plan to make this the first volume in an ongoing series dedicated to the study of society and history in Greece and Turkey.

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Greece and the Balkans: Identities, Perceptions and Cultural Encounters since the Enlightenment, edited by Dimitris Tziouvas (Ashgate, Burlington, VT, 2003, ISBN 0-754-60998-7) 290 pp., \$99.95.

If as Paschalis M. Kitromilides posits, '[d]espite the explosion of scholarly writing and journalism on the Balkans in the last decade, the region remains a puzzle' (p. 19), then this comprehensive book should take its place as essential reading for a deeper understanding of the complexities of the area. Certainly the lucid introduction by distinguished scholar Dimitris Tziouvas, who offers his own conclusions as well as a survey of offerings of 17 other specialists, is an aid in itself to guide the reader through the Balkan complications. Based on presentations delivered at a conference entitled 'Greece and the Balkans: Cultural Encounters Since the Enlightenment' at Birmingham University in 2001, the book's interdisciplinary approach includes subjects as varied as literature, language, religion, translation, history, dress and music of Greece and other Balkan countries. One of the central aims of the volume, as Tziouvas writes, is 'to explore what happened to this rich cultural interaction in the Balkans during the prenationalist era, ... after the rise of nationalism, and the erosion of the common mentality of Balkan Orthodoxy' (p. 7). The book is organised into seven parts.

Part I: Hybrid Identities and Nationalist Anachronisms

Kitromilides, in the first essay, chides scholars who glibly make conclusions about Balkan politics and conflicts. He recommends as a correction that historians concentrate on written sources and 'penetrate the historicity of their languages' (p. 28). He admits this is difficult since the notion of the nation-state permeates our thinking and leads us astray when we analyse the pre-modern Balkans. Raymond Detrez studies some forms of ethno-cultural behaviour among Greeks and Bulgarians in the city of Plovdiv during the first half of nineteenth century. He traces the Hellenisation of the Bulgarians as they faced the commercial, social and ecclesiastical pressures in Plovdiv. Becoming

a 'gudila' (a Hellenised Bulgarian), as he puts it, was: 'A sort of social promotion' (p. 37). Yet as the author clarifies, these Bulgarians were Greeks in the sense of *Romei* rather than *Ellines*, in that they were Orthodox Christians who did not recognise the Patriarch in Constantinople as their spiritual leader.

Part II: National Perceptions and Historical Imagination

Johann Strauss leads by stressing the role the Greek language played in transmitting culture during the nineteenth century to the Ottomans as it was the *lingua franca* among Armenians, Jews, Levantines and Europeans. This ubiquitous use of Greek drew Turkish intellectuals during the *Tanzimat* era not only into familiarity with the Greek language, but also with Greek philosophy and mythology and even expanded their circle of interest to include the culture of Western Europe. Dimitris Livanios voices a similar plea mentioned earlier by Kitromilides: we must read the historical records. Livanios, focuses on Greek historical writing, which he claims is 'relatively neglected' (p. 68). Approaching Greek writings, he explores Greek representations of Serbs and Bulgarians. He demonstrates how Greek attitudes towards these two neighbours switched when Greece became a nation-state since Bulgarian irredentism became a threat to Greece. Also, the Serbs became Greece's allies in both Balkan wars and the First World War, cementing the two peoples' common interests. His article is more nuanced than this synopsis suggests, and is well worth reading. In 'Greece and the Balkans between the World Wars: Self Identity, the Other and National Development', Gerasimos Augustinos offers the opinions of two intellectuals from the interwar period: Konstantinos Amantos and Ioannis Sofianopoulos. Amantos was a scholar at the University of Athens and Sophianopoulos, a lawyer and political figure. Through the writings of these two commentators, it is possible, claims the author, to gain an insight into the perceptions of the national self. Certainly it is interesting to read the comments of two vocal personalities during this treacherous time, and, to today's historians, their opinions strike us as reasonable given the era.

Part III: Religious and Ethnic Otherness

K. E. Flemings' study represents a truly offbeat approach to gleaning truths from historical writings. The author explores South Balkan rabbinic readings of the rise and fall of the Ottoman Empire. Since few, if any, historians of modern Greece can read Hebrew sources, which make up most of the references cited here, readers are offered some unusual material. Here we learn the rabbis' view of Ottoman ascendancy and decline within their concept of an earthly unfolding of a messianic plan. In 'Aspects of Muslim Culture in the Ottoman Balkans: A View from Eighteenth Century Salonica', Eyal Ginio relies on the records of the *seriat* court, known as '*sicil*', to describe how the Muslim elite of Salonica adhered to Ottoman state mechanisms as well as to local tradition. We learn how Ottoman high culture flourished hand-in-hand with local Christian custom. Salonika, which still fascinates scholars and laymen alike, is shown not only as a major urban centre of Ottoman learning and Muslim Orthodoxy, but

offers 'the Muslims perspectives on the cultural world of the masses who lived around them' (p. 115). Diana Wardle examines the costumes of the Sarakatsani in northern Greece and adjacent areas to find clues to their social and economic history in the first half of the twentieth century. By approaching the problem through the use of material culture, she adds a refreshing dimension to the study of Balkan peoples. Her numerous Greek language references are useful.

Part IV: Cultural Dialogues and Crossroads

'Balkanizing the French Revolution: Rhigas's New Political Constitution', by María López Vallalba, analyses Rhigas Velestinlis' translation of France's 'New Political Constitution'. His project was to create a Greek republic based on the principles of the French Revolution laying down political and individual freedoms for the Balkan peoples once the Ottoman Empire fell. Vallalba deconstructs Rhigas' translation to show how he reworded it to serve as a formula for the Balkan peoples. Some articles of the 'Constitution' are conveniently laid out for the reader in English, French and Greek. Olga Augustinos looks at how the bridge of Arta, the bridge on the Drina and the bridge over the Ujana e Kerqe have been absorbed into legend and reveal aspects of union and divisions throughout the Balkans. Ellie Scopetea, in 'The Balkans and the Notion of the Crossroads between East and West', tackles the age-old dilemma of whether the Balkans belong in the 'East' or 'West' or someplace in between, with a focus on Greece and its special relationship to the West thanks to its classical history.

Part V: Musical Encounters and Cultural Politics

Inclusion of music in a discussion of Balkan identity is particularly pleasing and enlightening to historians who are used to puzzling over the Balkans by scrutinising politics, foreign policy and wars. In John G. Plemmenos' 'Musical Encounters at the Greek Courts of Jassy and Bucharest in the Eighteenth Century' there is an explanation as to how music and high culture in general in Wallachia and Moldavia in the eighteenth century circulated throughout the Phanariot provinces. Vassilis Nitiakos and Constantinos Mantzos in 'Negotiating Culture: Political Uses of Polyphonic Folk Songs in Greece and Albania' use polyphonic music as a tool to identify ethnic groups in areas across the Greek-Albanian border and to illustrate how each culture declares itself the owner of polyphonic singing. Chris Williams in 'The Cretan Muslims and the Music of Crete' assumes the task of studying the music of Cretan Muslims on the island, and then measuring the differences between the way music developed among Cretans in Crete and Cretans in Turkey after the Muslims left the island. Interestingly, his article also mentions the problems the Muslims faced in assimilating into Turkish life once back in Turkey after 1923.

Part VI: Challenging the Borders: Linguistic Convergence and Literary Images

In 'The Role of Greek and Greece Linguistically in the Balkans', Brian D. Joseph presents the thesis that the most significant external influence that shaped the modern

Greek language was the interaction of Greeks with speakers of other Balkan languages, especially before the Enlightenment. He argues that contact with Balkan peoples resulted in major changes in the Greek language even so as to include subordinate clause structure and future tense formations. The influence of Greek on the development of neighbouring languages was also true. Yannis Karavidasthen leads us on a voyage through Albania with the surrealist poetry of Nikos Engonopoulos, following the interwar trend with poets such as Eliot and Seferis. Generous footnotes add to an appreciation of surrealism. Literary critic Georgia Farinou-Malamatari in 'The Representation of the Balkans in Modern Greek Fiction of the 1990s' chooses six novels published in the last decade, all of which are set in the Balkans. Among the authors represented are Tottlis, Gouroyiannis, Dimitrou, Fakinis and Themelis – the last named having been a Simitis advisor. Her purpose is to discuss how Greek literature has referred to conflicts in the Balkans. As the next to last chapter in the book, her thoughts bring us, more or less, up to date.

Part VII: Rethinking the Balkans

The final section contains only one piece: 'Must We Keep Talking about the "Balkans?"', by Vassilis Lambropoulos. He concludes that 'the only thing we can do with the Balkans is to dismantle them ... in order to inspire the Balkans to abandon destiny for destination, to dissolve themselves into the Herodotean journey, and to discover theory for themselves'. Well, maybe. After studying the sum of these papers, this reader can hardly imagine a more riveting history. Certainly, the many gifted scholars who took part in this project would agree there is no end of material to ponder.

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Kosovo: The Politics of Identity and Space, by Denisa Kostovicova (Routledge, London, 2005, ISBN 0-415-3486-4) 322 pp., £75.

The tragedy of ethnic violence in the Balkans re-captured the world's attention during the 1999 NATO-led bombing of Kosovo. The aerial bombing was only the second collective military action in NATO's fifty-year history, the first having occurred in 1994 when NATO planes shot down a Bosnian Serb aircraft over Bosnia and Herzegovina. The significance of these events seemed to shift the focus of many scholars. Nationalism and the process of national identity formation—topics that had garnered the attention of many European scholars throughout the twentieth century and especially after the Cold War—were temporarily overshadowed by the global debate over NATO's mission, the role of the United States in maintaining regional security, and the much larger global discussion over human rights and the limits of using military force to

thwart humanitarian disasters. In short, much of the relevant scholarship emerging after NATO's 1999 bombing focused on high politics and international law. Lost was a continued examination of the on-the-ground determinants of ethnic violence that culminated in the massacre and displacement of tens of thousands of Albanians by Serb forces in 1999 and the reprisals that followed.

A return to the study of nationalism is in order. Nationalism, in addition to sovereignty, helps to explain the basic order of our world. Understanding the causal mechanisms of nationalism makes it possible to predict where conflicts—especially genocide—might occur. It drives people to conquer their fear of death in order to die for a country or cause, and to hate groups of people living across political borders. In *Kosovo: The Politics of Time and Space*, author Denisa Kostovicova smartly returns to the question of nationalism by analysing the process of national identity formation in Kosovo, primarily during the 1990s. Construction of national identity, the author argues, flows from the convergence of symbolic space and physical space. The former is the space in which social constructions and reconceptualisations of nationhood emerge and are maintained, such as national myths, symbolism and portrayals of historical struggles; the latter includes the material and territorial manifestations of that nationhood such as the segregation of two discernible groups and their control over land. Critical to Kostovicova's work is the recognition that national identity formation is a dynamic, never static, phenomenon.

The author documents how the interaction of symbolic and physical space in Kosovo's education system, particularly after Serbia abolished Kosovo's autonomy in 1989, both maintained and altered the national identity of Kosovo Albanians. Serbs and Albanians ultimately fought in the countryside, but the initial battleground was the education system, where the 'nourishment of national identities' and the 'irreconcilable clash of nationhoods' between the Serbs and Albanians occurred (p. 19). The 'struggle over education, which is one of the key sites for producing symbolic contents of nation and homeland, became a shorthand for the Serbian and Albanian conflict over Kosovo' (pp. 2–3).

Kostovicova provides a detailed historical narration of the process by which the battle over the education institutions in Kosovo led to the emergence of an Albanian 'shadow state'. In 1990, Serbia, claiming unification as its objective, asserted control over Kosovo's education system by passing the Law on Primary Education and the Law on Secondary Education. These and subsequent laws placed control of Kosovo's school curriculum into the hands of the Serbian Education Council; these laws succeeded in the 'total disenfranchisement' of Kosovo Albanians (p. 78). Albanian education leaders rejected Serbian vetting of curricula and materials, while Serbia viewed Albanians' alternative education materials as 'separatist' and 'racist' (p. 80). The laws began a vicious circle in which the Serbian government was threatened by Albanian resistance to unification while Albanians viewed unification as an attempt to degrade Albanians' status and culture. Serbia responded to Albanian resistance to Serbia's so-called 'unification policies' by preventing Albanian access to school and university buildings and summarily dismissing Albanian education administrators from their posts.

The effects of Serbia's policies were swift. By 1992, no Albanians were enrolled at the University of Pristina. The Serbian government finally withheld financial support from schools in Kosovo that refused to adopt the Serbian curriculum. The spatial separation initiated by Serbian education laws continued to become more pronounced as Albanians abandoned school buildings and moved their Albanian-language classes into private homes. The few Albanians and Serbian students who continued to attend school in the same buildings were kept apart and taught separately. The Albanians who continued to live in Kosovo studied from rewritten geography and history textbooks containing stories and symbolism celebrating Kosovo 'as an independent state' (p. 215).

Kostovicova stresses that the relevance of the Albanians' plight extends well beyond issues of education; it also sheds light on the relationship between education and nationalism, and the question of when and why nationalised education may counterproductively lead to the intensification of separatist sentiment and, ultimately, segregation and the creation of a spatially discernible second state. The parallel education system that developed between 1992 and 1999 was partly the product of a national identity rooted in the Albanians' attachment to Kosovo that was evident during Communism (p. 2). Thus, for Albanians facing Serbian unification policies, creating a parallel education system preserved some semblance of Albanian statehood that had existed prior to 1989. The parallel education system also became synonymous with 'peaceful resistance to the Serbian rule' (p. 120). It 'brought Albanians unprecedented freedom to express their sense of nationhood' and 'empowered Albanians symbolically' (pp. 3, 127). To foster this desired space, the Albanian curricula in Kosovo continued to be 'nationalized' to reflect and 'nourish' Albanian national unification (pp. 130–131). It eventually extended beyond Kosovo's borders and into Albania proper; in 1992, the Education Ministry of Albania and Kosovo Albanian education leaders agreed to joint curricula for several Albanian language subjects (p. 131). The 1999 NATO bombing of Kosovo marked the beginning of what Kostovicova labels 'spatial reversal', whereby Albanians returned to the schools and related facilities abandoned by the Serbs who feared reprisal attacks by Albanians. The Serbs, according to Kostovicova, were forced to create their own alternative space in which 'to provide education in Serbian to the remaining Serbs in Kosovo' (p. 211). This symbolic and reversed spatial segregation persists.

Kostovicova's work makes several valuable contributions to the study of nationalism. First, by focusing primarily on Albanian national identity formation, the author addresses the incompleteness of previous works that explained the Serbian-Albanian conflict from the perspective of the Serbs' historical attachment to Kosovo while neglecting the 'equally strong Albanian attachment to Kosovo as a fatherland' (p. 4). Second, the author calls attention to the region's instability, the sources of which remain virtually unchanged despite the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK). Contrary to popular belief, the NATO bombing and subsequent efforts of the international community to foster a lasting peace have not removed what Kostovicova argues were the determinants of ethnic violence prior to the bombing. The author points out that persistent spatial separation between Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo is not a long-lasting solution to the violence; on the contrary, this

spatial separation masks the likelihood of future violence in the region and is evidence of the international community's failure to transform Kosovo into an integrated multi-cultural democracy. Western leaders should heed Kostovicova's warning.

While Kostovicova's work presents a compelling historical-political narration of Albanian national identity formation, it leaves some essential questions unanswered. First, while the author effectively illustrates the interaction of identity and space, the book falls short of weighing the relative importance of the two. The author makes it clear that Kosovo Albanian nationalism was strong prior to 1989, so it is unclear how essential the education system was in maintaining the national identity that prompted ethnic separation in Kosovo after 1989. For example, strong national identities among ethnic groups in other parts of the world, such as Africa, have been maintained in the absence of a well-organised education system. Second, Kostovicova acknowledges that 'intra-national friction' existed between Kosovo Albanians and 'their ethnic brethren from Albania' during the 1990s; she does not, however, explain why the reinforcement of nationhood in Kosovo schools did not surmount these cross-border political and cultural differences that existed between Albanians. She writes that the same education system that 'galvanized the Albanian community to act in unison' earlier in the decade 'became an apple of intra-national discord in post-autonomy Kosovo' (p. 191). What explains these different outcomes?

Third, while the movement of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo may have been sporadically limited by the Serbian government throughout the 1990s, it is estimated that, during this period, several hundred thousand Albanians left Kosovo and resettled elsewhere. It is unclear what proportion of these *émigrés* were enrolled in the parallel education system prior to their departure, or what effect their departure had on the national identity formation of the Albanians who remained in Kosovo. Kostovicova's thesis would have been well served by asking what effect this migration flow had on the process of national identity formation in the Kosovo education system. For example, did the Albanians who remained share a common trait that helped or hindered this process? Did the Albanians who remained have the option of leaving in the first place?

Finally, the author's work is somewhat under-theorised, relying heavily on constructivist notions of nationalism while giving short shrift to the realist theories of nationalism based on strategic decision making generated by fear and survival instincts. In addition, her argument leaves little room for policy prescriptions that might be used to turn the tide of ethnic separation based on national identity. The reader is left with what appears to be a hopeless and vicious circle. In summary, *Kosovo: The Politics of Identity and Space* makes timely and significant contributions to the scholarly debate over the sources of nationalism and the process of national identity formation. Kostovicova's work is thoroughly researched, cleanly argued and provides intuitions that act as substantive starting points for future research on nationalism.

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Rethinking Islam and Liberal Democracy: Islamist Women in Turkish Politics, by Yesim Arat (State University of New York Press, Albany, NY, 2005, ISBN 0-7914-6465-2) 150 pp., \$55.

If you think the question ‘Is liberal democracy compatible with Islam?’ has already been studied *ad nauseam* and that all possible routes to a different understanding of this conflictual relationship have been exhausted, I recommend Yesim Arat’s, *Rethinking Islam and Liberal Democracy* as a strong challenge to the binaries that impede critical thinking over the issue. The book mainly refers to the political activism of Islamist women, unprecedented in many ways in modern Turkish history, in the 1990s under the Refah Party Ladies’ Commission.

In the introduction, the author depicts the general picture of Islamist opposition to the secular republic, and its implications for liberal democracy. Her account of the development of liberal democracy in Turkey suggests that many of the illiberal features associated with Islamic politics, such as the espousal of a solidarist discourse (as opposed to a liberal individualistic one) or the exclusion of women from decision-making processes, mark continuity rather than a break with the conventional Turkish politics. The participation of women in politics, especially in decision-making mechanisms, has always been disappointing despite the republican reforms that provided the conditions in which women could participate in public life. When they rejected women’s demands to join the party leadership, Islamist politicians had completely different justifications than those of non-Islamist politicians, but the uniqueness of their rhetoric (that disguises male domination in the name of religion) should not lead us to essentialise Islamic politics. It is quite misleading to single out Islamists as *the* illiberals. Rather than claiming that Islamism is irreconcilably opposed to liberal democracy, Arat emphasises the lack of a democratic political culture (male domination being the most relevant aspect of it) in explaining why Refah officials denied access to women. (Haldun Gulalp also points to the general flaws of Turkish democracy cutting across parties in his critique of the undemocratic discourses and politics of the Refah Party.)

Arat’s story is particularly striking because it introduces heretofore unrecognised actors in Turkish politics. Her methodology consists of interviewing prominent Islamist women who worked at the Refah Party Ladies’ Commissions in the early 1990s to disseminate the party ideology and recruit other women to the party. No party had ever organised woman activists as successfully as the Refah Party; the number of women recruited by these activists in six years is about one million: an impressive figure. Their amazing success in the public realm *qua* Islamist women demonstrates that relegation of women to the household with reference to Islam is overcome through political action initiated in the name of Islam: ‘Boundaries of Islam are porous, and liberalism infiltrates these boundaries’ (p. 2). These women have secular ambitions, such as realising their individuality by participating in the public realm, but they assert these ambitions with reference to Islamic values like ‘Working for God’s sake’. The relationship between secular and Islamic values is not defined by mutual exclusivity, but rather by cross-fertilisation and hybridity. These women open

up possibilities by fighting both the secular state whose ban on head scarves excluded them from public institutions, and the Islamist establishment that watches their assertion of individuality with suspicion.

Through interviews with these female activists, the reader meets the actual heroines: numerous women, mostly housewives confined to household concerns by the patriarchal conservatism of their social environment, assumed to be out of the political game. The book pays greater attention to the stories of the activists rather than the women actually recruited by them, but I suggest that their politicisation has implications for democratic politics. Arat, by incorporating these seemingly apolitical members of society into the picture, goes beyond 'High Politics' to see the unseen, to hear the unheard. Politics ceases to be an exclusive game, a war of position among the elites; a housewife from a shantytown communicates her demands and worldview through the activists working at the Ladies' Commissions. By bringing the voice of the unheard into politics, the Islamist activists themselves reveal modes of politicisation, political motives and political struggles for freedom that are radically different from politics at the elite level. Unfortunately, though, 'High Politics' maintains its dominance as the Refah Party leadership denies women equal participation in politics. The shantytown housewife is once more sentenced to oblivion, and the activist suffers resignation and disappointment.

The Ladies' Commission experience created a possibility of cross-fertilisation between Islamic politics and liberal democracy by illustrating clearly that the challenge posed by contradictory understandings of private and public life can invigorate, rather than undermine, political engagement. Illustrating how the Islamist women had to accommodate their secular drive for asserting individuality into their Islamic way of life, and how they had to confront the secular state as well as their patriarchal families and party bosses, Arat quotes Myra Jehlen: '[J]oining a contradiction—engaging it not so much for the purpose of overcoming it as to tap its energy' (p. 111). This condition of in-betweenness, ambiguity to the point of irreconcilability, transcends the friend/enemy or good/evil distinctions to allow for an enriched understanding of democratic citizenship. The essentialised subject of democratic theory with his or her presupposed political engagements and fixed modes of action—be it Islamist, secular, rational, ideologically motivated—leaves the stage to the heroes and heroines with their Shakespearean ambiguities and Quixotic struggles.

The story has no happy ending. Sibel Eraslan, the extremely successful head of the Istanbul branch of the Commission, is denied a higher position in the party, criticised for adopting feminist ideas by the leadership, and soon her team was replaced by a cadre more loyal to the central organs of the party. And what of the women contacted and recruited by the Ladies' Commissions? The book does not examine how the apolitical politicisation process influenced the political participation of these women later on. They probably voted for the Party in the 1995 elections, but their political mobilisation did not count more than a vote. As they disappeared from the scene, secularists accused the Refah Party of taking advantage of these women for electoral success. More importantly, these housewives left behind the political engagement, arising in most unexpected settings: house visits, its 'golden days' and religious meetings. They were in

fact grounded by insurmountable adversaries: political elites presiding over parties with the confidence that they can represent the people, patriarchal fathers and husbands who cannot tolerate women messing with men's work, and secular critics who have never bothered to communicate with them.

Several lessons emerge from this book concerning the importance of liberal democratic institutions for ensuring a non-violent and democratic political life. First, the fact that the ban on the headscarf in universities, initiated under the influence of military rule in the early 1980s, has only served to alienate Islamist women from the secular state clearly demonstrates that the denial of access to the public sphere breeds radicalised opposition. The interview with E.S., whose social-democratic orientation initially led her to stand against the ban as a matter of justice, reveals the adverse effects of exclusion in a personal account. In general, the ban has provided the basis for Islamist opposition in universities, as it left headscarved women no choice but move towards radicalisation.

The liberal democratic case against repression and exclusion, however, is challenged by a European Human Rights Commission argument that 'particularly in countries where the vast majority of the population belongs to a particular religion, exhibition of the rituals and symbols of this religion ... can cause pressure on students who do not practice this religion or instead belong to another religion' (p. 27). The paradox with the principle of religious freedom is obvious here: if various social groups do not internalise tolerance and the right of minorities to exist, the liberal-democratic principle of inclusion only serves social repression by majorities. Still more interesting, the same people can be both the victims and perpetrators of repression arising from lack of mutual understanding. The recurrent demand of the Islamist women is to be 'better understood by the ... non-Islamist camp', who treat them as outcasts (p. 12). At the same time, however, the seeds of intolerance are to be found in some of the interviews, such as R.D.'s claim that it is only those who steal and commit adultery that should be afraid of Shariat (p. 106). Needless to say, the secularist camp has its own misconceptions about Islamist people, which in general are no less intolerant.

Liberal democracy, therefore, cannot simply rely on its institutional mechanisms; it should aim at creating a social environment of mutual understanding where citizens try to understand what the others' values are. The literature on multicultural liberalism tends to focus more on liberal institutions that ensure the peaceful co-existence of social groups, who live in isolated and non-interfering cultural worlds. The necessity for dialogue and mutual understanding, however, asserts itself if liberal democracy is to 'engage itself with a different world, in which its principles are neither well understood nor widely held' (p. 109).

The problem of elite domination is exemplified in Arat's work in two distinct ways: first, by the exclusion of activist women from higher positions in the Refah Party, and second, the failure of Islamist women's continued mass participation in politics besides voting. The first problem entails institutional reform: a more democratic electoral and party law, especially affirmative action concerning women, would at least alleviate the problem of exclusion. Of course, this is easier said than done; the parliament, despite its achievements in carrying out the democratisation agenda for EU membership,

decided not to include affirmative action for women in the 2004 amendments of the Turkish Constitution. Therefore, breaking this vicious cycle of patriarchal political culture reinforcing patriarchal institutions, and vice versa, is a difficult task.

A still greater challenge, one that plagues all democracies to varying degrees, is the empowerment of the silent masses. Politics is generally understood to be 'High Politics'—a game between political (and in most cases, economic) elites; similarly, democracy is understood to be a game between political elites who alternate in government through elections. Nevertheless, if democracy entails rule *by* the people, the participation of people in matters that affect their lives (in that case bringing into the political scene the voices of the silent masses—the housewife in a shantytown) is a crucial democratic project. If it matters to hear the unheard, democracies still have a long way to go.

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Cities and Saints: Sufism and the Transformation of Urban Space in Medieval Anatolia, by Ethel Sara Wolper (Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park, PA, 2003, ISBN 0-271-02256-6) xviii + 134 pp., \$60.

This new study by Ethel Sara Wolper tackles the complicated relationship between social institutions and charismatic leaders, focusing on how their authority is represented both visually and textually. In particular, the author attempts to reveal the role buildings played in the representation of religious and political authority and in creating new communities in the cities of Medieval Anatolia. The author argues that it was not only institutions, but also the structures in which these institutions were housed, that organised the cosmos around the people. She further tries to explore the relationships between visual and textual representations of authority. She suggests that the latter often supports the former by association with the charismatic figure of a saint. In this way a 'sacred history' is created for the authority.

During the breakdown of centralised power in Medieval Anatolia, after the Seljuks lost their power over the region to the Mongols, the local authorities, *amêrs*, tried to secure their position and authority among the population, as well as their property from possible loss or confiscation. To this end, they started patronising Dervish lodges, which, being organised around local charismatic figures, provided the patrons with large support among the populace. Endowments to these religious institutions safeguarded the patrons' property while also allowing them to benefit from the revenues. However, apart from being social institutions, Dervish lodges were also buildings that conveyed much of their authority through their form and location within the urban landscape.

In an effort to elucidate both dimensions of the lodges, the author poses two distinct questions in her introduction: how did the structure and place of these buildings

change the ‘hierarchy of spaces’ in Medieval Anatolia between mid-thirteenth and mid-fourteenth centuries, and, in what ways were different types of authority—religious, spiritual (it remains unclear, what the distinction is between these two) and political—mediated. To be able to answer them, Wolper makes two important assumptions. First, that the organisation of space plays a crucial role in ‘one’s perception and experience of the world’. Indeed, the way in which landscape is organised around us, the different degrees of accessibility and visibility of different buildings and sites, creates a spatial hierarchy for the human mind, ordering the cosmos around it so as to underline their importance respectively. Second, it is not only buildings that affect the organisation of space for men, but also man himself, who in his effort to match architecture to his needs, reorganises it accordingly. These assumptions enable her to state that the location and orientation of Dervish lodges played a crucial role in the changes that took place in Anatolia during this period.

After discussing in some detail the literature on Dervish lodges in Ottoman historiography, Wolper then presents a concise history of the three central Anatolian cities—Sivas, Tokat and Amasya—that form the subject of her book from the fourth century BC to the period under scrutiny. She concludes that the role of Dervish lodges should be viewed individually, outside the government structure and Sufi orders.

The large wave of religious leaders and scholars that came to Anatolia from Eastern Iran after the Mongol invasion created a complicated situation in this region. Finding themselves in a foreign environment, the newcomers tried to stabilise their position within society and gain influence among the population. The first chapter examines the ways in which this competition took place and the means by which various groups tried to assert their authority. The author introduces here the role of visual authority, which serves as a testimony to the prestige of a certain group within the society. She argues that the elites competed in construing this authority by associating buildings with charismatic religious figures. The symbols were ambiguous in their significance and needed to be interpreted more unequivocally. Narratives were used to link the sign to an archetypal figure, thus securing its position of prestige and importance among the population. Groups that interpreted this visual language by their own particular understanding of texts and of the world around them are termed ‘interpretive communities’ by the author. What is left unclear here, though, is whether several such communities interpreted the same building in different ways or whether each was committed to different buildings.

Wolper presents several texts where buildings play an important role. Two, written in the fourteenth century, concern the celebrated mystic Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and his followers and the mythical figure of Bābā Ilyās, the leader of the Bābā Rasūl revolt in Anatolia against Seljuk rule. Other important sources include al-Nāṣirī’s treatise on *futuwwa*, the so-called ‘Near Eastern chivalry’, written in the beginning of the fourteenth century, and documents on pious endowments, *waqfiyyas*, which, although being prescriptive rather than descriptive, illustrate the relationships between the Dervish lodges and their patrons. They show what the expectations of a patron from the lodge were and how he viewed its functions. Despite the fact that the argument about the interrelationship between texts and buildings presented in this chapter

seems quite convincing, it is not supported by enough evidence. Although Wolper names several texts containing information on this topic, presenting some details from these texts about lodges and their functions would make the author's argument much stronger.

The second chapter offers an insight into the problem of the relationships of Dervish shrines with their patrons, demonstrating the main motives that urged local *amêrs* to endow the institutions. It discusses the role of the lodges in regulating the relationships between different groups in the multicultural population of the three Anatolian cities. After the loss of power by the Seljuks to the Mongols in the middle of the thirteenth century, political control over the region went into the hands of the local nobility. In order to secure the property and lands they had acquired from the Seljuk sultans, they started making pious endowments to Dervish lodges, transforming their investments into *waqf*, thus making themselves immune to the danger of confiscation, as highlighted earlier. At the same time, they were able to benefit from the revenues on these investments. Motivation for supporting the lodges instead of the religious schools (*madrâsas*) was that the latter were more expensive, and the class of religious scholars abiding by them was associated with Seljuk rule. Moreover, the local aristocracy believed that the patronage of Dervish lodges would give them large support among the population, given the enormous influence of the heads of the lodges. Such influence extended to Christians and Turcomans.

In order to ensure the large support of lodges among the people, the patrons established several paid positions in lodges, as well as stipulating certain activities to be performed by their residents. Thus, the *sheikh* was considered to be the intermediary between the holy person entombed in the lodge and the pilgrims. He was also the person who mediated between groups such as Christians and Turcomans, and often acted as an interpreter, given the different linguistic background of the guests and pilgrims. In order to emphasise the Islamic character of the lodges, the positions of *ÊŞfi* (memoriser of the Qur'an) and *mu'adhdhin* (the person to perform the calls for prayer) were instituted, who linked the lodges with the Islamic practice and beliefs. To the same end, they stipulated the resident dervishes perform Friday prayers and celebrate the important Muslim holidays. Similarly, *dhikr* and *samâ'* (spiritual techniques aimed at unity with God, very often accompanied with music and dance) were intended to increase the popularity of these buildings. However, despite the mutual interest of the patrons and the heads of the lodges, their relationships, the author argues, were not at simple. The texts often depict the Sufi saints as unwilling receivers of the patron's magnanimity.

The second part of the book focuses on the buildings themselves, elucidating the ways in which they were inserted into the local landscape and how they thus altered the orientation in space. In the third chapter, Wolper gives a brief sketch of the architectural history of Sivas, Tokat and Amasia, the cities where the changes in landscape and orientation were most obvious. In all the three cities, the period between 1240 and 1350 marks the building of new Dervish lodges, which, as the author consistently emphasises, 'dramatically' altered the orientation of space in these cities. By locating the lodges close to trade centres and markets, very often in such a way so that they were the first building to be encountered by a visitor to the city, the patrons who supported them

drew attention away from the Seljuk citadel. This transformed the city from one centred whole into a space governed by several centres under the control of the Sufis and local aristocracy. The lodges were also to attract visitors by their tall and highly visible portals. At this point one might consider making a classification of the mechanisms in which authority was conveyed by buildings. There are, as the study has shown so far, three ways to do so. One is textual, which creates authority through associating a certain structure with the figure of a saint. The second is their location, which attracts visitors by its proximity to the market area or to the entrance or exit of the city, thus obliging everyone to pass by it. And finally, buildings communicated their authority through their form.

Form as a functional element of the buildings is the subject of the subsequent chapter. The author classifies the types of lodges built between 1240 and 1350 into three. The earliest type is characterised by its closeness to larger buildings. The next, was an independent structure with one or two vaults. The third was a large complex with multiple units. The first, smaller type was both architecturally and financially dependant on the *madrasas*. The schools profited from the proximity of lodges as it ensured a larger influx of people of diverse occupations, making them more multifunctional than *madrasas* without lodges. In the following period, the lodges emerged as independent complexes as a result of the growing interest being paid to them. The organisation of spaces marks the desire of the heads of lodges for hierarchical division of their followers in order to stress their power. The third period of the development shows very clearly how the form of the buildings could serve certain functions. For example, the relatively big openings that these lodges had were intended to attract broad audiences, creating a 'more open and inclusive ethos' for these structures.

The third part, which, as the author claims, views the Dervish lodges 'as repositories of history and as monuments to the foundation of the Sufi communities', consists of three rather unrelated chapters. The first one attempts to examine the ways in which the lodges tried to form communities across religious and class boundaries. Here she rejects the view accepted in scholarship that conversion to Islam was a quick and one-sided process. She speaks instead, of the process of 'hybridisation' and 'creating mixed communities'. Not only did buildings play a prominent role in this process, but so did Dervish activities and texts. The lodges are depicted here as closely related to professional centres. The Dervishes had in fact close ties with the craftsmen and often practiced some of the crafts themselves. Moreover, the Sufis entered into close relationships with Christians sharing with them common sanctuaries and practices. Among these practices, Wolper mentions anointment; the practice of communal eating and drinking, which she compares with the Holy Eucharist; the rite of ablution, which is associated with Baptism; and so on. Indeed, the communal meal as a means to assert the unity among the members of a lodge, which extended this unity to the supernatural realm, was common already in early Christian communities and was called '*agapē*' ('love'). Similar types of meals also existed among the *futuwwa* organisations beyond Asia Minor. It would be difficult, therefore, to speak of direct influence of Christian practices on the Sufi orders in Anatolia. The same ambiguity exists with the case of ritual ablutions. In many religions, water has symbolised the purging of sins.

The image of Christians played an important role in Sufi writings. The Sufi authors would include Christians among the followers of saints in order to emphasise their sanctity. Christianity was opposed to the official 'corrupt' Islam as an intermediate stage in achieving the pure knowledge of God. Thus, the lodges created an urban society that was very open and inclusive towards any kind of foreign elements. The author does not specify why the patrons would be interested in promoting these kind of communities, but it seems quite clear that their motive could be the spread of their influence to as many audiences as possible. Also, supporting an atmosphere of mutual understanding between representatives of various religious confessions and sects could be a means to oppose the centralised power represented by Orthodox Islam.

The next chapter tackles a problem that has in fact little to do with the Dervish lodges themselves. On the basis of three inscriptions made on three lodges in Tokat, and also some Sufi writings, which contain mention of women, Wolper attempts to elucidate the role of women in the dynastic relationships of that period. She rightly concludes that women played relatively little, if any, role, their main function being guarantors of familial lines and links between different dynasties. Indeed, in the texts mentioned, women are almost completely depersonalised. Instead of their real names, one finds the mention of their patronyms and names of their husband. This ensured the link between representatives of various dynasties, playing a legitimising role for some of them. The only relationship of the present chapter with the topic of the book was that it was using texts inscribed on Dervish lodges. Moreover, it is not novel that all through history dynasties have used marital ties in order to partake in each other's monarchic charisma. Although quite informative and insightful, this section is perhaps primarily a tribute to the current trend to re-evaluate the role of women in various times and places.

The concluding chapter of the book is dedicated to the analysis of an epic, offering a deep insight into the role of buildings in Medieval Anatolia. The story concerns a warrior who fought to expand the boundaries of the Islamic state. The story is called 'D. ānishmendnāme', from the warrior's name – Malik Danishmend – and is said to have been written after 1279. What is of interest in this story is that each military victory over a city and the conversion of its population to Islam is marked by acts of 'architectural transformation and rebuilding', which is described in detail. Viewed in the broader context of Islamic scholarship, Ethel Sara Wolper's study is a deep and insightful exposé of the urban life in Medieval Anatolia. This book serves as a highly inspiring work on the history of Sufism and its social and architectural environment.

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